



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

REFERENCES TO THE WORD

“NARRATIVE” and “STORY”

in Truth and Reconciliations Commissions Reports of Canada

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THE **CONFRONTING**
ATROCITY PROJECT



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Note on Word Frequency Query:

Minimum 4 letter words were chosen (rather than 3 letter word length)

4 letter words were preferred so that years (such as 2020, 2021, and so on) can also be found.

Note on software:

The word references analysis was done by NVivo software.

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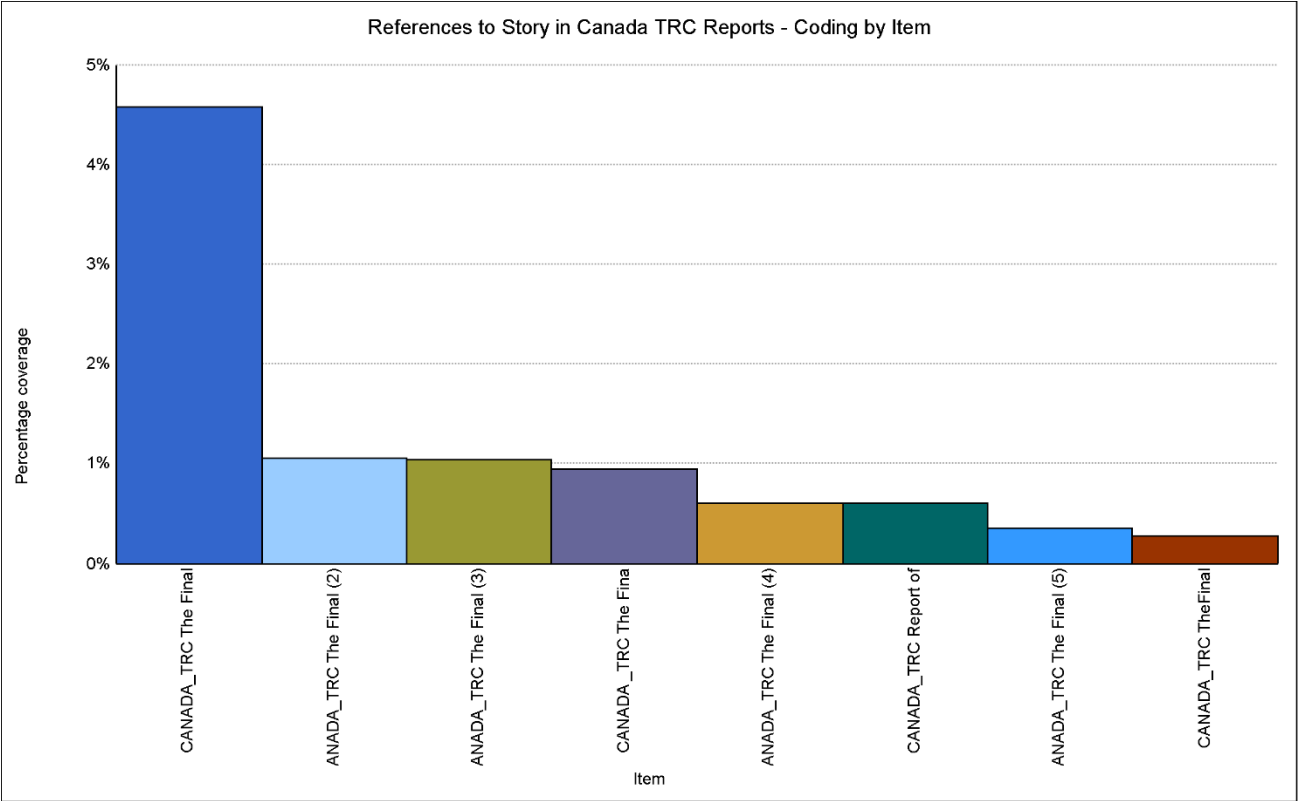
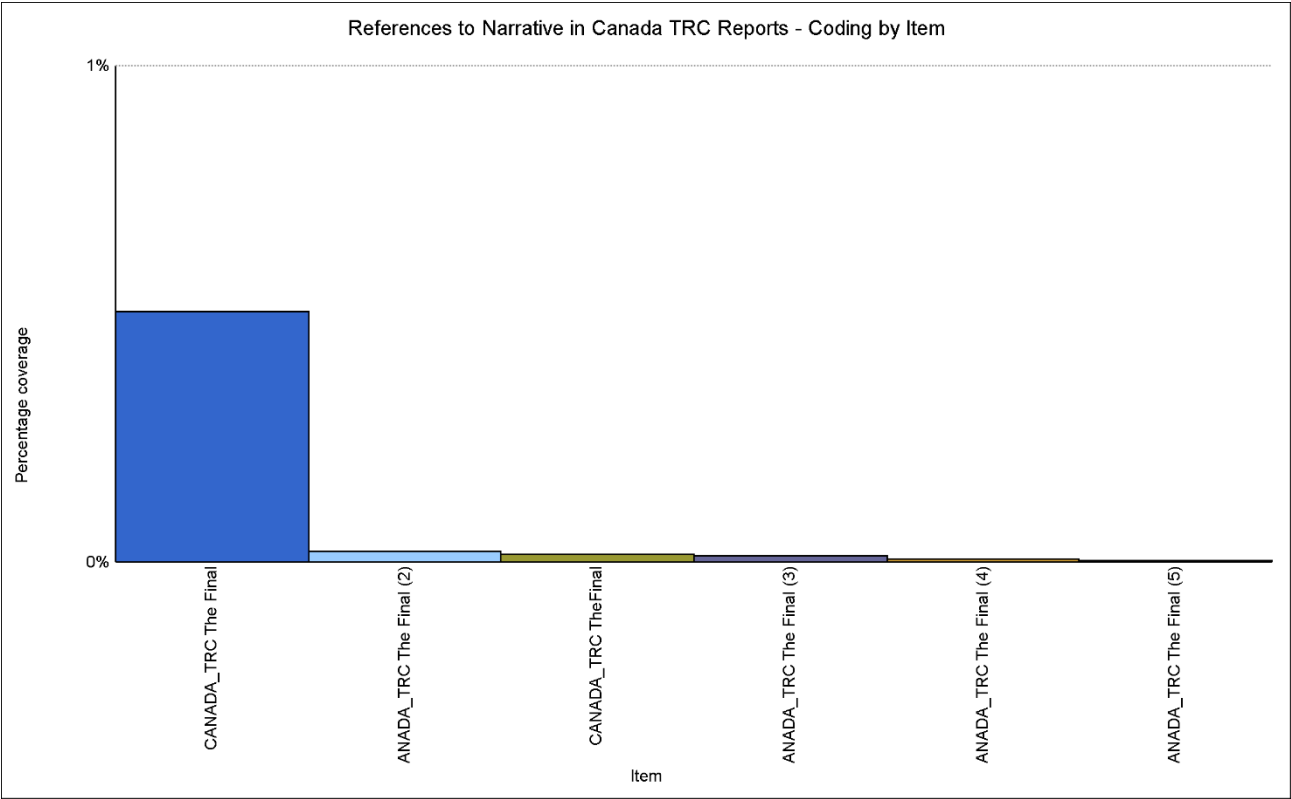
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**Word frequency query based on references to the word “Narrative”
Done for all TRC reports of Canada**

[illegible]

**Word frequency query based on references to the word “Story”
Done for all TRC reports of Canada**



stories	school	aboriginal	history	students	life	many	just	time	years	canada	commu	govern	need	church			
						family	public	métis	togeth	land	well	2014	archiv	educat	exper		
				http	peoples												
	schools	reconciliat			language	tell		indigen	import	hear	things	univers	hope	knowle	must		
	residential																
			news	know				women	nation	exper	paintin	going	home	house	former		
story			children			truth	work				happ	princip	labrad	often	talk	acce	bruce
		indian		first	told			commis	abuse		like	still	make	gene	tradit	2013	affair
	canada					parents	commu										
		people	survivors	national	healing	part	report		much	culture		made	back	never	heard	alber	even
											press	elders	north	other	cultur	inuit	learn

Name: References to Narrative in TRC Reports

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_Volume 1A> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The adoption of Christianity The fact that Christ was born during the reign of Subsequently, a narrative was fash-

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC TheFinal Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_Volume 1B> - § 3 references coded [0.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

96. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 3125, file 860-8-X200, part 4, "Narrative Report," Medical Services, Southern Manitoba Zone HQ – IHS, February 1964. [ARS000217]

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

204. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, 23-9, 04/49–06/62, NAC – Edmonton, A. Jean Burgess, "Narrative Report Blood Indian Agency," 1952, 2. [MRY-008359]

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

298. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 3126, file 860-8-X300, part 3a, Narrative Report Medical Services, Department of National Health and Welfare, Saskatchewan Region, May through August 1964, T. J. Orford, 4; [120.17160] Public Health Agency of Canada, Notifiable diseases on-line, "Amoebiasis," <http://dsol-smed.phac-aspc.gc.ca/dsol-smed/ndis/diseases/amoe-eng.php> (accessed 29 May 2014).

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_Volume 3> - § 1 reference coded [0.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

22. TRC, NRA, St Paul's Hostel, Dawson City, Yukon TC, IAP Hostel Narrative, n.d., 9. [Nar000077]

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_Volume 4> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

283. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 3125, file 860-8-X200, part 4, "Narrative Report," Medical Services, Southern Manitoba Zone HQ – IHS, February 1964. [ARS000217]

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_Volume 5> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

know about places, its history
or narrative, but a learner must experience them both physically and emotionally, achieved through rituals, and visitations."209
learning in a local context

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_Volume 6> - § 15 references coded [0.51% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.03% Coverage

Canada for the foreseeable future....
The longer narrative of treaty-making is useful as a means to understand how the Native-newcomer relationship has changed since the early seventeenth century. It also permits an appreciation of how indigenous populations have responded to the challenges treaty-making created. Moreover, in the early twenty-first century, this shifting, multi-faceted treaty-making process continues. Treaty-making in Canada has a future as well as a past and present.44

Reference 2 - 0.05% Coverage

Youth and Society at the
University of Victoria, seven Aboriginal youth researchers embarked on a digital storytelling project, "Residential Schools Resistance Narratives: Significance and Strategies for Indigenous Youth." The project enabled youth researchers to learn about the critical role that resistance and resilience played in the residential schools and beyond, but it also allowed them to reflect on their own identities and roles within their families and communities. One youth researcher said that "what started as a research job turned into a personal hunt for knowledge of my own family's history with residential schools." Others noted the importance of respecting and incorporating ceremony and protocols into their digital storytelling project. Asma Antoine, the project coordinator, reported that the group learned the importance of

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

Colonization as a term or concept is not mentioned in Canada Hall. This is something we intend to correct. Canadians made it very clear to us during the public engagement process that the voices and the experiences of First Peoples must have a place in any narrative of Canadian history.... Canadians want us to be comprehensive, frank and fair in our presentation of their history. They want us to examine both the good and the bad from our past. We were urged to foster a sense of national pride without ignoring our failings, mistakes and controversies.⁴⁷

Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

and its partner, the Canadian

War Museum, released a joint research strategy intended to guide the research activities at both institutions until 2023. "Memory and commemoration" are a key research theme; objectives include the presentation of competing and contentious historical narratives of Confederation and the two world wars, and the use of "selected commemorations to explore concepts of myth, memory, and nation." The museums intended to "present honestly, but respectfully, for public understanding issues of contention or debate ... [through] deliberate exploration of traumatic pasts (e.g. Africville or residential schools)."⁴⁸ Drawing on research showing that Canadians valued their "personal and family connections to history," the Canadian

Reference 5 - 0.05% Coverage

The histories and cultures of Aboriginal peoples are central to all Canadians' understanding of their shared past. Respectful exploration of the interwoven, often difficult histories of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Peoples is a responsible, timely contribution to contemporary Canada, and to global understanding of Aboriginal Peoples.... There are four principal objectives in exploring and sharing Aboriginal narratives.... 1) Represent Aboriginal histories and cultures within broader Canadian narratives ... 2) Explore inter-cultural engagement and its continuing impacts ... 3) Broaden understanding of Aboriginal history before European contact ... [and] 4) Deepen efforts to support First Peoples' stewardship.⁵⁰

We are encouraged to note

Reference 6 - 0.07% Coverage

Several speakers talked about their vision for the nctr. Georges Erasmus, former co-chair of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and then president of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, said, Those who become the keepers of the archives become stewards of human stories and relationships, of what has been an endowment to what will be. Because no legacy is enriched by counterfeit, a nation is ill served by a history which is not genuine. This is a high calling indeed and it must be said that too often the promise and the potential of this stewardship has gone unrealized.... If the stories of our people are not accessible to the general public, it will be as if their experiences never occurred. And if their voices are rendered as museum pieces, it will be as if their experience is frozen in time. What we need are open, dynamic, interactive spaces and participatory forms of narrative, knowledge, and research. This would be a fitting way to step into the twenty-first century and into a new kind of relationship.... The National Research Centre ought to be a treasure valued by all sorts of people.⁸¹

Charlene Belleau, a Survivor and

Reference 7 - 0.03% Coverage

church officials involved acknowledgement, apology, and promises not to repeat history. Some non-Aboriginal Canadians expressed outrage at what had happened in the schools and shared their feelings of guilt and shame that they had not known this. Others denied or minimized the destructive impacts of residential schools. These conflicting stories, based on different experiences, locations, time periods, and perspectives, all feed into a national historical narrative. Developing this narrative through public dialogue can strengthen civic capacity for accountability and thereby do justice

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

loss, isolation, recovery, healing, and hope through women's eyes. The sewing skills taught to young Aboriginal girls in the residential schools and passed along to their daughters and granddaughters are now used to stitch together a counter-narrative.⁵⁶
This project also inspired the

Reference 9 - 0.04% Coverage

promote critical thinking on past events by ensuring that memorialisation processes are complemented by measures fostering historical awareness and support the implementation and outreach of high-quality research projects, cultural interventions that encourage people's direct engagement and educational activities.... States should ensure the availability of public spaces for a diversity of narratives conveyed in artistic expressions and multiply opportunities for such narratives to engage with each other.... [States must also] take into consideration the cultural dimension of memorial processes, including where repression has targeted indigenous peoples.⁷⁹

Reference 10 - 0.05% Coverage

Yes, protests often meet the test of whether a story is 'newsworthy,' because they're unusual, dramatic, or involve conflict. Yes, Aboriginal activists, who understand the media's hunger for drama, also play a role by tailoring protests in ways that guarantee prominent headlines and lead stories. But, does today's front-page news of some traffic disruption in the name of Aboriginal land rights actually have its roots in a much older narrative—of violent and "uncivilized" Indians who represent a threat to 'progress' in Canada? Are attitudes of distrust and fear underlying our decisions to dispatch a crew to the latest Aboriginal blockade? Is there no iconic photo of reconciliation, because no one from the newsrooms believes harmony between Aboriginal peoples and settlers is 'newsworthy'?¹⁸

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

of the cpr [Canadian Pacific Railway] to the head tax and the Chinese Exclusion Act, ... the Chinese, along with Indigenous children, were secluded in the education system for so many years ... There's been a

constant narrative of systemic racism, exclusion, and exploitation.... I think [we need to talk about] remembrance, resistance, and reconciliation.⁶⁴

Becoming citizens In preparing to

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

18. Centre for Youth and Society, University of Victoria, "Residential Schools Resistance Narratives," report. To view the project videos, see Centre for Youth and Society, University of Victoria, "Residential Schools Resistance Narratives," video collection.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

Castellano, Marlene Brant, Linda Archibald, and Mike DeGagné. "Introduction: Aboriginal Truths in the Narrative of Canada." In *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, edited by Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald, and Mike DeGagné, 1–8. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008.

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

Centre for Youth and Society, University of Victoria. "Residential Schools Resistance Narratives: Significance and Strategies for Indigenous Youth." Research report prepared for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 27 March 2012.

Charelson, Estella, and Tsleil-Waututh

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

Canadian Roots Exchange. <http://canadianroots.ca>. Centre for Youth and Society, University of Victoria. "Residential Schools Resistance Narratives: Significance and Strategies for Indigenous Youth." Video collection, n.d. <http://youth.society.uvic.ca/TRC>.

Name: References to Story in TRC Reports

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada_The Survivors Speak> - § 14 references coded [0.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

n June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued an apology to the former students of Canada's Indian residential school system, calling it a "sad chapter in our history." That chapter is part of a broader story: one in which

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

In this volume, Survivors speak of their pain, loneliness, and suffering, and of their accomplishments. While this is a difficult story, it is also a story of courage and endurance. The first step in any process of national reconciliation requires us all to attend to these voices, which have been silenced for far too long. We encourage all Canadians to do so.

Justice Murray Sinclair Chair, Truth

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

efore the Survivor-initiated court case that led to the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, the Canadian residential school story has largely been told, to the extent that it has been told at all, through the documents and reports of the people

Reference 4 - 0.07% Coverage

were loved by our parents."

When I think back to my childhood, it brings back memories, really nice memories of how life was as Anishinaabe, as you know, how we, how we lived before, before we were sent to school. And the things that I remember, the legends at night that my dad used to tell us, stories, and how he used to show us how to trap and funny things that happened. You know there's a lot of things that are really, that are still in my thoughts of how we were loved by our parents. They really cared for us. And it was such a good life, you know. It, it's doing the things, like, it was free, we were free I guess is the word I'm looking for, is a real free environment of us. I'm not saying that we didn't get disciplined if we got, if we did something wrong, we, you know. There was that, but not, but it was a friendly, friendly, like a loving discipline, if you will.

Reference 5 - 0.04% Coverage

Ontario, 24 November 2010.1

I'm come from a long way, I came a long way. I'm from Great Lake Mistissini. That's where I was born in the bush. It was a pride for me to say that because I was born in the bush in a tent. It's something that remains in my heart going to the woods, living in the woods. It's in my heart. Before going to the boarding school, my parents often told me what they were doing in the woods when I was born. What they were doing, we were in camp with other families. The stories my father told us, my mother, too.

Bob Baxter.

— Louise Bossum, Statement

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

in the interior of British

Columbia. As he told the Commission, he learned the language from his father. "When you're in bed with Papa, and he tells you about your first story, and it's about how the chipmunk got his stripes, and it was so funny to me, you know that I asked him every night to say it again."⁶ Eva Lapage was born in Ivujivik, in northern Québec, in 1951.

Life before residential school • 5

Reference 7 - 0.12% Coverage

Life before residential school • 7

Piita Irniq was born near Repulse Bay, in what is now Nunavut. I lived in an igloo in the wintertime. A very happy upbringing with my family, and both my mother and father were very good storytellers, and they would tell legends, and they would sing songs, traditional, sing traditional Inuit songs. They would, my father in particular, would talk about hunting stories. My mother would sew all of the clothes that we had, you know, caribou clothing and things like that, sealskin clothing. I still wear sealskin clothing today, particularly my boots, you know, when I'm, I'm dancing, for example. So, my mother would sew, teaching my sister how to sew, so that she could become a very good seamstress when she grows up, or older. And in the meantime, I was apparently being trained to be a good Inuk, and be able to hunt animals for survival, caribou, seals, a square flipper, bearded seal, Arctic char, you know, these kinds of things, including birds. And I was also being told, or being taught how to build an igloo, a snow house. When I was a little boy, growing up to be a young boy at that time, my other memories included walking on the land with my father. My father was my mentor. He, he was a great hunter. So, I would go out with him on the land, walking in search of caribou, and I would watch him each time he caught a caribou, and I would learn by observing. As Inuit, I learned a long, long time ago that you learn by observation, and that's what I was doing as a little boy becoming a young man at that particular period of time.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

and attended the Poplar Hill,

Ontario, school in the 1980s. Stories were a large part of the education she received from her parents. They were stories that, you know, they, they taught us how, how to behave. You know they taught us our values. We even just, you know how, you know you hear stories

Reference 9 - 0.03% Coverage

dorm" at the Shubenacadie school.

Everybody wet the bed in that dorm you know and, and I heard horror stories about that dorm, but I don't know, I can't remember. Other than, taking our pyjamas and whatever we had and our sheets, to one pile, in the morning; and going for a shower. You know, just was like that for a whole year. I wet the bed, every day, like clockwork.¹⁹²

Mary Rose Julian said she

Reference 10 - 0.05% Coverage

Contact with parents • 107

And, the food we had the first day was a rabbit, a rabbit, and I couldn't eat it. I told my sister, "I can't eat this. This is Peter Rabbit. I can't eat Peter Rabbit," I told her, 'cause Peter Rabbit was our favourite story in our books there, and I couldn't eat Peter Rabbit. All the wildlife we had for about a month, Mom had to buy white man's food to feed me 'cause I couldn't eat our, our way of eating back home. I couldn't eat soup. I couldn't eat fish. I couldn't eat bannock. Couldn't eat nothing. I had to, so Mom had to get extra money to try and buy extra food just for me.³⁷⁸

Reference 11 - 0.09% Coverage

And one of the strangest things that happened in my life was our school principal was Halvar Jonson and Halvar Jonson called me into his office the next year and said, "If you don't—if you don't behave yourself, you don't push yourself to do better this year, then that's it. I don't want you in my school ever again." And I just said, "Okay." And he said, "Condition is, you're going to take drama." And I was like [laughs] "Drama, what are you talking about? Why?" And he said, "For—you'll probably benefit by looking at other people. And you'll probably benefit by pretending to be somebody else that you're not." And he said, "It'll do you some good for your own public speaking, it'll do you some good for your own confidence." And I was just, whatever. Long story short, when I graduated, my highest grades were in law and in drama. And those two things got me through. And I was even more shocked when I graduated and they gave me a scholarship and awards and recognized me for those things. And I forever thanked him for that because, had he not done that, I'd probably would've never, ever, as the saying goes, to walk in somebody else's moccasins. I did that.⁴³⁹

Reference 12 - 0.04% Coverage

in the 1940s. She was

among the first students to be sent to a local public school when the integration policy was implemented. It was just as unhappy an experience as residential school had been. "There we had horrific experiences because we were the savages ... we were taunted, our hair was pulled, our clothing torn, and we hid wherever we could, and didn't want to go to school. So, those kinds of stories are, are just as traumatic as what happened at residential school."⁴⁵⁶ Martina Therese Fisher lived in the Assiniboia residence in Winnipeg for three years.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

a priest at the Fort

Resolution school, she was told, "Don't make up stories. You're just making it up. They work for God, and they can't do things like that."585 Lorna Morgan said she was sexually molested by a female staff member at the Presbyterian school in Kenora. The

Reference 14 - 0.03% Coverage

can go to the show. We have to watch everything we do so we are really trying our best. Next thing we got our name again, for some little thing and we couldn't go to the show and ... but we remained close and that has kept us going and in our little group we always laughed, we always shared stories, we always talk Blackfoot, that made us feel better.686

Alphonsine McNeely said that on

<Files\\CANADA\\CANADA_TRC The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada _Volume 1A> - § 82 references coded [0.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

visited more than 300 communities, and heard testimony from thousands of witnesses. We heard of the effects of over 100 years of mistreatment of more than 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children placed in these schools. The Survivors showed great courage, conviction, and trust in sharing their stories, which, collected here, are now a part of a permanent historical record, never to be forgotten or ignored. The next chapter in this story, which begins with this report, is reconciliation.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission, we encountered thousands of Canadians who saw the wrongs of the past as an opportunity to do good for the future. Dozens of Honorary Witnesses joined us in listening to the stories of the Survivors and committed themselves to continue to bear witness into the future. The members of our Survivors Committee stood by our side as we went about this work, advising and supporting us as we listened. Cultural and health supports strove tirelessly to ensure we all worked in a safe and positive environment. We owe them a huge debt of gratitude. My colleagues, Commissioner Chief Wilton Littlechild and Commissioner Dr. Marie Wilson, and I have

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

public hearings was the necessity for the essential step of returning to spirituality through our languages, cultures, and land. We have all been guided in our journey by the seven universal gifts, sacred teachings towards having good relations or better relationships with mutual respect. In the many different ways we gathered stories in a safe setting, thank you to those who provided medical, cultural, and spiritual support. Also, to the many who prayed for us throughout the years, hai hai! Thank you. While there are many significant highlights, for me, four solutions for "making

things better" stand out. I

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

last half of the twen-

tieth century, their legacy remains: it is visible in the unequal distribution of global resources; in the civil wars that have marked the histories of many former colonies; and in the social, economic, educational, and health conditions of peoples whose lands have been colonized. On one day in February 2012, in the international news were stories of Malaysians protesting the opening of an Australian refinery in their country, the working conditions in an American computer plant in China, the killing of American soldiers in Afghanistan, the impact of tourism on Indigenous people in the Amazon, and controversy over British oil exploration in Somalia. Each of these stories is but the latest event in a worldwide story with an imperial pedigree.⁸ Canada is also the product of this history. It was initially colonized by the French Empire, and was one of

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

of the empire. Henrietta Marshall

wrote a series of history books that were used in schools throughout the British Empire. At the beginning of her 1908 history of the empire itself, *Our Empire Story*, she acknowledged, "The stories are not all bright. How should they be? We have made mistakes, we have been checked here, we have stumbled there. We may own it without shame, perhaps almost without sorrow, and still love our Empire and its builders."¹¹⁰ Throughout her works, Indigenous peoples are either savages or misguided children (although a Maori chief was "no ignorant savage, for the missionaries had taught him much").¹¹¹

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Canadian educator, identified the follow-

ing six categories into which Aboriginal people were still being slotted by Canadian textbooks. They could be spectators who were not part of the main story of Canadian history; exotic, savage warriors; uniquely spiritual people; members of the 'Indian problem'; protestors; or simply invisible.¹¹⁵ In short, much of Canadian

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

decisively to jail First Nations

leaders, disarm them, control their movements, limit the authority of their governments, ban their spiritual practices, and control their economic activities. It also chose to intervene decisively in family life through the establishment of residential schools. It was in 1883, the same year that the government cut rations on the Prairies, that the first of a series of residential industrial schools opened its doors, operated by a government-and-church partnership. Those schools, modelled on schools for delinquent and criminal youth, represented a betrayal rather than a fulfillment of the Treaty promises to provide on-reserve education. Their story is the darkest, longest, and most chilling chapter in the history of the colonization of Aboriginal peoples. The federal government's determination to have as cheap an Indian policy as possible, coupled with the church's drive to enrol and convert as many children as possible, meant that

the schools were sites of hunger, overwork, danger and disease, limited education, and, in tens of thousands of cases, physical, sexual, and psychological abuse and neglect.

Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

from former students from the years prior to the Second World War. A much smaller group of former students have left a record of their impressions, usually in the form of memoirs, magazine articles, biographies, and, in one case, a novel. Some of these works are well known; others have fallen out of print, and some were never published. Their authors are often among the more successful students. Several writers went on to become political activists, teachers, or church and community leaders. In some cases, their memoirs were collaborative efforts, so their voices are heard in filtered form. But, in spite of the filters, these writings provide an understanding of the early residential school experience that can be gained in no other way. Through them, many of the dominant themes of the residential school story emerge: the loneliness, the isolation, the hunger, the homelessness, the hard work, the harsh discipline, the imposition of an alien language and culture, and the poor health, disease, and death that haunted many schools. The writings also provide a reminder that Aboriginal leaders wanted to see their children gain the skills they would need to ensure survival of their communities. Those leaders also quickly recognized the failures of the residential school system and drew public attention to their concerns. Not all experiences were negative. Several of the writers went on to careers in religious ministry. Others had successful careers that built on the skills they acquired in school. None of these memoirs dealt directly with the issue of sexual abuse of students, but that does not mean that

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

When he was young, Nowell used to sleep sometimes beside my father. When I lie in bed beside him, he talked to me about our ancestors. He told me about my grandfather and his father and his father, and what they did, and about how our ancestors knew about the flood. He told me the story of one clan of the Kwekas: how the ancestor of this clan knew there was going to be a flood, and how he built a house made out of clay where he is going to live under the water while the flood is on.¹⁰
172 • Truth & Reconciliation Commission He also was told creation stories and of the Potlatches that had been given by his

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

on Haida Gwaii, British Columbia. Although his parents had converted to Methodism shortly before his birth, and were discouraged by the local missionary from telling traditional stories, Kelly grew up hearing the Haida legends from his family, and was able to retell them in his old age.⁴⁸ As a boy, Kelly resolved to be true to both his religion and his Aboriginal ancestry, a particularly difficult endeavour at a time when missionaries saw their task as one of stamping out Aboriginal cultural observance.⁴⁹ His first schooling was at

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

over food, as the smaller

boys often sold their food in advance. Using language evocative of the Biblical story of the hunter Esau, who was forced to sell his birthright for a bowl of lentils (pottage), Montour described the boys as "Little Indian Esaus," who were "forever selling their Food-Right for a mess of potage [sic]. The 'Thursday cookies' were bartered for a juicy apple in mid-afternoon, or for bits of Candy, with accretions from overall pockets."⁹² At mealtimes, a student might receive a secret message reminding him of the need to pay a food debt. ⁹³ Romances developed between the girls who were charged with milking the cows and the boys who were

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

became part of family legend.

He passed on stories of swimming, skating, lacrosse, soccer, and baseball (which lagged far behind soccer in popularity). The school organized brass bands, as well as dances, discussion groups, and debates. Some of the school's graduates were sent to the Hampton Institute in Virginia for further training in missionary and medical work. In her memoirs, Brass wrote that "those of us who are descendants of the pupils often wonder why this technical school and others like it were not kept open."¹¹⁴ Her parents were married at the File Hills boarding school. Principal Kate Gillespie and her sister Janet Gillespie, the school matron, made the wedding arrangements and baked the wedding cake. The married couple then moved to a property Dieter had been farming on the Peepeekisis Reserve, a reserve that would form the nucleus of the File Hills Colony for former residential school students.¹¹⁵ Although his accounts of his experiences in boarding and residential schools had been positive, Fred Dieter wanted

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

were portrayed as doing well.

Gilbert Bear, who had been taught the printing trade at the Battleford school, was often cited as an industrial school 'success story,' having gone on to work for the Ottawa Citizen. But, according to Benson, Bear was not making enough to pay for his board and clothing, and hated the night-shift hours he worked. When he was fired in a dispute over his hours, Benson helped him get his job back, but said Bear "would rather be back home on the reserve."¹³⁶ He accused the industrial schools of "trying to over-run the country with a lot of half-trained and half-educated

Reference 14 - 0.03% Coverage

program did not differ significantly

from what was being taught in public schools at that time. Despite the fact that in Standard 3, students were supposed to be taught "Stories of Indians of Canada and their civilization," it is highly unlikely that public schools in Canada were providing any real instruction on the topic of Aboriginal culture or accomplishment. Well into the twentieth century, Canadian textbooks, when they spoke of Aboriginal people at all, spoke of them largely in negative and stereotypical terms. A 1928 textbook, *A First Book of Canadian History*, described them as being "of a somewhat primitive type. They had not learnt the art of

making metal tools and utensils, but made use only of stone hatchets, flint arrow heads, and clay pottery. They had no knowledge even of such a simple invention as the wheel." The book's many stereotyped portrayals of Aboriginal people included a quotation from the French explorer Jacques Cartier that told students, "They can with truth be called savages, as there are no people poorer than these in the world; and I believe they do not possess anything to the value of five pennies, apart from their canoes or nets.... They are great thieves, and will steal all they can." Another textbook, *Building the Canadian Nation*, from 1942, described the hardships that missionaries underwent working with "wandering tribes who lived from hand to mouth in a condition of filth and often of privation almost beyond description." According to that book, "The Indian was attached to his superstitions, to his belief in magic, to his feasts and ceremonials which were often no better than wild orgies."²⁹
Based on their training or

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

available texts, residential school teachers
would have been hard-pressed to give meaningful instruction on "Indian civilization" or the "Stories of the Indians of Canada." The program stressed, "Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

patriotic maxims and thoughts.
History
Stories of Indians of Canada and their civilization.
Vocal Music Simple songs and

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

curriculum was to many students. Margaret Butcher realized when she was teaching the Biblical story of the Good Shepherd to her students at the Kitamaat, British Columbia, school that "not one child had ever seen a sheep."³⁶
After a visit to the

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

would indicate that the parents have considerable ground for complaint." In his opinion, First Nations people were "capable of holding their own in class-room and College halls," pointing to one former, unnamed, student who had been a gold medallist at the University of Manitoba. This student was, however, the rare exception, since the residential schools did not, in his opinion, allow most students to fulfill their potential. Few former students, for example, were capable of translating from Cree into English or vice versa. He ended with a story about one former student, who, when working as a church interpreter, rendered the Biblical passage "It is I; be not afraid" as "Hit him in the eye, don't be afraid."¹²³ Heron's speech described a system that separated parents and children, denied parents any role or say

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Clayton Mack's story is extreme, but it is a stark reminder that the residential schools were places of labour as

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

the Regina school included the principal's residence, brick veneered cottage hospital, frame, one story; carpenter instructor's cottage, frame, one story; trades building, frame, containing shoe-shops, printing office, hardware storeroom, paint-shop, carpenter-shop, with lumber-house attached; laundry building, frame, two story; two implement sheds; cow stable, frame; horse-stable, frame, with stone basement; hen-house, hog-pen and boiler-house attached; bake-shop, containing brick oven and grocery store-rooms; blacksmith shops, ice-house, containing cold storage room for meat; granary, root-house, pumping engine-house, garden tool-house, lumber-house, grain-crusher house, boys' outside closet and girls' outside closet.¹⁹ The students played a central

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

reported that at the Cranbrook school in 1898, the students had "a library of choice books, and delight in reading or listening to interesting stories."³⁸

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Arthur Barner, reported, "Libraries have been opened for girls and boys respectively, and have been very highly appreciated by the pupils, which is manifest by the fact that several of the children have read from six to twelve good-sized story-books each, during the winter."⁴⁷ Two years later, Barner wrote: Reading still continues to be one of the favourite forms of recreation. We have a reading-room for the boys and one for the girls, where current newspapers and magazines are kept on file. We keep adding good books to the library, which now contains considerably over one hundred volumes all systematically cared for.⁴⁸ At Hay River in the

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

gious works comprised a large portion of the books in these libraries. The Boy's Own Paper, for example, was a magazine published by the British Religious Tract Society. It featured adventure stories that stressed courage, cheerfulness, and Christian values.⁵⁴ It was just one example of an entire genre of children's and young people's literature that flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain and Canada. Novelists such as Rudyard Kipling, Ralph Connor (the pen name of Canadian Presbyterian minister Charles Gordon), and G. A. Henty wrote numerous adventure novels in which young boys proved themselves as men, usually through service to the British Empire. These books, along with Thomas

Hughes's *Tom Brown's School Days*, extolled the virtues of Christian manliness, and the benefits of membership in the empire.⁵⁵

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

appear to have been intended

for various audiences: the students, their parents, and church members—sometimes distant church members who would make donations to the school. Other than brief reports from students and coverage of school sports and recreational activities, much of the material in the papers provided religious instruction. For example, the story in the *Gazette*, the paper from the Anglican school at T'Suu Tina, Alberta, explained that "the idea of lent is that we should go into spiritual training. Having made a good start by self-examination, we set to work, so to speak to make a real effort to improve ourselves before Easter."⁶⁴

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

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tuberculosis is central to the story of health in residential schools, this chapter first examines the campaign to control tuberculosis in the Canadian population, and then reviews the disease's impact on Aboriginal people in general, and on those in residential schools in particular.

The background to the tuberculosis

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

report made national headlines. Saturday

Night magazine reviewed the statistics presented by Bryce and concluded, "Even war seldom shows as large a percentage of fatalities as does the educational system we have imposed on our Indian wards." The headline in the *Montreal Star* read "Death Rate Among Indians Abnormal." A similar story in the *Ottawa Citizen* concluded that the schools were "veritable hotbeds for the propagation and spread" of tuberculosis.¹⁹⁷ In releasing the report, Indian Affairs asked for comments from Indian agents and school principals. The Indian Affairs

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

The following

year, he wrote a brief pamphlet, *The Story of a National Crime: Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada*. It outlined his 1907 and 1909 reports, their recommendations, and how Deputy Minister Scott had thwarted his proposals.²²⁸

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Blood Reserve in

Alberta. He described the boys' dormitory at the Anglican school as "an old log building of two stories with low ceilings, unplastered and quite unfit for the purpose it is being used for. It was without exception

the worst building I was in on my travels and no time should be lost in replacing it." Of the Catholic school, he wrote, "The roof leaks and requires repairs, ventilation is deficient and there are no outside fire-escapes but plenty of staircases."²⁶
Sixteen years later, the building

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

the work in 1912, architect Robert Ogilvie reported that although the fire escapes had been installed, they should not have "finished at the lower story." While Ogilvie's note provides no additional information, it is likely that this means that the escapes did not go down to the ground.⁶⁶
Improvement at Mount Elgin—one

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

school noted that the fire escape was unsafe because it was too close to the school windows. According to the report, "if a fire should break out on the first or second story the escape would be cut off by the fire going out of these windows."⁷⁵ In September 1929, Indian Affairs inspector A. G. Hamilton reported that at the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school:
The fire escape from the

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Church school in Edmonton.¹⁴¹
principal requested that, instead of sending the boys to reform school, he be allowed to administer "a severe strapping" and keep them at the school. Indian Affairs approved the request, suggesting that the punishment be administered in the presence of the Indian agent, by either the parents or the principal.¹⁴² Indian Affairs recognized that stories about students burning down schools amounted to bad press. Indian

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

be improved."¹²³ improved.¹²⁴
Scott himself had issued instructions that the food at the school be It does not appear that a news story on the issue was ever published, despite the fact that the

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

bells played at that school:
I carry wood into the kitchen and bakery every day; when I finish there I go to the skating rink and sweep it. When I hear the big bell I come in and brush my hair; when the little bell rings I line up with the other

boys in the play-room and march in to school. I learn arithmetic, spelling, reading, to write stories from the 3rd

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

students was heartless. In 1903, missionary W. S. Moore of Mistawasis, Saskatchewan, wrote to the Presbyterian Church about the treatment of children at the Regina industrial school. In particular, he told of a girl who, having been shut in a room for running away, had tried to hang herself. Her teacher was able to save her; however, he then gave her a revolver and told her to shoot herself. She pulled the trigger, only to discover it was not loaded. Another runaway was "tied behind the buckboard and made to trot or run back to the school in the manner of an animal." Moore said the teacher in question had told both these stories to him and his wife.⁶⁹ In 1912 at the school at Round Lake, the matron, who was also the principal's wife, had struck a girl

Reference 35 - 0.02% Coverage

to another room and strapped him." The principal stated that after chastising the boy for his impudence, he had "caught hold of this boy by the collar and threw him across the room where he fell." He denied striking or kicking the boy, but acknowledged that when "the boy would not get up he had dragged him to another room where he had administered a strapping." The officer in charge of the Norway House detachment, D. C. Saul, wrote, "The accused took over as principal of the School last summer and different stories regarding his harshness to the pupils have been brought to my notice, this being the first one that action was taken on." The principal was acquitted of assault, but with a warning "to punish only with the strap." Officer Saul concluded his report by noting, "Assuming that the boy deserved a strapping for his impudence, I do not think that it warranted the abuse he received."¹⁹⁷
Strappings and confinement: Blue Quills

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

the initial round of punishment, and said he did not see any blood.²¹⁸ The story was reported in the local papers. When alarmed parents showed up at the school, Mackey prevented them from

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Forget accepted Fairlie's version of the story, although, in a letter to Indian Affairs Minister Clifford Sifton, he noted that a portion of Fairlie's defence was in fact "a qualified admission of certain of the statements made by Miss Applegarth." However, he concluded that these acts, "however imprudent they might be, had been free of any criminal intention."¹⁶ Apparently, Fairlie remained imprudent. Two years later, the St. Peter's Band Council submitted a petition complaining

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

As the investigation continued, other boys came forward with similar stories about this man, who, although he was not a staff member, lived at the school.⁴⁵

Complaints
also were registered about

Reference 39 - 0.02% Coverage

that truancy was a continuous issue for the Canadian residential schools. As noted in an earlier chapter, First Nations parents refused to enrol their children in industrial schools in the numbers needed to make the schools financially viable. Even after the government adopted laws that compelled parents to send their children to residential schools, many parents resisted. Those parents who did enrol their children often refused to force them to return to school after vacation. The schools themselves also had problems retaining children. Shingwauk Home principal E. F. Wilson, for example, devoted a chapter of his memoirs to the topic of "Runaway Boys." It included the story of three boys who tried to make their way home by boat in the mid-1870s. They were found over ten days later, stranded on an island in the north channel of Lake Huron.³ Students ran away for reasons that have been outlined in previous chapters: they were lonely and missed their

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian." It was, he wrote, the old story over again. The Indian does not want to do what he is told or follow regulations but must have his own way. Personally it is a matter of indifference to me whether the boy comes back or not, but I think it should be impressed upon the Indian that he cannot have his own way in matters concerning which the Department has set regulations.⁸⁴

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

the existing church-operated schools as "monuments of religious zeal and heroic self-sacrifice." He believed that because the religious schools were staffed mostly by missionaries, the government would gain access to a low-cost and highly effective labour force. In his mind, each school employee would be "an enthusiastic person, with, therefore, a motive power beyond anything pecuniary remuneration could supply."¹ The government accepted his advice. As a result, the story of the people who worked in the residential schools

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

alone operate a school.³³
Two stories, one from southern Alberta in 1899 and the other from the Yukon in 1929, provide insight into the

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

is now Alberta, British Columbia,

Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and northern Québec, wrote a lightly fictionalized memoir of her years at the schools, entitled "Hope." The protagonist, a young woman named Hope, worked in the same locations in which Topping worked. The events in the story follow closely on the events of Topping's own life. In the early 1920s, Hope worked briefly at an Anglican school in southern Alberta. Rapidly promoted to school matron, she was overwhelmed by the work. Eventually, she collapsed. She had worked too hard and her own health suffered. She was sent for a month's rest to Gleichen [in Alberta] where it was thought the work might prove easier, however her health had suffered too much, and after a few month's [sic] gland trouble developed, her tonsils were removed and she was given six months away from so much tb and infection.²⁰⁰

She recovered, took three years

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

"The story of the white man's invasion of the Canadian Northwest may be named by future historians as one of the blackest blots on the pages of Canadian history."⁴¹⁷

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

109. Césaire, *Discourses on Colonialism*, 41. 110. Marshall, *Our Empire Story*, n.p. 111. Marshall, *Our Empire Story*, 117–118. 112. Marshall, *Our Empire Story*, 118. 113. McDiarmid and Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice*, 45. 114. See: *Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Shocking Truth*. 115. Clark, "Representations of Aboriginal Peoples," 103–111. 116. Howe, *Empire*, 99–100, 123; Hobsbawm, *On Empire*, 4–5. 117. Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 111–112. 118. For Canada, see, for example: McMillan and Yellowhorn, *First Peoples*; for a global perspective, see: Coates, *A Global History*.

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50. Szasz, *Indian Education*, 169. 51. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 216–217. 52. Moorhouse, *Missionaries*, 33; Rompkey, *Story of Labrador*, 34, 36–39. 53. For example, see: Rutherford, *Women and White Man's God*; McPherson, "Head, Heart, and Purse"; Hall, "Professionalization of Women Workers."

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

31. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 170. 32. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 56–57. 33. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 117. 34. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 115. 35. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 120. 36. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 54. 37. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 157. 38. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 174–175. 39. White, "Carlisle Barracks Plan," *Indian Time*, <http://www.indiantime.net/story/2014/04/17/reader-submission/carlisle-barracks-plans-to-restore-indian-school-farmhouse/13640.html> (accessed 23 November 2014).

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174. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*

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191. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools*, 18. 192. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools*, 17. 193. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools*, 18. 194. *Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1907, 2:52–57. 195. Bryce, *Story of a National Crime*, 4. 196. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools*, 18. 197. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, *Saturday Night*, untitled editorial, 23 November 1907; *Montreal Star*, "Death Rate Among Indians Abnormal," 15 November 1907; *Ottawa Citizen*, "Schools and White Plague," 16 November 1907.

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223. *Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1913, 297. 224. *Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1913, 295. 225. *Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1913, 300. 226. Bryce, *Story of a National Crime*, 6–8. 227. Bryce, *Story of a National Crime*, 17. 228. Bryce, *Story of a National Crime*. 229. Wherrett, *Miracle of Empty Beds*, 105–106. 230. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4076, file 451868, J. D. McLean to O. I. Grain, 5 January 1914.

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If only for economic reasons, the government wished to shift its resources away from residential schooling to day schools. The churches were unwilling to give up the total control over the children that the residential schools had provided them. It would take decades to resolve that impasse. In the meantime, the residential schools would remain in operation. Another generation of First Nations students would pass through their doors, receiving the same substandard education that had been the hallmark of the first era of residential schooling, living in deteriorating buildings, and being underfed and overworked, harshly disciplined, emotionally neglected, and, far too often, sexually and physically abused. This story is the subject of the following chapters.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

the 1966 decision to close the school. In October 1969, a three-day meeting of representatives of all the school committees in the Saddle Lake/Athabaska District was held in St. Paul, Alberta. One of the committee members spoke of how there was a "story going the rounds that the Operating and dismantling the system

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

On December 22, 1955, the British United Press agency carried a story from Lillooet, British Columbia, with the headline "Indian Children 'Starved.'" According to the story, parents at Creek Side had complained that their children at the Williams Lake school "are being half starved." When the children returned home for the Christmas holiday, "they all had frozen hands, ears, faces and even feet. Some had to be taken to the hospital." As a result, parents were planning not to return their children to the school.¹⁰³ William Christie, the local Indian

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

the local Indian agent, demanded an apology from the news service, saying that while it was possible that such a story might have "originated with an irresponsible Indian," it should not have been broadcast until the reporter had checked with the school.¹⁰⁴ The news service did not apologize, but it did run stories quoting parents and school officials who disputed the original allegations.¹⁰⁵ Although the public-relations problem created by the news story had been resolved, the Williams Lake school

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

1970s, two brothers, aged eleven

and fourteen, from the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school had been referred to Dr. W. P. Kyne because of their disruptive behaviour. The doctor's comments showed considerable sympathy for the boys. He thought that they "would prefer to be at home on the reserve and both are attracted towards a life of hunting and fishing." Instead, they were being asked to conform to a life that they do not understand and do not desire. Without making a long story of this I will strongly advise that both children to be returned to their parents on the reserve where despite its hardships I feel they would at least be happy. Although it is with the best of intentions, I am sure, that they are in their present location I do not believe that they will ever be assimilated into the culture of the white man.²²³

By the following year, it

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

identified in a 1949 mem-

orandum by the chief of the Engineering and Construction Division, Department of Mines and Resources. The memorandum noted that in many residential schools, the fire exits could be reached only through the windows, with sills often four feet (1.21 metres) off the ground. For small children, simply getting over the windowsill could present a problem. Once they were out the window, the children usually would have to go down an iron pole. This was "impracticable for small children." The memorandum said that steel stairs did not offer a solution for situations where "small children must descend several stories under winter conditions."⁹⁰ could become blocked with snow or covered with ice.⁹¹

These uncovered escapes It was

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

students who ran away during

this period (from 1940 to 1998). His story has much in common with those of other students. He ran away because he was overworked; the journey he was undertaking was long and arduous; and he succeeded because he had the support of friends and family. Others were not so lucky. At least seventeen runaway students died, and many others were seriously injured. Indian Affairs was well aware of the fact that conditions at the schools drove students to run away. Underfunding of the schools intensified those pressures throughout much of this period. Officials were also well aware of the risks that students faced in running away—runaways had died in 1935, 1937, and 1939. By the 1940s, the federal government had yet to put in place clear, nationwide policies for the reporting of runaways, and for the measures that should be taken for their safe return. Shockingly, it would not be until 1971 that national policies were put in place.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

members of the non-Aboriginal

community about the Mount Elgin school. In 1944, R. W. MacDonald of St. Thomas, Ontario, returned a runaway boy to the school. The boy—the grandson of a man who worked for MacDonald—told him that he had been threatened by Strapp. In a letter to Indian Affairs, MacDonald wrote that if "half the boy's story is right," he was glad he was "not an Indian." It was time, he said, for an investigation of the

school.²⁰ There was no investigation. Instead, in 1944, Strapp was transferred to the United Church's school in Brandon, Manitoba.²¹
His troubles followed him. There

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

384 • Truth & Reconciliation Commission
overstepped the mark a little but I believe his story that the boys were running away and he said he had to make an example of them." Abusive behaviour was once again justified.¹⁰¹
Acting Superintendent of Education R

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

the Royal Canadian Mounted Police
about allegations that the principal of the Morley school had engaged in "misconduct" with female students. The allegations had been brought forward by a couple who said they had heard stories of events that had taken place several years earlier. A decision was made not to proceed with the investigation unless the couple would provide the names of either the parents or the students they believed had been victimized. In
418 • Truth & Reconciliation Commission
assessing

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

student with his crutch.³⁰³
Beauval The Gordon's school story is a clear example of government and church failure to hire qualified staff, and to

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

have been most encouraging.⁵
These four stories highlight many of the important themes revealed by a study of sports, recreation, and the arts

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

to hostel students in evenings.
Carcross Student Residence – Indian dancing is taught and Indian stories and legends are told by Indian staff for approximately one-half hour per week.¹⁷⁴
As the examples suggest, in

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

taught grades Three and Four

in Aklavik in the early 1950s, despaired at the books filled with stories about "going to the circus or going somewhere else that the kids had never seen." She decided to work with the students to develop stories based on their own experiences of the land and animals. The books developed by Hamilton and her students so impressed the school inspector that copies were sent to Ottawa to be considered in the development of new materials.³⁵⁵ Despite this important example of a more effective approach, it appears to be

exceptional. Generally, little effort was made to look into Aboriginal cultures for sources of stories and traditions that might actually reinforce the children's sense of Aboriginal identity and disrupt the historical aim of assimilation. During this period after the 1940s, some teachers were among the most frustrated with the imposition of such a foreign system. George Takashima simply gave up on the provincial curriculum for his students

and returned to basics. "After

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

school, Beverley Mitchell encouraged three

girls, who were depressed because they lost the ability to speak their own language, to tape-record their grandparents telling stories in their own language. Their parents translated the interviews and the girls wrote a paper based on those translations. They later went on to give a presentation about the paper at the University of Victoria.³⁷⁰ Some staff members recognized that students could be subjected to what amounted to cultural abuse. Betty

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

An Interpretive Study of Residential

School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nations Individuals. Based on interviews with thirteen former students, the study illustrated how Survivors described the trauma of the residential school experience, and discussed that trauma within an Aboriginal framework of healing.⁴¹

It concluded that "the traumatic

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

organized the Keykaywin Conference.⁴⁹

ence, participants shared stories of the sexual and physical abuse they had suffered. The conference resulted in the publication of written testimonies.⁵⁰

The Cariboo Tribal

In 1992

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

National Chief Fontaine noted that

the significance of this day is not just about what has been but, equally important, what is to come. Never again will this House consider us the Indian problem just for being who we are.... Brave survivors, through the telling of their painful stories, have stripped white supremacy of its authority and legitimacy. The

irresistibility of speaking truth to power is real.... This day ... signifies ... a respectful, and therefore, liberating relationship between us and the rest of Canada.¹⁹²

Mary Simon, President of the

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

apology by Prime Minister Stephen

Harper on behalf of Canada represent the culmination of years of political struggle, changes in societal attitudes, court decisions, and negotiation. Through it all, the Survivors kept the issue alive. Their victory deserves celebration. These events do not bring the residential school story to an end. The legacy of the schools remains. One can see

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Reference 1 - 0.08% Coverage

of the population in two

of the three northern territories, the per capita impact of the schools in the North is higher than anywhere else in the country. And because the history of these schools is so recent, not only are there many Survivors today, there are also many living parents of Survivors. For these reasons the intergenerational impacts and the legacy of the schools, both the good and the bad, are particularly strongly felt in the North. There were also northern institutions with unique histories in the overall residential school story. Grandin College in Fort Smith and the Churchill Vocational Centre in northern Manitoba—and the staff who worked in these schools—are often cited for the positive roles that they played in developing and encouraging a new generation of Aboriginal leadership in the North. The legacy of other schools, particularly Grollier Hall in Inuvik and Turquetil Hall in Igluligaarjuk (Chesterfield Inlet), is far darker. These schools were marked by prolonged regimes of sexual abuse and harsh discipline that scarred more than one generation of children for life. While the northern experience was unique in some ways, the broader themes

Reference 2 - 0.04% Coverage

for Aboriginal children, unlike anything

they had previously experienced. Bill Erasmus's great-aunt attended Fort Providence school after her mother died. She lived with Erasmus when he was a young man and told him of her life at the school. One story that stuck out was the treatment given one student who regularly wet her bed. "They'd get a tub of cold water, either cold water or very, very hot water, and make her sit in it, and they would hold her down, and they could hear the girl screaming and in pain."⁷⁹ Rita Arey's father, Arthur Furlong, attended the Anglican All Saints School in

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

first two floors of the school building were "not all that might be desired" since the "ceilings of the first two stories are low, the lighting is insufficient and ventilation poor." The third floor was seen as having "extremely good" lighting and ventilation and higher ceilings.¹²⁷ school was built in 1917,¹²⁸ but by 1924 it was

Reference 4 - 0.07% Coverage

their treatment at school might improve. Bill Erasmus's father was a student at Fort Resolution. He disliked the school and wanted to return home. He judged the school's disciplinary process to be cruel and unwarranted, and the food "very bad." According to the stories he told his son: In the fall time of the year the fish run, and they would gather these fish by the thousands, and we call them stick fish, where, where you put a stick through, through the fish, and then you hang 'em, and you can dry them, and then you preserve, they're preserved, so then you use them in the wintertime. And what has happened is if they didn't preserve them right, or if they didn't catch them right, or stockpile them, they would rot, and some of those fish were rotting, but they would still feed them to the kids, and they were forced to eat that. And he'd say they couldn't leave the table unless they ate it, and sometimes they, they'd have to stay there, you know, if someone was stubborn, or just couldn't force it down, they would make them stay all day, or however long it took to eat it.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

hills on pieces of frozen cardboard, berry-picking expeditions down the Mackenzie River on the school barge, raiding the principal's garden patch, and listening to other students tell scary stories in the dormitory after lights out. Some of these pleasures were risky—those caught raiding the garden were given a spanking while late-night storytellers had to stand in the corner.⁸ All the supplies from the South had to be brought in by boat down the Mackenzie River, which was frozen for

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

few things for me and we walked down to the dock together to wait for the mission schooner to come in and take me to school. I remember waving to him from the railing as The Immaculata pulled out into the bay and headed south towards Aklavik. I was crying. I didn't want to leave him. My dad wasn't home that much, but when he was, I was always with him, watching him work, listening to his stories."²⁴ When he arrived in Aklavik, the crewmen deposited him at the school. He saw the grey-habited nuns, heard their

Reference 7 - 0.08% Coverage

complaints from parents about the

school, Indian Superintendent Hawksley travelled to Carcross in early 1931. Hawksley prefaced his report with a typical example of the colonial mind at work, reminding his superiors that "reports and rumours carried by Indians are not always reliable. Some have really wonderful imaginations and can relate a very feasible story based on the very slimmest of facts." He did acknowledge that under the previous principal the school had undergone a decline in "cleanliness, discipline, deportment of the pupils, and care of the institution generally." But he had high hopes for the new principal, H. C. M. Grant. While Hawksley thought the students were well clothed, he did admit some problems in relation to diet. He believed there was enough food, but said, "The diet is not varied enough and the pupils tire of the sameness of the meals." Furthermore, he thought the "supervision of the pupils was not all that it should have been partly due to the school being understaffed and partly to the laxity of the late Principal who certainly did not understand the nature and characteristics of the Indians."³⁰ The enforcement of game regulations made it difficult for the principal to purchase moose meat in 1935. In

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

language southern curriculum for their Inuit students. For example, a teacher at the federal day school at Taloyoak helped her students create a booklet of stories written by students about their community, and a teacher in Arctic Bay wrote and sang songs about the local landscape.²²

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

in this adapted form, however, English was the dominant language, while the form of the songs and the stories remained Euro-Canadian: songs were sung in English and accompanied by guitar, and local stories were written in English and bound in books.²³ In 1967 the Oblate missionary J. M. Rouselière wrote that a recent visit to the North had done nothing to dispel my impression that no

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

we had no contact, with no more playing, sharing stories, and this is the point I really believe in my life that our once happy family began to break apart.³¹ The experience was painful for

Reference 11 - 0.03% Coverage

support. In notes that he took when he worked at Stringer Hall as supervisor in the mid-1960s, Rodney Clifton observed, "Often when a meal is over and the students are returning to their dorm, they put their arms around one another as they walk down the halls," and once in the dormitories, some of the younger boys would "often sleep together or lay in each others [sic] beds and tell stories."⁵⁵

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

Clifton, older boys would similarly talk late into the night: "The grade 11 and 12 students almost [n]ever slept together but they often would lay in each others [sic] beds and talk till late at night. They would relate stories of their ancestors, sexual experiences, hunting experiences and daily news."⁵⁶

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

Girls coming from the central Arctic had similar stories of being tormented by other girls. Peggy Tologanak said that Gwich'in as well as Inuvialuit girls teased her during her time at Stringer Hall. She remembers being called "dirty and stinking."⁶¹

Reference 14 - 0.07% Coverage

Inuvik were being fed frozen raw whitefish once a month and raw reindeer meat about once a month as well. Residence administrator Leonard Holman said that discontinuing the serving of raw foods, which he said was provided as a "special treat," would not cause any problems.⁷⁴ In a separate note, Holman questioned whether raw, frozen food was as dangerous as federal government officials claimed, pointing out 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." He also relayed the following 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 even wanting to drink. We have on our staff an Eskimo lady, Mrs. Annie Anderson, who comes from the Coppermine area and knows their dialect, so whenever there is sickness

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

had broken any specific rule, administrators imposed group punishments. "Once the entire boys' dormitory was put to bed immediately after dinner for a month—including movie nights—because they had not remained silent after lights out, and nobody would reveal who had been telling stories in the dark."¹⁴⁸

Reference 16 - 0.04% Coverage

Qikiqtarjuaq (Broughton Island), wrote, "We consider the teaching of English as a second language as the key issue in the northern curriculum." He said that he and another teacher had made considerable use of puppets in language lessons and had "written innumerable stories based on local happenings and myths and favorite children's stories as supplementary reading material." Larson was emphatic about the need to develop a northern-oriented curriculum, stating, "It is not enough to ape the southern curriculum with a few adaptations."²⁵ The decision to have the hostels operated by local Inuit rather than a white supervisor from the South was

Reference 17 - 0.10% Coverage

we need a 16-bed

pupil residence in Cambridge Bay?" When told that the previous residence had burned down, Pearson responded, "That is good. Who attends it? Why would we have a 16-bed pupil residence in Cambridge Bay?" The explanation was that the hostel was needed for the children of families that were "living off the land, in particular the people in the Bathurst Inlet."⁵⁰ As this period drew to an end, Aboriginal political leaders became more explicit in their criticisms of the residential school system. One of the first to speak out in the North was Aivilik mla Piita Irniq. On March 4, 1991, he told the legislature that "too much remains untold by the Government of Canada, and even by the Government of the Northwest Territories. I truly feel that Inuit who were assimilated have a right to know the blunt truth." He spoke of the "failure of a policy of the government, the result of which is the terrible damage to the preservation of our language, culture, values and the alienation of generations of Inuit peoples of the North." He called on the territorial government to take up the cause of the residential schools: "I would urge this government not to stall any further to have the Canadian government state their position on the residential school era so that many of us, former students and parents, can begin to deal with the emotional trauma which follows this era. We need to know what the real story is."⁵¹

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

in Arctic Québec (Nunavik) and

Labrador await further research and investigation. The following pages are meant as an outline of a story still to be told.

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Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

R 1 Student lives T

o demonstrate the variety and complexity of the Métis residential school experience, we start with the story of three former students. These stories demonstrate that there was no single route for Métis children into residential schools, or a single experience. For Madeline Bird, the school served as a child-welfare facility when crisis struck her family. Maria Campbell's family was split over the decision to place her in a residential school. Her stay in a residential school was brief and unpleasant, but, as her memoir makes clear, the public schools that she attended treated her and her siblings in a racist and humiliating fashion. James Gladstone attended both a boarding school and an industrial school. He was subject to disease, witnessed the death of a friend that he attributed to inadequate medical attention, and spent much of his time at school doing chores or working in the school's print shop. Ironically, residential schooling contributed to a strengthening of his Aboriginal identity. He learned Aboriginal languages and cultural traditions from other boys, and, later, he would play a leadership role in Canadian Aboriginal life, eventually serving in the Canadian Senate. These stories only hint at the intricacy of the Métis residential school story. Madeline Bird was born Madeline Mercredi on Potato Island near Fort Chipewyan in what is now Alberta

Reference 2 - 0.22% Coverage

admission rules, and their inconsistency, on Aboriginal family structure can be seen in the story of the family of Thomas Desjarlais, a Métis man originally from Manitoba. In the 1880s, he was living in Lebret, Saskatchewan, and had married a Métis woman from the Dakota Territory. His brother and sister were living as Treaty Indians on the nearby Muscowequan Reserve, while his wife's sister and husband were also Treaty Indians, living at the File Hills agency. Because Thomas Desjarlais and his wife wished to see their oldest daughter, Rosine, go to school, they arranged to have her adopted into her maternal aunt's family. On this basis, she was able to attend the Qu'Appelle school. There, according to family lore, she learned to speak several Aboriginal languages from other students, although, in later life, she downplayed her Aboriginal heritage and rarely spoke any of these languages.²⁴ Those provincial governments that recognized an obligation to Métis children began buying space for them

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

potential cause of blindness.³
Such stories generated public sympathy towards the Métis

Reference 4 - 0.09% Coverage

school after holidays as emotionally

wrenching: "We stayed there the best part of two months. At the middle of August we had to come back to school again, and, I just cried! I never found it easy to leave home. Never! I went home for the summers of '22 and '23 and then I didn't go back home again."⁸ One former Métis student's story provides a vivid account of arrival at a residential school in Alberta in the mid-twentieth century.

The first day that I

Reference 5 - 0.05% Coverage

that Mike Durocher, who had been abused, said he was expelled at age fifteen for putting up posters that identified abusers. The principal called him a liar, and his parents and grandparents refused to believe his story.³¹

Robert Derocher said that some

Reference 6 - 0.05% Coverage

nun who showed him kindness.

I poured out my story to this understanding nun about my confused feelings, being a non-person with white skin, even though I was an Indian. At that she put her arm around me and assured me that I was a very important person to her,

Reference 7 - 0.05% Coverage

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Reference 1 - 0.03% Coverage

report in relation to the 24%, writing that "of a total 1,537 pupils reported on nearly 25 per cent are dead." Bryce returned to the topic in his 1922 booklet *The Story of a National Crime*, in which he wrote that, according to his 1907 report, "24 per cent. of all the pupils, which had been in the schools were known to be dead, while of one school on the File Hill reserve, which gave a complete return to date, 75 per cent. were dead at the end of the 16 years since the school opened."¹²

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

anybody to live" in.¹¹³

The story of the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school illustrates the long decline that schools had undergone during the

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

during the past winter."¹¹⁸

became ill from an outbreak of intestinal influenza at the school in 1939.¹²⁰ Furnaces were often inadequate. There were stories of teachers wearing fur coats in class and of cups of

Reference 4 - 0.06% Coverage

identified in a 1949 memorandum by the chief of the Engineering and Construction Division, Department of Mines and Resources. The memorandum noted that in many residential schools, the fire escapes could be reached only through the windows, with sills often four feet (1.2 metres) above the floor. For small children, simply getting over the windowsill could present a problem. Once out the window, the children would usually have to go down an iron pole. This was "impracticable for small children." The memorandum said that steel stairs did not offer a solution for situations where "small children must descend several stories under winter conditions." These uncovered escapes could become blocked with snow or covered with ice. It was recommended that schools install either fully enclosed and accessible fire-escape towers that would contain stairways, or enclosed steel chutes.³³⁴

This report could have served

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

Indian Affairs official G. H.

Marcoux spoke to the parents, to one of the boys, the principal, a police officer, and a doctor named Bjoranson. The parents said the beating had left marks on the boys' genitals, while the doctor and police officer said that the marks were limited to the backs of their legs and buttocks. Marcoux wrote, "Mr. Rusaw may have overstepped the mark a little but I believe his story that the boys were running away and he said he had to make an example of them."⁴⁸⁹

concluded that neither the "manner

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Introduction T

he closing of residential schools did not bring their story to an end. The legacy of the schools continues to this day. It is reflected in the significant educational, income, and health disparities between Aboriginal people and other Canadians—disparities that condemn many

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

opportunity to gain understanding.³³

Survivors tell their stories The residential schools failed to protect Aboriginal children from abuse, but so did many child welfare agencies. The

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

Commission began gathering statements from Survivors, Tricia Logan was one of the only researchers to collect stories, memories, and oral histories from Métis Survivors of residential schools. Survivors frequently told her of their experiences as outsiders in "Indian schools."²¹⁶ The more "Indian" a Métis child appeared, the more likely that he or she would

be forced into a residential

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

connections to our culture. 220

Métis Elder Deborah Dyck recounted her story of attending Cranberry Portage school in Manitoba as a

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

just a bad dream." 224

His tragic story brought public attention to the experience of many Aboriginal children

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

of Métis peoples in Canada,

Métis peoples are an extended family. In upholding the extended family, the role of Métis women will be critical, since "women are the teachers" who keep family information, stories, inspire the work ethic, and "look after the spiritual needs and knowledge of the family."²⁴² Métis who were involved with residential schools or the child welfare system will

need supports to ensure that they can reconnect with their traditions and "to recover what has been stolen in terms of their family stories, their cultural identity, and their ancestral pride."²⁴³

It is not only the

Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

the residential school system, can-

not be simply willed to an end. We must ensure that Aboriginal parents, families, and communities have the resources they need to overcome the trauma of how they have been treated in residential schools and in broader society. The story of Canada's child welfare institutions and Aboriginal peoples suggest that the lessons of the residential schools have not yet been learned. A renewed approach to child welfare, based upon the Touchstone of Hope principles of self-determination, holistic response, respect for culture and language, structural interventions, and non-discrimination, can be a starting point to reversing the harmful legacy of the residential schools upon Aboriginal children and bringing about reconciliation.

Recognizing and prioritizing actions to redress the present and growing crisis of Aboriginal overrepresentation in the Canadian

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

the schools failed as edu-

cational institutions. Many Aboriginal students who attended residential schools were so ill-served there that they later struggled to succeed, either in furthering their education, or in the market economy, or in more traditional activities such as hunting and fishing. They were, as the Survivor John Tootoosis famously

observed, “left hanging” between two worlds.⁵ Theirs is a story of marginalization and lost opportunity. The residential schools graduated few role models and

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

Shirley Leon told the Commission, I was one of the first students from the Okanagan band that was integrated in the 1950s, into the public schools ... We had horrific experiences because we were the savages, we were taunted. Our hair was pulled, our clothing torn, and we hid wherever we could, and didn’t want to go to school. So, those kinds of stories are, are just as traumatic as what happened at residential school. Leon told the Commission that

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

scholar Leroy Little Bear notes that language, songs, stories, and ceremonies are the repositories of knowledge. He states that “knowledge, from an Indigenous perspective, is the relationships one has to ‘all my relations,’” which he says includes “everything in creation.”¹³³

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

the student’s lessons in the cultures, the land, the history, and the stories of their communities. These connections are emphasized in every subject from the study of language to mathematics to social studies and science. Such an approach allows Elders to play a role in Aboriginal education. Academically qualified teachers can work with

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have stressed the pain caused to them from this loss of their very identity. It is their stories that have guided the work of the Commission. In the words of Elder Shirley Williams, “Language and culture cannot be separate from each other—if they are, the language only becomes a tool, a thing ... Our language and culture are our identity and tell us who we are, where we came from and where we are going.”⁹ In this chapter, the Survivors explain how the loss of languages led to a loss of identity and ultimately brought Aboriginal

Reference 13 - 0.05% Coverage

to understanding what was lost, or stolen, or deemed “evil” in the residential school system. The culture that the children were forced to abandon covered everything from the basics of food and clothing and family to their essential understanding of home and history to the most sacred— their stories and their spirituality. Mary Siemans

explained the connection between language and culture: Our Dogrib language ... identifies us as a people in a unique culture within the land we occupy. Our language holds our culture, our perspective, our history, and our inheritance. What type of people we are, where we came from, what land we claim, and all our legends are based on the language we speak. Our culture depends on our language, because it contains the unique words that describe our way of life. It describes name places for every part of our land that our ancestors travelled on ... Rules which govern our lives bring stability to our communities, and our feast days, which bring people together, are all inter-related within our language. Losing our language will not only weaken us as a people but will diminish our way of life because it depend so much on our language.¹⁶

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Peoples similarly noted the connection between Aboriginal languages and what it called a "distinctive world view," rooted in the stories of ancestors and the environment:
For Aboriginal people, the threat

Reference 15 - 0.06% Coverage

to tell them that recovering their stolen cultures can assist them on their healing journey. They know this from their own experiences. Isabelle Knockwood, who attended the Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia, writes of recovering spirituality: "Many of us have returned to a traditional path as the source of our strength ... Some of us have come to realize that we were abused not only physically but spiritually. For us, the Native Way with its Sacred Circle and respect for all living things is a means of healing that abuse."¹¹¹ The Commission heard many stories from Survivors about their early experiences with Aboriginal language and how learning language connected them to family and to place. Paul Stanley talked about this connection at the Commission's community hearing in Deroche, British Columbia: When you're in bed with papa, and he tells you about your first story, and it's about how the chipmunk got his stripes, and it was so funny to me, you know that I asked him every night to say it again, you know, and, and, and these things helped, too. And if I didn't know a word, he'd let me know ... And so that's how language is taught at home, in my place ... And it's not by a desk or anything like that, which is okay, you know, other systems work anyway, but that's how we started, so that was my life, you know, like to learn the language, and maybe a bit of culture.¹¹²

Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

- documentation of the language and the stories of the Elders;
- Inuktitut radio and television programming;
- widespread teaching of literacy skills and use of Inuktitut in the print media;
- the training and utilization of Inuit teachers;
- production of Inuktitut language materials;
- cultural-based activities for children on the land and in school; and
- a variety of community-based projects aimed at promoting and strengthening the use of the language in the home and community.

Reference 17 - 0.05% Coverage

There is a need for Canada's Aboriginal peoples to pursue their own language policies in a way that is appropriate for their own distinct situations. rcap outlined a very practical approach to preserving and strengthening Aboriginal language, proposing an eight-stage process for language revitalization, with use of languages in government as only the seventh and eighth phases. It emphasized the importance of the communities themselves reconstructing language, mobilizing older fluent speakers, restoring intergenerational transmission through families and community. The stories, the songs, the languages that we learn from our families as children influence how we go on to live in the world. This nurturing role in the transmission of beliefs was taken from Aboriginal parents when their children were forced into residential schools. That role must be restored and honoured. The Commission has been convinced by the testimonials from Survivors, as well as by the social science evidence, that the best way to restore Aboriginal languages and cultures is by ensuring that families and communities are the focal point for learning.

134 • Truth & Reconciliation Commission There

Reference 18 - 0.04% Coverage

that these obligations are affirmed in the Canadian Constitution and in numerous legal precedents. Canada is also a signatory to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, a document that clearly sets out obligations that the Government of Canada has to make reparations for past policies, and to address the current policy and funding failures and inadequacies. While the Commission heard many painful stories about the direct and intergenerational harm caused by the loss of language and culture, the Commissioners were heartened by the many stories we heard of resistance, resilience, and recovery. We are convinced that reconnection with Aboriginal languages and cultures will have important healing effects. Such initiatives will also increase the social and intellectual capital of Canada by preserving Aboriginal languages. As the 2005 Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures noted, the ultimate responsibility lies with Aboriginal people: Canada cannot speak our languages

Reference 19 - 0.04% Coverage

impressionable years, that they, and their parents and their ancestors, were subhuman. Aside from the physical and mental damage these students bore, they were the first to bear what was to become a multigenerational affliction, one that would affect the ability of Aboriginal peoples to embrace their languages, their cultures, and their trusted traditional healing practices. In this way, the residential school system was an attack on the health of generations of Aboriginal peoples, an attack first made visible by the physical scars of sickness and abuse, but also one that continues to punish Aboriginal peoples with a legacy of marginalized lives, addiction, mental health, poor housing, and suicide. Ruby Firth shared her story with the Commission. She attended the Stringer Hall Anglican hostel, a residence for

Reference 20 - 0.04% Coverage

two-spirited students that were at the Hobbema, Alberta, school have lived to tell their stories. Some "went to the streets," and "most of them died very early," at least two to suicide. He stated, "I've heard through the years that the residential

school made people homosexual ... Nothing could be further from the truth. Residential school made institutional homosexuals; true. But it did not create who we are as two-spirited people. 'Cause that— who we are—was there way before we went in." He also commented on what he saw as the particular vulnerability of two-spirited people in residential schools: "You might as well put a woman into a man's prison. You're left as a target ... For me to survive to, to be sixty-two, it's a miracle for me.... But for the first ten years after leaving that school, it was, there was a lot of things that went on, and I never went home."⁴⁹

Reference 21 - 0.05% Coverage

to the need for change:

We as Indigenous peoples must be the authors of our own stories. It is necessary to interrupting the racism that reduces our humanity, erases our histories, discounts our health knowledge and practices, and attributes our health disparities and social ills to individual and collective deficits instead of hundreds of years of violence, marginalization and exclusion. The stories shared here describe the ways in which racism has shaped the lives of generations of Indigenous peoples and contributed towards our contemporary health disparities. It is time for stories of change: change in how we imagine, develop, implement and evaluate health policies, services and education, change in how we talk about racism and history in this country. This is fundamental to shifting what is imagined and understood about our histories, our ways of knowing and being, our present and our future, and to ensuring the health and well-being of our peoples for this generation and generations to come.¹⁰²

Recent failures of government action

Reference 22 - 0.02% Coverage

national twenty-four-hour toll free Indian Residential School Crisis Line and provides funding to local Aboriginal organizations for the provision of mental health services. This includes the services of Elders and/or traditional healers.¹¹² A story told by a participant at the Shingwauk school reunion in Sault Ste. Marie demonstrated how frightening it can be for those reaching out for help for the first time:

So I called that number

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

will maintain her professionalism."¹⁹⁰

A place for Aboriginal people and principles The stories that Survivors have told the Commission have convinced us that traditional healing practices and involvement

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

A

local rcmp officer was present for the initial round of punishment, and said he did not see any blood.⁹ The story was reported in the local papers. When alarmed parents showed up at the school, Principal J. P

Reference 25 - 0.05% Coverage

in the 1990s were almost invariably mounted in response to organized efforts on the part of the former students themselves.¹⁹ The stories of these investigations are described in greater detail in the history volumes of the Commission's Final Report: Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939; and Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000. Those early convictions carry important legal weight. They demonstrate that the abuses at the residential school were recognized as criminal offences at that time, which casts doubt on officials' later assertions that they were unaware that such abuses were criminal in nature. Even if students were not the immediate victims of abuse, they were victims of collateral violence, for they often witnessed or otherwise became aware of the abuse. Memories of violence and abuse stayed with Survivors decades after they left the schools. Doris Young recalled a child being killed in the residential school in Elkhorn, Manitoba:
I remember was, there

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

truth and re-victimized Survivors.
Bishop Hubert O'Connor The story of the prolonged and ultimately failed prosecution of Hubert O'Connor reveals much about the limits

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

indecent assault conviction seems inordinately light, given that it involved an abuse of power against a young girl who was a student at the school. However, the story didn't end there. O'Connor immediately appealed the two convictions. He sought but was denied bail. 55
He renewed the request for

Reference 28 - 0.03% Coverage

recognized the legal validity of Aboriginal title but was divided on the question of whether it still existed in British Columbia. It was a landmark case in more ways than one. It represented not only a shift in legal thinking; it also caused Aboriginal leaders and their advisers to think about the possibility that perhaps the courts, under the leadership of the Supreme Court, were prepared to rethink some of their earlier limiting legal precedents. Subsequent decisions have affirmed that confidence, but there was little reason for any confidence in the early years. At one level, residential school litigation could be defined as a success story because it produced the largest class

Reference 29 - 0.02% Coverage

that, although he received some

Common Experience Payment, he had been unable to access the iap process with respect to sexual abuse suffered while going to school in Ottawa. They told me that wasn't a residential school and they can't help me ... I wrote down my story of what happened to me in Ottawa. I gave all my school records to the lawyer and he told me "The place you stayed in Ottawa was not a residential school so we can't help you."¹²⁵

Litigation has been commenced on

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Fort Simpson that the money doesn't recreate society, it doesn't recreate extended family and everything it stood for. You can't recreate intergenerational knowledge that was taken from our people. You know I'll never get those stories now; yeah from my grand-

Reference 31 - 0.03% Coverage

outright. Darlene Thomas told us that after a "two-part" iap hearing, "one before Christmas and finished it in January," she was denied. Thomas explained, They said it, it could not be true ... I haven't even got a written document. The only thing that I got was I got an email from my lawyer saying they denied me, that they didn't believe me ... I went home and I gathered up all of my residential school documents and I went up to the mountain and I burned it. I said this is my story, this is what happened to me. And I don't give a shit who believes me or who doesn't.¹³⁴

The overrepresentation of Aboriginal people

Reference 32 - 0.05% Coverage

courts in Canada make clear connections between residential schools, fasd, and criminal offences. One particularly dramatic case involves C. L. K., a twelve-year-old Aboriginal girl in Manitoba who pleaded guilty to committing manslaughter as part of an unprovoked and severe fatal beating of a stranger who would not give cigarettes to her group. The judgment referred to a pre-sentencing report that indicated that the girl was one of seven children of parents who are "themselves victims, having suffered from their experience in foster homes and residential schools." The parents were described as incapable of parenting and this was clearly the case. The entire family had been involved with Child and Family Services since 1987 when the children were apprehended due to abandonment and parental alcohol abuse. The report described the family as in crisis: Of C. L. K.'s six siblings, four are known to Correctional Services and two have had gang involvement. C. L. K. herself has gang affiliations. As an example of the total absence of parental guidance the report refers to C. L. K.'s story about how she was first introduced to crack cocaine. She apparently bought the highly

Reference 33 - 0.03% Coverage

a shy sixteen-year-old

Aboriginal girl stood before the cameras at a meeting of the Assembly of First Nations in Winnipeg. She held an eagle feather and, though she spoke quietly, millions heard what she had to say. The story of the savage attack she had endured barely a month earlier had caught the attention of the country—as did the fact that she chose to make such a public appeal. Her name is Rinelle Harper. In early November, two men assaulted her, beat her, and left her for dead on the banks of the Assiniboine River in Winnipeg. That she survived the attack is a testament to her strength. The story of Rinelle Harper is but one part of a sweeping history of Aboriginal women and girls who are

Reference 34 - 0.03% Coverage

Helen Betty Osborne would not have been killed if she had not been Aboriginal. The four men who took her to her death from the streets of The Pas that night had gone looking for an Aboriginal girl with whom to “party.” They found Betty Osborne. When she refused to party she was driven out of town and murdered. Those who abducted her showed a total lack of regard for her person or her rights as an individual. Those who stood by while the physical assault took place, while sexual advances were made and while she was being beaten to death showed their own racism, sexism and indifference. Those who knew the story and remained silent must share their guilt.³²⁷

Reference 35 - 0.02% Coverage

small northern Saskatchewan community of Molanosa. Talking of her childhood at home with alcoholic parents she said, “I remember playing with dolls, and they’d be inside drinking. When they started getting loud that’s when I knew, dad bought something again ... so I started drinking that wine, me and my little brother.”³³⁶ She was also in the residential school system. In a graphic novel of her story, she says that she was sexually

Reference 36 - 0.02% Coverage

for many Indigenous women and girls interviewed for this report, abuses and other indignities visited on them by the police have come to define their relationship with law enforcement.”³⁷¹ Human Rights Watch was told stories of excessive use of force, racist and sexist verbal abuse, cross-gender searches, and sexual and physical abuse by police officers.

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Reconciliation Commission Sports and Reconciliation

87) We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, sports halls of fame, and other relevant organizations, to provide public education that tells the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history.

Reference 38 - 0.02% Coverage

329. Oppal, *Forsaken*, 1:52. 330. Oppal, *Forsaken*, 1:63. 331. Oppal, *Forsaken*, 2A:124. 332. Oppal, *Forsaken*, 2A:63, 124. 333. Oppal, *Forsaken*, 1:42. 334. Oppal, *Forsaken*, 2A:121. 335. Burnouf, "Marlene Bird," APTN. 336. CBC News, "Illustrations Tell Story of Marlene Bird." 337. CBC News, "Illustrations Tell Story of Marlene Bird." 338. Canadian Press, "Winnipeg Police Officer Suspended," *The Star* (Toronto). 339. Jacobs and Williams, "Legacy of Residential Schools: Missing and Murdered Women," 127, 132–133.

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347. Native Women's Association of Canada, *What Their Stories Tell Us*, 24–27. 348. Native Women's Association of Canada, "Fact Sheet: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women and Girls," 3. 349. Native Women's Association of Canada, *What Their Stories Tell Us*, 31. 350. Native Women's Association of Canada, *What Their Stories Tell Us*, 27. 351. Canada, House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women, *Ending Violence against Aboriginal Women and Girls*, 11–12. 352. Canada, House of Commons

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Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

sponsored by the trc, Anishinaabe

Elder Mary Deleary spoke about the responsibility for reconciliation that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people carry. She emphasized that the work of reconciliation must continue in ways that honour the ancestors, respect the land, and rebalance relationships. I'm so filled with belief and hope because when I hear your voices at the table, I hear and know that the responsibilities that our ancestors carried ... are still being carried ... [E]ven through all of the struggles, even through all of what has been disrupted ... we can still hear the voice of the land. We can hear the care and love for the children. We can hear about our law. We can hear about our stories, our governance, our feasts, [and] our medicines.... We have work to do. That work we are [already] doing as [Aboriginal] peoples. Our relatives who have come from across the water [non-Aboriginal people], you still have work to do on your road.... The land is made up of the dust of our ancestors' bones. And so to reconcile with this land and everything that has happened, there is much work to be done ... in order to create balance.⁵

At the Victoria Regional Event

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

ways that are different from the victims, but both groups require healing.... How can a conversation about reconciliation take place if all involved do not adopt an attitude of humility and respect? ... We all have stories to tell and in order to grow in tolerance and understanding we must listen to the stories of others.⁷

Over the past five years

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

said, "I'm quite happy to be able to share my story.... I want the people of Canada to hear, to listen, for it is the truth.... I also want my grandchildren to learn, to learn from me that, yes, it did happen."¹⁵
Another descendant of Survivors, Daniel

Reference 4 - 0.08% Coverage

trc events, some thought it was most important to hear directly from Survivors, even if their own perspectives and memories of the schools might differ from those of the Survivors. At a Community Hearing in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Merle Nisley, who worked at the Poplar Hill Residential School in the early 1970s, said, I think it would be valuable for people who have been involved in the schools to hear stories personally. And I also think it would be valuable, when it's appropriate ... [for] former students who are on the healing path to ... hear some of our stories, or to hear some of our perspectives. But I know that's a very difficult thing to do.... Certainly this is not the time to try to ask all those former students to sit and listen to the rationale of the former staff because there's just too much emotion there ... and there's too little trust ... [Y]ou can't do things like that when there's low levels of trust. So I think really a very important thing is for former staff to hear the stories and to be courageous enough just to hear them.... Where wrongs were done, where abuses happened, where punishment was over the top, and wherever sexual abuse happened, somehow we need to courageously sit and talk about that, and apologize. I don't know how that will happen.¹⁹
Nisley's reflections highlight one of

Reference 5 - 0.07% Coverage

stark reminder that there are no easy shortcuts to reconciliation. That there were few direct exchanges at trc events between Survivors and former school staff indicates that for many the time for reconciliation had not yet arrived. Indeed, for some, it may never arrive. At the Manitoba National Event in 2010, Survivor Evelyn Brockwood talked about why it is important to ensure that there is adequate time for healing to occur in the truth and reconciliation process. When this came out at the beginning, I believe it was 1990, about residential schools, people coming out with their stories, and ... I thought the term, the words they were using, were truth, healing and reconciliation. But somehow it seems like we are going from truth telling to reconciliation, to reconcile with our white brothers and sisters. My brothers and sisters, we have a lot of work to do in the middle. We should really lift up the word healing.... Go slow, we are going too fast, too fast.... We have many tears to shed before we even get to the word reconciliation.²²
To determine the truth and to tell the full story of residential schools in this country, the trc needed to

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

long dealt with conflicts and harms by using spiritual ceremonies and peacemaking practices, and by retelling oral history stories that reveal how their ancestors restored harmony to families and communities. These traditions and practices are the foundation of Indigenous law; they contain wisdom and practical guidance for moving towards

reconciliation across this land.²⁴ As First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities access and revitalize their spirituality, cultures, languages, laws, and

Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

Indigenous nation across the country, each with its own distinctive culture and language, has kept its legal traditions and peacemaking practices alive in its communities. Although Elders and Knowledge Keepers across the land have told us that there is no specific word for reconciliation in their own languages, there are many words, stories, and songs, as well as sacred objects such as wampum belts, peace pipes, eagle down, cedar boughs, drums, and regalia, that are used to establish relationships, repair conflicts, restore harmony, and make peace. The ceremonies and protocols of Indigenous law are still remembered and practised in many Aboriginal communities. At the trc Traditional Knowledge Keepers Forum in June 2014, trc Survivor Committee member and Elder Barney

Reference 8 - 0.08% Coverage

Commission that Indigenous peoples' worldviews, oral history traditions, and practices have much to teach us about how to establish respectful relationships among peoples and with the land and all living things. Learning how to live together in a good way happens through sharing stories and practising reconciliation in our everyday lives. When we talk about the concept of reconciliation, I think about some of the stories that I've heard in our culture, and stories are important.... These stories are so important as theories but at the same time stories are important to oral cultures. So when we talk about stories, we talk about defining our environment and how we look at authorities that come from the land and how that land, when we talk about our relationship with the land, how we look at forgiveness and reconciliation is so important when we look at it historically. We have stories in our culture about our superheroes, how we treat each other, stories about how animals and plants give us authorities and privileges to use plants as healing, but we also have stories about practices. How would we practise reconciliation? How would we practise getting together to talk about reconciliation in an oral perspective? And those practices are so important.²⁷ As Elder Crowshoe explained further

Reference 9 - 0.03% Coverage

Northwest Territories, Maxine Lacorne said, As a youth, a young lady, I talk with people my age because I have a good understanding. I talk to people who are residential school Survivors because I like to hear their stories, you know, and it gives me more understanding of my parents.... It is an honour to be here, to sit here among you guys, Survivors. Wow. You guys are strong people, you guys survived everything. And we're still going to be here. They tried to take us away. They tried to take our language away. You guys are still here, we're still here. I'm still here.³¹ We heard about children whose

Reference 10 - 0.04% Coverage

of the inadequate role that

post-secondary institutions played in training the teachers who taught in the schools. They have pledged to make educational practices and curriculum more inclusive of Aboriginal knowledge and history. Artists shared their ideas and feelings about truth and reconciliation through songs, paintings, dance, film, and other media. Corporations provided resources to bring Survivors to events and, in some cases, some of their own staff and managers. For non-Aboriginal Canadians who came to bear witness to Survivors' life stories,

the experience was powerful. One woman said simply, "By listening to your story, my story can change. By listening to your story, I can change."³⁵

Reconciliation as relationship In its

Reference 11 - 0.05% Coverage

this relationship began in the

1980s with churches' apologies for their treatment of Aboriginal peoples and disrespect of their cultures.

It continued with the findings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, along with court

recognition of the validity of the Survivors' stories. It culminated in the Indian Residential Schools

Settlement Agreement and the prime minister of Canada's apology in Parliament in June 2008, along with

the apologies of all other parliamentary leaders. This process of healing and reconciliation must continue.

The ultimate objective must be to transform our country and restore mutual respect between peoples and

nations. Reconciliation is in the best interests of all of Canada. It is needed not only to resolve

the ongoing conflicts between Aboriginal

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

ongoing relevance of the Treaties

alive in their own oral histories and legal traditions. Without their perspectives on the history of Treaty

making, Canadians know only one side of this country's history. This story cannot simply be told as the

story of how Crown officials unilaterally imposed Treaties on Aboriginal peoples; they were also active

participants in Treaty negotiations.⁴⁶

The history and interpretation of

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

are all Treaty people.⁴⁷

This is evident, for example, in the story of the Royal

The Challenge of reconciliation • 35

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

The Challenge of reconciliation • 35

Proclamation of 1763 and its relationship to the Treaty of Niagara of 1764. The Royal Proclamation, which

was issued by colonial officials, tells only half this story. On October 7, 1763, King George III issued this

Royal Proclamation by which the

British Crown first recognized the

Reference 15 - 0.08% Coverage

Treaty partners that establishes how

they will conduct themselves as they fulfill their respective Treaty obligations and responsibilities. The historical roots of Indigenous diplomacy and covenant making can be traced back to the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy), the Silver Covenant Chain, and the Two-Row Wampum. This complex Treaty system bound the Haudenosaunee nations together in peace and established the original foundations of the Aboriginal-Crown relationship in eastern North America in the early seventeenth century. Legal scholar Robert A. Williams Jr. notes, For the Iroquois, the story of the Covenant Chain extended back in time to the period of their first encounters and ensuing treaty relationships with the strange and alien European newcomers to their lands. As a matter of constitutional principle, both the Iroquois and the English were obligated to sustain this story of multicultural unity that had proven to be of such great value to both parties in their struggles for survival in North America. This, of course, accorded precisely with Iroquois constitutional tradition, for as the story of the founding of their own ancient confederacy has told, human solidarity can only be achieved if different peoples imagine the possibilities of linking arms together.⁵⁷

Reference 16 - 0.04% Coverage

which includes reconciliation and forgiveness ...

When we look at our oral cultures and we look at who we are and the environment, the geographic territory we've come from, we are given all kinds of challenges every day. How do we access our theories? How do we access our stories? How do we access our Elders? Where do we pay our fees and what are our protocols? So we are looking at finding those true meanings of reconciliation and forgiveness. We need to be aware or re-taught how to access those stories of our Elders, not only stories but songs, practices that give us those rights and privileges to access those stories ... So when we are looking at [the] concept of reconciliation, there's a lot to learn ...

The Elders say that we

Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

them to use their rocks for healing, I have to respect that, and for hundreds of years we respected each other and we visited each other. I encourage all the First Nations to go back to their theories, go back to their stories, go back to their Elders, go back to your protocols, and find the solutions because we need them today.³

There are many sources of

Reference 18 - 0.04% Coverage

Aboriginal peoples' lives, has been

impacted by colonization. At the trc's Knowledge Keepers Forum in 2014, Mi'kmaq Elder Stephen Augustine spoke about the Mi'kmaq concept for "making things right." He shared a story about an overturned canoe in the river. He said, "We'll make the canoe right and ... keep it in water so it does not bump on rocks or hit the shore.... [When we tip a canoe] we may lose some of our possessions....

Eventually we will regain our possessions [but] they will not be the same as the old ones.”¹¹ We can consider this concept in relation to the great and obvious loss caused by the residential schools. The Mi’kmaq idea

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

imagery, and Through this ceremony, apologies and restitution are embodied in expressive performances as people are called upon to tell stories and acknowledge losses related to the harms they have suffered.²⁵ can be used in many

Reference 20 - 0.04% Coverage

and belts ... with the Mourners....

A speaker for the Clear-Minded side offers the wampum gifts to the Mourners, telling the stories spoken by the wampum: stories of rekindling the fire “to bind us close”; of grave sorrow for the dead chief; of wiping away any bad blood between the two sides; of sharing the same bowl to eat together; of dispelling the clouds and restoring the sun that shines truth on all peoples. More songs follow this ritualized exchange of wampum to condole the loss of the deceased chief. After the Clear-Minded finish with their side of the ceremony, the Mourners reciprocate by presenting their own gifts of wampum, stories, condolences, and songs to the Clear-Minded.

With completion of these condoling

Reference 21 - 0.08% Coverage

changing circumstances.

Indigenous law • 57

In the late twentieth century, Hatahts’ikrehtha’ (“he makes the clouds descend”), Cayuga Chief Jacob (“Jake”) Thomas, became a condolence ritualist for the Confederate chiefs at the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario. The hereditary chiefs here were [supposedly] ousted from formal governing power in 1923 by Canadian authorities in a bloodless coup. An elective council [supposedly] replaced the chiefs. After this event the Alliance Condolence evolved into a version that stresses discontent at the white man’s suppression of Iroquois rights. In this ceremony Thomas used the traditional purple wampum strings, which he symbolically passed over the fire to his white allies. Chief Thomas, however, changed the accompanying metaphors of wiping tears from the eyes, unplugging the ears, and removing blood from the mat to metaphors reflecting the theft of Iroquois lands and broken promises and treaties. Recriminations intended for the non-Iroquois participants were added through new metaphors: removing the fog that prevents one from seeing the truth, removing dirt from one’s ears so the story of the Iroquois people can be heard, and washing the blood of the Iroquois people from the white man’s hands so that they may know the clasp of true friendship.²⁸

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

During such gatherings,

"everyone would talk about what was wrong and what was expected to resolve their problems. Everyone had a chance to express his or her side of the story (aniaslutik)."46

This allowed people to characterize

Reference 23 - 0.03% Coverage

aspect of Métis legal traditions.

Social control begins at the family level, and is then transferred to the community or national level.... Métis children are taught about the consequences of behaviour through the teachings of their Grandmothers and traditional stories.... These stories are instructive as to accepted community standards as well as the natural, supernatural and cultural sanctions that flow from breaches of the standards and principles.63

To illustrate, renowned Métis lawyer Jean Teillet tells a story of a young girl who was bitten by a dog in a Métis community.64

After the young girl was

Reference 24 - 0.02% Coverage

various national dialogues that brought

Métis Survivors, Elders, and political leaders together to share their truths about their residential and day school experiences. It was clear from their stories and comments that for the many Métis Survivors who attended schools that were excluded from the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, reconciliation remained elusive.65

Reference 25 - 0.05% Coverage

the trc Survivors Committee, said,

There [is] so much that could be told about what took place in the Métis communities. This dialogue was the opening of things to come for Métis people. In order to tell our stories properly, we will need to learn to trust ourselves as family. Right now everyone wants to hear, and everyone is afraid to say. But there is a need to get beyond that in order to share and feel trust and kindness from one another. That [will] come after we have had a chance to be together a few more times ... Métis have been excluded ... [I]t has been the story of our lives. The issue we are dealing with is ... a moral issue ... I do not want money for healing because I do not think money will solve things; however, if people could look at me and respect me for who I am, that would be a big step in the right direction.66

Survivor Angie Crerar said, They

Reference 26 - 0.05% Coverage

I talk with Elders who have been my strength. But that horror lives in our soul. It's not a pretty story. How could it be? ... I have scars on my body, my heart and my soul that will never be erased. Some of them are scars of honour because no matter what they did, they did not break my spirit.... This journey we will walk together. This Dialogue has started the support, being there for each other, sharing what we learned and also our pain. That is who we are. We help each other and will never stand alone.... Our work will never be done but together with our children and grandchildren, we will take a step forward. It is not up to our

elected officials to do it all, it is up to each one of us. How proud are we of our heritage? How proud are we of our identity? ... We are Métis, and we always will be.⁶⁷
For those who attended the

Reference 27 - 0.02% Coverage

the opportunity for Survivors and intergenerational Survivors to share their stories, their truths, was essential to their own healing and that of the Métis Nation. Jaime Koebel, of the Métis National Council, said, "Not everyone is ready to talk, but in time, somewhere, the stories need to get out and be heard to help further justice in this area."⁶⁸
Métis law and legal traditions

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Ghostkeeper explains that "our [Métis] wisdom sits in our personal experience and the experience of others. It is both old and current knowledge primarily passed on through oral histories and stories that contain many teachings and lessons in many forms."⁷⁰

Reference 29 - 0.05% Coverage

Teachings.⁷⁶

recent Anishinaabe These

laws encourage Anishinaabe peoples to live in accordance with nibwaakaawin (wisdom), zaagi'idiwin (love), mnaadendiwin (respect), aakwaadiziwin (courage), dbaadendiziwin (humility), gwekwaadiziwin (honesty), and debwewin (truth). These guiding principles are enacted as living traditions in many people's lives within Anishinaabe-akiing (Anishinaabe territory), although many fall far short of them in their daily lives (as is the case with all other humans who try to live in accordance with their highest laws). Nevertheless, these traditions stand as a guide towards a better way of being in the world. They are found in daily living, and are also chronicled in numerous stories, songs, sayings, teachings, and ceremonies that exist to mediate relationships with the human and wider world.⁷⁷ Powerful changes would flow into the reconciliation process if wisdom, love, respect, courage, humility, honesty, and

Reference 30 - 0.08% Coverage

The feast taught me important lessons, compelling me to rethink my cultural assumptions about the meanings of history, truth, justice, and reconciliation. I learned that history resides not in dusty books but lives in the stories we carry in our hearts, minds, and spirits as we struggle to understand, acknowledge, and transform the past that is still present. I learned that truth is not only about facts but about the harsh realities of a shared colonial experience that is rooted in human relationships. I learned that justice is found not only in case law and courtrooms but in the exquisite beauty of sacred dances, symbols, and songs, in the strong words of elders, simgigyat, sigid'm hanaak, and families, and in the healing ceremonies and rituals of the feast hall that express the laws of the Gitksan nation. I learned that reconciliation is not a goal but a place of transformative encounter where all participants gather the

courage to face our troubled history without minimizing the damage that has been done, even as we find new decolonizing ways of working together that shift power and perceptions. I learned that Indigenous sacred places are powerful. They make space for us to connect with each other, exchanging testimony, making restitution and apology in ways that speak to our highest values as human beings.¹¹⁰
As Commissioners, we have participated

Reference 31 - 0.08% Coverage

to Indigenous communities for expressions of interest in collaboratively developing the project. After communities responded and agreed to work with the project, student researchers received an intensive orientation in Indigenous legal theories, Indigenous laws, and community-based research skills. With the blessing of the seven participant communities, the researchers next analyzed publicly available stories related to how Indigenous peoples dealt with harm. The animating question the researchers asked in analyzing the stories was, “how are harms dealt with in [Indigenous] communities, and between communities?” After significant study, cross-referencing, and correlation, legal principles were drawn from each tradition. Once this preliminary work was finished, the researchers approached the communities that had agreed to participate; they took what they learned to the communities they had studied. The principle of reciprocity required this background preparation. Principles of respect required serious preparation before engaging with the Indigenous law Knowledge Keepers; it was important not to ‘lightly’ ask people for their stories. Rather, the researchers approached the Knowledge Keepers with something to give. The stories provided an excellent starting point for discussion, as

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community

Reference 32 - 0.03% Coverage

the communities. By analyzing the legal processes, responses and resolutions, obligations, rights, and general underlying principles found in the stories and oral traditions of specific communities, the project provided insights into how Indigenous law in all its diversity and interconnectedness is applied in real-life situations. The ajr project also included a public education component designed to ensure that the project report, community reports, and other materials and resources are widely accessible.¹¹²
The ajr website has links

Reference 33 - 0.04% Coverage

that there’s a growing experience ... about the work of reconciliation.... How do communities reconcile? Well, it begins with each and every one of us. How fortunate I am as a young man to have spent time with my late grandmother. I held her hand. She was eightyseven years old, still here. During that apology, she said, “Grandson, they’re just starting to see us, they’re just beginning to see us.” That’s what she said. And she found that encouraging, because it’s the first step, actually seeing one another, having the silence broken and the stories starting to be told.... I think that’s where it begins, isn’t it? Between us as individuals sharing the stories from so many different perspectives so that we can understand.¹¹
Honour of the Crown: Repairing

Reference 34 - 0.03% Coverage

Agreement, including the trc, come about only because government and church defendants, faced with huge class-action lawsuits, decided it was preferable to litigation. Focusing only on the motivations of the defendants does not tell the whole story. It is important not to lose sight of the many ways that Aboriginal peoples have succeeded in pushing the boundaries of reconciliation in Canada. From the early 1990s onward, Aboriginal people and their supporters had been calling for a public inquiry

Reference 35 - 0.05% Coverage

Beth Israel spoke about the importance of cultivating empathy from one's own experience of suffering to become an effective witness to the stories of how others have suffered historically. For members of the Jewish community, their experience of the Holocaust is a source of empathy in approaching the topic of the residential schools. As an expression of the Jewish community's desire for reconciliation in Canada, he invited all gathered to stand for a sacred moment as he blew a shofar—a trumpet made from a ram's horn—which he then presented to the trc. Rabbi Infeld explained that the shofar had been sounded over the preceding two weeks during the Jewish High Holy Days, including Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur—the Day of Atonement—which calls the faithful to repent of

Reference 36 - 0.06% Coverage

Prem Singh Vinning, as president of the World Sikh Organization of Canada, and leaders from Sikh gurdwaras in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, presented a statement and four videos to the trc as an expression of reconciliation. The videos explore why the residential schools matter to Sikhs as Canadians, as peoples of faith, and as Sikhs—and serve to educate other members of the Sikh community by comparing the residential school story with the historical Sikh experiences of discrimination and cultural oppression. The Sikh leaders expressed their commitment to reconciliation in Canada. Our faith requires us to come to the aid of our neighbours in their time of need. As a community, we Sikhs also know what it is like to have loved ones taken away, never to be seen again. Throughout our history we have also lost generations, and understand the struggle to freely practice our faith and preserve our language.

Reference 37 - 0.02% Coverage

Mennonites, called the Honour Walkers told the Commission about their 550-kilometre walk from Stony Knoll, Saskatchewan, to the Alberta National Event in Edmonton to honour the stories of Survivors. One walker explained, Although there were only four walkers walking for twenty days, there were also groups of students and congregations back home that fasted and prayed

Reference 38 - 0.04% Coverage

to recognize residential and day school Survivors. As a group of walkers, we represent communities that are wanting and needing to learn the history of residential schools. As our group walked across Treaty 6 [lands], we further learned the difficult history of the residential schools through community gatherings and passersby who stopped to share their stories. We celebrated the strengths and gifts of Indigenous peoples through ceremony and hospitality. We were also blessed by the many congregations who opened their doors for conversations on settler-Indigenous issues, including discussions on residential schools, Treaties, and land justice.⁷⁸

Reference 39 - 0.02% Coverage

in Winnipeg, Allan Sutherland said,

There are still a lot of emotions [that are] unresolved. People need to tell their stories.... We need the ability to move forward together, but you have to understand how it all began [starting with] Christopher Columbus, from Christianization, then colonization, and then assimilation.... If we put our minds and hearts to it, we can [change] the status quo.¹

At the Commission's Community Hearing

Reference 40 - 0.04% Coverage

I'm doing this interview in hope that we could use this as an educational tool to educate our youth about what happened.... Maybe one day the Ministry of Education can work with the trc and develop some kind of curriculum for Native Studies, Indigenous learning. So that not only Aboriginal people can understand, you know, what we had to go through—the experiences of all the Anishinaabe people that attended—but for the Canadian people as well to understand that the residential schools did happen. And through this sharing, they can understand and hear stories from Survivors like me.²

In Lethbridge, Alberta, in 2013

Reference 41 - 0.05% Coverage

country depicted Aboriginal peoples as being either savage warriors or onlookers who were irrelevant to the more important history of Canada: the story of European settlement. Beginning in the 1980s, the history of Aboriginal peoples was sometimes cast in a more positive light, but the poverty and social dysfunction in Aboriginal communities were emphasized without any historical context to help students understand how or why these conditions came about. This omission has left most Canadians with the view that Aboriginal people were and are to blame for the situations in which they find themselves, as though there were no external causes. Aboriginal peoples have therefore been characterized as a social and economic problem that must be solved. By the 1990s, textbooks emphasized the role of Aboriginal peoples as protestors advocating for rights. Most Canadians

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

period in between remains largely

Education for reconciliation • 119 unmentioned.⁴ Thus much of the story of Aboriginal peoples, as seen through their own eyes, is still missing

Reference 43 - 0.04% Coverage

of

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knowing that when speaking to a Survivor ... you have to hear their past before you can hear their understanding of resistance. This project allowed the group [to have] a learning process that weaves [together] traditional [Indigenous] and Western knowledge to build our stories of resistance.... This research project has ignited a fire that shows in each digital story. The passion of resistance that validates the survival and resiliency of First Nations people and communities provides hope for healing and reconciliation over the next seven generations.¹⁸

In 2012, a digital storytelling

Reference 44 - 0.09% Coverage

was undertaken by Aboriginal women

at the Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence, "Nitâpwewininân: Ongoing Effects of Residential Schools on Aboriginal Women—Towards Inter-generational Reconciliation." Consistent with the use of ceremony and protocols throughout the project, the first workshop began with a pipe ceremony, followed by a Sharing Circle in which participants talked about their lives and group members discussed their individual and collective need for support. They later moved on to making videos of their individual stories, which were screened in March 2012 at the University of Winnipeg.¹⁹ One of the participants, Lorena Fontaine, said, Reconciliation is about stories and our ability to tell stories. I think the intellectual part of ourselves wants to start looking for words to define reconciliation. And then there is the heart knowledge that comes from our life experiences. It's challenging to connect the two and relate it to reconciliation.... Without even thinking of the term reconciliation, I'm reminded about the power of story.... [People who watched the videos] said that when they saw the faces of Aboriginal women and heard their voices in the videos they understood assimilation in a different way. They felt the impact of assimilation.... It's far more powerful to have Aboriginal peoples talk about the impact of assimilation and hope for reconciliation than having words written down in a report.²⁰

Research is vital to reconciliation

Reference 45 - 0.06% Coverage

Commission worked in partnership with

the International Center for Transitional Justice's (ictj) Children and Youth Program to host a series of small retreats and workshops. Youth Dialogues were also integrated into Education Day activities at National Events. Their purpose was to engage youth in dialogue and to support their efforts to make their own submissions to the trc. For example, in October 2010, the Commission co-sponsored a retreat for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth near Vancouver, British Columbia. Young people came together to learn about the residential schools, talk with Elders, and share team-building activities. One young participant said that during the retreat, "we learn[ed] more about each other and the past. It's really

important because it actually teaches us, the stories that we heard it touched us, and it inspired us to become better people.”²⁸ In June 2011, Molly Tilden and Marlisa Brown, two young women who attended this retreat, produced their own

Reference 46 - 0.06% Coverage

that young people care deeply about the past. They understand that knowing the whole story about Canada’s history is relevant for today and crucial for their future. In a Youth Dialogue forum at the trc British Columbia National Event, Rory Shade told the Commission, I strongly believe that all youth should learn of what happened with the residential schools ... because it is a part of our history as a nation. We cannot progress as a society until we learn from the mistakes made in the past.... Knowledge is power and knowledge should be shared. The history and impacts of the residential school system must be taught because to deny a part of our history simply because it is unpleasant or controversial means to deny ourselves the chance to grow as a society.... Reconciliation is the process of accepting what happened and growing from it.... We must listen to the testimonies of those who survived such events.... We must learn to live together, and to do that, we must first reconcile with our past.³⁴

In an expression of reconciliation

Reference 47 - 0.04% Coverage

national history, have a key role to play in national reconciliation. As publicly funded institutions, museums and archives in settler colonial states such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States have interpreted the past in ways that have excluded or marginalized Aboriginal peoples’ cultural perspectives and historical experience. Museums have traditionally been thought of as places where a nation’s history is presented in neutral, objective terms. Yet, as history that had formerly been silenced was revealed, it became evident that Canada’s museums had told only part of the story.³⁸ In a similar vein, archives have been part of the “architecture of imperialism”—

institutions that held the historical

Reference 48 - 0.03% Coverage

Many have worked with communities to repatriate human remains or cultural artifacts. For some institutions, consultation and collaborative partnerships with Aboriginal communities have become standard practice, and Aboriginal internships and other training opportunities have been established. Yet more is still needed, even as museums are faced with significant challenges in obtaining adequate and stable multi-year funding to properly support these critical initiatives.⁴⁵ Over the past three decades, Canadian museums that used to tell the story of

the nation’s past with little

Reference 49 - 0.03% Coverage

for Human Rights. As national

public history institutions, they bear a particular responsibility to retell the story of Canada's past so that it reflects not only diverse cultures, histories, and experiences of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples but also the collective violence and historical injustices that they have suffered at the hands of the state. It is instructive to examine how these two public history institutions plan to interpret the history of Aboriginal peoples and address historical injustices in the coming years.

Canadian Museum of History Appearing

Reference 50 - 0.02% Coverage

been missing from the museum.

[P]erhaps the most egregious flaw in the Canada Hall is its starting point. If you've been there, you will know that its telling of our national story begins not with the arrival of First Peoples but with the arrival of Europeans in the elev-

Education for reconciliation • 135

enth

Reference 51 - 0.03% Coverage

to this task [para. 73].

Third, the story of the history and the historical record to be compiled cover[s] over 100 years and dates back to the nineteenth century. In light of this time span, it would have been understood at the time of the Settlement Agreement that much of the relevant documentary record in Canada's possession would be archived in lac and would no longer be in the active or semi-active files of the departments of the Government of Canada [para. 74].

Fourth, it would have been

Reference 52 - 0.07% Coverage

the Sunnybrook United Church, continued,

A working group was formed to organize the first [commemoration] feast, which was held at Fort Normandeau, on June 30, 2010. As the more than 325 names of students were read, a hush fell over the crowd.... Since then the collaboration [has] continued, with First Nations Treaty 6 and 7, Métis Nation of Alberta, United Church members, the Red Deer Museum and Art Gallery, the City and County [of Red Deer], the [Indian] Friendship Centre, and school boards. This led to the formation of the Remembering the Children Society in 2011.... Our society's objectives include: continued support for recovering Indian residential school cemeteries and histories in Alberta; educating the public about the same; honouring the Survivors, and those who died in the schools; as well as identifying the unmarked graves. Each year for the next three years, a commemorative feast was held. At the third gathering, many descendants shared stories of the impact on them, their parents, and grandparents, because they attended the Red Deer Industrial School.

Reference 53 - 0.07% Coverage

Several speakers talked about their vision for the nctr. Georges Erasmus, former co-chair of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and then president of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, said, Those

who become the keepers of the archives become stewards of human stories and relationships, of what has been an endowment to what will be. Because no legacy is enriched by counterfeit, a nation is ill served by a history which is not genuine. This is a high calling indeed and it must be said that too often the promise and the potential of this stewardship has gone unrealized.... If the stories of our people are not accessible to the general public, it will be as if their experiences never occurred. And if their voices are rendered as museum pieces, it will be as if their experience is frozen in time. What we need are open, dynamic, interactive spaces and participatory forms of narrative, knowledge, and research. This would be a fitting way to step into the twenty-first century and into a new kind of relationship.... The National Research Centre ought to be a treasure valued by all sorts of people.⁸¹

Charlene Belleau, a Survivor and

Reference 54 - 0.04% Coverage

I here? Who am I?

Children need to know their personal story, including the part that precedes their birth. We need to know the stories of our parents and grandparents, our direct and indirect ancestors, and our real and mythological villains and heroes. As part of this story, we also need to know about the community of people to which we are attached—our collective story—all the way back to our place in the creation of this world. We all have a creation story, and we all need to understand it. We also need to learn that although not all creation stories are the same, they all have truth. This is an important teaching about respect. Knowing where we are going is a natural outcome of knowing where we have come

from. It is not just

Reference 55 - 0.05% Coverage

other two questions. Knowing one's

creation story is always imbued with teachings about why the Creator made this world to begin with and what our place as human beings was intended to be within it. But the answer to this question is also about knowing what role we play in the overall collective. It is about knowing whether our purpose is fulfilled through being an artist, or a leader, or a warrior, or a caregiver, or a healer, or a helper. Clan teachings and naming ceremonies in Indigenous cultures provide answers to this question, but the answer is also influenced by knowing what our family and community need, and then filling this need and feeling the satisfaction that results. The fourth question—"Who am I?"—is the most important, because it is the con-

stant question. It is influenced

Reference 56 - 0.02% Coverage

change and assimilate Indigenous peoples....

The assimilation of Indigenous peoples didn't begin or end with schooling. It's ongoing now. It also didn't exist in isolation, and it didn't target only culture. Its purpose was to take everything: language, family ties, stories, memories, political

Reference 57 - 0.07% Coverage

about damaged relationships with female relatives, high levels of domestic and societal violence, and the gendered racism they have experienced throughout their lives. They also told us that learning about their own history—women’s traditional roles in the political, cultural, social, and economic life of their communities—was an empowering catalyst for healing. They emphasized the importance of storytelling to restoring their dignity and repairing family relationships. Aboriginal women, storytellers, scholars, and activists are themselves at the forefront of this work, reshaping public memory and national history through storytelling and ceremonies that remember and honour the life stories, experiences, and struggles of their grandmothers, mothers, sisters, daughters, and aunties. Although much has been lost from family and community memory, much still remains. In many communities, women continue to hold positions of status and power that have been passed down through the generations.³ The power of women’s stories and the process of sharing these stories strengthen healing, resilience, and reconciliation at

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

case are the teachings.⁴
The concept of women’s stories as medicine resonates with us as Commissioners.
At the National and Regional

Reference 59 - 0.05% Coverage

time as new understandings, dialogues, artistic expressions, and commemorations emerge. Public memory, much like national history, is often contentious. Although public memory can simply reinforce the colonial story of how Canada began with European settlement and became a nation, the process of remembering the past together also invites people to question this limited version of history. Unlike some truth and reconciliation commissions that have focused on individual victims of human rights violations committed over a short period of time, this Commission has examined both the individual and collective harms perpetrated against Aboriginal families, communities, and nations for well over a century, as well as the preconditions that enabled such violence and oppression to occur. Of course, previously inaccessible archival documents are critically important to correcting the historical record, but

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

creating a safe space for sharing life stories and bearing testimonial witness to the past for the future. The Commission’s National Events were designed to inspire reconciliation and shape individual and collective memory

Reference 61 - 0.03% Coverage

first-generation Irish Canadian, said,

I have learned the traditions ... Thank you for teaching me the water ceremony. In these past few days, what I've learned of Aboriginal culture, I just feel it has enriched my life so much. For them to be made to feel ashamed of that culture, it just makes me feel angry and it makes me feel sadness. And I just would like to say thank you to all of them for sharing their stories, and I wish for all of them, all the healing in the world.¹⁵

The Commission's mandate also instructed

Reference 62 - 0.05% Coverage

of Manitoba in Winnipeg.¹⁶

Life stories, testimonies, and witnessing as teachings Reconciliation is not possible without knowing the truth. To determine the truth

and to be able to tell the full story of the residential schools in this country, it was fundamentally important to the Commission's work to be able to hear the stories of Survivors and their families. It was also important to hear the stories of those who worked in the schools—the teachers, the administrators, the cooks, the janitors—as well as their family members. Canada's national history must reflect this complex truth so that 50 or 100 years from now, our children's children and their children will know what happened. They will inherit the responsibility to ensure that it never happens again. Regardless of the different individual experiences that children had as students in the schools, they shared the

Reference 63 - 0.07% Coverage

the truth and never forget.

166 • Truth & Reconciliation Commission The residential school story is complicated. Stories of abuse stand in sharp contradiction to the happier memories of some Survivors. The statements of former residential school staff also varied. Some were remorseful, whereas others were defensive. Some were proud of their students and their own efforts to support them, whereas others were critical of their own school and government authorities for their lack of attention, care, and resources. The stories of government and church officials involved acknowledgement, apology, and promises not to repeat history. Some non-Aboriginal Canadians expressed outrage at what had happened in the schools and shared their feelings of guilt and shame that they had not known this. Others denied or minimized the destructive impacts of residential schools. These conflicting stories, based on different experiences, locations, time periods, and perspectives, all feed into a national historical narrative. Developing this narrative through public dialogue can strengthen civic capacity for accountability and thereby do justice

Reference 64 - 0.07% Coverage

the Survivors themselves by inter-

acting directly with them. Survivors, whose memories are still alive, demonstrated in the most powerful and compelling terms that by sitting together in Sharing Circles, people gain a much deeper knowledge and understanding of what happened in the residential schools than can ever be acquired at a distance by studying books, reading newspapers, or watching television reports. For Indigenous peoples, stories and teachings are rooted in relationships.

Through stories, knowledge and understanding about what happened and why are acquired, validated, and shared with others. Writing about her work with Survivors from her own community, social work scholar Qwul'sih'yah'maht (Dr. Robina Anne Thomas) said, I never dreamed of learning to listen in such a powerful way. Storytelling, despite all the struggles, enabled me to respect and honour the Ancestors and the storytellers while at the same time sharing tragic, traumatic, inhumanely unbelievable truths that our people had lived. It was this level of integrity that was essential to storytelling.... When we make personal what we teach ... we touch people in a different and more profound way.¹⁸

At a Community Hearing in

Reference 65 - 0.04% Coverage

Survivor Victoria Grant-Boucher said,

I'm telling my story ... for the education of the Canadian general public ... [so that they] can understand what stolen identity is, you know, how it affects people, how it affects an individual, how it affects family, how it affects community.... I think the non-Aboriginal person, Canadian, has to understand that a First Nations person has a culture.... And I think that we, as Aboriginal people, have so much to share if you just let us regain that knowledge.... And I also take to heart what Elders talk about ... We have to heal ourselves. We have to heal each other. And for Canada to heal, they have to allow us to heal before we can contribute. That's what reconciliation means to me.²¹

Survivors told the Commission that

Reference 66 - 0.13% Coverage

reason for breaking their silence

was to educate their own children and grandchildren by publicly sharing their life stories with them. The effect of this testimony on intergenerational Survivors was significant. At the Manitoba National Event, Desarae Eashappie said, I have sat through this week having the honour of listening to the stories from Survivors. And I just feel—I just really want to acknowledge everybody in this room, you know, all of our Elders, all of our Survivors, all of our intergenerational Survivors.... We are all sitting here in solidarity right now ... and we are all on our own journey, and [yet we are] sitting here together ... with so much strength in this room, it really is phenomenal. And I just want to acknowledge that and thank everybody here. And to be given this experience, this opportunity, you know, to sit here ... and to listen to other people and listen to their stories and their experiences, you know, it has really humbled me as a person in such a way that is indescribable.... And I can take this home with me now and I can take it into my own home. Because my dad is a residential school Survivor, I have lived the traumas, but I have lived the history without the context.²²

Survivors' life stories are teachings rooted in personal experience; the human relationships of their childhoods were scarred by those who harmed them in the schools. Their stories teach us about what it means to lose family, culture, community, self-esteem, and human dignity. They also teach us about courage, resilience, and resistance to violence and oppression. An ethical response to Survivors' life stories requires the listener to respond in ways that recognize the teller's dignity and affirm that injustices were committed. NonIndigenous witnesses must be willing to "risk interacting differently with Indigenous people—with vulnerability, humility, and a willingness to stay in the decolonizing struggle of our own discomfort ... [and] to embrace [residential school] stories as

Reference 67 - 0.04% Coverage

former residential school staff expressed mixed feelings about their residential school experiences in the wake of revelations of widespread abuse. Whereas some remembered their time at the schools as a positive experience, others felt shame. They were haunted by knowing that they had failed to intervene on behalf of young students. They saw this as a stain on their lifework. The stories of the family members of staff are just beginning to surface. They too have been affected and must grapple with trying to reconcile their own family memories of relatives with what they now know about the schools. In May 2011, in St. Albert, Alberta, the Commission met with a group of priests of the Missionary Oblates of Mary

Reference 68 - 0.05% Coverage

us about his father, the Reverend James Edward DeWolf, who was the principal at two residential schools: St. Paul's in Alberta and La Tuque in Québec. I'm quite hesitant to speak here this morning ... I'm not here to defend my father [but] to speak part of the truth about the kind of person my father was. I think he was an exemplary principal of an Indian residential school.... Part of the story will be about what I saw around me, what my parents tried to do, however effective that was, however well-intentioned that was, however beneficial or not beneficial it was, you will at least, when you leave here today, have a bit more of the story and you may judge for yourselves. I hope you will judge with kindness, understanding, and generosity of spirit.... [My father] did so many

Reference 69 - 0.02% Coverage

friends, and with Canadian society.... Reconciliation is a conscious act involving two or more parties.... And reconciliation, of course, must be rooted in truth, in truth that comes from deep listening and deep respect for the other. For the members of the churches that ran the schools on behalf of the government of Canada and therefore the people of Canada, we need to listen deeply and profoundly to the stories of Survivors.... Reconciliation between Indigenous and non

Reference 70 - 0.05% Coverage

an Honorary Witness at the Northern National Event, has said about the role and responsibility of witnessing, "Witnessing is an active verb ... And if you're seriously committed to the retelling of what you've seen and heard, it's not always comfortable."³⁶ As a Witness, you keep the memory and you take the story further down the road and deliver it to more people. I have been very busy talking in churches, doing dialogues, meeting in community hall basements, [and] book clubs—just trying to get the real story of our country out to as many people as possible. It has really taken over my heart. It is bigger than just telling the story—I want to see policy change, curriculum change, to see concrete fixes in civil society that will enable us to have much better partnerships than we have right now.³⁷ Speaking at the Saskatchewan National

Reference 71 - 0.05% Coverage

let those facts be known....

There are cross-cultural difficulties here as we seek reconciliation, the reconciliation of people who have not been part of this experience with those who have. We are going to deal with cultural differences, but no one wants to be torn away from their roots. And there are common grounds here by which consensus can be built.... Reconciliation means finding a way that brings together the legitimate concerns of the people in this room, and the apprehensions, call them fear ... that might exist elsewhere in the country.... Among the things we have to do is to ensure that not only the stories of abuse as they touch First Nations and Aboriginal people, but also the story of their contribution to Canada, and the values that are inherent in those communities [are] much better known.⁴⁰

Reference 72 - 0.03% Coverage

Commission's view that learning happens

in a different manner when life stories are shared and witnessed in ways that connect knowledge, understanding, and human relationships. He pinpointed a key challenge to reconciliation: how to bridge the divides between those who have been part of the residential school experience and those who have not, and between those who have participated in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's proceedings and those who have not. Former minister of Aboriginal affairs and northern development Canada the late Honourable Andy Scott was inducted

Reference 73 - 0.10% Coverage

Some had close personal or professional ties to Aboriginal people, and others had none. Many said that the experience opened their eyes and was powerfully transformative. They commented on how much they had learned by listening to Survivors' life stories. This was true for both non-Aboriginal witnesses and Aboriginal witnesses whose own families had been impacted by the schools but who may have had few opportunities to learn more about the residential schools themselves, especially in those many families where no one was yet willing or able to talk about it. At the 2011 Northern National Event in Inuvik, Therese Boullard, then the director of the Northwest Territories Human Rights Commission, told us, We need to have an accurate record of history.... As long as there are some that are in denial of what really happened, as long as we don't have the full picture of what happened, we really can't move forward in that spirit of reconciliation.... I want to acknowledge these stories as gifts, a hand towards reconciliation. I think it's amazing that after all that has passed, after all that you've experienced, that you would be willing to share your pain with the rest of Canada in this spirit of openness and reconciliation and in this faith that the Government of Canada and non-Aboriginal Canadians will receive them in a way that will lead to a better relationship in the future. That you have that faith to share your stories in that spirit is amazing, and it's humbling, and it's inspiring, and I just want to thank Survivors for that.⁴²

At the 2010 Manitoba National

Reference 74 - 0.07% Coverage

gatherer at the event, said,

I was talking to a few students before I came this week to do this, and they said, "Well, what do you mean there are Survivors? That was a long time ago. That was hundreds of years ago." To them, this is a page in a history book.... So, I'm so blessed to have spent the past week sitting down one-on-one with Survivors and listening to their stories. And I have heard horrific things and the emotions. It's been very hard to hear. But what every single person I've spoken to has said is that "we are strong." And the strength is one thing that I'll carry with me when I leave. You carry on, and that's something that I want to bring back to my classrooms, is the strength of everyone that I spoke to and their stories. And it is so important for high school students, and all students in Canada, to be talking about this a lot more than they are. I just want to thank everyone involved for doing this, for educating me. I have a history degree in Canadian history. I learned more in the past five days about Canada than I have in three years of that degree.⁴³

Whether attitudes and actions were

Reference 75 - 0.02% Coverage

and my understanding grows.⁴⁵

[S]haring of stories is really important because being in the room with someone talking about intergenerational effects is so human, so poignant, so unsettling and powerful. I can relate to them, I feel compassion for them. Hearing the stories firsthand was the only way it could pierce all that racism; it certainly was transformational.⁴⁶

My witnessing pushes me to

Reference 76 - 0.02% Coverage

do whatever they can.⁴⁷

A responsibility comes with hearing these stories ... It was a real chance to communicate, a chance to connect to humanity for all of us, a chance to be there with an open heart and mind to connect with a thousand people as a human being, in a way to hope for change. It was powerful.⁴⁸

The Commission's seven National Events

Reference 77 - 0.08% Coverage

author's own life experiences), such as Tomson Highway's *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (1998), Robert Alexie's *Porcupines and China Dolls* (2009), and Richard Wagamese's *Indian Horse* (2012), tell stories about abuse, neglect, and loss that are also stories of healing, redemption, and hope. In 2012, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation published *Speaking My Truth: Reflections on Reconciliation and Residential Schools*, and invited book clubs across the country to read and discuss the book. Documentary films such as *Where the Spirit Lives* (1989), *Kuper Island: Return to the Healing Circle* (1997), and *Muffins for Granny* (2008), as well as docu-dramas such as *We Were Children* (2012), all serve to educate Canadians and the wider world about the residential school experience, using the power of sound and images. Intergenerational Survivor Georgina Lightning was the first Indigenous woman in North America to direct a full-length feature film, *Older Than America* (2008). Kevin Loring's stage play, *Where the Blood Mixes*, won the Governor General's Award for literary drama in 2009. It combines drama and humour to tell the stories of three Survivors living in the aftermath of their residential school experiences. Art can be powerful and provocative. Through their work, Indigenous artists seek to resist and challenge the

Reference 78 - 0.06% Coverage

by the Commission also came to us in artistic formats. Some Survivors said that although it hurt too much to tell their story in the usual way, they had been able to find their voice instead by writing a poem, a song, or a book. Some made a video or audio recording, offered photographs, or produced a theatre performance piece or a film. Others created traditional blankets, quilts, carvings, or paintings to depict residential school experiences, to celebrate those who survived them, or to commemorate those who did not. Lasting public memory of the schools has therefore been produced not only through oral testimonies but also through this wide range of artistic expressions. The arts have opened up new and critical space for Survivors, artists, curators, and public audiences to explore the complexities of truth, healing, and reconciliation. The Commission funded or supported several arts-related projects. Early in its mandate, the trc sponsored the

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

stitched together into three quilts, *Schools of Shame*, *Child Prisoners*, and *Crimes against Humanity*. The quilts tell a complex story of trauma, loss, isolation, recovery, healing, and hope through women's eyes. The

Reference 80 - 0.03% Coverage

intergenerational Survivor Carol Greyeyes, is an online, interactive showcase featuring the artwork and cultural practices of ten Aboriginal artists who are also Survivors. Ms. Greyeyes summarizes the purpose of the project. The ArtsLink website shares the wisdom, the stories, and insights of residential school survivors from the Western Provinces who have reclaimed their identity and pride through art and culture. Each webpage includes a biography, a short interview with the artist, samples of artwork and documents, innovative arts and learning practices, and community arts projects.

ArtsLink also provides an accessible

Reference 81 - 0.03% Coverage

of the residential school experience....

Art bridges age, language, culture, economics, and promotes understanding by its transformative power. ArtsLink allows artists and website visitors to "link up" in the educative process. Just as the artists have reconnected with their own inner creative selves and transformed their lives, by showcasing their artwork and sharing their amazing stories, other Canadians will be able to connect to the artistic journey and healing process too.⁵⁸

A report commissioned by the

Reference 82 - 0.03% Coverage

which have tended to reinforce

Canada's story as told through colonial eyes, residential school commemorative projects challenged and recast public memory and national history. Many First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities partnered with regional or national Aboriginal organizations, and involved local churches, governments, and their non-Aboriginal neighbours. The scope, breadth, and creativity of the projects were truly impressive. Projects included traditional and virtual quilts, monuments and memorials, traditional medicine gardens, totem pole

Reference 83 - 0.05% Coverage

Survivor Committee, identified three elements of the commemoration process that were seen as being essential to supporting long-term reconciliation. First, the projects were to be Survivor-driven; that is, their success was contingent upon the advice, recommendations, and active participation of Survivors. Second, commemoration projects would forge new connections that linked Aboriginal family and community memory to Canada's public memory and national history. Third, incorporating Indigenous oral history and memory practices into commemoration projects would ensure that the processes of remembering places, reclaiming identity, and revitalizing cultures were consistent with the principle of self-determination. Commemorating the life stories of Survivors strengthens the bonds of family and community memory that have been

Reference 84 - 0.04% Coverage

from the Alberni Residential School

The story of a small collection of children's art created at the Alberni Residential School demonstrates how recognizing and respecting Indigenous protocols and practices of ceremony, testimony, and witnessing can breathe life, healing, and transformation into public memory making through dialogue, the arts, and commemoration. The story has deep roots within the family histories of the Survivors and in the oral history and community memory of the Nuuchahnulth peoples. The paintings from the Alberni Residential School are part of a larger collection of Indigenous children's art donated

Reference 85 - 0.03% Coverage

world. The paintings from the Alberni Residential School portray images of landscapes, people, animals, masks, and traditional stories, as well as some images of the school itself. Most of the artists signed their paintings, putting their age next to their name. In this sense, the children stand out; the anonymity that depersonalizes so much of the residential school history is removed. In 2010, the University of Victoria's Dr. Andrea Walsh, who was in the early stages of a research project on the

Reference 86 - 0.04% Coverage

bear witness to the child.

These paintings done by the children of the Alberni school all tell stories; however, what I witnessed, what I saw, went beyond the Alberni school. These paintings moved Survivors from other schools to share their stories of making art, and the images depicted in the paintings prompted non-art stories, and memories of the schools. I heard stories of horrible trauma, fear, hurt, abuse, addiction, hate, pain, starvation. I watched tears fall in front of the paintings. I saw shoulders shaking from the memories emerging. The paintings are that powerful....

I witnessed something else, though

Reference 87 - 0.03% Coverage

are the children, and as Chief Ed John said, the truth is in the Survivors. And against all odds, these paintings too have survived. They are not small things forgotten. Survivors, Elders, their families, and communities have worked together to bring these paintings to us in a good way. Through their work, they've ensured that the children's art, their stories, their lives lived, will be forever great things remembered.⁶⁴

The community later received commemoration

Reference 88 - 0.12% Coverage

funding to hold a traditional feast on March 30, 2013, in Port Alberni in order to reunite artists and their families with the paintings. Robert Aller's family members were also invited to attend. They were visibly moved when they heard the stories of the paintings, and said that Aller would have been happy that the paintings were being returned. Paintings were returned to those who wished to have them; the remaining art was loaned to the University of Victoria, where it will be housed, cared for, and exhibited based on agreed-upon protocols with Survivors and their families.⁶⁵ In a media interview, Survivor and Hereditary Chief Lewis George said that the

art classes probably saved him from being sexually abused by convicted pedophile Arthur Plint, who had taught at the Alberni Residential School. He remembered the kindness shown to him by Aller as being in stark contrast to the harsh realities of life at the school, and he said, "I want my story kept alive." Wally Samuel, another Survivor of the Alberni school who helped coordinate the project, said everyone reacted differently when told about the paintings. "Some got really quiet and others looked forward to seeing them ... but they all remembered being in art class."⁶⁶ In May 2013, the Alberni Residential School paintings were displayed in a special

exhibit, To Reunite, To Honour, To Witness, at the Legacy Art Gallery at the University of Victoria.

Survivors, Elders, and community members continue to work with Walsh and Qwul'sih'yah'maht in order to document the story of the creation and return of the children's paintings as part of reconnecting individual, family, and community memory, and educating the public about a previously unknown part of the history and legacy of the residential schools. In September 2013, the paintings returned once again to the Learning Place at

the trc's British Columbia National

Reference 89 - 0.06% Coverage

design came from Survivors themselves.

The stories of residential school students were never told in this building, so I'm going to tell you one now.... I asked Lucille [Kelly-Davis] who is a residential school survivor what she wanted to see on the window. I had assisted her through the residential school settlement process, and like so many survivors, her story is horrific.... Despite her childhood, she married, had four children, and now has many grandchildren. She is a pipe carrier, attends traditional ceremonies, and helps younger people learn the traditions. She's a powerful Anishnabeg grandmother who is generous, loving and caring, and gives all she can to her community and her family. She is not a victim, but a survivor. When I asked her what to put on the window, she said, "Tell our side of the story." ... She said, "Make it about hope." ... It's about looking ahead, as the name of the window says, "giniigaaniimenaaning," looking to the future for those yet unborn....
Because she told me to

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

Anderson and Carmen Robertson point out, "Colonialism has always thrived in Canada's press," and "Canadian newspapers (as well as radio and television) have, over time, played an integral role in shaping the nation's colonial story."¹
The mainstream press has reinforced

Reference 91 - 0.04% Coverage

and the activities of the
trc at the Québec National Event, scholars Rosemary Nagy and Emily Gillespie found that most of the media stories about truth and reconciliation were narrowly framed to focus on individual Survivor's stories of abuse, forgiveness, and healing. Stories presented by local Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) people that framed truth and reconciliation more expansively to include the need for societal change and concrete action on Treaties, land rights, and gender equity received far less attention.⁵ The Commission believes that in the coming years, media outlets and journalists
will greatly influence whether or

Reference 92 - 0.03% Coverage

1. "the Aboriginal population is widely underrepresented in mainstream media"; 2. "when Aboriginal people choose to protest or 'make more noise' the number of stories focused on the community increase[s]"; and
3. "as coverage related to the protests and talks between Aboriginal people and government became more frequent, the proportion of stories with a negative tone correspondingly increased."¹⁵
conducted a study of media

Reference 93 - 0.03% Coverage

media coverage of Aboriginal issues in Ontario accounted for only 0.23% of all news stories, and, of these, only 3% focused on residential schools. From June 1, 2012, to May 31, 2013, news stories on Aboriginal issues amounted to 0.46% of all news stories, and, of these, 3% focused on deaths in residential schools.¹⁶ The report included expert opinions on its findings, including those of cbc journal-

ist Duncan McCue, who observed

Reference 94 - 0.05% Coverage

He pointed out,

Yes, protests often meet the test of whether a story is 'newsworthy,' because they're unusual, dramatic, or involve conflict. Yes, Aboriginal activists, who understand the media's hunger for drama, also play a role by tailoring protests in ways that guarantee prominent headlines and lead stories. But, does today's front-page news of some traffic disruption in the name of Aboriginal land rights actually have its roots in a much older narrative—of violent and "uncivilized" Indians who represent a threat to 'progress' in Canada? Are attitudes of distrust and fear underlying our decisions to dispatch a crew to the latest Aboriginal blockade? Is there no iconic photo of reconciliation, because no one from the newsrooms believes harmony between Aboriginal peoples and settlers is 'newsworthy'?¹⁸

Historian J. R. Miller has

Reference 95 - 0.09% Coverage

at residential school. He said,

These woollen baseball pants carry a story of their own ... These are the baseball pants that I wore in 1957–58, as a fifteen-year-old incarcerated boy at the Fort Alexander Residential School.... Little did I know that my mom would treasure and keep them as a memento of her youngest boy. When I leave this land, they won't have anywhere else to go, so I hope the Bentwood Box keeps them well....

When we were little boys at Fort Alexander Residential School, our only chance to play hockey literally did save our lives. A lot of people here will attest to that. As a young man, playing hockey saved me.... And later, playing with the Sagkeeng Old-Timers saved me again.... I came back twenty years later, fifteen years later and started playing with an old-timers hockey team in Fort Alexander.... In 1983, we ended up winning the first World Cup by an Indigenous team, in Munich, Germany.... So I'm including in this bundle a story of the old-timers, a battalion of Anishinaabe hockey players who saved themselves and their friends by winning, not only winning in Munich, Germany, but in three or four other hockey tournaments in Europe.... People ask me, "Why don't you just enjoy life now instead of working so hard on reconciliation and talking about residential schools? What do you expect to achieve?" The answer is "freedom." I am free.²²

Later that same day, journalist

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

frontrunners of the future.²³

Such stories are an indication that the rich history of Aboriginal peoples' contributions to sport needs to

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

ceremony.²⁴

Calls to action:

87) We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, sports halls of fame, and other relevant organizations, to provide public education that tells the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history.

88) We call upon all

Reference 98 - 0.08% Coverage

during World War Two, said,

I acknowledge that we are on Coast Salish lands. It was also on these very lands here at the pne [Pacific National Exhibition fairgrounds] that my family was held during the war before being sent to the internment camp. It is my parents and grandparents who are Survivors.... [They] never talked about what happened in the internment camps ... even after the Japanese Canadian redress happened ... [H]earing these stories from our Elders is very rare.... When I was four or five, I came here to the pne as most families do.... When it came to going inside the barn here, just two doors away, my grandmother would not come in. That's because that livestock building was used to hold her and other women and children during the war for months.... When I was a child, I couldn't comprehend this, but as an adult, I understand.... This is what it means to me, as an intergenerational Survivor. People who I love and admire were wronged, humiliated, and forgotten, and unjustly imprisoned by the country I ... call home.... [The part of the Japanese redress program that worked best] was the investment in communities and culture ... [and the establishment of] the Canadian Race Relations Foundation ... to ensure that this never happened again.... Only when "you" and "me" become "us" and "we" can there be any reconciliation.⁵⁹

Caroline Wong said that as

Reference 99 - 0.06% Coverage

of

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multi-coloured umbrellas was visible as far as the eye could see. Traditional ceremonies and protocols began the walk. Chiefs in regalia, women wrapped in button blankets and cedar capes, and drumming, dancing, and singing accompanied Survivors, their families, and people from multiple faith traditions and all walks of life, who marched together in solidarity. We walked for Survivors and all that they have done to bring the long-hidden story of residential schools to the country's attention. We walked to remember the thousands of children who died in residential schools. We walked to honour all Indigenous peoples as they reclaim and restore their identity, equality, and dignity. We walked to stand up for the transformative social change that is so urgently needed in Canada. And we walked for the uplifting solidarity of being united with tens of thousands of others, all joined together in a new community of common purpose. Residential school Survivor and Gwawaenuk Elder Chief Dr. Robert Joseph, speaking as Reconciliation Canada's ambassador

Reference 100 - 0.03% Coverage

of our children and grandchildren.

How do we do this? Through sharing our personal stories, legends and traditional teachings, we found that we are interconnected through the same mind and spirit. Our traditional teachings speak to acts such as holding one another up, walking together, balance, healing and unity. Our stories show how these

teachings can heal their pain and restore dignity. We discovered that in all of our cultural traditions, there are teachings about reconciliation, forgiveness, unity, healing and balance.

We invite you to search

Reference 101 - 0.03% Coverage

the process of truth determination

can be. Thousands of Survivors came forward and, in tears and with anger, shared their pain. They showed how humour, perseverance, and resilience got them through the hardest of times, and how life after the schools sometimes just got too hard. They came forward to share their stories, not just to ease their burden but also to try to make things better for their children and their grandchildren. Reconciliation is going to take hard work. People of all walks of life and at all levels of society will need to

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

Reconciliation Commission Sports and reconciliation

87) We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, sports halls of fame, and other relevant organizations, to provide public education that tells the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history.

Reference 103 - 0.02% Coverage

62. Cliff Hague refers to place as "a geographic space that is defined by meanings, sentiments and stories rather than by a set of co-ordinates." Cliff Hague, "Planning and Place Identity," in *Place Identity, Participation and Planning*, edited by Cliff Hague and Paul Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3, cited in Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory*, 5.

63. Hale, "Treaty 3 Holds

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