

**Solitudes in Shared Spaces:
Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans in the Yukon
and the Northwest Territories in the Post-Residential
School Era**

Cheryl Gaver, B.A., M.A., M.Div.

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the Ph.D. degree in Religious Studies

Department of Classics and Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

© Cheryl Gaver, Ottawa, Canada, 2011

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

SOLITUDES IN SHARED SPACES:
ABORIGINAL AND EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN THE YUKON AND
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES IN THE POST-RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL ERA

by Cheryl Gaver, B.A., M.A., M.Div.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the current relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon as they seek to move beyond past hurts into a more positive future. After three field trips to Canada's North, visiting seven communities and interviewing seventy-nine individuals, complemented by archival research, I realized the dominant narrative based on a colonialism process linking residential schools, Christian Churches and federal government in a concerted effort to deliberately destroy Aboriginal peoples, cultures, and nations was not adequate to explain what happened in the North or the relationship that exists today.

Two other narratives finally emerged from my research.

The dominant narrative on its own represents a simplistic, one-dimensional caricature of Northern history and relationships. The second narrative reveals a more complex and nuanced history of relationships in Canada's North with missionaries and residential school officials sometimes operating out of their ethnocentric and colonialistic worldview to assimilate Aboriginal peoples to the dominant society and sometimes acting to preserve Aboriginal ways, *including Aboriginal languages and cultures*, and sometimes protesting and challenging colonialist policies geared to destroying Aboriginal self-sufficiency and seizing Aboriginal lands.

The third narrative is more subtle but also reflects the most devastating process. It builds on what has already been acknowledged by so many: loss of culture. Instead of seeing culture as only tangible components and traditional ways of living, however, the third

narrative focuses on a more deep-seated understanding of culture as the process informing how one organizes and understands the world in which one lives. Even when physical and sexual abuse did not occur, and even when traditional skills were affirmed, the cultural collisions that occurred in Anglican residential schools in Canada's North shattered children's understanding of reality itself.

While the Anglican Church is moving beyond colonialism in many ways - affirming Aboriginal values and empowering Aboriginal people within the Anglican community, it nevertheless has yet to deal with the cultural divide that continues to be found in their congregations and continues to affect their relationship in Northern communities where Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people worship together yet remain separate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
INTRODUCTION	1
1. LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS	3
Overview	3
The Research Project: Its Evolution and Implementation	4
Methodology	8
Cross-Disciplinary Research	8
Ethnographic & Ethno-History Research	10
Oral vs Written Sources	12
Surveys and Sampling Credibility	13
Other Research	14
Assumptions	14
2. PRACTICAL DETAILS: THE BASIC BUILDING BLOCKS OF THE NARRATIVE	19
Overview	19
The Caveats of the Five W's	19
General	19
Where	19
When	21
Who	21
What	23
Why	24
Working Definitions	25
Summary	27
3. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND EMERGENCE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH	28
The English Reformation and Growth of Anglicanism	28
The English Reformation	28
Seventeenth-Century England	29
The First Anglican Missionary Societies	31
Eighteenth-Century Tensions Within Anglicanism	32
Different Understandings of Anglicanism	32
High Church Anglicanism	32
Low Church Anglicanism	34
Broad church Anglicanism	35
The “Great Awakening”	35
The Church Missionary Society (CMS) and its origins	36
The “Clapham Sect”	36
The Church Missionary Society (CMS)	37
Conclusion	38

TABLE OF CONTENTS

4. BACKGROUND HISTORY: CONTACT IN WESTERN CANADA	40
Overview	40
Agents of colonialism in western Canada: the fur trading companies	40
The Rev. John West and the beginnings of residential schools in western Canada	44
Henry Venn & the vision, policies, and practices of the CMS in its dealings with Aboriginal peoples	46
Summary	49
5. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT: THE COLONIALISM NARRATIVE	51
Overview	51
Canadian Colonialism	51
General	51
Displacement	53
Isolation / Containment	54
Forced Assimilation	55
Political / Economic / Social Domination	56
Racist Ideology	58
Colonialism in Canada's North	59
General	59
Displacement, Isolation and Containment	59
Forced Assimilation	61
Political / Economic / Social Domination	63
Racist Ideology	67
Summary	70
6. THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN / EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN CANADA'S NORTH	72
Overview	72
The Early Anglican Missionaries in Canada's North	73
The Rt. Rev. William West Kirkby (1859-1868)	73
The Rev. Robert McDonald (1862-1904)	77
William Carpenter Bompas (1865-1901)	83
Other Anglican Missionary / Religious Presence	93
Summary	95
7. THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN / EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN THE NT	97
Overview	97
Anglican Missionaries of the Diocese of Mackenzie River	97
General	97
The Rt. Rev William Day Reeve (1891-1907)	97
The Rt. Rev. James Richard Lucas (1913-1926) and the Rt. Rev. William Archibald Geddes (1929–1933)	98

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Rev. Charles Edward Whittaker (1895-1917)	100
Anglican Missionaries of the Diocese of the Arctic	101
General	101
The Rt. Rev. Archibald Lang Fleming (1933-1949)	101
The Rt. Rev. Donald Ben Marsh (1950-1973)	103
The Rt. Rev. John Reginald Sperry (1974-1990)	107
Anglicanism vs Roman Catholicism Among Northern Peoples	113
Conclusion	114
8. THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN / EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN THE YT	116
Overview	116
Anglican Missionaries of the Diocese of Yukon	116
General	116
The Rt. Rev. Isaac O. Stringer (1866-1934)	116
The Rt. Rev. Henry Hooper Marsh (1962-1967/8)	119
Aboriginal Missionaries and Clergy	119
Conclusion	125
9. THE EDUCATION ISSUE IN CANADA'S NORTH	128
Overview	128
The Education Issue	128
Conclusion	136
10. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT: THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS & RELATIONSHIPS IN THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL ERA	139
Overview	139
The Importance of Residential Schools for Understanding the Current Relationship	139
General Introduction	141
The Residential Schools	141
The Residential Schools in Canada's North	142
The Residential School Issue: A Growing Awareness of the Problem	143
Main Charges Against the Schools and Their Applicability in the North	145
Sexual and Physical Abuse	146
Forced Relocation and Isolation	149
Forced Assimilation	153
Deaths in the Schools	155
Inadequate Funding	157
Relationships in the Residential Schools	158
Summary	159
11. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT TWISTS: RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL CHALLENGES TO THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE	161
Overview	161

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Twists in the Narratives: Good Memories of the Schools	161
Twists in the Narratives: Responding to Main Charges Against the Northern Residential Schools	165
Sexual and Physical Abuse	165
Taken Away By Force, Separated From Parents — And Not	167
Forced Assimilation, Loss of Language — And Not	171
Forced Assimilation, Loss of Culture — And Not	175
Impact of the Schools — Devastating and Not	177
Conclusion	180
12. THE ACC, DECOLONIALIZATION AND NORTHERN PERCEPTIONS	182
Overview	182
The Hendry Report and Its Impact on ACC Policies: 1969-1993	182
The 1993 ACC Apology	186
Living the Apology: 1993-2008	188
Anglican Aboriginal Healing Fund (ACC-AHF) Initiatives	196
Participant Perceptions on the Hendry Report	198
Participant Perceptions on the Apology	198
Perceptions by Aboriginal Clergy and Laity	198
Perceptions by EuroCanadian Clergy	200
Perceptions by EuroCanadian / Mixed / Unknown Laity	203
Conclusion	205
13. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT COLLAPSES: THE FAILURES OF THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE	209
Overview	209
Conceptual Weaknesses Within the Colonialism Narrative	209
Blurring of Terminology and Conceptual Vagaries	209
Colonialism or Not Colonialism? The Absence of Clear Boundaries	213
Conceptual Imprecision Within the Colonialism Narrative	214
Flattening of Data Through Over-Generalization and Over-Simplification .	214
Contextual Blinders: Recipe for a Caricature of History	218
Contextual Blinders: A Means To Create Internal Divisions	221
Colonialism — Whose Colonialism?	224
Colonialism and “Colonialism” in the Canadian Context	227
Colonialism and Not Colonialism?	227
Colonialism, Evangelicalism and the Residential Schools	228
The Insufficiency of the Colonialism Hypothesis in the Northern Context	229
General	229
The Case of Bishop Bompas	231
The Dominant Narrative: a Means to avoid the “Big” Questions of Today	234
Conclusion	237
14. THOUGHTS ON THE CURRENT RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS	239
Overview	239

 TABLE OF CONTENTS

The NT Communities Visited	239
General	239
Fort McPherson	240
Hay River	242
Inuvik	243
Tuktoyaktuk	245
Yellowknife	247
The YT Communities Visited	251
General	251
Dawson	252
Whitehorse	255
Participant Perceptions of the Relationships	258
Perceptions by Aboriginal Clergy and Laity	258
Perceptions by EuroCanadian Clergy	264
Perceptions by EuroCanadian Laity	269
Conclusion	274
15. FOLLOWING THE CLUES: HINTS OF A THIRD NARRATIVE	277
Overview	277
Differences in Understanding the Issue	278
The Fundamental Challenge To Reconciliation	278
Northern Understanding of the Residential School Issue	279
Understanding the Apology	284
Understanding Reconciliation	286
Differences in Social Behaviour & Semantics	287
Differences in Social Behaviour	287
Differences of Identity and Place	289
Differences in Categories	290
Differences in Interpretation of Events	293
And Then ... Colonialism	296
Conclusions	299
16. MAKING SENSE OF THE CLUES: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE	301
Overview	301
Historical Understandings of “Culture”	301
Plato’s Allegory of the Cave	301
Culture, Cultured, and Cultures: Evolution of the Concept to the Nineteenth Century	303
Culture, Cultured, and Cultures: Evolution of the Concept From the Nineteenth Century To Today	306
Modern Understandings of “Culture”	307
Culture’s Layers & Cross-Cultural Encounters in Canada’s North	308
General	308

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Culture's Outer Layers: The Tangible and Material	310
Culture's Middle Layers: Behaviours and Actions	312
Culture's Innermost Layers: Worldviews	316
On a More Positive Note	319
Conclusion	323
17. THE THIRD NARRATIVE: THE REALM OF CONFLICTING REALITIES	324
Overview	324
Cultural Collisions Via Social Structures	324
Family Make-Up	324
Family Genealogies	326
Naming Conventions	328
Gender Roles	332
Education and Knowledge	337
Socio-Political Power and Authority	342
Religion	344
Conclusion	350
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	354
NOTES	401
BBIBLIOGRAPHY	414
Unpublished Sources	416
Published Sources	417
Videos	454
Participants	454
Aboriginal / Indigenous clergy and laity	454
EuroCanadian clergy	455
EuroCanadian laity	456
Mixed or unknown laity	456

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TERMINOLOGY & ACRONYMS	367
A.1 List of acronyms	367
A.2 Working definitions & Terminology	368
APPENDIX B: PRINCIPAL ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES IN THE NORTHWEST AND YUKON TERRITORIES	375
B.1 Bishops of Mackenzie River	375
B.2 Bishops of the Arctic	375
B.3 Bishop of the Episcopal District of Mackenzie River	375
B.4 Bishops of Yukon	375
B.5 Other Key Missionaries (from Diocese of the Arctic listing)	376
APPENDIX C: ANGLICAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN THE NT/YT	378
C.1 Anglican Residential Schools in the NT	378
C.1.1 St. Peter's Mission (Hay River)	378
C.1.2 St. John's Eskimo Residential School (Shingle Point)	378
C.1.3 All Saints Indian Residential School (Aklavik)	379
C.1.4 Coppermine Tent Hostel (Kugluktuk)	379
C.1.5 Bompas Hall Indian Residential School / Hostel (Fort Simpson) ...	380
C.1.6 Fort McPherson Indian Residential School (Fort McPherson)	380
C.1.7 Stringer Hall (Inuvik)	381
C.2 Anglican residential schools in the Yukon	381
C.2.1 Chooutla Indian Residential School (Carcross)	381
C.2.2 St. Paul's Hostel (Dawson)	382
C.2.3 St. Agnes' Hostel (Whitehorse)	383
APPENDIX D: STRUCTURE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA	384

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

Table 1: Number of Aboriginal Converts in the NT	91
Table 2: Comparison of social structures among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples	335
Table 3: Comparison of Knowledge & Learning among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples	342
Table 4: Comparison of Power and Authority among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples	344
Table 5: Comparison of Religion among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples	349

FIGURES

The Onion-is-Culture Model	308
Moiety System among Athabascans	327
Figure 1: The Northwest Territories	385
Figure 2: The Yukon	386
Figure 3: Map of the diocese of the Arctic	387
Figure 4: Map of the diocese of the Arctic	388
Figure 5: Christ Church Cathedral, Whitehorse (YT)	389
Figure 6: Church of the Ascension, Inuvik	389
Figure 7: Church of the Northern Apostles, Whitehorse (YT)	390
Figure 8: Holy Trinity, Yellowknife	390
Figure 9: Diocesan Offices, Yellowknife	391
Figure 10: St. Andrew's Anglican / Grace United Church, Hay River	391
Figure 11: St. Matthews Anglican Church, Fort McPherson	392
Figure 12: St. Paul's Anglican Church, Dawson	392
Figure 13: Old Anglican Church, Tuktoyaktuk	393
Figure 14: Fort McPherson, NT	393
Figure 15: Hay River, NT	394
Figure 16: Inuvik, NT	394
Figure 17: Tuktoyaktuk, NT	395
Figure 18: Yellowknife, NT	395
Figure 19: Dawson, YT	396
Figure 20: Downtown Whitehorse	396
Figure 21: St. Simon's Anglican Church, Whitehorse	397
Figure 22: Rupert's Land ca 1670	397
Figure 23: Rupert's Land 1849	398
Figure 24: North-West Territories, 1870	398

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Figure 25: Northwest Territories, 1898	399
Figure 26: Northwest Territories, 1999	399
Figure 27: Anglican residential schools in the NT/YT	400

INTRODUCTION

This thesis began, I thought, with an obvious plot and a basic question. The plot was the unfolding of the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples since the Anglican Church of Canada (ACC) had opted out of the residential school program in 1969 and, in particular, since the 1993 ACC apology. The way to understanding the plot was through the residential schools since this was where the ACC had likely had regular and intensive contact with Aboriginal peoples. My task was to identify whether factors already recognized by scholars, social workers, governments, and Aboriginal peoples themselves as having contributed to what had happened in the schools still existed: in other words, to assess how successful the ACC had been in moving from its past towards reconciliation and a renewed relationship with at least its Aboriginal members.

In her book, *No End of Grief* (1996), Agnes Grant focused on colonialism. Citing Frank Oliver (1908), *The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996) identified a paternalistic government policy of assimilation that emphasized the need to “elevate the Indian from his condition of slavery” and “make him a self-supporting member of the state, and eventually a citizen in good standing” (RCAP v1 1996:333). The ACC *Hendry Report* (1969, 1998) referred to racism, paternalism, and arrogance, recommending the ACC move from “paternalism” to “partnership” (Hendry 1969:79ff; 1998:101); the ACC accepted the *Report* and implemented a number of the *Report*’s recommendations. Since both the policy of assimilation and attitudes of paternalism, racism, and arrogance could be understood as representing aspects of colonialism, I accepted the validity of Agnes Grant’s statement:

Indian Residential schools can only be understood if they are viewed within the context of colonialism. (A-Grant 1996:87)

Having accepted the validity of her statement, I believed the mystery that remained to be solved was: *What, if anything had changed since the residential school era?*

Assessing how much had changed — specifically, those attitudes and behaviours associated with colonialism such as paternalism and racism — was one way to evaluate the reconciliation process. Less racism and less paternalism would indicate that the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in the ACC was moving in a positive, post-colonial direction.

I chose the ACC because it had operated a number of residential schools, second only to the Roman Catholic Church (RC). Furthermore, it had conducted a study of its relationship with its Aboriginal members in 1969, had formally apologized to Aboriginal peoples in 1993, and seemed – based on information posted on its website (www.anglican.ca) — committed to moving away from its colonialist past. My focus, however, was not at the macro level of how successfully the ACC at the national Church level (Big “C”) had changed, but rather at the micro level of how successfully the ACC at the diocesan / congregational level (small “c”) had changed.

I developed a multi-pronged approach to obtain the information needed to assess the existence and effectiveness of changes in the Anglican North: ethnographic first-hand accounts combined with historical/archival research, theology, participant-observation, and cultural anthropology. What was discovered about the Anglican North was then juxtaposed (as opposed to an in-depth comparison) with the Anglican West, Anglicanism in Great Britain, the ACC at the national level, and — though to a considerably lesser degree — to other denominations in Canada’s North.

What finally emerged from my research, observations, and interviews was an unravelling of the colonialism hypothesis, and the discovery of a new story — a story of cultural collisions that warrants further exploration. This story is played out against the backdrop of colonialism, racism, paternalism, historical events, geographic and socio-economic realities and theological/missiological impulses, but carries within it its own dynamics. My hypothesis is that the ACC in the North may have been dealing with issues of physical and sexual abuse and may have fought against racist/paternalistic attitudes and practices that are associated with colonialism, but the ACC in the North has not been as aware of, or as successful in dealing with, cross-cultural issues resulting from the encounters of people with different worldviews, modes of communication, and styles of interaction. The result too often has led to situations in which Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans worship together within congregations, yet remain in many ways worlds apart: two solitudes in a shared space.

1. LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS

Overview

The question with which I began my research was whether the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans had improved in the post-residential school era and, specifically, since the 1993 ACC apology. The challenge was how to assess that relationship.

Along the way, I discovered a number of other challenges as well. What did I mean by relationship? What did I mean by the ACC, by Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples, by Canada, by the Northwest Territories (NT¹) and the Yukon (YT²) — these were only a few of the questions I had to consider. Events did not occur against a backdrop frozen in time. Everything was in flux: Canada, the ACC, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), Aboriginal peoples, EuroCanadian peoples, the Métis, and the residential schools themselves. Furthermore, I discovered that alongside the anticipated narrative of colonialism which, according to Agnes Grant, was the dominant narrative governing what happened in the residential schools, other narratives emerged as well, leaving me to wonder what the real story was. Perceptions and assumptions played a far greater role than I had first anticipated. Whose narrative was being explored? Whose history was being recorded? How did that existence of multiple perspectives shape the overall narrative? How did people holding one perception and one interpretation of history begin to appreciate and understand those holding other perceptions and interpretations of the same history?

This thesis is organized according to four main divisions in addition to the introduction; summary & conclusions; and notes, bibliography & miscellaneous.

- Chapters 1 to 4 provide general and background information about the project. Chapter 1 lays the foundations for the research project; Chapter 2 provides the basic building blocks of the five W's (*when, where, who, what, and why*), while Chapters 3 and 4 present relevant background history;
- Chapter 5 introduces the dominant narrative of a colonialism that is overwhelmingly destructive of Aboriginal peoples and cultures;

- Chapters 6 to 8 deal with the historical relationship between Aboriginal peoples and European/EuroCanadian Anglican missionaries in Canada's North (Chapter 6), the NT (Chapter 7) and the YT (Chapter 8);
- Chapters 10 to 12 deal with the residential school issue (Chapters 10 to 11), including ACC initiatives to move beyond colonialism and participant responses (Chapter 12);
- Chapters 13 to 14 move the discussion beyond the dominant and second narrative with Chapter 13 exploring the failures of the dominant narrative and Chapter 14 presenting thoughts on the current relationship;
- Chapters 15-17 introduce the third narrative of cultural collisions. Chapter 15 identifies clues suggesting cultural collisions that have emerged from the research while Chapter 16 offers an overview to the topic culture and Chapter 17 examines examples of cultural collisions in Canada's North;
- The final chapter presents summary and conclusions.

In this first chapter, I introduce the research project in terms of its: (1) evolution and implementation; (2) methodology; and (3) assumptions.

The Research Project: Its Evolution and Implementation

The problem being studied was, I believed, a very timely one: what was the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans in the post-residential school era. The first challenge was how to turn the question into something manage-able and do-able.

In my own community of approximately 165,000 people, less than 0.04% are Aboriginal (StatCan 2009). I may interact with Aboriginal people on occasion but, unless they identify themselves as such, I would never know it. Some may even attend the church where I work part-time; unless they choose to be recognized as being Aboriginal, they represent an invisible minority. I could survey parishioners as to their views about the relationship, Aboriginal people, and residential schools, but answers based on an absent "Other," would be of limited value. Instead, I decided to explore communities where EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples knowingly interact with one another on a regular basis and where my observations would complement other research; I decided to explore the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in the NT and YT.

Several advantages were gained by this decision. Not only is there a significant Aboriginal and EuroCanadian population, but also Anglicans had operated a number of residential schools and hostels in the region. Furthermore, although contact with the HBC dates back to the eighteenth century with Samuel Hearne's exploratory trips, the HBC did not become a significant presence in the region until the early nineteenth century, and Anglican missionaries did not arrive in the region before the 1860s. Contact between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples therefore was of a much shorter duration and began more recently than in other parts of the country. I assumed that, in the North, fewer Aboriginal people would be completely assimilated into EuroCanadian society; more would still be living — or remember having lived — traditional or semi-traditional lifestyles than in other parts of the country, and local Aboriginal languages would still be spoken by at least the older generation: assumptions which proved to be correct. (This also meant, I discovered, that Aboriginal peoples in both the NT and YT have more control over what kind of research is done in their communities and among their people and by whom³. Gone were the days where scholars could research subjects and reach conclusions without accountability to the people and communities whom they had researched.)

My plan was to investigate different communities throughout the Northwest and Yukon Territories, visiting different congregations and interviewing members of those congregations. The original plan was to compare what was happening in the NT with what was happening in the YT, then to compare what was happening in southern, more developed parts of the territories with what was happening in the northern regions, and what was happening in the ACC with what was happening in other Protestant denominations such as the United Church of Canada (UCC). Ideally, I would have liked to visit every community that had an Anglican Church and to have stayed for a month in each community but practical and fiscal reality stepped in. I had to be satisfied with a smaller and less ambitious project.

Funding from the Northern Scientific Training Program and the Frederica de Laguna Foundation made possible three field trips to the NT and YT. In 2006 September⁴, I travelled to Yellowknife and Hay River in the NT. In 2007 September, I was supposed to visit Whitehorse and Dawson in the YT, but major surgery forced me to postpone the trip until 2008 February. In 2008 September, I completed my final field trip for this project to Inuvik, Fort McPherson

and Tuktoyaktuk (all in the NT). Each trip lasted approximately two weeks and included, when possible, three Sundays.

I was further helped in my research by staff at the Prince of Wales Heritage Museum in Yellowknife, and at Anglican Archives in Toronto. In addition, both the ACC and the UCC have held special workshops, conferences, and information sessions around Aboriginal issues, some of which I was able to attend⁵. Such events provided valuable information and insights into how Aboriginal people are affirming their place in both organizations and are dealing with healing and reconciliation issues; they also gave me a venue for testing preliminary conclusions.

In all, I met with 80 people; of whom 71 contributed to this thesis (Bibliography:455, for names and details):

- 30 were male and 41 female;
- 25 were Aboriginal/Indigenous (including 2 from outside North America); 37 were European (living in Canada) or EuroCanadian; 4 were mixed Aboriginal / non-Aboriginal and 5 were unknown;
- 55 were formal interviews with 16 were informal, casual conversations;
- 20 were clergy, 42 were laity, and 9 were unknown;
- 46 were old-timers (15 years or more); 19 were newcomers (less than 15 years; most 5 years or less); 6 located outside the region at time of field research;
- 40 Anglican; 8 United Church; 10 other Christian; 13 unknown. Note: these statistics are somewhat more nebulous given that people may attend services in both denominations while considering themselves as practicing traditional spirituality.

Giving detailed information about each participant is impossible in order to preserve anonymity some, nevertheless the following statements can be made. When possible, I met with local Anglican clergy (e.g., Arthur, Frank, Hilda, Kyle, Remi, and Sam), spoke with the congregation, and interviewed those who volunteered to participate in the project (e.g., Alice, Alistair, Janet and Janna). I also interviewed clergy in diocesan offices in both Yellowknife (Diocese of the Arctic) and Whitehorse (Diocese of Yukon). Not all participants were Anglican. I visited United Church clergy in Yellowknife, Hay River, and Whitehorse, and was able to meet

with several members of United Church congregations (e.g., Jessica, Lindsey, and Todd). On occasion, participants referred me to others “who might have something to say” even if they were not members of the ACC (e.g., Kiawak, Anne, and Evelyn). I also ran into people where I was staying, in shops and on planes who offered some gem during the course of our conversation (e.g., Alderic, Joanne, Missy, and Travis). Among the Aboriginal and mixed-heritage participants who were willing to meet with me — clergy and laity alike — some had attended residential schools (e.g., Goota, Kiawak, Nowyook, and Oqalik). Some had family members who had attended schools (e.g., Aqpik, Kudloo, and Pootoogook). Most participants were interviewed only once. I accepted that I would not be getting a complete picture of the relationship. I recognized that those Aboriginal survivors who had been severely traumatized by their experiences in Anglican residential schools likely would not volunteer to participate in my project.

Interviews were conducted in a variety of places – at the church, in homes, in my hotel room, in coffee shops, and a sports arena. Two important lessons were learned: first, coffee shops were important places to observe social interaction between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people, but terrible places for interviews; second, sports arenas are not suitable for interviews when games are going on and people cheering at critical times. Not all interviews — formal or informal — were conducted in the North. Casual conversations with friends and colleagues in my own community provided insights (Brandon, Guy, and Tyler). Furthermore, I was able to interview two members of the Anglican clergy, one of whom no longer lived in the North, and the other now lived in Nunavut.

Scheduling conflicts did arise. I could usually attend only one Sunday service which effectively limited my ability to compare churches within a community. I tried to arrange my schedule to attend any midweek or special services if these were held while I was in the area. Clergy were very helpful in recruiting participants, either by suggesting people or by giving me time to introduce my research project to the congregation during the worship service and ask for volunteers. Unfortunately, my schedule did not permit me to meet with everyone who did contact me. In Tuktoyaktuk, my contact was called out of town and we were unable to connect; I attended the Roman Catholic Church in that community instead of the Anglican.

One assumption I made affected my research project and led to me missing two clergy interviews. Clergy in southern Canada tend to take vacations during the summer; I assumed the same pattern held true in the North, so I scheduled my field trips for September. I was unable to interview the Anglican priest in Yellowknife who returned from vacation while I was in town, and who had to cancel our interview because of a funeral. We were unable to reschedule. I was also unable to interview the Anglican priest in Inuvik who had just left for his vacation but who had made other arrangements for me.

Names of participants have been changed to preserve the anonymity of those involved in the study. New names were generated from going through telephone books and advertisements. EuroCanadian participants were given EuroCanadian names; Aboriginal participants were given Inuit names. Métis participants were given names based on whether they identified themselves more as Aboriginal or as EuroCanadian. No other effort was made to match names with ethnicity; nor were genders altered in the text. Alphanumeric labels were also created, with numbers generated by a randomizing program but they have not been used in the text. Names of those whose stories or information are public by appearing in print or online have not been changed.

Most, but not all, formal interviews were recorded. To acknowledge the possibility that my notes or memory might have been faulty, I decided to distinguish between the two possibilities in this thesis. The abbreviation “PR” is used to designate recorded interviews, while “PS” is used for interviews (formal or informal) which are based on memory and notes.

Methodology

Cross-Disciplinary Research

Canadian historian Frits Pannekoek wrote in 1991:

... There has been a noticeable absence of the Anglican church, or its documents, in the mainstream of Canadian historical writing on the pre-1870 west. This does not mean that the Church of England has not been the subject of exhaustive research; it has been, by church historians ... Rather it means that those historians struggling with the broader social and economic history of the pre-1870 west, who set the general direction of western Canadian historiography, have ignored not only the Church of

England and its contributions but more important the archives of its various missionary societies and one diocese (Pannekoek 1991:29).

During the course of my research, I came to realize that numerous academic silos of information existed. Historians, church historians, theologians, and anthropologists all had important insights into different dimensions of Aboriginal / EuroCanadian encounters in Canada's North, and yet, like Pannekoek, I saw that the cross-pollination of ideas was not happening and that research suffered as a consequence.

Historians who condemn missionaries as having been agents of colonialism do not deal with the theological foundation governing their missions; Canadian historians may write about Canadian history, but do so in such a way that Aboriginal people seem to disappear in the nineteenth century. Church historians, such as T.C.B. Boon (1962) and H.H. Walsh (1968), write about the history of Christianity in Canada and include first-hand missionary accounts, but never discuss the Aboriginal dimension either to missionaries or to the development of a Canadian Christianity. Many do not discuss the theological issues to have emerged as a result of contact with Aboriginal nations. Canadian historian Ken Coates, who specializes in Northern history, writes about encounters between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples (e.g., 1985), but focuses, as do anthropologists such as Kerry Abel (e.g., 2007) and Jean-Guy Goulet (e.g., 1998), on how First Nations peoples adapted to EuroCanadian influences rather than on how EuroCanadian peoples were influenced by their contact with Aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, North American historians tend to ignore European factors that might have shaped North Americans; European historians likely ignore how Aboriginal cultures have influenced European societies.

Pannekoek is not alone in recognizing at least one dimension of the problem. Other historians are cognizant of the need to at least mention contextual factors that add to the overall understanding of the material. For example, Canadian religious historian Robert Choquette, in his book *Canada's Religions* (2004), goes into detail about Christian religious movements in Europe during the period when missionaries from specific religious orders were coming over from Europe to evangelize Aboriginal people. Likewise John Grant, in his book *Moon of Wintertime*, writes about different worldviews that European and Aboriginal people held — but without acknowledging the wide differences in worldviews that existed among the various First

Nations. In a 1983 article on perceptions in New France, Cornelius Jaenen, Canadian historian specializing in Franco-Amerindian relations, describes how the French viewed North America and its Aboriginal inhabitants through the cultural lenses with which they came to America; Canadian Wendat historian Georges Sioui writes about Aboriginal influences on the eighteenth-century French *philosophes* (2008); Canadian author John Ralston Saul, in his book *A Fair Country*, discusses Aboriginal influences on Canadian society — but much more work needs to be done in this cross-disciplinarian approach to events and encounters within Canada.

As a Presbyterian minister with a theological background, a historian, an anthropologist, a teacher, and as someone who has worked in the business arena, I realized I would not be satisfied unless I studied the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples from a cross-disciplinary approach. My methodology represents one effort to bridge those academic information silos.

Ethnographic & Ethno-History Research

Agnes Grant's book, *No End of Grief*, was published the same year as the RCAP report (1996). What attracted me to her book was its ethnographic and ethno-historical material. Including first-hand accounts from residential school survivors and original source material by officials in governments and churches had turned the book, as far as I was concerned, into a powerful and highly readable introduction to the residential school issue.

Although my topic differed from hers, focusing on the post-residential school era in Canada's North, I chose to use a similar approach for this thesis. Rather than building on what scholarly material had to say about what was happening in Canada's North, I wanted to rely on what the people themselves told me, and to juxtapose that material with archival research from other authors and scholars along with my own participant-observations. An important consideration was to get both Aboriginal and EuroCanadian perspectives about contact, the missionaries and missionary endeavours, the schools, the apology and other initiatives, and the current relationship. The need to present the Aboriginal perspective is often ignored by scholars who may be aware of the gap but who rely primarily on written material and, until recently, written accounts of the Aboriginal perspective were not available. Thanks to developments in technology and the internet, and to the commitment of Aboriginal people and band councils to

capture their stories, however, Aboriginal perspectives are being made available to a broader audience. I incorporated what I could of these narratives into my thesis.

I chose to explore the present relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans through four sets of questions that revolved around: (1) residential schools and the residential school issue; (2) the 1993 apology and other ACC initiatives; (3) perspectives on the relationship itself; and (4) perceived challenges for Aboriginal peoples, the congregation, and their communities.

The residential school questions were important for several reasons. Answers would confirm, or so I believed, what other research was revealing about the residential schools. Answers would also provide an indication of how residential schools in the North differed from southern residential schools. Most importantly, however, what research uncovered about people's experiences in the northern residential schools would provide both the northern historical context during the residential school era and perceptions of that context within which the current relationship has emerged. The answers actually given, however, both confirmed and challenged my expectations.

Questions about the 1993 ACC apology and other ACC initiatives brought the historical context into the post-residential school era. Answers revealed the historical context — and perceptions of that context — in which the current relationship is unfolding and provided some suggestions of how successful Anglican efforts at the national level have filtered down to the congregational level. Answers also indicated whether people at the congregational level were familiar with Anglican initiatives to improve the ACC's relationship with Aboriginal peoples, and whether they believed such changes had improved their relationships with one another.

Questions about relationships focused on the current relationship. Answers indicated how Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans perceive the relationship and whether or not they were “in sync” with one another in their understanding of their relationship with one another.

The last set of questions focused specifically on challenges and, indirectly, on the current state of the relationship. Answers revealed whether or not Aboriginal and EuroCanadian participants were “in sync” with one another in their understanding of challenges. They also

provided opportunities to test answers that had been given, and to spot any latent racism and intolerance towards the “Other.”

Both open- and close-ended questions were used. Most participants did more than answer the questions. They shared their own stories and thoughts.

Oral vs Written Sources

Questions as to the credibility of participants and the information they shared soon emerged. How credible were my sources? How knowledgeable were they? How accurate was the information they were sharing with me? These are valid questions which all researchers must consider, whether dealing with ethnographies, ethnohistories, or other forms of documentation.

Since most participants lived or had lived in Canada’s North, I considered them to be knowledgeable about the situation in the North. They were already in a relationship with one another, interacting with other Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in some way and at some levels, regardless of whether it was good, bad, or indifferent. How they answered or did not answer my questions had to reflect their understanding of that relationship. At the same time, I recognized that what participants would share depended on the relationship that we established with each other (Wheeler 2009⁶). Given that I met with participants generally only once, I realized our relationships would be somewhat tentative, and that participants might share only some of what they really thought, or share only what they thought I wanted to hear. Furthermore, people in public positions of authority — such as clergy, government employees, and politicians — might temper their answers to ensure they were suitable for public consumption. Others might have their own agendas and moderate their answers accordingly. The possibility also existed that I might have asked the wrong questions, interpreted answers based on my own assumptions (or filled in any missing details), or not recognized and followed up on clues offered by participants. Even while acknowledging all the risks inherent with oral communication, I realized that none were exceptional; all were typical risks for any ethnographer.

Relying on written documentation, however, presents the same types of risk. How knowledgeable is the author; what are his or her credentials? What was the purpose of writing?

What was the author's agenda? What were the author's perspective and bias? What information was included and what information was excluded? Had I read the written material accurately, or had I misinterpreted what the author was saying?

The era of assuming that written records represent objective truths is over, a fact not always recognized. Census information may be inaccurate. Statistics can be manipulated. Original documents may be lost and records reconstructed from memory (e.g., my father signed his own birth certificate (Gaver 1992). Missionary records often reveal more about the missionaries themselves, their concerns, and their agendas than about the people or situations they write about. Letters and reports to superiors, missionary societies, and sponsors tended to emphasize the challenges and primitive conditions experienced by missionaries or teachers, the successes that came as a result of tremendous sacrifice and effort, the potential for greater success if only more money or more help were available. Articles written for newspapers or church/missionary magazines tended to highlight again the terrible need of the people, the tremendous good that missionaries/teachers were doing, and how appreciative Aboriginal people were of the good work but omitted what Aboriginal people themselves thought or believed.

As Robert Jervis notes in his study on perceptions: "facts can be interpreted, and indeed identified, only with the aid of hypotheses and theories. Pure empiricism is impossible..." (Jervis 1968:457). Jürgen Habermas holds a similar position, effectively summarizing the problem of all sources: written and oral:

If we imagine the philosophical discussion of the modern period reconstructed as a judicial hearing, it would be deciding a single question: how is reliable knowledge possible? (Habermas 2004:3)

Surveys and Sampling Credibility

Questions were also raised about drawing conclusions based on a small sampling of the population. What constitutes an adequate sampling pool is a matter of debate, as is the question of breadth or depth. I decided against focusing on one community that I would explore in depth since that community might have been an exception to the norm. Instead, I chose to broaden the participant base as much as possible. I visited the NT and YT; I visited communities in the southern and northern portions of each territory; I interviewed people in the ACC, in other

churches, and in secular situations (on the plane, store clerks, etc.); I interviewed Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people; clergy and laity; and men and women.

Other Research

Field trips included not only participant interviews but also my own participant-observations, such as what I saw in the congregations I visited, what I saw in restaurants and stores, and what I saw on the streets. I was also able to “bounce” some of my observations off participants or people with whom I talked about the project and get their reactions to what I was observing.

Archival and literature research was an important component of the project. First, it provided the historical context and information needed for understanding the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in the NY / YT during the residential school era. Second, it complemented and confirmed (or challenged) what participants were telling me. Third, archival research provided a historical context important for understanding what was being shared and the overall relationship in the present. Finally, research provided the background data necessary for analyzing and interpreting data collected through field trips and other research.

Assumptions

Assumptions are a major issue to any research project, not only affecting what data is collected or excluded but also how it is interpreted or ignored. Canadian scholar Cornelius Jaenen, in his 1983 article on French perceptions of New France and its Aboriginal inhabitants, demonstrates how the French interpreted the land and its peoples based on the preconceptions the French had when they left France. He concludes that the French saw what they expected to see, based on their perceptions of the land. Historian Carl Berger holds a similar view, writing that, “History is not an olympian record of past activity; it reveals a good deal about the intellectual climate in which it was composed” (Berger 1976:ix). Likewise, University of Ottawa student, Pauline Klemencic, writes in her exam, “History, as a discipline, is inherently biased. Historians attempt to retell selective past events using their own personal lens, and what they write is thus a reflection of how they see the world” (Klemencic 2009).

My research project delved into a potentially controversial subject. I thought I could be objective. I am a scholar. I have integrity, however I understand that to be. I am also a Presbyterian minister who wants to know the truth of what the Church had done wrong and how effective changes to rectify mistakes of the past have been. I have an honest desire to understand and an honest respect for Aboriginal people. I thought that, with a good deal of research, I would be able to provide objective insights into “The Other.” But could I?

I also had some empathy for what Aboriginal people had experienced. Although my personal experiences were a far cry from what Aboriginal people had experienced in their relationships with EuroCanadian people — I have never been abused — I came to the project believing that my own experiences would provide a small window onto my understanding some of whatever I would encounter. My parents were American; they moved to Montréal (Québec) the year before I was born. They raised me to believe that Québec was a French province and that, even though I was attending an English Protestant school, I had to learn French to live and work in that province. Most of my high school classmates did not hold the same views, believing there was no need to learn French; the French would learn English! No matter what I did, I did not fit in — or at least I felt I did not fit in — with the rest of that society: definitely not French and definitely not English. I was an outsider in my own home town.

Even so, I knew I was coming into the project with some definite biases. I firmly believed that our relationship with Aboriginal peoples had been based on colonialism from the moment of first contact. I believed that those who thought otherwise were ignorant of the facts or had been so assimilated into the dominant society that they did not realize how much of their own culture had been lost. Profoundly perturbed by people’s stories in Agnes Grant’s book (1996), I was just as upset by one individual who did not get upset with what I was telling him about the residential schools. As I heard some details about life in British boarding schools from him and others, I began to question my original assumption. Were residential schools evidence of colonialism or of something else? My supervisor warned me that another side to the residential school story existed, but frankly I did not believe her. I believed I was objective and open-minded but was determined not to exonerate the Churches for what they had done to Aboriginal people in residential schools. What I did not expect to find were positive stories

about residential schools, about relationships with school staff, and about how staff in the schools encouraged children to hold onto their language and culture!

What I had not yet realized was how much of myself I was bringing to the project. Then I came across a 1968 article by Monsignor Ivan Illich (1968) in which he told those attending a conference on InterAmerican Student Projects (CIASP) that they should stay home and deal with the poor in their own country rather than go to Third World countries where they could not help but cause problems. People, according to Illich, were the products of their society. Wherever they went and whatever they did, they brought with them considerable baggage - their worldviews, their beliefs, their value systems, their prejudices. As he put it:

... you cannot help being ultimately vacationing salesmen for the middle-class "American Way of Life," since that is really the only life you know. ... You, like the values you carry, are the products of an American society of achievers and consumers, with its two-party system, its universal schooling, and its family-car affluence. You are ultimately - consciously or unconsciously - "salesmen" for a delusive ballet in the ideas of democracy, equal opportunity and free enterprise among people who haven't the possibility of profiting from these" (Illich 1968).

As objective as I wanted to be in conducting the research project, I realized that Illich was right. I was coming into the project from a privileged position. I am a EuroCanadian woman and have lived most of my life in suburban areas in southern Canada. I recognized that I would experience a considerable culture gap in doing my fieldwork in the North, in communities far smaller than those to which I was accustomed, and among people whose cultures I knew only from books and conversations with my supervisors. I am also a Presbyterian minister, with some sympathy for mission work and proclaiming the Christian Gospel. I came to realize I was sufficiently anti-Roman Catholic (my mother had been raised in a denomination that believed Baptists were too liberal!) that I did not believe I could transcend my antipathy towards Catholicism to deal fairly with Roman Catholic missionaries and have therefore left them out of the picture as much as possible.

During the course of the project, I discovered a number of other assumptions I had unknowingly made and brought with me to the project. I assumed that Aboriginal people in the North would be familiar with the ACC 1969 *Hendry Report* and would consider it to be a

“life-changing document” as much as the Rev. Gordon Beardy had (Hendry 1998:viii); most Aboriginal participants on that first field trip were not and I soon stopped asking about it. I assumed that residential schools in the North would have operated essentially the same way as those in the South; I discovered — not always. I assumed clergy would follow the same calendar and vacation pattern as in the south and scheduled my field trips accordingly, and discovered — not necessarily. I assumed people would have the same understanding of “relationship” and “reconciliation” as I did so generally did not even ask what they understood by the terms. I soon discovered that I was wrong. I assumed that people would understand my questions — some did not.

The experience of having people not understand me and of having some of my assumptions proven wrong made me wonder whether the ACC was “fixing the right things” in its various initiatives. Was it aware of, and did it understand the impact of, the cultural divides that existed between EuroCanadian people and the different First Nations, Inuit, and Métis? With so much of the focus on physical and sexual abuse and compensation, did the ACC really understand why the residential schools had been so traumatic for so many Aboriginal people regardless of whether or not they had been physically and/or sexually abused?

Gradually, as I worked through the information I was gathering, I began to wonder whether it was even possible to describe a different culture than my own. I was the outsider looking in. What clues might I miss? What information might I misunderstand? Like the philosopher Lorenzo Bonoli (2010), I wondered whether it was possible to describe a culture which did not share my history, my worldview, and, until recently, not even my language. What words and what concepts could I use that did not contain within them nuances and notions reflective of my own culture? At the same time, however, I accepted what the Jewish philosopher, Rabbi Tarphon had said in Avot 2:21, “It is not your duty to complete the work, but neither are you free to desist from it” (Rossel et al 1975:109). As a EuroCanadian, a Christian, and a Presbyterian minister I believed I had an obligation to at least try to make sense of what I discovered in the North.

I came to realize I was approaching my research project with an agenda. I found myself wondering how much of what had happened had been rooted within Christianity itself. I had

only to think of how Christians had treated Aboriginal people over the years ... and Blacks ... and Jews ... and women ... and children ... and wondered whether there was a poison within Christianity itself. I began to think about a volcano and an iceberg. What is visible and tangible is too often only a small part of what is going on. Most of what exists is just below the surface, hidden from public view. Had the ACC been working on the visible aspects of the tragedy without tackling the underlying causes?

I asked several Aboriginal people how they could still be Christian given how EuroCanadian Christians had treated them? I have been humbled by the depth of the faith revealed in their answers, by their sophistication in being able to distinguish between the Gospel message from the all-too imperfect human beings who proclaimed it. To them I say, thank you for having shared what you did and for having contributed to a renewal of my own faith.

2. PRACTICAL DETAILS: THE BASIC BUILDING BLOCKS OF THE NARRATIVE

Overview

In this chapter, I set some parameters to the narrative by (1) clarifying and discussing issues surrounding the five “W’s” of the project: *where*, *when*, *who*, *what*, and *why*; and (2) providing working definitions for important terminology used in the thesis. A summary of important terminology and acronyms is also found in Appendix A.

The Caveats of the Five W’s

General

At first, I believed that sketching the research project in terms of a story would be useful for defining its various parameters and, in particular, for determining the five “W’s”:

Where: The diocese of the Arctic in the NT and the diocese of Yukon in the YT

When: The residential and post-residential school eras

Who: Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans; the western portion of the Diocese of the Arctic and the Diocese of Yukon

What: The current relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans

Why: To examine why the current relationship is the way it is by:

- (1) identifying factors that affect the relationship; and, in particular,
- (2) assessing how successfully the ACC in the North had moved from its colonialist, paternalistic past to a post-colonial partnership with its Aboriginal membership

As research progressed, however, I came to realize how mistaken I had been in my original understanding of the five “W’s.” Inherent within each of the five “W’s” were challenges that needed to be taken into account when dealing with sources, or when interpreting and evaluating data gathered during the course of the research project.

Where

Over a period of three years (2006-2008), I visited seven communities in the NT (Figure 1) and YT (Figure 2): Yellowknife and Hay River (2006); Whitehorse and Dawson

(2008 winter); and Inuvik, Fort McPherson and Tuktoyaktuk (2008 fall). There, I met with the diocesan bishops, and with clergy and/or congregations of a number of Anglican congregations in the diocese of the Arctic (Figure 3) and of Yukon (Figure 4): Christ Church Cathedral (Figure 5, Whitehorse, YT); Church of the Ascension (Figure 6, Inuvik, NT); Church of the Northern Apostles (Figure 7, Whitehorse, YT); Holy Trinity (Figure 8, Yellowknife, NT) and diocesan offices (Figure 9, Yellowknife, NT); St. Andrew's / Grace United (Figure 10, Hay River, NT); St. Matthews (Figure 11, Fort McPherson, NT); and St. Paul's (Figure 12, Dawson, YT). I also tried to visit the Anglican Church in Tuktoyaktuk (Figure 13). The diocese of the Arctic is the largest diocese in the world covering the NT, Nunavut, and Nunavik; practical realities forced me to limit my research to its western portion.

Where possible, I also visited congregations, or met with ministers, from other denominations: Dawson City Community Gospel Chapel (Dawson, YT); Our Lady of Grace (Tuktoyaktuk, NT); Whitehorse United Church (Whitehorse, YT); and Yellowknife United Church (Yellowknife, NT).

Researching these communities, as well as the territories and the dioceses in which they are located, proved problematic as names and boundaries have changed over the years¹. Names of communities and regions are likewise problematic. Whose names should I use? To speak of Fort McPherson already espouses a EuroCanadian perspective that seems to negate an Aboriginal presence but to speak of Tetlit Zheh espouses an Aboriginal perspective that seems to negate a EuroCanadian presence. Using both names solves nothing: which would appear first? Moreover, how would I deal with areas which were named by more than one Aboriginal nation? I settled on the names found on the territorial governments' websites (<http://www.gov.nt.ca> and <http://www.gov.yk.ca>). Where sources used a different name, I put the government name in parentheses.

In other words, what names were used to identify regions and communities, and what area was included in those names depends on the era, those who lived there, and those who were doing the naming. As much as possible for the purposes of this thesis, "Canada's North" refers to today's NT and YT, stretching from north of 60° latitude to the North Pole, and from the Alaska-Yukon border in the west to the NT-Nunavut border in the east. The term "western

Canada,” used primarily in historical discussions, reflects nineteenth-century geography, and refers to the provinces west of southwestern Ontario (excluding British Columbia), and the NT and YT (see Figures 22 to 26 for the region’s “evolution”).

When

Since I was exploring what had changed in the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples, it was clear that I was dealing with two periods of time: the residential and post-residential school eras. This lent itself to examining the relationship using a “before-and-after” scenario. The problem was to fix the dates for each era.

The term “residential school” did not appear until the 1920s (Hayes 2004:31) but what is commonly understood as residential schools, regardless of what they were called, certainly existed earlier. Determining just when such schools first appeared is, however, open to debate². Since the ACC traced its residential schools in western Canada back to “the efforts of the Reverend John West in the Red River Settlement in 1820” (Milloy 2003:xi), for this thesis, the year 1820 marked the beginning of the Anglican residential school era.

Determining the point of transition from the residential to the post-residential school era was easier. On March 31, 1969, the contract between the ACC and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) expired. By not renewing the contract, the ACC officially withdrew from the residential school program. The end of the residential school era and start of the post-residential school era, therefore, dates to 1969.

In other words, the “before” period covers 1820-1969 while the “after” period covers 1969 to, as far as this thesis is concerned, 2008 (the end of the research project).

Who

Since the project explored the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans in Canada’s North; it seemed clear that two distinct groups within the ACC were being studied: Aboriginal and EuroCanadian³. What I soon realized was that such terminology, while useful in a general sense in the project, masked the considerable complexities of identities.

To write of the “ACC” or even of “Anglicans” covers a broad spectrum of people, theologies, practices, and histories⁴. The ACC itself was not established until 1893, even though

Anglican presence in Canada dates back to the sixteenth century⁵. Many Anglican missionaries to Canada's North were sent out not by the ACC nor even by the Church of England in England, but rather by missionary societies such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS). In other words, Anglicanism is an umbrella term covering a range of distinct identities that contributed to shaping the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans in Canada's North.

No ethnic group called "Aboriginal" or "EuroCanadian" exists. Aboriginal peoples are not a single, cohesive nation or culture. What exists are people from different linguistic groups, nations, and cultures who are commonly referred to as "First Nations," and "Inuit." Today's Aboriginal peoples in Canada's North can be identified as belonging to one of four linguistic groups: (1) the Inuvialuit of northern NT and YT; (2) the Algonquian Cree of the NT; (3) the Tlingit of the YT; and (4) the Athapaskan of NT and YT which includes the Dogrib, Dene, Chipewyan, North and South Slavey, Gwich'in Hän, Tr'ondëk Hwëchin, Northern and Southern Tutchone, Kaska, and Tagish. Even these labels are tenuous as, within each group exists considerable variation⁶.

Similarly, EuroCanadian peoples do not represent a single, cohesive culture. What exist are Canadians of various European descent: for example, English, French, Scots, Irish, or Danes. Furthermore, for much of Northern history, relationships were not with people from southern Canada, but with people from northern Europe. In such instances, I refer to "Europeans" or "EuroCanadian/Europeans." The situation in the Yukon created its own difficulties, bringing in non-Aboriginal people from the United States of America ("Americans") and even people from as far away as Australia and New Zealand. At such times I have settled for the more generic and race-oriented label of "White" rather than the cumbersome label of "EuroCanadian/European/American etc."

Determining the "Who" became even more complicated when I realized that Aboriginal-European/EuroCanadian contact had resulted in children of mixed heritage, including the Métis⁷. While the term Métis is used in the southern portions of the NT/YT and generally refers to people of Aboriginal/French ancestry, the term, as anthropologist Richard Slobodin points out "is little known and is seldom applied" in the northern parts, leading him to refer to "Northern Metis" (no accent) (Slobodin 1966:13ff). I discovered, as does educator

and cultural anthropologist A. Richard King, that labels are more important to scholars than they are to many of the people in the North. King concludes:

(there is a) relative meaninglessness of legalism in identifying Indian and non-Indian. Although such terms tend to fragment families, the underlying kinship patterns persist and family unity is a function of these feelings rather than of legal identity (King 1967:12).

A similar problem emerged when dealing with “church people.” The term “laity” refers to those Christians who have not been elected or appointed to positions within the Church (either at a national or a congregational level). The term “priest” refers to those who have studied theology, have served as deacons for a period, and have been ordained as a priest by a bishop. However, deacons may be ordained for specific ministry without mention of education being made, and the ACC allows for laity to be elected and serve as “churchwardens” which gives them opportunities to learn more about issues facing the ACC than most laity learn. Church secretaries are also lay people whose work gives them more knowledge about congregational life and issues than the average lay person has. I discovered, however, that some clergy, particularly in Anglican evangelical circles, have been ordained because of their faith and commitment, regardless of their education or training: for example, William Carpenter Bompas was ordained deacon in 1859 and priested three weeks before leaving for his CMS mission posting in 1865 (Cody 1908). John Horden at Moosonee was ordained after beginning missionary work in Canada in 1852, and became bishop in 1872. Furthermore, not all missionaries were priests. Some, such as William Duncan among the Tsimshian, were never ordained. Such facts raised questions about categories and who could be expected to know what.

In other words, and as stated earlier, to speak of “Who” using labels such as “Aboriginal,” “EuroCanadian,” “Anglican,” the “ACC,” “clergy” and “laity” is useful more than true, and is true in only the most general sense.

What

Seeing that the question under investigation was the state of the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples, the “What” seemed straightforward: the relationship. Included in the word was (1) the “before” relationship of the residential school era; (2) the

“after” relationship of the post-residential school era; and (3) the changes that had occurred in an effort to improve the relationships – i.e., reconciliation initiatives.

Of course, no single relationship existed during the “before” era or exists today. There was no overarching encounter that encompassed all periods of “Canadian” history, all parts of Canada, all groups, and all individuals involved. What existed were numerous encounters (plural): for example, between the Dene and the French in the NT, or between the Inuit of Kugluktuk and the Anglican Rt. Rev. John Sperry. Furthermore, relationships exist at any number of levels: between individuals, groups or institutions/organizations (and variations thereof); occasional, regular, and frequent; casual, social, intimate (to name a few). What exactly did I mean by the term? What did the participants understand by the term?

At the same time, when asked about their views regarding the relationship, participants had no trouble answering the question. Based on their responses, it does seem possible to speak of a general understanding regarding the relationship between the ACC—whether it be the local congregation or Church in general—and Aboriginal peoples in local communities and in the North in general.

Why

The “Why” of whatever is to be studied poses the greatest challenge for scholars. At some level, answering why involves questions of intentionality and motivation—questions that are usually difficult to ascertain. In this thesis, the challenge of why involves, among others, reasons for the presence and activities of missionaries in the North. Focusing on such motivations, however, runs the danger of sidetracking the thesis from examining the relationship today.

For this thesis, the “Why” refers to why the current relationship is the way it is. Part of the answer lies in exploring the past, to discover factors that contributed to shaping the relationship in the past, to determine what has changed, and to assess whether those factors continue to exist in the present. Residential schools emerged as responses to specific historical contexts, shaped by the values and personalities of the people responsible for them. The residential school issue is one of their legacies, and exists very much in the present.

In other words, residential schools are the window onto both the historic and the current relationship. Exploring participants' views of the schools and the issue was simply a means of opening the window onto both the "What" and the "Why" of the relationship.

Working Definitions

Many terms used in this thesis are replete with inherent challenges. A few are mentioned and dealt with in this section. More complete lists of terminology and acronyms are found in Appendix A.

Canada

To speak of "Canada" prior to 1867 is, to some extent, anachronistic. If speaking about a period prior to 1867-1870, then it is important to remember that "western Canada" or "Canada's North" was not part of Canada but "belonged" to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) or the Aboriginal people who inhabited it. Canada — i.e., the country — did not exist prior to 1867 although Upper and Lower Canada did. Canada — i.e., the Canadian government — did not purchase western Canada from the HBC until 1870.

Canada North

In this project, "Canada North" refers to the western portions of northern Canada — i.e., excluding Nunavut / Nunavik.

Church, Churches, church

The term "Church" (capital "C") is used to refer to the one Church or "ecclesia" — one body of Christ present in the world, composed of all (Christian) believers, i.e., the "organization of religious believers" (Merriam-Webster).

Among ecumenical groups, the term refers to the one (Christian) Church, regardless of denomination; when preceded by a denominational affiliation (e.g., the Anglican Church of Canada), the term refers to the specific body or institution, along with the group-specific dogma and doctrine. Among non-ecumenical groups, the term refers to the one Church which is generally recognized as being their Church with all others being imposters, corrupted, misguided.

The term “Churches” (capital “C”) refers to (Christian) denominations at the institutional level — for example, the PCC, RCC and ACC.

The term “church” (small “c”) refers to a sociological category covering anything from a building to a congregation to a parish, and refers to either the congregation/parish as an institution or as a collective of members.

Many missionaries were sent out by missionary societies that had ties to specific Churches but did not report to the denominations directly. To avoid dealing with questions of when denominations officially came into existence and assumed responsibility for specific mission charges, I avoid the term. For example, I speak of “Anglican” missionaries rather than identifying them as members of the ACC.

People, peoples

In this thesis, “people” refers to a plurality of individuals where as “peoples” refers to a plurality of collectives — for example, First Nations, bands within a First Nations, Canadians of English descent, Canadians of French descent, etc.

Priest

According to the diocese of British Columbia, a priest is one who “has studied theology, has served as a deacon for at least one year and has been ordained as a priest by a Bishop. Serves in a clerical position and is responsible for the cure of souls” (D-BC 1986), but according to many evangelicals, a personal, individual commitment of faith and a genuine conversion experience was more important than theological training.

Residential schools

The term includes boarding schools, mission schools, industrial schools, and hostels as well as those recognized as residential schools.

Western Canada

The term refers specifically to the geographical region in the nineteenth-century: western provinces, NT, YT, and (at times) BC.

Summary

It is important to note how difficult, if not impossible, it is for readers from other parts of North America to grasp how huge the region is and how few people inhabit it. Communities are small and scattered - many are accessible only by air or canoe (e.g., Old Crow) or ice roads in the winter (e.g., Tuktoyaktuk). Paradoxically, members of those communities know each other and members of other communities far more than we do in the south. Culturally, it means that individual personal contacts and individual personalities assume greater importance. Methodologically, this makes it impossible to give too many details about individual participants.

3. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND EMERGENCE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

In order to better comprehend EuroCanadian Anglican relationships relationship with Aboriginal peoples and their reasons for creating residential schools in Canada's North, it is important to backtrack briefly to the Anglican Reformation in sixteenth-century England. In this chapter¹, I briefly consider both the history of Anglicanism and its development in terms of divisions that emerged, and the beginnings of those missionary societies that are important for Canadian history.

The English Reformation and Growth of Anglicanism

The English Reformation

The English Reformation differed significantly from the Protestant Reformation of continental Europe. There, protests against corruption in the Catholic Church and theological differences led groups to splinter off from the Catholic Church (which they then called the "Roman Catholic Church"). New Churches were established. The most important and largest of these splinter groups were the Lutherans in Germany and Denmark, and, based on the teachings of John Calvin, members of the Reformed Tradition found in many countries, including Switzerland, France, The Netherlands, Scotland, and England. The English Reformation, however, began as a dispute over power, and the question of the relationship between Church and government — a question that was to emerge time and again on the Canadian scene.

King Henry VIII (1491-1547) wanted to divorce his wife so he could marry Anne Boleyn. He needed the pope's permission to do so. The pope refused. Henry VIII also wanted to reclaim rights and powers over the Church in England that had belonged to the monarchy but that had been neglected or forgotten over the years (Neill 1987:31ff). This led to the separation from the Catholic Church and the creation of the Church of England. Henry VIII was able to steer a course between Roman Catholicism and the Protestantism of Luther and Calvin, effectively creating a denomination that could be considered "Anglo-Catholic." His immediate successors (Edward VI and Lady Jane Grey), however, were both Protestants and led England towards a Calvinist-type of Anglicanism, persecuting and executing Roman Catholics.

In 1553, Mary I came to the English throne. Known also as “Bloody Mary” for her persecution and execution of Protestants, she returned England to Roman Catholicism. By the time Elizabeth I came to the throne in 1558, England had already experienced several decades of religious persecutions. During her long reign (1558-1603), Elizabeth I brought social and religious stability back to England by navigating a middle path between Roman Catholicism and Calvinist Protestantism that was reminiscent of the Anglo-Catholicism espoused by her father. What emerged under her guidance was an Anglicanism that not only represented a middle way between religious polarities but also incorporated diversity within itself, allowing for both Anglo-Catholicism and a more Protestant form of Anglicanism. Unfortunately, this diversity within Anglicanism led to tensions and internal divisions which have reverberated in both Canadian history and the relationship between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal Anglicans.

Seventeenth-Century England

Seventeenth-century England was spared the worst of the religious wars that wracked continental Europe until 1648 and drove so many to seek refuge in the Americas. Nevertheless, England still experienced numerous plots and uprisings that eventually culminated in their own civil wars. Perhaps the most famous was the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. King James I of England (also James VI of Scotland, 1603-1625) had been raised Presbyterian (Reformed Tradition) but was the head of the Church of England. He is best known for having sponsored the translation of the Bible (King James version). Needless to say, being Protestant — whether Anglo-Calvinist or Anglo-Catholic — was not popular with Roman Catholics. A group of Roman Catholics, led by Guy Fawkes, planned to blow up the English parliament when the king was present. The plot failed but its discovery led to a backlash against the Roman Catholic Church, commemorated in a poem that is still popular in England:

Remember, remember the fifth of November.
 Gunpowder, Treason and Plot.
 I see no reason why Gunpowder Treason
 Should ever be forgot (Ford 2007) ...
 A penny loaf to feed the Pope
 A farthing o’cheese to choke him
 A pint of beer to rinse it down
 A faggot of sticks to burn him... (Blogcatalog 2008).

Such attitudes are echoed in, and may well have shaped, the anti-Catholic attitudes held by many English missionaries in western Canada.

Tensions between Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics, and various Calvinist Protestant groups, such as the Puritans, continued to mount along with varying degrees of persecution. Some Puritans left England, eventually reaching Massachusetts in 1620. A series of civil wars began in 1642. Issues over power came into play as monarchs began espousing the belief they ruled by “Divine Right” and could do pretty much as they wished. Here again, the relationship between Church and State is an issue being worked through, thought through, and fought over in England. By 1648, Charles I (1625-1648) was overthrown and, in 1649, beheaded.

Oliver Cromwell, a Puritan leader and leader of the opposition, became Lord Protector of the British Commonwealth. He enacted a number of laws which turned England into a country that seemed like “Calvinist Geneva, except on a much grander scale” (Butler 2007). Make-up was banned, as were clothes deemed “too colourful,” and most sports. Theatres and taverns were closed. Sabbath (Sunday) observance was enforced: playing football on the Sabbath could lead to whipping; women doing “unnecessary work” on the Sabbath could lead to their being put in stocks; going for a Sunday walk could lead to fines (Butler 2007; Trueman 2009). Such laws reflected Cromwell’s Puritan values, but not those of Anglo-Catholics. By 1660, Cromwell had died; his commonwealth fell soon afterwards. The monarchy was restored under Charles II (1660-1685). Cromwell’s laws were repealed, and England returned to a moderate middle-of-the-road Anglicanism.

Charles II believed in the Divine Right of monarchs but as a religious moderate, he was essentially tolerated by the people. His son, James, who also believed in the Divine Right of kings, was a Roman Catholic. When he became king in 1685, the threat of civil war once again raised its head. This time, however, the wars led to a different solution. In 1688, James was deposed and banished to France with his Roman Catholic son. One reason that contributed to his dethronement rather than his execution was a religious fatigue that many in England were feeling. Anti-Catholic sentiment continued to be high, but by the end of the seventeenth-century there was also a reaction against the religious fervour and fanaticism that had dominated so much of the previous two centuries. His daughter, Mary, was a Protestant as was her husband,

the Dutch William of Orange. They became co-rulers, ruling as “William-and-Mary” from 1689 to 1694. Following Mary’s death in 1694, William continued to rule on his own until his death in 1702. Since William and Mary had no children, the throne passed to Mary’s sister Anne, who ruled from 1702 to 1714.

The First Anglican Missionary Societies

One act not repealed by Charles II was Cromwell’s creation of the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.” This “New England Company,” as it is now called, was the first of many missionary societies. Its mandate was to bring “the Gospel of Christ unto and amongst the heathen natives in or near New England and parts adjacent in America” (NewEngland 2004). Following the American Revolution, the New England Company shifted its focus to Canada and later became involved in a number of residential schools.

By the end of the seventeenth century, some English Protestants, concerned at the growing lack of religious knowledge among the general population, decided something needed to be done. In 1699, Thomas Bray and some friends founded the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge” (SPCK). The SPCK was concerned with “the growth of vice and immorality” which they saw as “owing to ‘gross ignorance of the Christian religion’,” and was committed to promoting Christian knowledge (Neill 1987:19). Included in its mandate was a commitment to sending missionaries ‘for the Plantations,’ “to publish and circulate books and Bibles, and to found and direct schools” (Neill 1987:197). At first, the SPCK was active in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, but within a couple of years decided to limit its focus to educating Christians.

In 1701, Thomas Bray founded another society, the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts” (SPG), specifically geared for missionary work. The SPG operated with the “support and authorization of both Church and State.” Its mandate was threefold: (1) “to provide for an orthodox clergy (i.e., Anglo-Catholic priests) to live in the British colonies overseas;” (2) “to care for the spiritual needs of the colonists;” and (3) to look after “the needs of ‘the heathen’” (Neill 1987:198). The main thrust of Anglican initiatives during the 17th and the greater part of the 18th centuries was to “provide pastoral and spiritual care for British

settlers abroad” (Scotland 2004:287) — specifically, for the English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish settlers in Canada.

Eighteenth-Century Tensions Within Anglicanism

Different Understandings of Anglicanism

Eighteenth-century England saw developments in Anglicanism resulting from the on-going tension between Anglo-Catholics and Protestant Calvinist-type Anglicans over just how Protestant the Church of England would be. That tension continues today even in the ACC and periodically threatens to split the Anglican Communion. The divisive issues were not simply a matter of labels, but included the theologies and practices inherent in the labels. (The most recent issue in Canada is over same-sex marriage with support or rejection essentially splitting along the Anglo-Catholic / Evangelical Anglican line.)

At one extreme were those who saw Anglicanism as essentially Catholicism without the Pope — a position espoused by Henry VIII (Wand 1964:17). At the other extreme were those who, like Edward VI and his counsellors, espoused a Calvinist form of Anglicanism. In-between were those who, like Elizabeth I, espoused Protestantism yet held onto many aspects of Roman Catholicism.

The names of the factions would vary over the years. Positions would coalesce around different issues and trends. At times one faction would have predominance over others. In the early years, two main factions within Anglicanism could be identified: “high” and “low” church (Hayes 2004:114). By the nineteenth century, these had given way to other factions. The most important of these were the “tractarians” and the “evangelicals.”

High Church Anglicanism

The high church faction — many of whom were the upper class — emphasized rituals, ceremonies, the corporate nature of the Church, and believed “that authority flowed from the top down” (Hayes 2004:114). Being Protestant, the high church faction rejected the authority of the Pope but it did accept that the monarch was “the supreme governor of the Church,” and furthermore that “Parliament was its chief legislature” (Hayes 2004:4).

In other words, the high church faction saw a close relationship existing between Church and State. It accepted the Crown appointing bishops, granting marriage licenses, and probating

wills (Hayes 2004:217). It had no problem with Parliament when the latter approved (or rejected) changes in Church organizational structures (Hayes 2004:92-96; Carrington 1963:126ff), passed laws establishing church liturgy (Hayes 2004:234), or allocated grants for missionary activities (which it did from 1814 to the 1830s) (Hayes 2004:15).

High church theology rooted its position in biblical times when the prophets actually provided the political, legislative, judicial, and military leadership of the community (cf. Judges), and to the Israelite monarchy when prophets anointed as kings those they believed had been called by God (cf. I and II Samuel; I and II Chronicles). Since, according to this theology, monarchs were chosen by God, high church members tended to accept that monarchs, no matter how good or bad they might be, ruled by divine right (Hayes 2004:8). As stated in a sermon by Charles Inglis in 1780 on I Peter 2:17 — “Fear God. Honour the King” (KJV). His thesis was that if Peter, writing at the time of Nero and Christian persecutions, advocated honouring such a monarch, then eighteenth-century Christians should also honour and support the State because it had been vested with both legal authority and with the authority given to it by God (Hayes 2004:230-231).

Seeing a close connection between Church and State, high church members believed that the Church was critical for the survival of the State, and that it had an obligation to support the government. The best way the Church could accomplish this, according to the high church position, was by creating good citizens, and by limiting the rights of those who held dissenting views (Hayes 2004:8). For members of the high church faction, good Christians were, almost by definition, good citizens. As Richard Hooker, an Elizabethan theologian, put it: “There is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England” (Hayes 2004:4). Bishop Strachan of Toronto expressed similar sentiments in one of his sermons from 1825:

... as the Supreme Being has been pleased to communicate his will, it is the duty of every Christian Government to support such a religious establishment, as may best secure the benefits of this revelation to all their subjects ... Indeed a Christian nation without a religious establishment is a contradiction. (Hayes 2004:239).

At the same time, Church-State relations were not always necessarily peaceful. Debates sometimes erupted as to who was the ultimate authority: Did the state have the right to dictate to the Church? Did the Church have the right to dictate to the state? While the Presbyterian Church split over the question (Moir 1994), the Church of England did not. In fact, the issue over who had authority over whom was one point where high church and evangelicals might agree (Thomas 1991:20).

By the early 19th century, the high church faction had lost considerable support not only among the people but even within the government. Nicknamed as a “high-and-dry” church, the high church seen as emphasizing a “rational and moralizing spirituality” (Hayes 2004:115) that did little to stimulate interest in Christianity.

Nevertheless, in Canada, high church Anglicanism gained in strength as Canadian Anglicanism grew, and began to organize itself along the lines of the Church of England, establishing dioceses headed by bishops who supervised church life and missionary activities within specific geographic boundaries. Many dioceses and many parishes within dioceses in southern Canada reflect high church Anglicanism in its various incarnations.

Low Church Anglicanism

The low church faction — many of whom were either lower class, or of ethnic origin (e.g., Irish) and who may have been accustomed to operating as a minority within a predominantly non-Anglican country — rejected many of the formalities of the high church, and believed “that authority flowed from the bottom up” (Hayes 2004:114). Rejecting the doctrine of monarchs ruling by divine right, low church members believed that governments were created by people, and existed in order to protect the rights of people (Hayes 2004:8).

Since governments had not been created by God but were manmade creations, it followed that Christians should have little to do with the Church. The Church should not expect support from governments; it would survive through “voluntarism” — i.e., people voluntarily contributing to its support. Rather than stressing the corporate nature of the Church, low church members focused on the individual and stressed the need for a personal, individual commitment of faith that would be recognizable by the living of ethical and moral lives.

In time, low church Anglicans found themselves in opposition not only to the high church party within Anglicanism but also to changes that were happening within society, particularly with respect to new philosophies that were emerging (such as Deism) and to new discoveries in science. Some reacted to such changes by retrenching themselves even more firmly in what they had traditionally believed, showing themselves as “people whose ideas on doctrine and worship were for the most part anything but flexible” (Hayes 2004:115); these would come to be known as “evangelical” Christians.

In Canada, most missionaries came from the low church, evangelical Anglicanism. While many congregations, established by missionaries or headed by evangelical clergy, can be found in southern Canada, the northern dioceses of the Arctic and of Yukon are essentially evangelical Anglican bodies.

Broad church Anglicanism

The “Broad Church” (or “Latitudinarian”) emerged in the late seventeenth century in response to new discoveries in science and new liberalism in political thinking, and included both high and low church Anglicans. Its emphasis was on the spirit rather than the letter of the law. While holding to the fundamentals of faith and believing in the authority of the bible, these Christians regarded the Bible’s authority “as lying in its power to speak direct to the heart ... they combined a love of external nature with an aspiration after an inner union with God” (Wand 1964:105).

Flexible and willing able to accommodate changes in doctrine, worship, and Church order; such Christians were willing to “allow more liberty of worship than the typical Anglican and more liberty of doctrine than the Puritan” (Wand 1964:105). Critics of the broad church sometimes referred to it as “broad and hazy” (Wand 1964:109).

The “Great Awakening”

In the mid-eighteenth century, the modern evangelical movement (part of the “Great Awakening” of western Europe and the Americas) emerged under the Wesleys (Scotland 2004:ix). Both John and Charles Wesley had been high-church Anglicans but, after a trip to Georgia in the Americas where his high-church ways were suspect, John Wesley came in contact with a Moravian preacher. This led to dramatic conversion experiences that led both John

(1703-1791) and his brother Charles² (1707-1788) to a new religious fervour that emphasized personal and experiential dimensions of religion, interpreting them as the inward work of the Holy Spirit. Facing opposition from other Anglican clergy, John Wesley began preaching in open fields. These open-air revival-type meetings marked the split from the Church of England, the beginnings of Wesleyanism/Methodism, and the beginnings of the modern evangelical movement.

Wesleyanism/Methodism was not the only English evangelical movement to have emerged from within Anglicanism. While Wesleyanism/Methodism separated from Anglicanism to form its own denomination, other evangelical movements found a place for themselves within the Church of England. Evangelical extremism, with its ties to Calvinist Puritanism, still existed within the Church of England, emerging in the nineteenth century as the Recordite movement (Altholz 1997:189).

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) and its origins

The “Clapham Sect”

Not all evangelical Anglicans represented extreme forms of emotionalism (one charge levied against the “Great Awakening”) or extreme rigidity as found in Calvinist Puritanism. Evangelical moderates could also be found within Anglicanism.

Henry Venn (1725-1797), rector of Clapham, was one such moderate, an evangelical priest who remained within the Church of England. His parish included “a number of well-to-do and influential people living in substantial houses on the borders of the Common” (Hardman n.d.), many of whom were concerned with social issues. From this convergence of Venn and his parishioners emerged an evangelical movement known as the “Old Evangelical Party” and the “Clapham Sect.” Their high position in society led some, such as William Makepeace Thackeray, to ridicule their evangelicalism, but it also gave them entrance to upper echelons of the British government and businesses.

According to Conybeare, the Clapham Sect was known for its “philanthropic work in mine and factories, prison reform, the establishment of Ragged Schools, the founding of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), and the establishment of Church Building Societies. Their supreme achievement was the “suppression

of the slave trade” (Scotland 2004:9) but other concerns included “duelling, bull-and bear-baiting, the state lottery, vice, the use of boys in chimney sweeping and the misuse of the Sabbath” (Scotland 2004:14). Their accomplishments transformed the world but, by the mid-nineteenth century, their influence had diminished (Scotland 2004:9).

Among its members were two next-door neighbours: William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton. In 1807, William Wilberforce (1759-1833) managed to get the abolition of the slave trade passed by the House of Commons. He later supported Hannah More (an associate) in her efforts to establish schools for over one thousand children in an effort to improve “the moral and material well-being of the neighbouring countryside” (Scotland 2004:15) and served for a while as a member of parliament. Henry Thornton (1760-1815) was the financier and financial brain behind many of the group’s projects. Other important members included: Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838), one-time Governor of Sierra Leone, a colony which had been founded to provide a home for emancipated slaves; Lord Teignmouth (1751-1797), Governor-General of India from 1793-1797 and first president of the British and Foreign Bible Society; James Stephen (1758-1832), the lawyer of the Clapham Sect, related to William Wilberforce through marriage, and member of parliament; Charles Grant (1746-1823), Chairman of the East India Company and member of parliament ; and Granville Sharpe (1735-1813) who formulated the plan to create Sierra Leone; John Newton (1725-1807), former slave merchant, author of “Amazing Grace,” and rector of St. Mary Woolnoth in London; John Venn (1759-1813) son of Henry Venn and one of the founders of the CMS; and Benjamin Harrison, another founder of the CMS and, from 1809 on, a director of the HBC, and brother-in-law of John Henry Pelly, governor of the HBC/London Committee (Coutts 2000:25; Hardman n.d.; Raffan 2007:211; Scotland 2004).

The Church Missionary Society (CMS)

The CMS, which today still exists and is “committed to evangelistic mission, working to see our world transformed by the love of Jesus” (CMS 2010), was founded in 1799 in response to a question asked by John Venn: “What methods can we use more effectually to promote the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen?” (CMS 1999). After some discussion and several meetings, the name “The Society for Missions to Africa and the East” was settled on, but by

1812, the name of the group had changed to the “Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.” Among the resolutions passed at its inception:

1. That it is a duty highly incumbent upon every Christian to endeavour to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen” [i.e., every Christian — not the Church as an organization or institution.];
2. That, despite the existence of other missionary societies such as the SPG and the SPCK which focus on British colonies in America and the West Indies, there is still a need for “a society for sending missionaries to the Continent of Africa, or the other parts of the heathen world;”
3. That a society be formed to fill this need, and follow specific rules;
4. That a deputation be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and several other officials within the Church of England and the SPCK, along with a letter about the society, and a copy of its rules (CMS 1999)

As might be expected given the calibre of its leaders, the influence of the Clapham Sect spilled over into the British government and HBC management. No longer was the emphasis to be solely on the fur trade; now, the HBC has to demonstrate concern for the Aboriginal peoples themselves. In 1821, the HBC’s mandate was modified, and a license of exclusive trade by King George IV, to be renewed every 21 years, was granted. Included in this license was a requirement “for gradually diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, or for promoting their moral and religious improvement” (GovOntario 1878:38).

It was this society that sent the majority of missionaries to western (and Northern) Canada, and that encouraged education for Aboriginal children. The first missionary to arrive in western Canada was the Rev. John West, in 1820.

Conclusion

Though European history may seem irrelevant at first, it does matter to Northern Canadians and to Northern Anglicans. One problematic point to emerge from the history of Christian missions in Canada, including Northern Canada, is that the missions are rooted within

the cultures in which they developed. They therefore import not only Christian teachings and mores as well as the socio-cultural contexts to which they are attached, but also the theological debates and denominational conflicts and tensions that shaped European Christianity and continues to shape Christianity in Canada. The divisions between Protestants and Roman Catholics is only one of the most obvious imports. The conflict between high church and low church, less well known, is no less potent. While Anglican missions may have attempted to present themselves to Northern Aboriginal peoples as a unified front, they were not always successful. The rise of missionary societies in Great Britain was likewise embroiled in tensions — theological, social, and political. Aboriginal people, in other words, were directly affected by conflicts in which they had no part and of which they had no knowledge. Nevertheless, to assume that they remained ignorant of such divisions or they played no part in how the divisions played out in the North not only contradicts Northern history but also re-affirms a colonialism that denies any agency by the colonized. The divisions that existed and that continue to exist within Anglicanism in Canada sets the stage for a theological as well as a cultural clash between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in the North.

4. BACKGROUND HISTORY: CONTACT IN WESTERN CANADA

Overview

No man is an Iland, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the
Continent, a part of the maine; ... any mans death diminishes me, because
I am involved in Mankinde ...
(Donne 1952:441)

As the English poet John Donne (1572-1631) realized, no individual lives in a vacuum, completely isolated from surrounding events or protected from the past. The same is true for relationships. Relationships develop within particular environments that have been shaped by a variety of factors, including history.

In this chapter¹, I provide basic background history to the encounters between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian peoples in western Canada by briefly examining (1) the fur trading companies; (2) the Rev. John West and the beginnings of residential schools; and (3) Henry Venn and the operating principles of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).

Agents of colonialism in western Canada: the fur trading companies

During the French era (1534-1763), many young men did not live traditional lives in the French settlements in eastern Canada. Whatever their motives, they chose to explore and to live among Aboriginal peoples at least some of the time. Many of these *coureurs des bois* became fur traders though their numbers, as is their influence on the Aboriginal peoples they encountered, are unknown.

It is only when speaking of the major fur trading companies — notably, the HBC and the Northwest Company (NWC) — that it is possible to begin discussions of European and EuroCanadian impact on Aboriginal peoples in western Canada.

According to the HBC website, the HBC was founded in 1670 when King Charles II of England issued a royal charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England (i.e., the HBC) which gave them:

the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas, Streights, Bays, Rivers,
Lakes, Creeks, and Sounds, in whatsoever Latitude they shall be, that lie
within the Entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights,
together with all the Lands and Territories upon the Countries, Coasts and

Confines of the Seas, Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, and Sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our Subjects or possessed by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, with the Fishing of all Sorts of Fish, Whales, Sturgeons, and all other Royal Fishes, in the Seas, Bays, Inlets, and Rivers within the Premises, and the Fish therein taken, together with the Royalty of the Sea upon the Coasts within the Limits aforesaid, and all Mines Royal, as well discovered as not discovered, of Gold, Silver, Gems, and precious Stones, to be found or discovered within the Territories, Limits, and Places aforesaid, and that the said Land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantations or Colonies in America, called Rupert's Land (2009a).

The fact that King Charles II believed he had the right to claim ownership of 2,414,016 km² (1.5 million square miles) already inhabited by Aboriginal nations even though no agreement had been negotiated with the indigenous population nor any battles fought to conquer the region is evidence of a colonialist attitude.

The HBC, headed by the London Committee, first tried to implement a policy of what Sylvia Van Kirk, the noted historian (and retired professor from the University of Toronto), calls "military monasticism" (Van Kirk 1980:11). Employees were required to live "sober lives" with no cardplaying or gambling (HBC 1948:126). Daily reading of the Book of Common Prayer was required (HBC 1948:81). Punishment for dissolute and profane behaviour was meted out (HBC 1948:80). In the early years, contact with Aboriginal peoples was kept to an absolute minimum. At some outposts, according to author James Raffan, Aboriginal peoples "were not even welcome in the trading rooms" (Raffan 2007:445); trade was conducted through a window or hole. According to Professor Chester Martin of the University of Manitoba, in 1749, one governor "beat one man with his cane for going to light his pipe in an Indian tent" (Martin 1916:29, note 1). The hands-off policy was unsuccessful. Not only did HBC personnel have no experience for surviving in Canada's wilderness, but the only women available were Aboriginal women, and they were the ones with the skills necessary to help the fur traders to survive.

The NWC, operating out of Montreal and absorbed by the HBC in a corporate merger in 1821 (Bumsted 1999b:235), had a different history as far as dealings with Aboriginal peoples were concerned. There never was a "hands off" policy among the Nor'Westers, as they were

called. Fur traders did not wait for Aboriginal peoples to come to their forts, but rather, according to historian John S. Galbraith, outfitted themselves at their forts, then went out to meet Aboriginal peoples in their own communities (Galbraith 1957:119). As with the HBC, however, the only women available to traders were Aboriginal.

It was inevitable that the European traders take Aboriginal women as mistresses and even as wives. Since priests did not begin to appear on the scene until 1818, this meant either having a civil marriage of some kind, or marriage according to Aboriginal traditions. Traders discovered benefits to marrying Aboriginal women. As Patrick Small, a trader with the NWC, discovered when he married a “young Indian wife,” she brought with her “the entire trade of her tribe” (Campbell 1987:28).

Results from intermarriage and casual relationships with Aboriginal women were as might be expected: children.

Gradually fur trading outposts were built throughout western Canada, surrounded by Aboriginal enclaves. Known as the “Home Guard” (Bumsted 1999b:38), these were Aboriginal communities whose existence was wrapped up with the fur trade. They provided guides for EuroCanadian explorers, food for people at the fort, medicines and clothing essential for survival in the area.

Women were a particularly important part of the Home Guard peoples. Michael Payne, archeologist (formerly of the University of Ottawa), noted that these wives often “trapped small fur-bearing animals like martens and rabbits. They also made snowshoes and tracking shoes, and helped to clean and prepare furs. They sewed bags, oil cloths, and boat covers, and repaired buffalo robes” (Payne 1989:62). Among the women who came to the forts as wives or mistresses of EuroCanadian traders, some brought family members and even slaves with them (Simpson & Merk 1968:101).

Although some cross-cultural marriages lasted for years, and some fur traders took their Aboriginal wives back to eastern Canada and Europe with them (Van Kirk 1980:113-128), some men abandoned their women and children when they returned home, or tried to find new husbands for them. In the early years, Aboriginal women could return home but, as fur traders

began marrying Home Guard women or mixed-blood daughters of other fur traders, home was the trading outpost ... there was nowhere else for them to go.

By the early nineteenth century, it became evident that a problem existed with the number of mixed-blood children and that something had to be done. The HBC sent over some teachers but, at least in Moose Factory, teachers quickly became fur traders and schools failed (Beardy & Coutts 1996:138; Payne 1989:111). An apprenticeship program was developed but that diverted HBC personnel away from their primary function: the fur trade. In fact, by 1820 enough European / EuroCanadian traders (active and retired) and their families were living at the outposts that the HBC was finding itself more and more diverted from the fur trade.

By 1820-1821, the Red River settlement in what is now southern Manitoba seemed like an ideal solution to the HBC. The fur trade wars between the HBC and the NW Co. were over, as were the corresponding financial hemorrhage that both companies had incurred as a result of those wars (Raffan 2007:216ff). Duplicate forts were closed. Excess personnel were dismissed. Within five years, HBC Governor George Simpson had effectively reduced the workforce by approximately 50% (Raffan 2007:220). Excess personnel could leave; many chose to settle at Red River. Long-term personnel could retire to the Red River community with their families instead of having to choose, if he returned home to Europe, between transferring his family to a completely foreign environment or leaving them behind with the HBC picking up some of the costs. Sending widows and orphans to Red River instead of leaving them at the forts would trim Home Guard communities and effectively reduce HBC expenses.

The Church — either Anglican or Roman Catholic — and missionary societies provided another solution to pressures that were diverting HBC resources from the fur trade. The Church would fill a gap by providing much-needed administrative cohesiveness to the community which would free the HBC to focus on its business (Thomas 1991:22). Its representative could look after people, providing pastoral care and spiritual direction, freeing up HBC personnel, and he could provide education for the children without being tempted, it was probably assumed, by the fur trade

The Rev. John West and the beginnings of residential schools in western Canada

The Rev. John West was the first Anglican missionary/priest in western Canada to come and stay², arriving in 1820. Arriving at York Factory in 1820 and later settling in the Red River region, West was accompanied by a schoolmaster, George Harbidge (Willie 2000). He served in a dual capacity, as missionary for the CMS and as chaplain for the HBC.

West had been hired “to afford religious instruction and consolation to the servants in the active employment of the Hudson’s Bay Company, as well as to the Company’s retired servants, and other inhabitants of the settlement” (Thompson 1970:44). This would likely have meant visiting different outposts on a regular basis; holding services and providing pastoral care and spiritual direction as might be requested while at the outposts; and having the Red River settlement as his base of operation where he would build a church, and minister to the local people. It did not mean, at least as far as Gov. George Simpson of the HBC was concerned, interfering in HBC business or lives³.

West, however, interpreted his mandate from both an evangelical and a high church perspective (see Chapter 3). He saw himself as having a responsibility to call people to a higher level of morality, and of criticizing the HBC for its failure to live up to Christian standards. He criticized HBC employees’ work on the Sabbath (Sundays) (e.g., West 1824:17, 43, 57, 72, 122), spoke out about the impact alcohol had on HBC personnel and Aboriginal peoples (e.g., West 1824:123, 36, 56, 145, 193), about couples “living in sin” — i.e., without the benefit of Christian ceremony — and, since West was the first Protestant missionary to remain in the region, meant all men living with the only women available — Aboriginal women — were living in sin (e.g., West 1824:26, 37, 51, 52, 75, 104), about how men treated their women (e.g., West 1824:16, 85, 86), and about “half-caste” children (e.g., West 1824:12, 37, 51, 100, 107). In fact, West sometimes contrasted how well off Aboriginal people were who did not live close to HBC outposts and were therefore not exposed to the “immorality” (as defined by West) that he saw there (West 1824:13). West wrote about the “Esquimaux” who “appeared to be well-conditioned in their savage stage, and remarkably healthy” (West 1824:28), as contrasted with those who came to the outposts:

Many of them rode good horses ... when they had delivered their loads, they paraded the fort with an air of independence. It was not long however before they became clamorous for spiritous liquors; and the evening presented such a bacchanalia, including the women and the children, as I never before witnessed (West 1824:36-37).

Being “informed that the children were European offspring by Indian women, and found at all the Company’s Posts,” West drew up a plan for “collecting a certain number of them, to be maintained, clothed, and educated upon a regularly organized system” (West 1824:12). What finally emerged was one school at Red River with both day students and boarders.

What makes West important is, as Gunn and Tuttle wrote in 1880, the fact that “... the elementary school established by Mr. West for the instruction of a few Indians was the germ whence originated all the Protestant schools and colleges in Manitoba at the present time” (Gunn and Tuttle 1880:213). His school became the template not only for the public schools and colleges in western Canada but also for those schools that eventually came to be known as residential schools.

In his published writings, West reflects traditional views commonly associated with colonialism. The situation was critical; the need desperate; the people wanted missionaries to come with God’s message; more workers and more money were needed for the task at hand. Western Canada was a “truly benighted and barbarous part of the world” (Gunn and Tuttle 1824:17).

Yet, from West’s perspective, the situation was not hopeless:

As I sat at the door of my tent near a fire one evening, an Indian joined me, and gave me to understand that he knew a little English. ... He further added that he knew a little of Jesus Christ, and hoped that I would teach him to read, when he came to Red River, which he intended to do after he had been on a visit to his relations. ... and expressed much delight at my coming over to his country to teach the Indians (West 1824:18-19).

If only, as he prayed in his preface, the “Aborigines of a British Territory, may not remain as outcasts from British Missionary exertions” (Fast 1979:30).

While West, as an evangelical Christian, could not help but believe Aboriginal people would be better off as Christians, he was also a product of his own culture, and could not help

but believe that his own British culture — his ways, and his values — were better than those of others. West may have recognized that “Indians who knew not the corrupt influence and barter of spirituous liquors at a Trading post were far happier than the wretched-looking group around (him)” (West 1824:13), and might have had sympathy for the “Esquimaux ... in their savage stage ...” (West 1824:28), but he still considered them to be “savage” in need of civilizing influences, and of protection against corrupting influences of the EuroCanadian fur traders. He may have had some admiration for their healthy lifestyles, but did not hesitate to rename them when they were baptized⁴.

West did not recognize the validity of non-Christian marriage. He did not question the right of fathers (or the HBC if the fathers were deceased) to decide what kind of education their mixed-blood children should get. He deplored the treatment of Aboriginal women by their EuroCanadian men, never recognizing that perhaps his assumptions of what the “norms” were might have affected his interpretation of life in the forts (see Van Kirk 1980:75-94). West did not question the superiority of English society, nor his belief in the need for Aboriginal peoples to replace a hunting lifestyle with an agrarian one.

Despite his short time in western Canada (1820-1823), West’s legacy is considerable: (1) a focus on education; (2) an ideology according to which the best way to convert Aboriginal peoples to Christianity was both through the children and by acculturating Aboriginal peoples into English norms; and (3) an awareness, even if filtered through evangelistic lenses, that unbrokered contact with EuroCanadian peoples could prove highly destructive to Aboriginal peoples.

Henry Venn & the vision, policies, and practices of the CMS in its dealings with Aboriginal peoples

West was the first CMS missionary in western Canada; but he was not the last. Roman Catholic missionaries could be found in western Canada as well as well as, in later years, missionaries from other Protestant denominations such as the Baptists and Presbyterians. Nor was Canada the only sphere of CMS activity. By mid-century, the CMS, then under the leadership of Henry Venn, Honorary Clerical Secretary from 1841-1872, had missions in India, New Zealand, Western and East Africa, China, and Palestine as well as Canada (Usher 1971:29). From a CMS perspective, Canadian missions were part (and a more expensive part) of a larger

whole. As one CMS official put it, “We spend about £1 for every 17,000 heathen in China and about £1 for every six heathen in the ecclesiastical province of Rupert’s Land” (Coates 1986b:5).

Given such fiscal and statistical realities, Canada’s North was not high priority. As Gagan (1992) shows in her study of Methodist missionaries and as Coates (1986b) demonstrates in his article, the better educated, higher class missionaries were sent to Asia; the least educated, lower class missionaries were the ones sent to Canada. Missionaries sent over to Canada by the CMS, particularly in the nineteenth century, tended to be neither upper class nor highly educated. Moreover, they tended to have little theological training prior to their ordination — something that affects the relationship today. John Horden, who eventually became Bishop of Moosonee in 1872, had no formal university or theological training, nor did William Carpenter Bompas who became bishop of three different dioceses. According to Peake, John Hawksley, who arrived in 1887, was the only one “without any kind of post-secondary training and the only one sent to Rupert’s Land” (1989:125). It was only later that missionaries were recruited from Canada, and specifically, from Canadian theological colleges but even Canadian missionaries tended to prefer to go to exotic countries⁵ rather than work in western or northern Canada.

Venn developed guiding principles for missionaries in the field, combining a firm evangelicalism with insights from practical experience. Some of these principles reveal remarkable insight for his time. According to Nock (1988), the first principle warned against blurring the lines between church and state. Venn realized how simple it would be for missionaries to set themselves up as an authority figure in secular matters, get involved in local politics, or become, as part of the British imperial machine, an arm of the state. In his letters, Venn advised missionaries to “respect the nationality and national feeling of those they dealt with, and not always to interfere with local power structures of cultures” (Nock 1988:33).

The second principle warned about the danger of mixing religion and culture. Recognizing how tempting it would be for missionaries to judge people’s faith by their level of sophistication and civilization, he warned against trying to civilize Aboriginal populations before preaching the Gospel. The way around the problem was to emphasize the “three-self” principles: “self-supporting;” “self-governing;” and “self-extending” (Venn’s terminology). The logic was plain: Missionaries were to convert local people and train them to assume

responsibility for their own faith life and their own church. As they became “self-supporting” congregations, CMS money would be freed up for new projects. As they became “self-governing,” the CMS missionary would be able to move on to new arenas. As local congregations became “self-extending,” they would, in time, be providing missionaries of their own to form new congregations (Shenk 1977b).

To accomplish this, missionaries were to translate the Bible into local languages. This meant missionaries should learn the local languages and interact directly with people, not through interpreters. Furthermore, Venn “recognized that education would remain the privilege of only a small elite if English were the medium of instruction” (Shenk 1977a:17), which, according to Shenk (1977a), could easily lead to the “superman illusion” — the belief that the missionary was critical for the people’s salvation.

For people to be able to read the Bible in their own language, they would need to learn how to read. The missionary was to identify leaders within local communities who would be trained as teachers; out of this group would come the future pastors for the community. ‘Native agency’ was crucial and, according to Venn (VB 57:20), “as early as possible the missionary should be released from pastoral responsibility for the young church by placing it in charge of local leadership” (Shenk 1977b:475). The local congregation should be taught self-reliance rather than dependence.

However, the CMS encountered a problem in the mid-nineteenth century in the dearth of volunteers for Canadian missions and the size of western Canada. Missionaries were accepted who did not espouse or accept Venn’s philosophy, preferring to do things their own way. For example, William Duncan, missionary to the Tsimshian in Metlakatla, refused to translate the Bible into Tsimshian and, although he did quite a bit for promoting “Native agency” refused to surrender his own position of authority (Zaslow 1966). William Carpenter Bompas, missionary to Aboriginal peoples in today’s NT/YT, opposed practices leading to ‘Native Agency,’ refusing to recommend any Aboriginal person as qualified to teach or be ordained (see Chapter 6).

Early in 1852 Henry Venn wrote to Bishop Anderson saying that he had ‘thrown out a suggestion to Mr. Hunter that Mr. Budd should be called to the Indian Settlement and that the pastoral duties of that congregation

should be assigned to Mr. Budd under the general supervision of the ministry at the Rapids ... But another object in view is the establishment of a native pastor on an independent footing.' The suggestion was ignored and little was done to recruit and train native clergy. Some native workers were selected and given minimal training" (Peake 1988:71-72).

Eventually, Bishop Anderson did ordain several Aboriginal clergy to be missionaries and pastors to Aboriginal peoples in their own right. Henry Budd was ordained to the diaconate in 1850 and to the priesthood in 1853, becoming the first "resident of Rupert's Land to be ordained without some formal theological training" (Peake 1991:33). Also ordained in 1853 were Robert McDonald (part Ojibwa) and James Settee (Swampy Cree). Henry Budd's son, also named Henry Budd, was ordained in 1861.

Despite that, however, Anderson had reservations about implementing Venn's policies in Canada, writing:

This diocese is so wholly unlike all others that I feel more and more few of the rules which apply in India or in other colonial dioceses will do so here. ... The original station ought rather to be a centre and the European labourer retained there, and the native catechist will go farther and break up new ground ... (Peake 1991:35).

The problem also had to do with Canada's tremendous size and small population. When David Anderson became the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1849, only five Anglican missionaries and two Aboriginal catechists ministered in the whole diocese of Rupert's Land, close to 9.65 million square kilometres (6 million square miles) in size. When he resigned in 1864, there were twenty-three clergy (Peake 1982:32) — hardly a sufficient number to handle the size of Rupert's Land. The challenges of converting Aboriginal people to Christianity, of developing self-supporting congregations, of preparing trained Aboriginal leaders who could take charge of Aboriginal congregations, and of developing congregations that would grow and spin off new congregations, in addition to providing pastoral services to the non-Aboriginal population were simply too great for the Anglican Church and missionary organizations. Priorities had to be set and alternatives developed.

Summary

This chapter examined some of the context in which Anglican missions in Canada's North emerged. It notes that, for the first century-and-half of operations, the HBC did very little

to assert its dominance in the region or to disturb Indigenous lifestyles. Such a history contradicts the dominant narrative of a colonialism that was entirely destructive of Indigenous peoples, as does Venn's guiding principles to CMS missionaries. The fact that his principles were not always acted upon, particularly in the Canadian context, demonstrates the strength of the colonialism-type relationship between European/EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples that could be found in western Canada. In some ways, this mixed history of the dominant narrative of a negative colonialism (see Chapter 5) plus contra-indications to that dominant narrative (see Chapter 13) reflect the "jekyll-and-hyde" nature of Aboriginal/EuroCanadian relationships mentioned in the *ACC Hendry Report* (see Chapter 12).

For Canadian southerners, what happened a hundred or so years ago is more-or-less relevant background to the present. Issues that predominated during the era covered in this chapter have frequently been superseded by new situations as the fabric of Canadian society changed with immigration and economic development. For Northerners, however, this history is much more present. The fur trading companies may have been more concerned with making profit rather than changing Aboriginal societies, but contact did bring about changes, and intermarriage with Aboriginal women did lead to an increasing number of mixed families. While West, operating out of the Red River region in Manitoba, and Venn, as director to the CMS, are not likely to be known in the North, nevertheless, some Northern missionaries had ties roots to the Red River region, and many were sent out by the CMS. For these reasons, their history, while pre-dating the residential school period in Canada's North, is important for understanding ACC-Aboriginal relations in the NT and YT.

In 1867, Canada became a country, and in 1870, the HBC sold its western possessions to the Government of Canada which opened up the land to non-Aboriginal settlers and developers. Whatever the HBC and CMS policies and practices in its dealings with Aboriginal peoples had been, the situation changed with the transfer of the region to the Government of Canada. The Government's policy, along with that of the ACC/CMS, was, as Eva Loutit stated in *Dancing* (1993), "to kill the Indianness."

5. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT: THE COLONIALISM NARRATIVE

Overview

(Aboriginal peoples of Canada) continue to experience ongoing oppression as the result of hundreds of years under colonization. The Indian residential schools were one aspect of a larger project to absorb or assimilate Aboriginal peoples. The legacies of colonialism and of the residential schools system continue to this day. (Rice & Snyder 2008:49).

This quote reflects the dominant hypothesis — espoused by Agnes Grant (1996), George E. Tinker (Osage/Cherokee) (1993), and others — describing the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples as defined by colonialism, and a colonialism in its most negative form. According to such authors, colonialism shaped missionary-Aboriginal encounters, the relationships that emerged in residential schools, the interactions within the broader society, and the relationships among Aboriginal peoples and nations, Northern society, and the Canadian government.

In this chapter¹, I briefly explore (1) colonialism in Canada; and (2) colonialism in Canada's North. The purpose is not to present a comprehensive picture of colonialism nor even of Canadian colonialism, but rather, to present colonialism in broad strokes against which ACC initiatives and participant responses can be better understood.

Canadian Colonialism

General

Since Europeans arrived on our shores more than five hundred years ago, there has never really been a harmonious relationship between the new arrivals and the original inhabitants of North America. The history of this relationship is marked by crushing colonialism, attempted genocide, wars, massacres, theft of land and resources, broken treaties, broken promises, abuse of human rights, relocations, residential schools, and so on. (Amagoalik 2008:93).

John Amagoalik (Inuk) is not unique in his assessment of the relationship between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian peoples from first contact to the end of the residential school period (and possibly beyond) as marked by a perspective of a purely negative colonialism without any evidence, as he put it, of “a harmonious relationship between the new arrivals and

the original inhabitants.” Others have likewise characterized the overall relationship as colonialistic and therefore highly destructive of Aboriginal peoples and cultures. Brian Rice (Mohawk) of the University of Winnipeg and Anna Snyder of Menno Simons College speak of “ongoing oppression as the result of hundreds of years under colonization” (Rice and Snyder 2008:49). Fred Kelly (Ojibwa Midewewin) describes the relationship as “toxic” (Kelly 2008:20). Harold Cardinal describes the “history of Canada’s Indians (as) a shameful chronicle of the white man’s disinterest, his deliberate trampling of Indian rights and his repeated betrayal of our trust” (Cardinal 1999:1). The atrocities and tragedies of the residential schools represent for many the ultimate and ultimately predictable culmination of that toxic relationship. The culprit, according many authors including Agnes Grant, is colonialism. Furthermore, colonialism continues in some form to this day, as noted by Bishop Mark MacDonald in one workshop (MacDonald 2009).

Such views may well summarize the overall experience of Aboriginal peoples at the hands of Europeans and EuroCanadians, but they present a one-dimensional perspective of the relationship as well. They overlook the specificities that existed in particular periods and regions in which Aboriginal people were far from being powerless, where efforts at co-existence and accommodation were made by both sides, and where harmonious relationships did occur, even if only briefly. As we saw in Chapter 4, the English may have claimed 2,414,016 km² (1.5 million square miles) already inhabited by Aboriginal nations, and the HBC may have begun operating out of that territory but, for the first century-and-half of operations, the HBC interacted only minimally with Aboriginal peoples, essentially confining themselves to outposts on Hudson Bay. They had little interest in disturbing already-existing Aboriginal trade networks or Aboriginal life styles, as long as they made a profit. Only towards the end of the eighteenth century did the HBC (and other fur trading companies) begin building outposts deeper into Aboriginal territories. In time, as noted earlier, a number of Aboriginal camps grew up around the various outposts. In the early years, Europeans and EuroCanadians were highly dependent on Aboriginal peoples and guides; it was not until the mid- to late-nineteenth century when that dependency changed and Aboriginal peoples found themselves marginalized on their own lands. To ignore such periods of Aboriginal power and perhaps even supremacy is, in itself, a reflection of a colonialism that devalues Aboriginal peoples and history, representing a

one-dimensional caricature of Canadian colonialism. This is not to say that colonialism did not exist nor that it did not have negative consequences, but rather to say that colonialism is more nuanced than purely negative statements on colonialism suggest.

In his 1993 article, “Aboriginal Education in Canada as Internal Colonialism,” David Perley identified five characteristics of Canadian colonialism: (1) displacement of Aboriginal people by European expansion; (2) isolation and containment of Aboriginal people; (3) forced assimilation of Aboriginal societies; (4) increasing political and economic domination of Aboriginal affairs by the colonizers; and (5) development of a racist ideology portraying Aboriginal people as backward, savage, uncivilized, and childlike (Perley 1993; A-Grant 1996:87). These five characteristics provide a framework with which to approach Canadian colonialism and the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples.

Displacement

The idea that Aboriginal people “had any rights to the lands they were occupying when Europeans happened along” (Richardson 1993:79) was believed to be “more or less fictitious” (Richardson 1993:82). Aboriginal lands have been seized and disposed of in the name of development, and sometimes under questionable circumstances (Goyette 2003). Aboriginal people have been forced to live in settled communities, and some have been forcibly moved from traditional territories to remote, inhospitable regions: for example, Amagoalik was among those Inuit forcibly removed from northern Quebec to the “high Arctic communities of Resolute and Grise Fiord” (NewFederation 2008)².

Aboriginal people were forbidden by law — until its repeal in 1951 — from pursuing land claims in the courts (Richardson 1993:82; SixNations 2008c). Aboriginal land claims have too often been ignored, dismissed or wrapped up in so much bureaucracy that they could not be quickly resolved (e.g., OMAA 2008; SixNations 2010)³. According to the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) website, 1046 land claims were unsettled by the end of 2005, with an average of 8 claims being settled per year (AFN n.d.). According to the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) website, the speed for resolving specific land claims has improved. Yet, by 2008 March 31, 746 specific land claims still needed to be processed; by 2009 March 31, 668 claims remained; and by 2010 March 31, 588 claims were outstanding (INAC 2010).

Isolation / Containment

Government acts and laws — such as the Bagot Commission Report of 1844 and the Indian Act of 1876 (and amendments) — disenfranchised Aboriginal peoples, isolated and contained them on reserves, criminalized their traditions and ways of living, and pushed for assimilation (Coates 2008). Aboriginal people were even forbidden to congregate in groups off reserve (Spielmann 2009:18).

Isolated from non-Aboriginal society, Aboriginal people became invisible non-entities. Myths about Aboriginal people being a “dying race” abounded. If the people were non-existent, then so too was their history and the contributions they made that had shaped Canadian society. One example of such re-writing of Canadian history occurred in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century when Hayter Reed (n.d.), Indian Department official and one time Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote:

Corn precedes all civilization; with it is connected rest, peace and domestic happiness, of which the wandering savage knows nothing. In order to rear it nations must take possession of certain lands; and when their existence is thus firmly established improvements in manner and customs speedily follow.... The cultivation of corn, while it furnishes man with a supply of food for the greater part of the year, imposes upon him certain labours and restraints, which have a most beneficial influence upon his character and habits (Carter 2000:14).

What Reed does not seem to know is that it was Aboriginal peoples who first grew corn and introduced it to European settlers⁴!

Even when Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian people interacted, it was sometimes impossible for the non-Aboriginal to see Aboriginal people as real human beings. In his article on French perceptions of New France and its Aboriginal inhabitants (Jaenen 1983), Cornelius Jaenen showed that even when writing about Canada’s Aboriginal peoples, the French saw what they expected to see based on their perceptions of the land. If they considered the “New World” to be an earthly paradise, then they tended to describe Aboriginal peoples as beings who were as innocent and pure as Adam and Eve in paradise, and therefore in need of protection against corrupt European newcomers. Some perceived Aboriginal peoples as being a lost tribe of Israel, and again, in need of education to be restored to the rest of the Judeo-Christian community. If, on the other hand, they considered the “New World” to be a

hostile environment — dangerous, untamed, natural and uncultivated by human hands — then they tended to describe Aboriginal peoples as being equally hostile, dangerous, savage, untamed, natural, and in need of being cultivated — i.e., civilized. What is evident from the descriptions is that most French (or at least, most French authors) never saw Aboriginal people for who they really were.

This inability to see the “Other” — in Canada’s case, Aboriginal peoples — as people reflects the process of “thingification” which is, according to Aimé Césaire, the hallmark of colonialism (Césaire 1972:21). According to the dominant hypothesis, no real person-to-person relationship existed between European/EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples. What existed was a distorted relationship where one group had power over the other, and the “Other” was never seen as human beings but as objects, if they were seen at all.

Forced Assimilation

Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department, that is the whole object of this Bill (Duncan Campbell Scott in A-Grant 1996:97).

Various schemes were implemented to enforce assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. Initiatives were developed to push Aboriginal people into settled communities where they could be more easily controlled and integrate into a monied economy. Education and residential schools were another means (see Chapters 10 and 11 for detailed discussion). Aboriginal children were removed from their parents and sent away to residential schools but, if parents lived in a community rather than on the land, their children could remain at home and attend public day school (PS:Aqpiq; PR:Markoosie).

Combined with efforts to force Aboriginal people to assimilate into EuroCanadian society (at least to some degree), the Canadian government criminalized traditional ceremonies such as potlatches and Sun Dances, beginning in 1885. Practitioners were liable for prosecution (Pettipas 1994:4). It was not until 1951 that Aboriginal people regained the right to practice their traditions without fear of prosecution, but even then they did not gain full religious freedom (Pettipas 1994:205-210; Beaman 2002).

Incentives were also developed to encourage assimilation. Aboriginal people could not vote unless they gave up their identity as being Aboriginal by waving “their tax exemptions under the Indian Act respecting personal property” (Moss & Gardner-O’Toole 1991). It was not until 1960 that Aboriginal people could vote and still maintain their Aboriginal status.

Political / Economic / Social Domination

Political, economic and social domination did not necessarily occur in the first years of Aboriginal-European/EuroCanadian contact. What did occur, however, was a re-inventing of Canada’s Indigenous peoples and their land for EuroCanadian comprehension. The Wendat became the “Huron;” the Innu, the “Montagnais;” the Haudenosaunee, the “Iroquois.” Canada’s Aboriginal peoples came to be referred to simply as “Indians” and “Eskimos.” Aboriginal people who interacted with Europeans / EuroCanadians were often given European/EuroCanadian names: for example, “Askenootow” became “Charles Pratt;” and “Thayendanegea” became “Joseph Brant.” In the re-naming process, the particularities of distinct groups and individuals disappeared into the anonymity of the label.

Similarly, European/EuroCanadian names often (but not always) replaced Aboriginal names for cities, lakes, rivers, and mountains: Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Simcoe, London, Hudson Bay, Coppermine, Vancouver — all reflected the European possession of the new land and European/EuroCanadian historical events or persons. That these places and people already had names and identities of their own was, to the European and EuroCanadian colonizers, inconsequential.

As time progressed, Aboriginal people came under the increasing influence and control of EuroCanadian society. The Indian Act of 1876 made First Nations people wards of the government. The reserve system gave Indian Agents power over all areas of Aboriginal lives and lands (Richardson 1993:95-108; Jacobs 1992:113-119; Jacobs & Jacobs 2003:65-66). A pass system was developed in the late nineteenth century so that Aboriginal people “could not leave their reserve unless they had a pass signed by the Indian agent” that described “when they could leave, where they could go, and when they had to return.” The pass system was enforced as late as the 1940s, and served as a deterrent to the buying and selling of Aboriginal produce (Nestor 2006).

In fact, as Sarah Carter demonstrates in *Lost Harvests* and Rolf Knight in *Indians at Work*, government policies were developed to guarantee Aboriginal economic failures. In western Canada, efforts to help Aboriginal people turn to farming were at first successful ... too successful. She notes:

By the late 1880s reserve farmers in some localities began to make significant advances, having produce that they wished to sell ... At this time, however, non-Aboriginal farmers began to complain loudly about 'unfair' competition from Aboriginal people, arguing that they should not be allowed to compete with other settlers (Carter 1999:168).

The result was that, in 1889, Hayter Reed, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, announced a new system of farming:

Reserve farmers were to reduce their acreage to a single acre, and their herds to a cow or two, emulating peasants of other countries. They were to use rudimentary implements alone: to broadcast seed by hand, harvest with scythes, bind by hand with straw, thresh with flails, and grind their grain with hand mills. They were to manufacture for themselves implements such as harrows, hay forks, carts, and yokes. ... Reed argued that labour-saving machinery might be necessary for other farmers, but Indians had to first experience farming with crude and simple implements. Otherwise they would be defying immutable laws of evolution, and would be making an 'unnatural leap' (Carter 1999:168-169).

The impact on Aboriginal farmers was predictable. They were "profoundly discouraged by the new rules" (Carter 1999:169) and, by the "mid-1890s, per capita acreage under cultivation had fallen to about half of the 1889 level, and many acres once under cultivation on reserves were idle" (Carter 1999:169-170).

In other words, fundamental decisions affecting Aboriginal people were made by colonial (and later by federal) governments in distant locations, without consulting with the Aboriginal people affected by such decisions — Aboriginal people who, in Canada, have never been conquered or defeated in wars with EuroCanadian people. As John Amagoalik (Inuit) pointed out in a 2008 article:

When Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic is mentioned today, the discussion revolves around purchasing icebreakers and offshore patrol ships without any mention of Inuit. The government seems to have

forgotten that Inuit have been occupying and using the lands and resources for thousands of years. It is as if Inuit are a non-entity and not a factor in the sovereignty debate (Amagoalik 2008:94).

Even as recently as 2010 March when the federal government organized an Arctic summit meeting to discuss matters relating to the Arctic, it did not include all members of the Arctic Council nor any of the Aboriginal peoples who actually live in the Arctic — an omission that was commented on by the U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton (Blanchfield 2010; Liberal 2010).

Racist Ideology

The dominant attitude held by EuroCanadian people during the colonialist / church-run residential school era was undoubtedly — and at times, unconsciously — racist. Racist ideology was reflected in EuroCanadian views that denigrated everything “Indian” or “Eskimo” and saw Aboriginal people as living in a “state of ignorance, superstition and helplessness” (RCAP 1996 v1:338) while seeing their own EuroCanadian society as being better and more evolved. Racism was reflected, as Robinson & Gallagher noted, in the Social Darwinism of the church-run residential school era that saw:

The British ... at the top, followed a few rungs below by the Americans, the other “striving, go-ahead” Anglo-Saxons. The Latin peoples were thought to come next, though far behind. Much lower still stood the vast Oriental communities of Asia and North Africa where progress appeared unfortunately to have been crushed for centuries by military despotisms or smothered under passive religions. Lowest of all stood the “Aborigines” whom it was thought had never learned enough social discipline to pass from family and tribe to the making of a state (Pettipas 1994:20).

Social Darwinism combined with the early anthropological theories of unilinear cultural evolution that held that human beings evolved through “successive stages, from pastoral to an agricultural life and from an agricultural one, to one of manufacturing, commerce or trade” (RCAP 1996 v1:338). Such views shaped EuroCanadian policies towards Aboriginal peoples.

Racism was reflected in the view that Aboriginal people represented a dying society and were incapable of surviving in EuroCanadian civilization. Adults were “physically, mentally and morally ... unfitted to bear such a complete metamorphosis” (RCAP 1996 v1:338).

Children, provided they were removed from the “influence of the wigwam,” might have a chance to be transformed “from the natural condition” (RCAP 1996 v1:338). Such paternalistic and racist views served to justify removing children from parents and families and sending them to residential schools.

Similarly, those holding racist views could not accept Aboriginal students who did better in schools than EuroCanadian students. When they did, policies were changed reducing the amount of time Aboriginal students spent in classrooms to ensure that they would not surpass the EuroCanadians (Barman 1986:110-131). Even if they did manage to become well-educated and skilled individuals and even assimilated to some extent, Aboriginal peoples frequently discovered that they still had no place in EuroCanadian society; employers were unwilling to hire them (RCAP v1 ch10).

Government policies geared to ensure the failure of Aboriginal initiatives combined with racism within EuroCanadian society led to an inevitable result: many Aboriginal people gave up trying to make or find a place for themselves in the dominant society. Through actions and attitudes by the dominant society, the myth of “lazy Indians” had been turned into reality for many.

Paternalistic and racist views served to justify not only the forcible removal of Aboriginal children from their families so they could attend residential schools, but also the “Sixties Scoop” (which may have lasted from the 1950s-1980s) where, it is estimated, over eleven thousand Aboriginal children were taken from their families and placed in non-Aboriginal homes in Canada and the United States (Lepine 2009:41-44).

Colonialism in Canada’s North

General

While Canadian history is replete with evidence of colonialism, colonialism in Canada’s North took a different form than it did in southern Canada. This was due, in part, to the Northern reality: its large size and its small population.

Displacement, Isolation and Containment

The NT stretches far north beyond the magnetic North Pole to the geographic North Pole. Summers are short and average daily temperatures vary across the territory from 14.5°C

in the southern NT to 0.9°C in the northern NT. The lowest recorded summer temperature was -13.5°C, recorded in Mould Bay in 1996 August, while the highest was 36.7°C recorded at Hay River in 1981 August (EnvCan 2009). Winter record lows of 51.2°C at Yellowknife in the south and -56.57°C at Inuvik in the north have also been recorded (EnvCan 2009) but these tell only part of the story. Cold temperatures combined with strong Arctic winds in the North make it feel even colder. The highest recorded wind chill for the NT was in 1960 at Yellowknife where the temperature was -41.7°C and the wind speed was 32, leading to a wind chill factor of -61°C (EnvCan 2002)!

The YT climate is more extreme than that experienced in other parts of Canada, ranging from a record low of -62.2°C to a record high of 36.1°C. Its average precipitation ranges from a low of 265.5 mm in Old Crow to a high of 404.4 mm at Watson Lake (GovYT 2009). With the “greatest absolute range of temperature yet recorded” of 98.3°C at Mayo, the Yukon has the greatest “annual temperature range fluctuations” in North America (Zuehlke 2004:40). With Dawson holding “the Canadian record for the highest sea-level pressure,” the Yukon also holds “the continent’s highest air pressures” (Zuehlke 2004:40). The lowest recorded summer temperature is -11°C recorded at Dawson in August 1987, while the highest is 35.5°C recorded at Mayo in July 1951. The highest recorded wind chill for the Yukon was in 1963 at Whitehorse where, with a temperature of -36.1°C and a wind speed of 51, the wind chill factor was -58°C (EnvCan 2002).

Such extreme cold has made moving to Canada’s North a less-desirable option for southerners, who prefer warmer climes. Consequently, and given that the overall population in the region is so small, there has been less need to displace Aboriginal people in order to make room for non-Aboriginal immigrants. This is not to say that a history of displacement or relocation does not exist in Canada’s North. In 1896, an estimated one to two thousand non-Aboriginal people lived in the upper Yukon and approximately four hundred non-Aboriginal people in Dawson City (Dobrowolsky 2003:xiii). Following the discovery of gold which led to the Klondike gold rush of 1897-1898, the non-Aboriginal population increased radically. In its early days, between twenty- and thirty-thousand people could be found in Dawson City. At the height of the gold rush, in 1898, Dawson City boasted a non-Aboriginal population of an estimated fifty thousand people (Mishler & Simeone

2004:14-15). By 1898, however, many had left the region; by 1911, its population had declined to 2500 (Coates 1985:98). Still, the social dynamics in the region had been radically altered. Coates notes that:

Before 1896 Natives had outnumbered others by approximately four to one; the 1901 census, taken two years after the height of the rush, revealed a population of eight non-Natives for every Indian (Coates 1991b:40)

The Gold Rush had a devastating impact on Aboriginal people — particularly on the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in in whose territory Dawson City, one of the regions where the rush occurred, was located. The Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in were displaced as fortune-hunters arrived and the city grew. They lost hunting grounds which were stripped for gold or depleted of game by White hunters. They lost fishing grounds due to White-established fisheries and over-fishing. From being an independent nation, weakened by disease but still strong, the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in were reduced to poverty and starvation and, according to the dominant narrative, retreated to Moosehide. Nevertheless, as Morrison notes, non-Aboriginal people did not speak about “moving to” the Dawson but about “going to” it. Once their fortunes were made or they had become totally disillusioned with everything in the YT, they left (Morrison 1998:78).

This narrative of non-Aboriginal people coming into Canada’s North for whatever reason, not investing themselves in the local community to any significant degree, and then leaving a few years later continues to be an issue for many and a source of tension for some.

Forced Assimilation

The issue of forced assimilation in the broader society in Canada’s North is particularly complex given the number of intermarriages that occurred between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples. Its most obvious manifestations are found in the shift to Western-type housing favouring nuclear family living and settled community living, the shift to a monetized economy, a change in diet, the rise of Western diseases among Aboriginal peoples, and the increasing use of English in day-to-day life in both the YT and NT with the corresponding endangerment of Aboriginal languages.

The predominant means of forced assimilation, however, was the education system. Nevertheless, until the 1940s, the Federal Government demonstrated a lack of concern about

education in the North. It was not until after World War II that the Federal Government finally accepted responsibility for providing education in the NT/YT. It was, in part, as a result of this government disinterest that missionaries — ACC and RC — became involved in education not only of Aboriginal children but also of children of mixed-heritage and EuroCanadian ancestry.

From 1876 with the promulgation of the Indian Act until the First World War (when its priorities shifted), the Federal Government was firmly committed to assimilationist policies, and continued to be so, although increasingly reluctant to spend the money required to implement such policies, until World War II. Until 1955, Northern education fell under two different branches of government: Indian Affairs, regulating education for Canada's First Nations; and Northern Affairs, regulating education for Inuit and mixed-heritage children. In 1955, "a new and comprehensive educational strategy for the north" was developed which charged "the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources" alone for education of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children in the North [Milloy 2003:242-243].

... schools became, in the hands of teachers who themselves came from the south, handmaidens of development serving the labour requirements of the new northern economy (Milloy 2003:254)

By the 1950s and 1960s, the Canadian government might have been less assimilationist in principle, but it was more involved in education in the North. School material was developed in the south by people who had little, if any, knowledge of northern peoples or northern life. Teachers came from the south or from other countries, knowing little, if anything, of northern living conditions, lifestyles, or languages. In 1965, the Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh, while crediting the sincerity of those in the "upper echelon" of government for stating that the "preservation of the pride of race" was "one of (their) major tasks," criticized the government for being out of touch with what was happening in the field, saying, "This (preservation of the pride of race) is anything but true amongst those who are teaching the children ... right across the North. ... "I have been repeatedly told by the teaching personnel, that their aim is to make the children 'white' and able only to take their place in the outside system. (Milloy 2003:255). Marsh conceded that educational material prepared by the government did contain some information about "their old way of life" but continued by adding that it was "nothing which would make a child feel that this way of life was of any value." The material prepared simply

“reinforced the teachers’ assimilationist pedagogy” and helped steer a child “toward a non-Aboriginal future” (Milloy 2003:255).

In other words, recognizing that education was not a neutral process, Marsh saw Government policy as one geared to destroying traditional cultures, charging:

(The Department has) already chosen the background that they shall be given by sending them to school and by giving them a curriculum of the white man’s way of life. (Furthermore, if the Department holds to it,) we will have done to them (the Inuit) the same injustice which we practised on all too many of our Indian people, of making them second class citizens (Milloy 2003:256).

Political / Economic / Social Domination

Despite the HBC’s initial disinterest in changing Aboriginal lifestyles or traditions, changes did occur. Aboriginal people gradually came to settle near the outposts. There, they could profit by supplying the outposts with food, clothing and various services, but they also became more dependent on HBC goods. Hunting practices changed as Aboriginal people began using HBC rifles rather than their own traditional techniques or weapons and as they switched from hunting primarily for food to hunting primarily for furs to sell to the traders.

As stated in the last section, for many years, the Canadian government was disinterested in the North and had no interest in changing Aboriginal peoples or their lifestyles. First, Canada became a country in 1867, and obtained ownership of former HBC territories in 1870. The priorities of the newly-created country and its government did not include plans to develop Canada’s North, but rather to develop the infrastructure and organization required for running a country, and for protecting it against foreign enemies. Given that the United States had recently fought a Civil War (1861-1865), and that some Americans advocated another invasion of Canada, the Canadian government focused on its southern border, and in developing the Canadian west to ensure that it remained Canadian and did not fall to the Americans by default. This meant that Canada’s North may have officially come under Canadian political domination in 1870, but unofficially little changed.

In 1876, the Indian Act was passed but there was no need for it to be applied in the North. No reserves for Aboriginal nations were created at that time (USask 1966; 1967). No treaties

with Aboriginal peoples were signed. The Federal Government did not believe the North was capable of sustained growth or that significant numbers of non-Aboriginal people would ever move into the region. Therefore, they believed that no need existed to educate Aboriginal peoples or assimilate them into a lifestyle that would be non-existent in their region. What this meant for Canada's North was, as Coates put it, "conscious neglect" for decades (Coates 1986a:132).

It was not until incursions of American fur traders from Alaska and the people who came as a result of the Klondike Gold Rush of 1896-1898 that the Canadian government began to take a more active role in the North. First, the Canadian government sent in the NWMP to establish and maintain order, and later, appointed a council to run Dawson City. The council was not democratically elected. Ottawa appointed members of the council, including prominent local people such as Inspector Constantine of the NWMP, but the council was accountable to Ottawa, not to the local populace.

Treaty No. 8 was the first of the northern treaties, signed in 1899. It covered only the southern-most portion of the NT (area south of Hay River and Great Slave Lake). The last numbered treaty was Treaty No. 11. Signed in 1921 after discovery of oil at Fort Norman in 1920, it covered most of the Mackenzie District (INAC 2009). Treaty 11 in 1921 obligated the government to become more involved in education for treaty children in the North. Amendments to the Indian Act mandated removal "from the Indian parent the responsibility for the care and education of his child" (Coates 1986a:138).

As the government became more involved in Canada's North, Aboriginal people found themselves being pushed more and more into new situations and new cultural crises. Nathan VanderKlippe, in an article for *Uphere* (a northern magazine focusing on "Canada's far North") explores the narratives surrounding the RCMP killing of Inuit dogs once the Inuit moved (or were forced to move) into small communities (VanderKlippe 2008)⁵. Likewise, in her book on *Names, Numbers, and Northern Policy*, Valerie Alia describes how the Inuit identity was re-shaped to fit into a foreign (Canadian) bureaucratic system with the implementation of Project Surname (Alia 1994). More recently, the movie *Ce qu'il faut pour vivre / the Necessities of life* (2008) depicts the confusion, devastation, and alienation experienced by one Inuit man

with TB who was forcibly deported to a sanatorium in southern Quebec where, for a major portion of the film, he knew nothing, understood nothing of the Canadian culture nor the hospital bureaucracy, and could not speak the language or interact in a meaningful way with hospital staff or other patients.

Valid reasons existed, as far as EuroCanadian society was concerned, for such actions: the dogs were running loose around town creating havoc; the government needed a system by which they could deal with people having the same name, and track who lived where, who got which benefits, and who was related to whom⁶; medical services in the North were limited so it made sense to transport patients with communicable diseases south where they could get better care. Whatever the reasons, such actions reflect the inability of the dominant society to see the relevance of social and cultural context for the individuals in their charge. For the Aboriginal peoples affected, however, they represent examples of social domination.

The first experiences of judicial domination in the NT occurred in the years immediately preceding and following World War I. In 1913, two Roman Catholic Oblate missionaries were murdered by Aboriginal people. Sinnisiak and Uluksuk were eventually arrested by the Royal Northwest Mounted Police (RNWMP), tried and convicted, thereby becoming the first Inuit to be tried under “white man’s law” (Moyle 1989). In 1920, a fur trader was killed; three Inuit were arrested and tried according to Canadian law. “By Canadian law the planned execution was considered premeditated murder, yet by Inuit tradition the individuals were held blameless because the decision to end his life was supported by consensual agreement of the hunters” (S-Grant 2005:5).

It is worth noting that some Anglican clergy publicly protested against such domination. In the YT, for example, Bishop Bompas protested the lawlessness that seemed to accompany miners coming into the region searching for gold during the Gold Rush years, and called on the government to send in troops to uphold law and order. The North-West Mounted Police were eventually sent in (Cody 2002). He also fought for Aboriginal rights and fair compensation, demanding that the government live up to its obligations by providing adequate medical care and schooling (Coates 1991a:126-142). In the NT in 1922, two Inuit — identified as Tatamagana (Tatamigina, Tatamageena, Tatamerana) and Aligoomiak (Alik Omiak,

Alikomaik, Alekamiaq) — were accused of having killed RCMP officer W.A. Doak and white fur trader Otto Binder, convicted and sentenced to death. Wood to build the gallows had even been brought north with the judge. Bishop Lucas condemned the verdict citing a number of improprieties and stating that the verdict was based on “evidence that would not have been sufficient to convict white men.” (Vyvyan 1998:245). Furor surrounding the conviction, fuelled in part by Anglican Bishop Lucas’s condemnation of the verdict, led to an eventual review of the decision, but not to its overturn. Other Anglican bishops (e.g., Archibald Fleming (1965), Donald Marsh (1967), and John Sperry (2005)) have written about the impact on Aboriginal peoples of what can be understood as institutionalized colonialism.

By the 1920s, Aboriginal peoples in the North — including the Inuit — came increasingly under the sphere of foreign (i.e., Canadian) law (S-Grant 2005; Vyvyan 1998:444-445). Gradually, more Canadian laws were applied, thereby bringing the Northern communities more in line with what was being done in southern Canada, and the government took an increasing role in education; laws regulating hunting, fishing and trapping. Such laws and bureaucratic changes were developed for the North in the South by people who had little, if any, knowledge of Northern peoples or lifestyles, and with little consideration of the impact such laws and changes would have on the people. Kiawak told how some hunting regulations, which made sense in southern Canada, would have led to famine situations had people not ignored them and later fought them (PR:Kiawak).

However we define colonialism, it is obvious that for much of the NT’s political existence as a territory within Canada, beginning in the early twentieth century and until it achieved self-government, the NT population was constrained by EuroCanadian structures and processes imposed on them from a central location far removed from their region, and unable to set its own policies or shape its own destiny⁷. Such experiences could certainly be labelled as colonialism — internal colonialism. While displacement, isolation, and containment may not have been the norm in shaping encounters between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian peoples in Canada’s North, political, economic, judicial and social colonialism were.

Racist Ideology

Racism certainly existed in Canada's North, particularly as more non-Aboriginal people moved into northern regions and came into contact with the Aboriginal and mixed-blood population.

The Klondike Gold Rush era saw thousands of non-Aboriginal people moving into the area in search of fortune. Far from creating an egalitarian or semi-egalitarian society that one might find in other parts of North America, newcomers created a highly stratified society which Laura Berton described in her book *I Married the Klondike*:

The social level began, of course, with the commissioner and his wife, and worked its way down through the judges and officers of the police, the high civil servants, the heads of the large companies, the bishops and church people, the bankers and bank clerks, lawyers and nurses until it stopped with us teachers ... Below the first social level came the merchants, who were known as "the downtown crowd", and below them the labourers, policemen and so on, who were, in turn, several steps above the dance-hall girls and the prostitutes of Klondike City and the half-breeds and Indians (Berton 1967:46).

Aboriginal missionaries or their families might be invited to attend various church functions but, as Coates pointed out, "tolerance was not acceptance" (Coates 1991b:95), and non-Aboriginal men who married Aboriginal women were known as "squaw men" and were found at the very bottom of Klondike society, as were their "half-breed" children.

An analogous situation existed in certain parts of the NT. Fur traders had been in the region for most of the nineteenth century; many married Aboriginal women and had families. The position of these "mixed-blood" families varied across the territory. In some cases, such as at Fort McPherson, the Métis and Northern Metis had an advantage over Aboriginal people: they tended to live settled lives in communities, and their children were able to attend school more regularly. Slobodin noted:

Indians tended to look down upon most Northern Metis for their imputed deficiency in ability, courage, and enterprise... Northern Metis in turn professed to regard the Indians as "natives," with all that this had implied to their European forefathers (Slobodin 1966:21).

In other situations, the Métis/Northern Metis were at a disadvantage. No treaty existed between them and the Canadian government, and the government was under no obligation to

help them or provide for any education. No were the missionary societies. For example, Hay River grew in different sections: the “old” Hay River or “Indian Village” and the “new” Hay River that got its start as a wartime U.S. army airfield. The Métis / Northern Metis had little invested in the community and little contact with other inhabitants. Slobodin summarized the situation as follows:

In the Indian Village, the Metis have been difficult to distinguish from the Indians themselves.... The chief apparent difference in the village is that many Indian families are living in new homes supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs while the Metis homes generally are substandard ... there is relatively no social interaction between the community at the Village and the community at West Channel and the town proper (Slobodin 1966:18-19).

However variegated the relationships between Aboriginal and Métis/Northern Metis people were, the relationships between European/EuroCanadian and Métis/Northern Metis people tended to be negative. Clara Vyvyan, who travelled through the NT in 1926, described the problems that mixed marriages were causing in Aklavik, a community in which the non-Aboriginal population was increasing:

We heard much about that perennial problem of the North, mixed marriages: a practice deplored by the average white man who will go so far as to refuse to sit down at meals with the Eskimo or Indian wife of a friend.

One day, on landing at a settlement, we were introduced to Mr X, a fine upstanding Englishman with an aristocratic air. We stood on the mud bank talking with him about the Old Country, when suddenly there emerged from his cabin a shapeless squaw with an infant in a bundle on her back. He introduced her as Mrs X, and surprise cut short our flow of conversation as we shook hands with the squaw. Then we both began to talk again, in a hurry, yet trying not to betray our haste. (Vyvyan 1998:43).

MacLaren and LaFramboise, editors of Vyvyan’s book, add their own comments on the situation in the end notes, saying:

Honigmann and Honigmann observed: Despite some intermarriage between whites and natives, a two-part class structure consisting of whites and natives did tend to emerge in a large community like Aklavik where

whites were numerous. The strongest proponents of social exclusiveness were those white families who predated (sic) power and held the highest prestige in the community. They relied on one another for sociability without need of the natives. ... These attitudes (of Cameron/McIntyre) sound overstated and may not have been entirely seriously uttered, but they reflect a real tendency to social exclusiveness. But we must also acknowledge the heterogeneity of the non-native population. While some whites were staid and abstemious embodiments of Victorian values, others regarded the North as a frontier where they could shuck many conventions. They chafed under the growth of regulation that seemed to pursue them north. (34-35), (Vyvyan 1998:267-268.)

The September 1925 Mayo-Keno Bulletin summed up the EuroCanadian opposition towards those who had married Aboriginal women and their children, bluntly stating:

Why should the people's money be used to house, feed and clothe the somewhat prolific progeny of able bodied men who have mated with native women? ... Does the Federal Government realize that the result of its misplaced generosity is to encourage a certain class known as "squaw-men" to shift their parental responsibilities on the shoulders of an unwilling public? (Coates & Morrison 1988:211).

Such racist attitudes were not limited to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Racism reared its public head in Whitehorse in 1950 when the civic centre was opened. A debate took place in the community newspaper as to the appropriateness of allowing Aboriginal children to use the civic centre. The debate was resolved when the committee for the civic centre declared after a few weeks that "all were welcome, provided they behaved themselves." Coates noted that one "onlooker" to the debate wondered whether the Aboriginal people were to be welcomed or merely tolerated (Coates 1991b:220-221).

Two years later, the Anglican hostel opened in Whitehorse and racism once again became an issue in the debate surrounding the hostel. Coates noted:

... logic suggested that the students attend the nearby Selkirk school. Regional officials agreed that this arrangement would be convenient, but noted that 'we would prefer to have our children distributed so that there is no high percentage of Indian children in any of your classrooms.' Considerable debate arose over the Selkirk situation, focusing particularly on the preponderance of Native children in the senior elementary grades. A parents' meeting on the issue ended with a unanimous resolution that

the number of Indian children in any one grade not be permitted to exceed 50 per cent of the total class (Coates 1991b:204).

Even as late as the 1960s, anthropologist Richard Slobodin noted a divide in many communities in the NT (Slobodin 1966). One participant told how, when he was stationed at Inuvik, some military personnel refused to let their children learn traditional Aboriginal skills being offered in the schools: they wanted their children to learn French (PS:Harry). Writing about the newly-created community of Inuvik, ACC Bishop Donald Marsh stated:

On the outskirts of (Inuvik) some Indian and Eskimo people live in tents, for they cannot afford to participate in the refinements which are installed in houses for the white people. The Church here faces problems of segregation, as well as those problems which face the Eskimos and Indians in their entry into a modern life ...(Marsh 1967:13).

Similarly, the Filmwest documentary on Nellie Cournoyea, “activist, politician, pioneer and now CEO of a multi million (sic) dollar corporation” talked about Inuvik’s early days (1959-1960s), when the federal government was pushing to get Aboriginal people to settle into communities like Inuvik, saying:

(that Inuvik had a) hospital, school, and the promise of jobs. But there was also racism ... the housing is divided into married and single quarters, apartment dwellings and houses. At the moment, this fully-serviced housing is available only to government employees, The rest of the Eskimos and Indians live in the tent shacktown down by the river (*Better ask Nellie* n.d.)

Summary

Colonialism is a narrative that is better known by Aboriginal peoples themselves than by the EuroCanadian populace and by recent immigrants (Gaver 2009). How much colonialism and its narrative continues to affect the relationship is dealt with in the following chapters.

Evidence in this chapter shows that, contrary to what the current Canadian Prime Minister stated in 2009 when he asserted, “We also have no history of colonialism” (Ljunggren 2009; Beardy 2009), colonialism certainly is part of Canadian history!

By the 1950s, after years of residential schools, colonialist policies and racist attitudes, Aboriginal people were reticent in publicly affirming their culture. As school teacher Margery

Hinds noted about her time in Fort McPherson, she found the people there ashamed of their culture because they considered their stories to be inferior to EuroCanadian ones (Hinds 1958:44-46). In spite of the relative non-involvement in the economic and political colonialist processes, Christian missionaries found themselves acting as go-between and translators for the government and Aboriginal peoples. They also found themselves involved in the problems of administering education throughout the region and the increasingly contentious but continuing issue of residential schools.

6. THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN / EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN CANADA'S NORTH

Overview

It was against this background of colonialism in various forms and incarnations that Anglican missionaries encountered Aboriginal peoples in Canada's North, and the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans took shape.

(According to Bosch) All of us are prisoners of history ... We cannot undo this; indeed, we should not. We cannot shake off our past and start anew at square one. We take our history with us into the future. A person without history has no identity; he suffers from amnesia. If you do not know who you are, you cannot help others; neither can you if you deny being whom you are ... History is indeed a prison that locks us in. But it is, paradoxically, also the key that can open that prison for us. (Meiring 2009:108).

Included in the baggage people bring to relationships is the history of who and what they are. As they relate to each other over time, the relationships themselves develop histories. Confronting the truth of those shared experiences is important both for understanding the relationships and as part of reconciliation processes. Bosch, speaking at the National Initiative for Reconciliation (NIR) meeting in Pietermaritzburg, talked about the importance of dealing with shared history in the above quote. The important questions to consider when evaluating the history of a relationship include: what was the relationship like in the past, and according to whom?

The relationship that developed between Canada's Northern Aboriginal peoples and Europeans/EuroCanadians was highly complex from the beginning, reflecting the mindsets and value systems of different eras, different regions, different nations, and different situations. As described in the preceding and following pages, the relationship that developed between the Anglican missionaries and the different Aboriginal peoples of the North from the beginning of missionary contact to the end of the residential school era was just as varied, shaped by factors such as isolation and extreme cold, by the personalities of the missionaries and the people they met, and by issues such as competition between the RC and Anglicans and government indifference (which may, in fact, have contributed to a different narrative as far as the residential

schools were concerned), and decisively by the kind of solutions that were tried to deal with schooling.

In western Canada, Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries began arriving in the early nineteenth century. Missionaries from other denominations came a little later. Many served in a dual capacity: serving as missionaries to Aboriginal peoples, and providing pastoral services to employees of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and their families. Many served in a third capacity as well: operating in administrative and government capacities in communities that were beginning to appear after 1820. In 1867, the country of Canada was established, created out of Upper and Lower Canada (that is, the southern portions of Ontario and Québec), New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. At that time, Canada comprised only 545,244 km² (337,556 mi²) and a population (likely non-Aboriginal) of around 2,000,000 (W-Smith 1922:29). Three years later, the Canadian government purchased the HBC territory, gaining an additional 7,770,000 km² (approximately 3,000,000 mi² and approximately ten times the size of Canada at the time) (HBC 2009c) but having a population considerably less than found in eastern Canada. The 1881 census gives a (likely non-Aboriginal) population of 65,954 for the Manitoba of that time and 56,446 for the Northwest Territories (Gregg 1885:600-601) but those territories were quite different from what they are today (Figure 24).

In this and the next few chapters¹, I explore the influence of some of the more prominent Anglican missionaries in the NT and the YT. The purpose is not to present a comprehensive history of Anglican activities in Canada's North, but rather to show the range of responses Anglican missionaries demonstrated in their interactions with the Northern population. In this chapter, I look at three early Anglican missionaries, all of whom worked in both the NT and YT: (1) William West Kirkby; (2) Robert McDonald; and (3) William Carpenter Bompas, then (4) discuss some of the other missionaries and (5) Anglican-Roman Catholic relations in the North.

The Early Anglican Missionaries in Canada's North

The Rt. Rev. William West Kirkby (1859-1868)

The first Anglican missionary in northern Canada was James Hunter (1817-1882). Stationed in the southern portion of Rupert's Land and concerned about the growing Roman Catholic presence in the North, Hunter undertook an expedition to Northern Canada to scout

out potential sites for future missions in 1858-1859. On his return, he pleaded with the CMS for more missionaries to counteract the Roman Catholic influence there, identifying several possible sites for CMS missions: Forts Simpson, Good Hope, Liard, and Rae (Peake 1989:33-42).

The CMS was not able to send the missionaries Hunter requested, but did approve William West Kirkby (1827-1907), a recently-ordained missionary, going to the North in 1859. Kirkby established his base of operations and a school for Aboriginal children in Fort Simpson. The school attracted children during the winter when their parents were at the HBC outpost but, with the coming of spring, parents and children returned to their hunting territories and the school closed.

The following year, Kirkby visited Fort Norman, and later was joined at Fort Simpson by his wife and family. In 1861, he began an extended trip that took him into the Yukon and included stops at Fort Norman, Peel River Fort (now Fort McPherson), La Pierre's House, and Fort Yukon (in modern-day Alaska). According to Kirkby, he had "the honour of being the first missionary on the continent to erect the standard of the cross within the Arctic regions" (Peake 1989:59). Kirkby visited the Yukon a second time in 1862, but this time he encountered the "competition:" Oblate missionaries.

While Peake concludes that the Roman Catholic Oblate, Henri Grollier seemed to have made a bigger impression on Aboriginal people than did Kirkby, citing as support, a comment by Nicol Taylor, the HBC officer in charge of Fort Norman, that "Kirkby has got most of the men and the priest all the wives. The wives do not like Kirkby. They find him too small" (Peake 1989:57), Sarah Simon presents a different perspective on Kirkby and the Aboriginal response to his missionary activities.

Interviewed by Joyce Carlson (Métis) and the Rev. Alf Dumont (Métis), Sarah Simon (Gwich'in) shared stories both of her experiences with missionaries and in residential schools (Chapter 11), and of her grandmother's encounters with the first Anglican missionaries in the region.

[Although the first missionary among the Gwich'in was Henri Grollier, a Roman Catholic Oblate, Sarah's grandmother had been elsewhere when he reached the community so had never seen him. The following year,]

the Hudson's Bay man told the people that there was a real minister coming, a real man who was going to tell them all the good news. This trader had a Native woman living with him. He told this woman about God the Father up in heaven. This woman told my grandmother about this. She finally believed that there was a God up in heaven who looks down on everywhere (Carlson and Dumont 1997:10).

Carlson and Dumont noted that the reference to a "real minister" might have referred to how HBC employees "undermined the Roman Catholic missions" but it could also reflect the Gwich'in view that "a man wasn't a real man unless he had a wife and children" (Carlson and Dumont 1997:10-11). What was noteworthy about Sarah's story was the mention about the trader having a "Native woman living with him;" it was the woman who interacted directly with Aboriginal peoples and with Anglican missionaries. Although unnamed in Sarah's account, this woman might have been (Oggui) Catherine Flett who was the wife of the HBC manager and who later assisted Archdeacon McDonald (ACC Archives M71-4). According to Sarah Simon:

In those days, the Eskimo and Loucheaux people had wars. Sometimes they attacked one another. So they had to watch from a little hill where there were no trees so they could see 12 miles up if the Eskimos were coming by boat. Then, if they saw someone coming, they could get ready. ... So there was the hill there. This woman told the people make way, make way for the speaker to walk through, ...(Carlson and Dumont 1997:12-3).

By preaching from a hill top, at a height of land that allowed people to see afar, to know if danger was approaching, Kirkby did something that would have created a favourable impression among the listeners (Carlson and Dumont 1997:13). According to Sarah, what drew the Gwich'in to Kirkby was curiosity:

My grandmother said that she started crawling among people's legs. So much she crawled. Finally she came to a trunk so she couldn't stand up. So, she sat there watching this man come up.

She saw the man coming, a little short man with a nice little blue coat and a little straw hat. He had a cane and was carrying something. It was really queer. They couldn't make out what it was that he was carrying. Maybe it was just a little briefcase. I don't know. Nobody, no one knew about paper, books or anything like that. ...

They sat down there and she [his wife] came out and told them, “You people try to sit down, sit down on the ground and listen. This man will talk ...” and they did. He brought out some kind of paper and she hung it up on that wall and he took his cane and pointed. And no one had seen anything like that before.

This was in the morning, early in the morning. For lunch, they went in again and the people wouldn’t leave. Then after lunch, they came out and it was the same thing again. They learned about the word of God.

They didn’t know what the words meant. For days they went on from morning to evening. As soon as the minister went into the house, all the people turned around and said, “what did he say, what did he say?” [Sarah’s grandmother] said she was a little girl. She remembered words. People around her would surround and ask her, “What did he say?” and she would repeat the words.” (Carlson and Dumont 1997:12-14).

Kirkby stayed in her grandmother’s community for seven days, preaching, before moving on. The following September, he returned to the region. The following year, missionary Robert McDonald arrived. What kept the Gwich’in interested was the wife, Mrs. Flett:

... all summer long [she] worked with people. She went out to the camps and told everyone about the person who came, saying that whatever he said was true. This is what her husband told her and she believed” (Carlson and Dumont 1997:12-13).

Mrs. Flett continued working among the people, teaching them what Kirkby had said, even after McDonald arrived. It may well be that Kirkby’s success in the community was due to her efforts rather than to his preaching although McDonald, on reaching Fort Yukon in 1862, noted “the genuine affection which the Indians seemed to have for Kirkby” (Peake 1989:64). Kirkby may have gained influence over the people because of his concern and presence among them during one of the epidemics to have hit the region. According to fellow missionary William Carpenter Bompas, Kirkby’s “long residence here & uniform kindness to the Indians, especially his ministrations to the sick last fall, have gained him influence among them which a stranger would take long to acquire” (Peake 1989:85).

It is also said that Kirkby introduced “Rat Sunday” which became an Aboriginal harvest festival. When Aboriginal peoples returned to the forts in the fall with the furs, they gave some

muskrat pelts (hence the name “Rat” Sunday) to Kirkby’s church as an offering. He would sell the pelts to the HBC and proceeds helped “defray the expenses of the mission” (Peake 1989:80). Whether the practice was a way to blend traditional lifestyles with missionary needs, an attempt to develop a self-sufficient Aboriginal church as Venn had directed, or a way to exploit Aboriginal peoples, is unknown.

Regardless of any racist or colonialistic tendencies Kirkby may have had, he obviously was willing to listen to advice from the local population (i.e., HBC trader/manager and his wife). Regardless of any reserve or desire to keep his distance from Aboriginal people, as noted by Peake was typical of Anglican missionaries (Peake 1989:56), Kirkby seems to have responded to their needs in times of crisis, notably visiting and caring for the sick. Peake notes, however, that Kirkby — as did many Anglican missionaries — “tended to be reserved and to keep their distance from the people in a way that Roman Catholic missionaries did not” (Peake 1989:56).

In 1868, Kirkby resigned from his position, returning to England with his family (Peake 1989:55-62, 80).

The Rev. Robert McDonald (1862-1904)

While the CMS was not able to send as many missionaries as had been requested by Hunter and later by Kirkby, by 1862, they were able to send a missionary to help Kirkby: the Rev. Robert McDonald (1829-1913). Kirkby and McDonald divided the region between them with Kirkby focusing on the southern portion around Fort Simpson.

According to Peake (1989:62-89), McDonald was born and educated in the Red River region of Manitoba (John West’s territory). He was also of mixed heritage. His father had worked with the HBC while his wife’s father had worked with the Northwest Company and had married an Ojibwa woman. In fact, McDonald was triracial; his mother’s grandfather had been a plantation owner in Jamaica while his maternal grandmother had been a “free mulato” woman (Moore 2007:29). Such a heritage made it difficult for the CMS (who later posted him to Canada’s North) to categorize him.

For a while, McDonald worked with the Wesleyan Methodist missionary William Mason as schoolmaster, but then Bishop Anderson (Anglican) approached McDonald about the possibility of his becoming an Anglican priest. After some time and training at St. John’s

College in Manitoba (one of the few nineteenth-century Anglican missionaries to actually have training), McDonald was ordained to the Anglican diaconate in 1852 and to the priesthood in 1853. McDonald served as priest at White Dog (Ontario, close to the Manitoba border) for several years. After vacationing in eastern Canada and the United States, McDonald arrived in northern Canada in 1862 to work with Kirkby, and McDonald established his base of operation at Fort Yukon. When the fort was found to be on the American side of the Canadian-American border in 1867, he was forced to relocate². By 1871, McDonald settled on Fort McPherson as his new base of operation.

McDonald appeared on the scene during a particularly traumatic period of Gwich'in history. In 1864, people at Fort Yukon, including McDonald, ran the risk of starvation. Peake notes that “for five days in the spring, there was nothing to eat but undressed skins” (Peake 1989:70). The following year, an epidemic of scarlet fever swept through the area. HBC records report that, in 1865 alone, more than one thousand people died in the Mackenzie district (ACC 2008f). It was been estimated that between 1858 and 1871, Fort McPherson lost over 51% of its population, dropping from 337 to 164 people. Small wonder that McDonald himself became sick sometime during 1864-1865 and, for a time, there was concern that he would die (ACC 2008f). A replacement had to be found. That replacement — who would one day become his bishop — was William Carpenter Bompas. Small wonder that McDonald, remaining there during these crises that struck Gwich'in peoples, gained the people's respect and trust.

While Anglican missionaries in Canada's North might have been reserved and might have tended to keep their distance from Aboriginal people in a way that Roman Catholic missionaries did not, Robert McDonald was the exception. He was also an exceptional missionary.

First, as Moore (2007) points out, he was able to tap into his knowledge of the HBC to facilitate his work. Not only did he enjoy congenial relationship with HBC staff, but also he spoke French and was able to connect with the HBC French Métis in a way that other Anglican missionaries could not. Furthermore, he was able to use those connections to give him an advantage over Roman Catholic missionaries and to discredit Aboriginal prophets (Moore 2007:36-37). With the help of Aboriginal wives of HBC traders (such as Mrs. Flett), McDonald

was able to learn Gwich'in and to translate portions of the Bible into the language. Later, with the help of his own Gwich'in wife, he finished translating the New Testament into Gwich'in and wrote the *Grammar of the Tukudh Language*.

Secondly, his marriage in 1876 to Julia Kutug, a local Gwich'in, served as an entry point into the Aboriginal community, bringing with it ties to the Gwich'in social network. It also helped him survive. Unlike European / EuroCanadian women who knew nothing of the land, Julia was "adept at foraging for their large family." In the winter of 1896, for instance, she snared twenty-seven rabbits, six partridges, and a lynx, in addition to preparing moose hide and gathering moss (for baby diapers)" (Moore 2007:35).

Unlike other Anglican missionaries of the time, such as Bompas, McDonald did not travel extensively, meeting and interacting with different Aboriginal nations. Rather, he focused on one nation — now known as the "Gwich'in" but referred to at the time as the "Tukudh" or the "Loucheux." He spent as much time as he could among the people, getting to know them. In fact — again, unlike other missionaries — when he first arrived in Fort Yukon in 1862, McDonald did not see the need for construction of any mission building. It was not until 1878 that he finally built a church — at Fort McPherson. Instead, McDonald went where the people were — in their camps (Peake 1989:67,70), a fact that may have been remembered by one participant: "The one missionary, he visited 800 families then started preaching. The people — they knew him and went to church." (PS:Alariaq).

McDonald developed a remarkable relationship with the Gwich'in. His knowledge of Aboriginal languages, his willingness to learn about Aboriginal cultures, and his ability to accept Aboriginal peoples without treating them as inferior, as well as his marriage to Julia Kutug and his concern for them during some of the major epidemics that struck the region periodically earned him respect and trust of the Gwich'in. One example can be seen in the interaction between an unnamed Gwich'in and McDonald following one of McDonald's sermons. In the sermon, McDonald had mentioned "the devil having had our first parents to sin against God." The Gwich'in man objected, saying "he did not like to hear anything spoken about the devil ... since he might take revenge." (As in many Aboriginal cultures, naming something dangerous gave it power; it was safer to refer to the dangerous entity obliquely —

a “bear” might be referred to as “the one with a black hide” (McLellan 1975).) Rather than ridicule the man’s belief as superstition, McDonald took advantage of the opportunity to deal on a one-to-one basis with the man, replying that “there need be no fear of giving warning against the devil” since God’s power was more than adequate to deal with the devil (Peake 1989:67). Whether the story occurred exactly as written, or was massaged to fit the audience, it suggests that the Gwich’in felt comfortable enough with McDonald to remonstrate with him even though he likely considered McDonald to be “white.”

McDonald’s familiarity with, and sensitivity to, different Aboriginal cultures was reflected in his taking “note of the culture of those to whom he ministered” (Peake 1989:66). Unlike most Anglican missionaries but reminiscent of Roman Catholic priests such as Petitot, McDonald took “pains to understand and appreciate the Tukudh culture and [enjoying] an empathy with them which few others seem to have shared” (Peake 1989:68). Far from condemning Gwich’in spirituality as heathen or primitive — and without considering the possibility that some beliefs might, in fact, be of recent origin and represent a blending of Gwich’in and Christian spiritualities — McDonald, in his letters to the CMS, emphasized those elements common with Christianity — an all-powerful creator God, good angels, angels who had visited human beings at some point in the past (Genesis 6), an evil spirit reminiscent of Satan who tempted human beings, and the last judgement:

They had a faint idea of the existence of a Supreme Being ... by the name of Vutukwechanchyo, which imports Author and Lord of all animate and inanimate objects. Under him they believed were good angels, whom they called Zyakug Koochin, which name denotes heavenly nation: these they believed to have formerly visited the earth in the form of men, but clothed with wings. The evil spirit they called by the name of Tretrem ... believed to be continually going about all over the world endeavouring to lead men to do evil ... the good went to the sun and moon after death, and ... passed their time in enjoyment of feasting, dancing and play. ... The wicked were believed to have gone after death under the earth to a dark place, where they had no enjoyment of happiness. (Peake 1975:71).

Like many evangelical missionaries, McDonald firmly opposed polygamy although he refused to vilify those who were polygamists. Unlike many others, however, McDonald was

also sensitive to the impact Christian opposition to polygamy would have on the people and sought to find middle ground between a legalistic Christianity and traditional ways of life:

... those who had more than one wife, and had children with them might retain them, but those who had not children should part with them excepting in the case of old women (Peake 1989:69).

Like many CMS missionaries, McDonald believed in the importance of education. Since the Gwich'in had no written language, McDonald invented a writing system for Gwich'in, then translated the Bible and other religious books into Gwich'in, and taught people how to read in their own language. Gwich'in elders wanted the written language to be in roman characters (i.e., our alphabet) but McDonald, perhaps as a result of his earlier work with the Methodists, wanted to build on the syllabic system the Methodist missionary James Evans had developed for the Cree. The Gwich'in language did not co-operate (he would have to invent more and more syllabic symbols to deal with the many different sound combinations in the Gwich'in language); McDonald finally gave up and acquiesced to the elders' desires (Moore 2007:42-44). His *Grammar of the Tukudh language*, along with his translations of the New Testament, the *Anglican Prayer Book* and different hymns became the basis for Gwich'in literacy.

One challenge McDonald faced was how to provide schooling to the Gwich'in. When McDonald was around, schooling was available; when he was away, schooling stopped. Schooling was also stopped by that various epidemics which broke out: mumps, smallpox, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis (ACC 2008f). Despite the challenges, the Gwich'in came to have a high rate of literacy. Many Gwich'in actually owned their own copies of the Bible in their own language, a fact which gave them some independence from relying on CMS missionaries, McDonald included. William Ogilvie, a surveyor, noted in 1887:

They hold every Sunday a service among themselves, reading from their books the prayers and lessons for the day, and singing in their own language to some old tune or simple hymn. They never go on a journey of any length without these books, and always read a portion before they go to sleep (Moore 2007:28).

* * * * *

As an aside, it is worth noting that one participant told about going out in the bush with the Gwich'in and how important it was for the Gwich'in today to bring their Bibles with them when they travel.

... And the kids all had their Bibles, and then when they want to — as kids do want to re-organize the tents — one of them couldn't find their Bible, and it was just this major freak out because they couldn't find the Bible that has to go under the pillow or under the bed when they sleep. ... We had to find her Bible ... it just got jumbled up in the sleeping bag.

I've been asked to secure Bibles for some of the men when they travel on the water. Sometimes their wives or their mothers will want them to have it. It's interesting ... (PR:Moriah).

* * * * *

McDonald's encouragement of Aboriginal Christians to take responsibility for their own faith fell in line with Venn's directive about encouraging "native agency." He did not build self-supporting congregations — which would have been difficult given the small population and distances involved even within Gwich'in territory itself — but he did develop a system whereby Aboriginal people were trained to take leadership roles within the Anglican Christian community:

... he set up a system of Christian leaders. One of the more promising Indians in each band was selected and trained by McDonald for this purpose. The function of the Christian leader was to encourage the others to lead them in worship in the absence of the missionary. By selecting men who were honoured and respected by their peers he was able to avoid any clash with the prerogatives of the native chiefs. (Peake 1989:69).

While McDonald's relationship with the Gwich'in may have been positive, his relationship with the CMS was less so. The CMS never accepted him as being equal to other missionaries: he was "country-born" (Peake 1975; 1989:62-79). At the same time, McDonald was different from other "country-born" missionaries such as Henry Budd; he was sufficiently "white" to have visited Eastern Canada and eastern United States, and sufficiently "white" to have even travelled to England at least once. Peake noted that CMS records typically refer to him as "European missionaries and Archdeacon McDonald" rather than as an Aboriginal clergy.

The fact of his mixed heritage may also explain why McDonald, who had trained as a missionary and had worked among the Gwich'in (called "Tukudh" at the time) for over forty years, never became bishop. The first opportunity to become bishop occurred in 1874; McDonald was passed over in favour of a junior missionary from England (William Carpenter Bompas). This slight by the CMS may explain both McDonald's marriage to a Gwich'in woman, Julia Kutug, two years later, and also why he performed his own marriage rather than having the new bishop perform it when Bompas visited McDonald (Peake 1975:68).

Interestingly, while the CMS might have considered McDonald to be "country-born" or not quite "white," the Gwich'in, for their part, likely did consider him to be "white." From their perspective, his ties to the HBC, his ties to the Anglican Church, and his coming from another part of Canada both identified him as an outsider and linked him to the European/EuroCanadian community (Moore 2007:34),

The CMS may never have considered Robert McDonald to be quite acceptable, and Bompas refused to submit to "a Native of this country" (Peake 1989:87), but in 1875, the CMS finally made McDonald Archdeacon of Mackenzie. Two years later, "he was elected an honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Winnipeg, and that honour was followed ten years later by an honorary doctorate in divinity" (Peake 1975:67). Regardless of what honours McDonald did and did not receive during his lifetime, his importance in laying the foundations for an Aboriginal Church and Aboriginal Christianity cannot be denied. Because of McDonald, the type of ministry he built in Canada's North, and the kind of relationship he developed with the Gwich'in, the history of Anglicanism in the North differs significantly from that in the South. Peake assesses McDonald's importance saying,

The monument to Robert McDonald lies not in the buildings although there is a church dedicated to his memory at Old Crow, but in the enduring faithfulness of successive generations of Tukudh Indians (Peake 1975:70)

William Carpenter Bompas (1865-1901)

Like McDonald, William Carpenter Bompas (1834-1906) worked among Canada's northern peoples for over forty years. Ordained deacon in the Church of England in 1859, Bompas volunteered to serve as a missionary in northern Canada in 1865. Despite having little

theological training, Bompas was ordained “for the colonies” within weeks of volunteering, then shipped off to Canada, arriving at his destination on Christmas Day, 1865 (Peake 1989:82). Eventually, he became Bishop of Athabasca (1874-1884), Bishop of Mackenzie River (1884-1891), and Bishop of Yukon (1891-1905) (see Appendix B).

Like McDonald, he wrote a grammar on an Aboriginal language (he actually wrote more than one) and translated parts of the New Testament and worship service into Aboriginal languages. He also wrote two books on the North. Despite his length of time in the North, and everything he accomplished, however, Bompas can be judged as one of the least effective Anglican missionaries in the North — in part because of his personality, and in part because of how he worked.

Bompas began his life as a Baptist but was ordained deacon in the Church of England in 1859. In 1865, he volunteered to serve as a missionary in northern Canada. Despite having almost no theological training, Bompas was ordained “for the colonies” within weeks of volunteering, then shipped off to Canada, arriving at his destination on Christmas Day, 1865 (Peake 1989:82). Eventually, he became Bishop of Athabasca (1874-1884), Bishop of Mackenzie River (1884-1891), and Bishop of Yukon (1891-1905). Bompas was not comfortable around people, particularly EuroCanadian people. As more and more Europeans, non-Aboriginal Canadians, and Americans moved to the North, Bompas retreated to more and more remote regions of the North.

Isolation was — and continues to be — a major factor of life in the North. Bompas described the diocese of Mackenzie River, carved out of the larger diocese of Athabasca in 1884 as being about 1,207,008 square kilometres (750,000 square miles) with a population of only six thousand (CE-SPCK 1886:239). According to Bompas,

[the] population is so sparse that at times the voyager may proceed for hundreds of miles without seeing one human being. At other times he will encounter a few Indians in their skin tents on the river banks, with their fishing-nets set in the eddies. ... (Bompas 1893:145).

For someone who was not comfortable being around people, Canada’s North must have seemed ideal.

How much Bompas actually appreciated the North is debatable. Whatever Bompas saw, he filtered through his evangelical understanding of the Bible. The table of contents in *Northern Lights on the Bible* describes aspects of Northern life, linking each aspect to a particular passage of the Bible — for example, “Light (Gen. i.4);” “Languages (Gen. xi. 9);” and “Snow-blindness (Isa. Lix. 10).” Canada’s North reminded him of the Sinai desert in which the ancient Israelites wandered for forty years. Northern rivers, which often had along their sides “perpetual fires that have been burning for a century past without intermission, that is ever since their discovery, and which are fed by underground coal or bitumen” reminded him, indirectly, of the lake of fire in Revelation 20:10 (Bompas 1893:186-187). He used such correlations in his preaching to convince the Aboriginal people about the truth of Christianity:

Large columns of smoke and small jets of flame are seen always issuing from the surface of the ground ... [one Aboriginal could not believe that the earth would be destroyed by fire but, after seeing such burning banks in his travels, became a believer.] He believed the threat of a judgment to come, and credited the message of salvation. (Bompas 1893:186-187).

Similarly, indications can be found that Bompas was unable to see Aboriginal people as real or whole human beings. As individuals, at least in his official writings, Aboriginal people remained as invisible as the land. Although Bompas spent over forty years among them, he seems to have been aware of only the tangible and most visible elements of their lives:

The Indians have mostly a superstitious dread of staying on in a place where any one has died... (Bompas 1893:43)

Each tribe has its own pattern of snow-shoes and of dog-sled especially adapted to the nature of the country over which they travel ...(Bompas 1893:105)

The native chief’s dress of the Tukuth tribe of Indians is ornamented with shells and porcupine quill work. The dress of a Chipewyan, with all his hunting accoutrements, is also handsome. This consists of moose skins, much trimmed with white, and coloured seed-bead work (Bompas 1893:178-179).

Bompas’ writings reveal no understanding of the intangible — the people themselves and the essence of their being:

The Esquimaux mothers *seem* [italics added] fond of their children, but seldom have more than one or two. If the number exceeds this it seems to be thought a superfluity, and they may probably sell or barter away the extra ones (Bompas 1888:42).

Even after twenty-five years of living among Aboriginal peoples, Bompas was not sure whether Inuit women actually loved their children, nor did he understand why children might be given away! After almost thirty years in the field, Bompas still had no understanding of the clan system that governed — and still governs to some extent — how the Aboriginal people among whom he worked identified themselves, their relations and potential marriage partners. Rather than appreciating the complexity of Aboriginal social systems, he saw simply animal names, which he again juxtaposed against biblical characters:

It may be worth while to notice how well the names of the Midian chiefs would befit a modern Indian brave. Translated they are the Raven and the Wolf. The reference is to the feasts provided for birds and beasts of prey by these plundering chieftains, who almost exhibited the same spirit as those greedy animals. Many a modern Indian has a similar appellation. The Crow or the Fox, and other such names, borrowed from animals are frequent among present Indian chiefs.

Zebah and Zalmunna, the kings or leaders of Midian, had similar significant names ... (Bompas 1893:79).

As to who the people were — their interests, their culture, their beliefs, the values — Bompas understood nothing. The people were, for all Bompas' Christian compassion, essentially non-existent.

Bompas accused Canadian Anglicans of racism for their repugnance towards “the half breeds who form the bulk of our white people” (Abel 1991:118), but did not recognize his own racism. Innately confident of his own superiority, Bompas missed the irony when he wrote:

A European entering on a forest life is supremely conscious of his own superiority to the aborigines; but this is not quite so clear to the natives, who have no eyes for mental worth, and may be disposed to ridicule the want of skill in a white man in the chase, or his lack of dexterity in the everyday duties and necessities of a forest life, such as the kindling a forest fire on a wet night, when everything is soaked with rain (Bompas 1893:45).

Bompas refused to serve as an assistant priest under Robert McDonald — understandable given that he had already served as assistant priest in England. The real reason, however, was stated in a letter to the CMS: Bompas refused to accept that Robert McDonald — “though [his] superior in missionary ability” — should have authority over him given that he was “a Native of this country” (Peake 1989:87). In another letter, Bompas claimed credit for advising McDonald to move his mission from Fort Yukon (by then, Alaska) to the Canadian side of the border. Elsewhere, when writing about a visit to the Gwich’in, Bompas wrote:

Each day I spent in the Loucheux (Gwich’in) camps was like a Sunday as the Indians were clustered around me from early morning till late at night learning prayers and hymns and scriptures as I was able to teach them I never met with so earnest desires after God’s word nor have I passed so happy time since I left England (Peake 1989:88).

There is no mention that this was McDonald’s territory, and that Bompas was building on foundations laid by McDonald and his Aboriginal catechists. The only reference to McDonald was that McDonald would provide full details to the CMS during his visit to England.

Whatever the relationship between Bompas and McDonald, the fact was that Bompas did not accept any Aboriginal conversions as being genuine or sufficient to warrant accepting the people as equal to the “Whites” in the Church. He believed that “no Indian should be considered as a Christian convert until he has entirely abandoned [gambling, conjuring, and impurity]” (Peake 1989:95), and that they would “catch up” to the level of civilization experienced by Christians who had been living with the Gospel for two thousand years:

They feel that they are now God’s people, and know whither they are going. ... it is a mistake on the part of Christians at home to suppose that a convert from heathenism is ushered at once into the full blaze of Gospel day. An Englishman little realises, how much he owes to the many centuries of Christianity that have blessed his favoured isle before the birth of the present generation. It needs a residence among those for whom the Gospel day is just dawning to estimate the difference between their lot and that of others...” (Bompas 1893:192-193).

As far as Bompas was concerned, Aboriginal people were, “in their minds and feelings like children (Bompas 1893:106), primitive savages, “the ruins of a bygone civilisation.” They represented “a savage race ... in a state of decay and degeneration” (reminiscent of Mircea Eliade

who was born in 1907) and he did not see “any evidence of a tendency in untutored races to rise above themselves” (Bompas 1893:44):

A certain part of the human race may still be called wild men in the sense of being almost untameable, and this is especially the case with those resident in the wilds, such as the North American Indian ... Wild men, like wild animals, may no doubt be tamed and domesticated, but the task is not an easy one. The Gospel of Christ has power to change the nature and the heart, and its softening influence is the best for reducing the savage to a state of culture. ... as the first command of God to man to subdue the earth becomes more and more fulfilled, the unsubdued part that remains wild and uncultivated becomes constantly narrower in its bounds, and the uncultivated races are replaced more and more by those of settled habits and superior civilisation (1893:42-44).

In holding such views, Bompas revealed similarities — and possibly even familiarity — with writings by the cultural anthropologist, Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), whose works included *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (1865) and *Primitive Culture* (1871) and *Anthropology* (1881), as well as with writings by the noted anthropologist / ethnologist, Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), whose works included *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877), in which he developed his theory of social evolution.

Bompas believed that Aboriginal people were “diminishing as a whole,” that “the morality among both adults and children [was] always high” and that “the health of the race [was] far from sound” (Bompas 1893:94). He did not believe that Aboriginal people could ever improve their lot. As he put it: “The instability of the savage when taught is perhaps the greatest difficulty in his education. It is like writing in the sand, instead of graving in the rock — easier, but not lasting” (Bompas 1893:20).

If Bompas could not accept that Aboriginal people could be educated, he certainly could not accept that they were capable of complicated reasoning. In *Diocese of Mackenzie River*, Bompas wrote of the complexity of the “Tukudh language” stating that the “conjugation of the verbs is more elaborate than in Greek ...” Even so, he could not bring himself to admit “that the language is the invention or elaboration of the people who speak it.” It was easier for Bompas to think that, “the only alternative [to their having developed it themselves] seems to

be that their language is to each race the gift of their Creator” (Bompas 1888:53) than the alternative: that the Gwich’in might have been more intelligent than he believed. He could not accept that Aboriginal people might have had worthwhile ways of life of their own, nor that they might not need his help and protection.

Bompas never ordained Aboriginal or people of mixed heritage to the priesthood. Apart from Robert McDonald’s efforts among the Gwich’in, an Anglican Church in which Aboriginal people served as clergy would have to wait for his successor. According to Bompas:

A Native Episcopate is in my view quite uncalled for and undesirable ... the Natives having previously been quite rude and uninstructed, [they] have naturally learned to regard White men as their Instructors and superior in Intellect and Information and especially to moral steadfastness [sic] and reliability. ... I am not in favor of independent Native Churches anywhere ... I fear that Independent Native Churches would soon sink to a level with other sects and denominations of Christians, or even become heterodox (Abel 1991:120).

Other sources, however, suggest that Bompas cared passionately for Aboriginal people. Stories abound of his concern for them and of their appreciation of him. Even though the accounts are written in a strongly hagiographic style, there is no reason to disbelieve the events themselves. When an Aboriginal girl wandered away from her aunt’s home to look for her father in the bush, Bompas and others searched for her. Eventually he found her. He took care of the sick, regardless of who they were, even amputating “one [HBC] man’s leg about the knee” shortly after becoming Bishop of Athabasca (Cody 2002:174-178; Cameron 1909 Part 3), and made a special point to attend lectures at an “eye hospital” in London on one of his two trips “outside” (i.e., when he left the North) because he was so concerned about people suffering from snow-blindness (Cody 2002:174). According to Cody, whose biography is the type of hagiography typical in the late nineteenth century, Bompas was fiercely protective of children who were beaten at school. Furthermore, he and his wife, Charlotte Selina, who considered herself a missionary in her own right, took the occasional orphan into their own home. According to Cody, Aboriginal people appreciated his sense of compassion and his efforts, and responded by helping him when he was in trouble.

Regardless of how he saw and understood (or did not see and understand) Aboriginal people, Bompas tried to protect them from the corrupting influences of non-Aboriginal life and

growing lawlessness as more non-Aboriginal people moved into the Yukon region, particularly during the Gold Rush years (1897-1898). Peake writes that, around 1885, “anxious to protect the Indians from the demoralizing influences of the traders” (Peake 1989:123), Bompas established a mission at Forty Mile. As mentioned earlier (Chapter 5), Bompas called on the government to live up to its obligations, and fought for Aboriginal rights and compensation. According to Coates, his efforts led one contemporary to exclaim: “Bishop Bompas ... has no use for any person unless he is an Indian. Has the utmost contempt for the whites generally and myself in particular ...” (Coates 1991a:126-142).

Like many CMS missionaries, Bompas believed that education of Aboriginal and mixed-heritage children was important for them to have any chance for improvement, but assumed that “education” meant “European-style education”. He believed that schools would help Aboriginal children “attain a higher position in the Christian moral scale” (Peake 1989:106). When he could not get funding for schools from the CMS (which refused to provide funds for educating children of mixed-heritage), he contacted others — such as the Department of Indian Affairs (which also refused to provide funds for non-Aboriginal or mixed-heritage children), the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society (CCCS), and the Canadian branch of the Anglican Church — for funding (Coates 1986b:6). By 1891, he had founded a school at Forty Mile (Coates 1989:150). By 1900, he moved the students away from Forty Mile (which was too close to the gold mines) down to Caribou Crossing in the southern Yukon. The community was later renamed “Carcross.” The Anglican residential school Bompas established there was one of the first in Canada’s North.

Interestingly, King notes in his study of Mopass/Carcross residential school that the Aboriginal people who did remember the bishop having founded the school in 1901, “describe him and his plan in glowing terms and make references to how ‘... things might have been different if Bishop lived longer.’ He reportedly envisioned a church-supported, cooperative, community school-farm on the eighty-acre lakeside site where the school still operates” (King 1967:36). The problem, according to King’s information, was that Bompas died too soon; his successor was more interested in developing churches throughout the diocese rather than in

overseeing education at Carcross. The result was a twisting of the original dream. The “‘community’ concept never took hold” (King 1967:36).

While more work needs to be done in an effort to discover how widespread such perceptions of Bompas were and to reconcile the public and private persona (if they need to be reconciled), details about the number of conversions in the individual missions are worth noting. When Bompas resigned as bishop of the diocese of Mackenzie River, his successor William Day Reeve assessed the different communities to see how many Aboriginal peoples had actually been converted during Bompas’ time there (Table 1):

Table 1: Number of Aboriginal Converts in the NT
(source: Peake 1989:126-129)

Community	# Aboriginal People	# Aboriginal Catholics	# Aboriginal Anglicans
Fort Resolution	350	350	0
Fort Rae	711	711	0
Fort Providence	436	436	0
Fort Liard	219	219	0
Fort Simpson	234	~117	~117
Fort Wrigley	177	—	~88
Fort Norman	324		80
Fort Good Hope	547	547	0
Fort McPherson	455	—	410

Fort Resolution had been visited by. Spendlove, a CMS missionary, but there were no converts. Fort Rae had been served by a number of CMS missionaries including Bompas, Garton, Reeve, Norn, and Hardisty. Even so, no Aboriginal Anglicans could be found. Fort Providence was primarily Catholic but even “over 100 Trout Lake and Hay River Indians trading here [who] were adherents of ours, ... they saw us so seldom that ... some of them are

beginning to drop away to the Romanists” (Peake 1989:127). Fort Liard was served by Thomas Jabez Marsh, who was later sent to Hay River. Fort Simpson was split between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics. The Catholic missionary generally stayed only a month at a time, leaving the field open to the Protestants. About half the Aboriginal population of Fort Wrigley, which had been served by Allen Hardisty, was Anglican but:

they had been neglected and were becoming careless. They seemed as ready to go to the Roman Catholic priest as to the Anglican. “In fact,” some of them say, “we go to whichever comes first.” (Peake 1989:128).

Fort Norman had been served by both John Hawksley and David North Kirkby with some success “in spite of the fact that the Oblates had two resident priests and a lay brother” (Peake 1989:128). Fort Good Hope had been visited by Hunter and Oblate Father Henri Grollier who stayed there until his death. Fort McPherson, that had the largest number of converts, was served by Robert McDonald, not Bompas.

While Bompas may have compassion for individual Aboriginal people — particularly children — his colonialist tendencies, the type of Christianity he promulgated (see Chapter 13) and his inability to develop deep personal relationships effectively hampered his missionary efforts.

Bompas’ ministry spanned both today’s NT and the Yukon. He was there during a particularly critical time in Aboriginal history. Not only were many Aboriginal communities devastated by the various epidemics that came in the wake of contact with European/EuroCanadian peoples, but also they were deeply affected by the sale of Alaska to the United States of America², and the Klondike Gold Rush with its rapid influx of non-Aboriginal peoples into the region. While Bompas may have been concerned about the impact of non-Aboriginal people into the area on the Aboriginal people already living there, his concern seems representative of colonialism. Believing in his own superiority and the superiority of his culture (which he, at the same time despised and rejected), and believing in the incapacity of Aboriginal peoples to even manage their own lives, Bompas revealed himself as paternalistic and racist.

In other words, Bompas was an itinerant missionary, and may have been better able to preach the Gospel than to live it. He was constantly on the move, travelling to places more and

more remote from people. Though he was gentle enough that he would not hurt a fly or hit a dog (Cameron 1909: ch.X), he was also proud, unwilling to follow orders or be guided in any way by others. Convinced of his own superiority over the people to whom he was preaching, Bompas likely never stayed around long enough to develop relationships with the people among whom he lived, relationships that might have called into question some of his own assumptions. Small wonder that Peake described Bompas as someone who:

... flitted like a gadfly from Dunvegan in south to Fort Yukon in the north, fighting a guerilla warfare against heathenism and the Church of Rome, never quite sure which was the principal enemy. He did not like people and that let him, increasingly, to shun anything more than the smallest centre of population or to remain anywhere for any length of time. (Peake 1989:87-88).

Other Anglican Missionary / Religious Presence

Anglican missionary-priests were not the only Anglicans nor the only Christians with whom Aboriginal people came into contact. Other Anglican missionaries — notably the wives of missionary-priests; teachers at Anglican schools, residential schools and hostels; nurses at Anglican hospitals or clinics; and Anglican Aboriginal catechists or priests — also interacted with Aboriginal people. In addition, Roman Catholic missionaries were present in the NT though not the YT, as were Anglican and Roman Catholic fur traders, and other Anglicans and Roman Catholics who came North in various capacities — as police, government, businessmen, and so on.

Myra Rutherford, in her study of women missionaries in Canada's North, noted that wives of missionary-priests sometimes saw themselves as missionaries in their own right and, when one counted wives of missionaries along with other women working in the North as missionaries, female missionaries outnumbered male missionaries (Rutherford 2002:xiv). In some ways, they came into closer contact with Aboriginal people than did their male counterparts.

Male missionary-priests frequently travelled over considerable distances. This meant that they might visit some communities once or twice a year. One participant shared about how it would take a week to get from community to the next by dogsled (PR:Remi). Their wives generally stayed in one location, thereby giving them the opportunity to develop more

meaningful relationships with the Aboriginal people in that location. On the other hand, while missionary-priests might stay in HBC outposts (in the early days), they often learned to live like Aboriginal people did — making snowshoes, hunting, fishing, learning to survive off the land to some extent. In some cases, particularly among the Inuit, missionary-priests would live with the Inuit, eating and sleeping alongside them in their igloos.

Female missionaries seldom learned such skills which made it harder for them to develop an understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal people or their traditions. Rutherfordale showed how many female missionaries, particularly those who lived during the Victorian era or had been raised with Victorian values, believed that “cleanliness was next to Godliness.” That meant, given the appearance and living conditions of many Aboriginal people, that Aboriginal peoples were quite far from salvation (Rutherfordale 2002:31)

Charlotte Selina Bompas, for example, found the lack of proper coiffeur an indication of how primitive the people were. She described one woman she met near Fort McPherson (probably Gwich'in), as a “shriveled and grimy” witch whose “frizzled hair [was] flying about in all directions ... you can not fancy that it had ever seen a comb” (Rutherfordale 2002:31-32). Describing one situation where she served as a sponsor, Selina Bompas wrote that “the mother had done her best to make them, as well as herself, neat and presentable, but Indian faces have a perverse habit of grimness, and Indian hair is ever thick and shaggy and rough” (Rutherfordale 2002:32). Elsewhere, Selina Bompas spoke about the children “getting on by degrees and taming down, for a wilder and more undisciplined set of ruffians than they were at first it would be hard to find out of the zoological gardens” (Rutherfordale 2002:32).

Other female missionaries commented on the appearance of Aboriginal people or their homes, on their smell, on different practices which seemed so at odds with what “civilized” people would do — i.e., they would do. Like Selina Bompas, many had trouble moving beyond the rose-coloured glasses of their own colonial culture. Many saw Aboriginal people as child-like individuals in need of protection of some kind. Whether it was the need for an Aboriginal woman to get reassurance from the female missionaries that medicine handed out by a doctor was all right to take, or the inability of the Inuit to understand the seriousness of the disease or the need to keep sick and healthy people apart during a measles epidemic, or the

supposed innocence of “unsuspecting Aboriginal women” in the face of unscrupulous White men, or — in an example given by Laura Berton — the gullibility of Aboriginal people in buying lightbulbs, thinking that they would work in their own igloos even though they had no electricity — situations existed which encouraged paternalistic and/or maternalistic attitudes among female missionaries (Rutherford 2002:39; Berton 1967:62)

Summary

For much of the nineteenth century, Northern Aboriginal life continued more or less along traditional lines. Trading companies had no desire to “civilize” Aboriginal peoples but rather to encourage them to pursue traditional activities and — if anything — to focus on hunting and trapping fur-bearing animals. Change was therefore slow and gradual — the introduction of metal utensils; the introduction of rifles; the introduction of settlers; the introduction of diseases; the introduction of western education and religion; the introduction of the western legal system, etc.

Change did occur. Widespread deaths and devastation among Aboriginal peoples came first because of epidemics and diseases that swept through the countryside, sometimes even before first contact with non-Aboriginal peoples. The number of intermarriages between European/EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples led to numbers of “mixed-blood” children (including Métis and “country-born” and Northern Metis) (Slobodin 1966), and to families which experienced some familiarity with Western norms prior to the introduction of either clergy or clergy-run schools.

Faced with those changes, Northern Aboriginal people were not powerless passive victims, nor did they blindly accept whatever European/EuroCanadian missionaries told them, whether through fear or intimidation. As many scholars have noted³, Aboriginal converts were selective about what they accepted from the European/EuroCanadian culture and religion. The ministry of Robert McDonald is particularly noteworthy. It is important not only because McDonald was a missionary who accepted aspects of traditional culture while still bringing the message of a new religion. His ministry is important because, whether deliberately or not, he put Venn’s directives to develop a “Native” church into practice, training successive generations of the Gwich’in and laying the foundations for a faith that continues to thrive in communities

influenced by him. Participants knew of him and spoke of him before I even asked a question about him.

The ministry of William Carpenter Bompas is also important although for different reasons. He is the missionary of whom EuroCanadian people are likely to be aware. Streets have been named after him (e.g., in Inuvik), a hostel have been named after him (e.g., Bompas Hall), and he has been held up as an example of a real missionary, of someone totally committed to spreading God's word (e.g., by Gary). Yet, unlike McDonald, Bompas has failed to make a lasting impression. That failure in itself suggests Aboriginal agency. McDonald was willing to spend time and even years among the people, developing relationships with them; Bompas was not. McDonald presented the Gospel and Christian values (e.g., monogamy), in a way that responded to real-life situations; people mattered. Bompas did not; for him, the Gospel was more important than anything or anyone else. Aboriginal people responded to McDonald; they did not to Bompas, or at least, not until the end of his life when he may finally have stopped travelling as much as he had in his younger days.

If the story of these key early missionaries is to teach us anything, it is the importance of seeing people as individuals and developing relationships. As we shall see, the relationship the ACC developed with its Aboriginal members in later years, as other missionaries and bishops took over from McDonald, Bompas, and other early missionaries, also depended to a considerable extent on how much missionaries were willing to entrust themselves to the people among whom they lived and how willing they were to moderate the Gospel to a new environment.

7. THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN / EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN THE NT

Overview

Evidence presented so far also shows that the relationship between Aboriginal people and Anglican missionaries was mixed. On the one hand, missionaries like Bompas exhibit no appreciation of Aboriginal peoples or their cultures; on the other hand, missionaries like McDonald are quite capable of appreciating and valuing Aboriginal peoples and working within the framework of Aboriginal traditions.

Given the conditions of life in Canada's North, that relationship remained always highly dependant on a small number of individuals. It is worth looking at the continuous unfolding of the relationship through the lenses of the personalities and attitude of some of the individual Anglican missionaries who followed in the footsteps of their early predecessors, and whose lives are still remembered today as part of, and shapes, the Northern Anglican community.

In this chapter¹, I consider the historical relationships that grew between individual missionaries and Aboriginal peoples in the NT, exploring some of the realities and challenges as seen by missionaries and the people themselves, as well as some challenges and solutions that ultimately led to the residential school issue.

Anglican Missionaries of the Diocese of Mackenzie River

General

Anglican sources state that the diocese of Mackenzie River has been served by three bishops after Rt. Rev. William Carpenter Bompas, who was bishop from 1884 to 1891: the Rt. Rev. William Day Reeve, 1891-1907; the Rt. Rev. James Richard Lucas, 1913-1926; and the Rt. Rev. William Archibald Geddes, 1929-1933. Due to fiscal constraints, the diocese remained empty for a number of years following the retirement of some of its bishops: 1907-1913, and 1926-1929.

The Rt. Rev William Day Reeve (1891-1907)

The Rev. William Day Reeve arrived in the NT in 1869, as a replacement for the Rev. William West Kirkby who had returned home with his family in 1868, operating out of Fort Simpson. Following Bompas' appointment as Bishop of Selkirk (Yukon) in 1891, Reeve

became Bishop of Mackenzie River. Unlike Bompas, Reeve was an able administrator, and recruiter. Among those he recruited in 1892 were Isaac Stringer (later Bishop of Yukon), and Thomas Jabez Marsh (who served as lay missionary at Fort Liard prior to his appointment to Hay River), and, in 1895, Charles Edward Whittaker.

In 1907, Reeve resigned as bishop. The diocese of Mackenzie River had insufficient funds for a successor so remained vacant until 1913 (Boon 1962:234).

Following Geddes' resignation, the diocese of the Mackenzie River was reorganized and renamed "diocese of the Arctic." The largest diocese in the world, the diocese of the Arctic covers "some four million square kilometres (1.5 million square miles)" but serves only 55,000 people, of whom the majority are Inuit (D-Arctic n.d.a). Formed in 1933 to serve the First Nations and Inuit peoples to the north, the diocese of the Arctic was also given the northern portion of the YT. This included both Herschel Island and Shingle Point (YT-Archives 2003:4). For a period, a portion of the diocese was removed and transferred to the diocese of Athabasca, while during the 1970s, the Rev. Henry George Cook served as bishop over the episcopal district of Mackenzie River (1971-1974). In time the removed portions were transferred back to the diocese of the Arctic. The diocese was further re-organized in 1974 when Sperry became diocesan bishop.

The Rt. Rev. James Richard Lucas (1913-1926) and the Rt. Rev. William Archibald Geddes (1929–1933)

Lucas arrived in Canada's North in the late nineteenth century. According to Peake, Lucas did not "seem to have been very accommodating nor was he very successful" during his time at Fort Chipewyan (what remained of Bompas' original diocese of Athabasca) (Peake 1989:118). In 1900, he was transferred to the diocese of Mackenzie River, becoming its bishop in 1913. The Lucas years (1913-1926) represented an era of tremendous change for the North — particularly for the Inuit peoples across the Arctic. The Canadian presence was becoming more intrusive into traditional lifestyles, and Canadian laws were assumed to be applicable throughout the region, whether or not they were understood or accepted by the Inuit. Regardless of how much or how little Lucas understood or appreciated Aboriginal

cultures, he was very much aware that the Inuit — whose contact with Europeans/EuroCanadians was even more limited than that of other Northern peoples — were unprepared and ill-equipped for the changes they were experiencing, and protested against injustice when learning about improprieties that had been conducted during the trial of two Inuit were condemned to death.

One missionary stands out during the Lucas years for his empathy towards and understanding of Aboriginal peoples: Edward Hester, who arrived from England in 1915 and was active in the western Arctic until 1927 when he returned to England. According to Vyvyan, Hester “travelled extensively between Herschel Island and Bathurst Inlet.” He also “met and travelled with Rasmussen during the Dane’s Fifth Thule Expedition” (Vyvyan 1998:269). Hester had immersed himself so much into Inuit culture when he lived among them that “was so unused to speaking English that, often he would stumble and hesitate before he could find the words he wanted. He ... identified himself completely with the Eskimo. I do not for a moment think that he ever felt he was their superior. He would try to enter into their minds, never would he attempt to impose on them an alien creed” (Vyvyan 1998:93). Vyvyan gives an example of his attitude when dealing with Inuit who offered him their wives for the night. Rather than condemn them, he would simply say, “No thank you. We white men don’t” then use their questions as to “why not” to talk about his beliefs (Vyvyan 1998:93). In other words, Hester seems to have been a missionary who recognized at some level the link between his culture and his understanding of his faith.

Other missionaries who worked among the Inuit during the Lucas years include Henry Girling and Arthur Creighton McCullum. Girling, ordained in 1914, was sent out the following year to work among the Inuit at Coronation Gulf. He was active to the east of the MacKenzie River, particularly around Kugluktuk. A mission was established at Aklavik in 1919. In 1925, Arthur Creighton McCullum, another graduate from Wycliffe College, was ordained deacon. He eventually served at Herschel Island (Vyvyan 1998:273), Shingle Point (Vyvyan 1998:246) which had been established a couple of years earlier, and Old Crow where he built the Old Crow Church (YT-Archives 2008).

In 1926, Lucas resigned. By then, the need to reorganize northern missionary work was recognized, and additional sources of funding were sought but it was not until 1929 that the fourth and last diocesan bishop of the Mackenzie River, the Rt. Rev. William Archibald Geddes, was consecrated. Born in the Magdalen Islands in 1894, Geddes was educated at Dalhousie University, and ordained in 1920 as a missionary to the Inuit at Herschel Island. Geddes served as bishop of the diocese of the Mackenzie River until 1933 when he became the fourth bishop of Yukon.

The Rev. Charles Edward Whittaker (1895-1917)

In some ways, Whittaker reflected the “Mr. Hyde” nature of missionary-Aboriginal relations. His primary focus was the Inuvialuit, and he learned enough about the language to recognize that Bompas’ tentative translations were highly inadequate (Whittaker n.d.:9). He was able to translate easy passages from the New Testament and some hymns (Whittaker n.d.:28). He knew enough about Inuvialuit culture to recognize that the practice of exchanging wives was not a reflection of their having no morals but rather a reflection of their having different moral and considered them to be an “unmoral, rather than an immoral people” (Whittaker n.d.:9).

Nevertheless, even as late as 1926, he needed a translator when preaching at an Inuvialuit service in Aklavik (Vyvyan 1998:93). According to Coates and Morrison, Whittaker’s approach to Aboriginal peoples tended to be “acerbic and inflexible” (Coates & Morrison 1988:131) while Ingram and Dobrowolsky stated they could find “very few sympathetic accounts of Whittaker’s character” (Vyvyan 1998:270), and Vyvyan seemed to compare him to a Pharisee (Vyvyan 1998:93; 269-270).

In one instance, a Gwich’in man died, leaving behind his wife and daughter. Whittaker arranged for the widow to marry an Inuvialuk, completely ignoring the fact that the two could not understand one another, and oblivious to the conflicting traditions held by the two. It was left up to the daughter, Persis Gruben, to act as translator for her parents (Bailey 2008). This was not the only marriage Whittaker arranged.

Sarah Simon (Gwich’in/mixed) had some fond memories of Whittaker. Since no school existed in Fort McPherson while she was growing up, Sarah had the option (from her

perspective) of going to residential school to pursue schooling. Whittaker felt it was more important for her to stay with her grandmother (Sarah gives no reason as to why), so he taught her himself. Sarah grew close to him and his family saying, “they left in 1917 and even after they left, they always used to write to me. They called me their daughter and they wrote to me (Carlson and Dumont 1997:19). Whittaker also arranged her marriage:

He always used to say, “Don’t just marry someone who comes to McPherson, marry someone you know.” He told me James Simon was a good boy who used to work for him. My father wanted me to marry him. I said I didn’t want to. Archdeacon Whittaker wrote to me, he said to listen to my father. He told me to marry James and it would be good. But, I didn’t want to (Carlson and Dumont 1997:19).

It took four years before Sarah finally agreed to marry James Simon.

Whittaker may have had compassion for Aboriginal people, and may have sincerely wanted what he thought was best for them, but, based on the above, he seems to have had little knowledge of them as individuals, and little understanding of their way of life and modes of thinking.

Anglican Missionaries of the Diocese of the Arctic

General

Anglican sources state that the diocese of the Arctic has been served by five bishops: the Rt. Rev. Archibald Lang Fleming, 1933-1949; the Rt. Rev. Donald Ben Marsh, 1950-1973²; the Rt. Rev. John Reginald Sperry, 1974-1990; the Rt. Rev. John Christopher Richard Williams, 1991-2002; and the Rt. Rev. Andrew Atagotaaluk, 2002-present.

The Rt. Rev. Archibald Lang Fleming (1933-1949)

As a Christian, Archibald Lang Fleming, who came from Scotland, had no doubts about the need to convert Aboriginal people. He was “conscious of the fact that they were living in the darkness of primitive pagan fear.” He loved them, not only because he knew them, but also, confident in his belief in the superiority of his own western European culture, because he believed there was a desperate need to intervene into their lives if they were to survive. Since he “had been called of God and commissioned by the Church to meet that need” (Fleming 1965:294), Fleming came to Canada and began his missionary career in the eastern Arctic,

working under the Rev. Edmund James Peck (1850-1924), and alongside the Rev. Julian William Bilby (1871-1932).

What Fleming reveals in his writing, however, is that any romanticized views he may have had about himself as a missionary out to save the Inuit disappeared somewhere along the way. He came to see the people he was serving as individuals. He got to know them. He came to recognize they were real people and complex individuals in their own right. That knowledge gave him the ability to see their qualities and also to recognize his own failings:

[I had seen them in the early decades of this century as being] indeed children of nature — crude and cruel and cunning as well as simple and lovable. They were not a romantic people. ...

[But now] I loved them because I soon discovered that they were real people, men and women and children just like the rest of mankind ... As I lived with them away from the mission house, either as a paying guest with a family in an igloo or in my own tent pitched among theirs, I came to understand and to appreciate their fine characteristics — their courage, generosity and patience; their outstanding love for their children; and their utopian socialism as far as the sharing of food is concerned. ...

Time and time again they went out of their way to help me, an ignorant foreigner, and so I changed from holding the typical superiority attitude of the white man towards the native and I came to see him truly as an equal. Whatever superior knowledge I possessed about some things, the Eskimo had superior knowledge about other things. I lacked many of their fine attributes and I became grateful for the privilege of knowing them, for all that I was learning from them and for all that they were doing for me. (Fleming 1965:294).

That respect for the Inuit and the relationship Fleming developed with them eventually earned him the nickname “‘Inooktaukaub,’ or ‘One of the Eskimo’” (Marsh 1967:6). By the end of his life, Fleming understood that Christianity was a religion for all people: “that God was their Father just as much as our Father; that Jesus did not speak English and live only in the south” (Fleming 1965:296), and recognized that the Inuit had taught him much that he needed to learn, even about his own faith:

... even regarding the inner meanings of some of the great truths which I had been sent to teach them. I received not a little inspiration from them. And some of my ideas had to be radically changed because of what I

learned from trying to help them to understand what I thought I knew so well (Fleming 1965:295).

Fundamental to Fleming's relationship with the Inuit across the Arctic was, according to Marsh, a belief that "education was essential if the Eskimos were one day to be able to meet the impact of civilization." It was a vision and perspective held by "some in the Church and definitely not held and accepted by the Government" (Marsh 1967:7). It was a vision and perspective rooted in the assumption that "education" meant "English-style education." (Fleming 1965:296).

Among Fleming's accomplishments as bishop were the building of the first modern hospital in the eastern Arctic (1930, Baffin Island); the sponsoring of yearly visits by dentists to the Arctic from 1930 to 1956, when the government took over the responsibility; the provision of education through day schools at all mission stations to Inuit of all ages (whereas the government denied having any responsibility to the Inuit at all until 1935); the establishment of a residential school at Shingle Point in 1929 and a new residential building at Fort George (QC) in 1944; and the first full-time day schools at Fort McPherson and Tuktoyaktuk in 1947 (Marsh 1967:9-10). Fleming also sent two Inuit boys to Lakefield Preparatory School in Ontario. Their success at the school added fuel to his argument with the Federal Government that the Inuit were intelligent people and deserved to be educated the same as other children (Marsh 1967:10).

The Rt. Rev. Donald Ben Marsh (1950-1973)

The Rev. Donald Ben Marsh came from England and served as bishop during the closing years of the residential school era. His term was marked by a series of transitions. The diocese was reorganized so that it became more of an Arctic / Inuit diocese; areas in eastern Canada populated by First Nations people were transferred to other dioceses. In the western Arctic, missionary work continued among both the Inuvialuit and First Nations peoples. Ties with southern Canada began to be strengthened as well. For example, the Rev. J.E. Sittichinli (Gwich'in) "was invited by the students of King's College, Halifax, to visit there for a Winter, that he might get a deeper understanding of the Church at large" (Marsh 1967:17). Four Inuit were sent as representatives to the General Synod of the ACC in 1962. The Rev. Noah Nasook

and his wife spent a month in Toronto, guests of the Rector of St. Paul's Church and his wife, and staying in the rectory.

Work among the Inuit was being done by Inuit catechists themselves. By 1967 — two years before the *Hendry Report* and the withdrawal of the ACC from the residential school program — four catechist training schools had been set up: “three in the eastern Arctic and one in western Arctic” (Marsh 1967:11). During the Marsh era several Inuit catechists were ordained as priests: among them, Armand Tagoon, ordained in 1964, was the first “ordination to the Priesthood of any Eskimo” (Marsh 1967:14); Gideon Kitsualik in 1966; and Noah Nasook (no date given). Marsh summarized some of the impact the Inuit were having on the diocese, saying:

As leadership by the Eskimos has been shown in Synods, Vestries and conferences, the Church has gradually come to learn and to appreciate that she can and must trust the Eskimo people with responsibilities. (Marsh 1967:11).

Because of initiatives taken by the Inuit themselves, European / EuroCanadian missionaries sometimes discovered upon arriving in a new region that converts were already waiting for them, as the Rev. Donald Whitbread discovered when arriving at Spence Bay from his home base at Pond Inlet almost 5000 kilometres (2900 miles) away. The Inuit catechist, Mark Kavavouk, had already laid a foundation for Whitbread (Marsh 1967:12).

The Marsh years also saw industrial development beginning in the North: first, as a result of World War II with the need for uranium, and the need to establish airports for military aircraft at Frobisher Bay; and second, as nickel and other mineral ores were discovered and began to be mined. The Inuit found themselves forced into communities and into houses, many of which “were not nearly so clean and habitable as were the tents and igloos in which the Eskimos lived on the land” (Marsh 1967:15). The ACC found itself having to facilitate the transition. As Marsh put it:

Not only did it mean that the Church must face these changing conditions and help the Eskimos to learn to live in them (for instance how to cook food on a stove...) but it also meant that the Church was faced with large numbers of dispossessed persons living within communities for the first time in their lives. None of them had any idea of communal living, for in the past they had lived in very small family or other groups. Now they

were in permanent relationship with (to them) great numbers of others, all within a small area of settlement (Marsh 1967:16).

With the end of World War II, many of the military stationed at Frobisher Bay left. Without the military presence, jobs disappeared, and the Inuit discovered unemployment and starvation.

Whatever colonialistic attitudes with which Marsh may have begun his ministry in the Arctic, he came to see — as had Fleming — that Aboriginal people were capable in their own right and their own culture. They needed the Church's help to adjust to social changes they were experiencing but that did not mean they were helpless individuals. For Bishop Marsh, writing in 1967, the goal of education was to help Aboriginal people “to meet the impact of civilization” (Marsh 1967:7), and brought with him, perhaps, a greater appreciation of different cultures than many EuroCanadians of the time had. While he saw a need for western-style education and a need to learn English, he did not believe that such education should come at the cost of their own Aboriginal identity or pride in their identity. Criticizing the government for being out of touch with what was happening in the field, Marsh pointed out:

The Welsh language has been spoken since childhood in almost every family ... The Welsh language is vitally alive and of importance, for it is not only taught and used in school, but is the language of the people and they are proud to be Welsh (Milloy 2003:255).

[It is] obvious that unless they have a pride in their own race and their own people, they will feel themselves second class citizens, and this will be a direct result of the educational system. That they have to live among their own people later is obvious, and there would seem to be no future for them anywhere in numbers. What they have a real need to feel is to be one with and to have a great respect for their parents and elders. It seems to me that we face the task of making the Eskimo feel that the very wonderful quality of their forefathers are things to be treasured and practised. To do this it is vitally necessary that there should be some presentation of their parents' qualities and old way of life during school hours and through school channels. (Milloy 2003:256).

He charged: “[The Department has] already chosen the background that they shall be given by sending them to school and by giving them a curriculum of the white man's way of life.” Furthermore, “[If the Department holds to it,] we will have one to them [the Inuit] the same

injustice which we practised on all too many of our Indian people, of making them second class citizens” (Milloy 2003:256). Warning the government about the consequences of its educational policy, Marsh uttered some very prophetic words:

... We as a nation are responsible for having done this and we will indeed “rue the day to our sorrow and in turn to the sorrow of the Eskimo people” and all Aboriginal people. (Milloy 2003:257).

By the time the federal government took over responsibility for education from the churches and set up their own day schools, over eighty percent (80%) of Canada’s Inuit were literate in their own language (Marsh 1967:10).

One participant (Remi) came to Canada from England during Marsh’s tenure, and served in the eastern Arctic for a number of years. At the time, it was expected that all missionaries would learn the Aboriginal language needed to converse with the people. For a while, Remi stayed with another missionary while learning Inuktitut, then was sent out on his own. At the start of his own ministry in the eastern Arctic, he told members of his congregation quite simply, and knowing that he was still far from fluent in Inuktitut: “Unless it’s a matter of life and death, I would like to try and get by without using [English]. So, that’s what we did!” (PR:Remi).

Like Fleming, Remi recognized he was both a minister and a pupil — i.e., as someone who had to learn from the people and who had to rely on them. Personally, he never tried to destroy Inuit culture, or try to make them “fit” into a EuroCanadian model. When asked about relationships, he talked about Inuit “soul-names,” saying:

Children were named after relatives. Maybe there was a ... still the ... relic of the old belief that, you know, when somebody died, their spirit was reborn again in somebody else. So that, if somebody had died, very often, the next three or four babies born in that community would be named after the person who had died. And this person was then called a *shaunerkerk* — if you want to write it down *shaunerkerk* or *erq* — ... And *shaunerkerk* is also the Inuktitut word for “bone” – so, it’s sort of – to me ... —“bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh” and this kind of thing (PR:Remi).

When asked whether he had ever tried to stop the practice, he replied:

No. I mean, why would we? Why would I? I don’t ... I didn’t see it was anything threatening, or anything Satanic, or anything non-Christian. But

the result was that very often, if you were somebody's *shaunerik*, you addressed them by that relationship. (PR:Remi).

At the same time, he recognized that much of the schooling provided was in non-Aboriginal languages (either English or French), but blamed that on the practical realities of the day rather than on concerted efforts at cultural genocide:

You didn't have enough teachers who could speak the language of the people. You couldn't train those people. You didn't have any materials written in the language of the people. We still don't. I mean, Canada lags far behind Greenland, for example, in production of school material in Inuktitut. Greenland has far more than Canada.

I don't think there was a deliberate attempt to wipe out the language. It was just that the practical reality was that you had — that that was the medium of Inuit education. I don't know that there was a deliberate policy — again, I say my experience is limited to the North. I don't think there was any deliberate effort to wipe out the Inuit culture. I think what there was more — I know lots of educators who would say this — is that they saw education as a medium — not of making little white people, but of enabling the Inuit to take an equal place in Canadian society. (PR:Remi)

Remi's importance, as is that of Bishop Sperry below who came to Canada from England a bit before than Remi and of Bishop Marsh himself, serve to show that neither Marsh nor Sperry nor Remi were exceptions to an otherwise bleak northern picture — they exemplify rather how different the situation in the NT was from that in southern Canada.

The Rt. Rev. John Reginald Sperry (1974-1990)

In 1974, the Rt. Rev. John Reginald Sperry became Archbishop of the Diocese. While Sperry's tenure as Archbishop falls into the post-residential school era, he actually had come to Canada from Great Britain in the late 1940s and began serving as priest in the Arctic in 1950 (Sperry 2005:2-4; 21-32). In 2005, Sperry published his memoirs of the North, *Igloo Dwellers Were My Church*. A little over a century earlier, Bompas had published two books on his experiences in the North. As we saw, Bompas noted the isolation in the North, details of everyday life among the Aboriginal people there, and took credit for himself in his missionary efforts, seldom naming Aboriginal helpers; he compared the people to wild animals, and

referred to them as savages. Sperry's memoirs reveal quite a different perspective on Aboriginal people.

To be sure, as in Bompas' day, isolation in the sense of large distances and small populations continued to be a major part of northern life. When Sperry arrived at Coppermine (Kugluktuk) in 1950, only seven Aboriginal families lived in the community; others still lived in hunting camps on the land and came in only during winter months (Sperry 2005:25). He travelled approximately 3000 miles (~4828 kilometres) "by dog team each winter and by boat in the summer" (Ootes, cited in Sperry 2005:v), living and travelling like the Inuit. The land Sperry describes, however, was not empty but was filled with meaning and history ... Inuit history, as Sperry relates:

Alec knew the land with a familiar intimacy, and would have made an admirable tourist guide. As we travelled, he kept up a lively commentary on points of special interest — places where his long-dead forebears had lived, hunted, and died, lakes and river-crossings where caribou could be hunted in summer from kayaks.... An elder called Aluyak, highly skilled with a kayak, once told me that if you are paddling up to a swimming bull caribou in your kayak in order to spear it, watch how his antlers are positioned. If they are tilted with the outer branches and its ear close to the water, don't get too close, as he will surely sweep his antlers, overturning your kayak ...(Sperry 2005:100-101).

When describing aspects of Inuit life — for example, the meaning of the word "Eskimo" and how it may possibly mean "eater of raw meat," Sperry's tone reflects respect for the people and their traditions. According to Sperry, it was precisely this fact — which many earlier missionaries may have deplored as primitive — which explained their good health. By eating raw meat — in contrast to EuroCanadian way of cooking meat — Eskimos got a daily dose of Vitamin C which EuroCanadians can get only from fresh fruit and vegetables, not from cooked meat (Sperry 2005:14).

Throughout Sperry's writing, Aboriginal people are acknowledged, named, and recognized for their expertise. In his introduction and acknowledgement, Sperry writes:

At the outset, I must record the enormous debt I owe to the people of the Kitikmeot region, the Kitengmiut. From the time of my arrival in their country they welcomed me to their land, patiently introduced me to their complex language, and shared with me the stories of their land and traditions of their culture ... Additionally, I salute my travelling

companions — Peter Kamingoak, Jack Allonak, Walter Bolt Wikhak, Sam Oliktoak, Alfred Okkaituk, and Alec Algiak. These men guided me over thousands of miles of our frozen land, and shared my life and experiences. I could not have performed my work, and could not have survived away from the settlements, without their help. They earned my unqualified trust in every conceivable situation (Sperry 2005:vii-viii).

Later, he states:

Although I did not realize it at the time, I was unusually privileged to be able to live and work with the Kitengmiut at this time in the history of the North. I was associating with a group of Inuit who were among the very last people in North America to be introduced to and influenced by our Euro-American/Canadian culture and technology (Sperry 2005:34).

Each family, at that time, lived together in one snowhouse or skin tent, with few outside influences or distractions. They communicated in the common language of their ancestors, and the young people learned the culture and its strengths from their parents and grandparents (Sperry 2005:37).

While “Inuit” may be the more politically correct term in vogue nowadays, from Sperry’s experience in the Central Arctic, the people he knew preferred to refer “to themselves in specific terms according to their regional identities” rather than a generic “Inuit.” Inupiat for the Arctic Alaskans; Inuvialuit for the Mackenzie Delta folk; Inuinait for the central Arctic Coast; Inuit for the “more heavily populated Eastern Arctic” (Sperry 2005:15). In fact, the non-Inuit people he knew preferred using the word “Eskimo” rather than “Inuit” when speaking in generic terms. Sperry concludes the discussion with the suggestion that mutual tolerance is perhaps best implemented when we accept that “different regions wish to express their own preferences for their own people” (Sperry 2005:16). Similarly, he lets himself be guided by local preferences where spelling was concerned. Sperry speaks of the “old” spelling of using “k” for Inuit words and the “new” spelling of using “q” saying, “Most of the elders still prefer the ‘k’ method of writing, and out of respect to them, I have in this book retained the older method of spelling” (Sperry 2005:61).

Far from taking credit for various activities, Sperry credits those who help him. In discussing his search for an appropriate translation of “fishers of men,” Sperry writes that he had decided to use an Inuktitut term translating into Inuktitut what he wanted to say:

“I will make you to become those who will search for people” (*Inukhiuktinguktitauniaktuhi*). I usually consulted the elders in the community for these matters, and in this instance, I was certainly glad I did! I was given a stern warning NOT to use this word. The elders spoke of their early years and the use of -hiuk-. According to them, if this is applied to a human being, it means the hunter is to kill and take revenge for the murder committed against a relative, a sort of vendetta practice. Chastened, I left the problem for further enlightenment (Sperry 2005:122).

As hard as it is to imagine Bompas ever crediting Aboriginal people with helping him translate anything, it is even harder to imagine him writing about how Aboriginal people “bested” him while preaching, yet this is precisely what Sperry does in the following account:

In the early months of my ministry, I needed to use an interpreter for preaching in Church. This could be a frustrating exercise, especially when the interpreter knew what you were going to say.

A bilingual member of our congregation provided for me this illuminating ‘replay’ after one sermon, as follows:

Sperry: “Today, I am going to talk about a boy named David.”

Interpreter: “Today, he says, he is going to talk about the boy, David, you know the one who looked after sheep and loved God.”

Sperry: “David was a shepherd boy.”

Interpreter: “Like I said, David looked after sheep.”

Sperry: “David loved God.”

Interpreter: “I said that; he loved God.”

Sperry: “One day, David’s father sent him on a journey.”

Interpreter: “One day, he says, David’s father sent him on a trip to visit his brothers in the war, and he’s going to kill Goliath.”

Small wonder that one worked for the day when one could do without the use of an interpreter (Sperry 2005:114).

Sperry’s book serves in some ways as a bridge between EuroCanadian and “Eskimo” cultures, helping non-Aboriginal people better understand the richness and vitality of Inuit

cultures and the challenges the people faced as they came increasingly under the influence of EuroCanadian people and governments. At the same time, when dealing with some sensitive issues, such as a resettlement situation that he was party to, Sperry provides important background information that might better explain why events unfolded the way they did — important information for Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people alike. One example concerned a group of Inuit near Ennadai Lake who were starving. Sperry's responsibility was to let the people know the air force would arrive the next day to move them. When he met with the people, we realized they were starving even though the lake beside which they were encamped was full of fish. He discovered that, for them, fishing was taboo. "According to their beliefs, if you fish, then the spirit powers of the caribou will not send the animals your way. So, no one would fish." The people were starving, feeding on boiled squares of old caribou hide and, according to Sperry, eagerly waiting for the transport. Not far away, another group was also suffering from having missed the caribou run. However, in their case, they were able to eat fish — but not fish through the ice. Inuit taboos, Sperry discovered, were often limited in their range (Sperry 2005:103-106).

Sperry wrote his book (Sperry 2005) in the midst of the residential school / RSSF debate, and was aware of criticisms of the Anglican Church. Some of this awareness was reflected in his writing where he dealt with issues of conversion, and accusations regarding the residential schools, and is presented here to give readers an idea of what one Anglican missionary understood of the residential school issue and of residential school history in Canada's North:

- Against claims that Aboriginal children were taken away by force from their parents:

From the frank witness of ex-students of the Anglican schools mentioned above, common threads emerge. Each readily admitted something of the trauma they felt in leaving home for a distant place they had never seen before. Their parents, they said, convinced them that it would be good for them and their people if they could learn the language of the white man. Not one of these people ever suggested that they were 'taken' either by persuasion or force by the Government or their agencies. In any case, at that time the Royal Canadian Mounted Police represented the Government in the Arctic and forcing children to go unwillingly to distant schools was not a part of their mandate. It simply was not done. (Sperry 2005:135).

- Against claims that Aboriginal children were punished for speaking their own language:

... throughout the Diocese, the Church never concluded that a response to the Gospel would be stronger if everyone learned English (Sperry 2005:134).

Only a few young people from the Central Arctic attended the Schools at Shingle Point, Aklavik, (and later) Inuvik. However, as adults, I knew all these people very well indeed, and could communicate with them both in English and in their mother tongue which each had retained, without exception (Sperry 2005:134-135).

- Against claims of physical or sexual abuse

... but ill treatment or various categories of abuse are never mentioned. One can only assume that, generally, the staff, true to their Christian calling, cared for their charges and truly earned the respect for which they have been remembered” (Sperry 2005:136).

- Against claims that Aboriginal people were forced to convert or that, in converting, they had lost their Aboriginal identity and assimilated into the EuroCanadian world.

Included in Sperry’s book are stories of simple faith and of a dynamic Christianity being lived by the people themselves, a Christianity that they have re-interpreted through their own cultural lenses. According to Sperry, “none deny their willing acceptance of the Gospel that declared that there was one Creator, a God of love who gifted human beings with a variety of animals for their livelihood and well-being” (Sperry 2005:42). Sperry gives room in his book for stories of faith by the people themselves, with his own comments added afterwards. One example is Alex Algiak’s story given below:

We were inland in the late summer, and the caribou had not returned on their migration. There was hunger among us, and the children were crying. Every day, we men, with one dog each, walked out in different directions to spy out the land, looking for caribou ...

I had a homemade shell in my rifle, and fired it at the first caribou. I missed, and then could not eject the casing as it was stuck in the breech ... It would not move, and the caribou were getting closer and closer.

So, I knelt down and prayed that God would come to my aid. I thought of how needy we were and how the children cried with hunger. Then, I looked up, and remembered that inside the leather collar my dog wore there was a thin band of steel.

I took my broken penknife and cut open the collar, took the band of steel and used it as a ramrod to dislodge the casing. Then I reloaded and killed all four caribou. I did not forget to thank the Lord for helping me to clear my mind (Sperry 2005:106).

Sperry's book is based therefore on a very positive account of his relationship with Aboriginal peoples. Nevertheless, the question needs to be asked as to how selective he was in what he wrote about and whether his time among the Inuit — as had Fleming's time — helped change earlier colonialistic attitudes.

Anglicanism vs Roman Catholicism Among Northern Peoples

Roman Catholic missionaries (the Oblates) began entering the NT in the late 1850s, with Father Henri Faraud (1823-1890) establishing a resident station in 1858 at Fort Resolution. Father Henri Grollier (1826-1864) arrived at Fort Resolution in 1858, and, in 1859, moved north of the Arctic Circle to establish a mission station at Fort Good Hope. On his heels was Anglican missionary James Hunter heading north in an effort to block Catholic missions (Choquette 1995).

Competition between Anglican and Oblate missionaries was often fierce. Each side considered the other to be heretical. John Grant noted how Protestants (in the case of the NT / YT, this would be Anglicans) accused Roman Catholics of “taking a light view of pagan practice” and Roman Catholics accused Protestants of condoning polygamy (J-Grant 1985:113). While there was some truth to the accusations — McDonald opposed polygamy in principle, but recognized certain obligations of the father when children were involved; Roman Catholic missionary-priests came from different countries and were more open to other cultures than were Anglican missionary-priests who came from Great Britain (Morrison 1998:56). The accusations reflected more than what was visible in Aboriginal-missionary interactions, however; they reflected deep doctrinal differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Anglicanism being a heresy, as far as Roman Catholics were concerned, could have no solid foundation for Christian morality. Similarly, since Roman Catholicism was considered to be an idolatrous religion, as far as Anglicans were concerned, it could not oppose the idolatry among Aboriginal peoples. From the perspective of the missionaries, their accusations were valid and communicated to Aboriginal people.

Mixed marriages — in terms of marriage between Anglicans and Roman Catholics — were discouraged. In his study of the Metis of the Mackenzie River, Slobodin recounted the story of a young Roman Catholic man of mixed-heritage who wanted to marry a young Anglican woman. The community objected, and the woman refused to elope with the man. “The Catholic Metis mentioned above, for instance, in recalling the episode twenty-five years later, showed a surge of the violent resentment he had felt at the time, although for years he has been placidly married to an Eskimo woman” (Slobodin 1966:39-40).

When mixed marriages did occur, both Anglican and Roman Catholic churches fought to claim the children in their numbers. Vyvyan wrote about an incident she heard about during her travels in 1926, although she could not swear to its veracity.

After a certain mixed marriage, a formal agreement was drawn up between the two parties. Half the children were to be Roman Catholics and half Church of England; 27 children were born. Priest and clergyman ran a yearly race to get down the river first, after the melting of the ice, to assert their rights by baptism. At that time the country had no communications with the world between October and June. The bishop nearly always won the race and had acquired a majority of the little half-breeds. The births were an annual event. At last the clergyman consulted an inspector of police who advised him to get in each summer on the first steamer, taking a fire-hose, and to baptise the new infant from the deck while the bishop was stepping ashore. (Vyvyan 1998:43).

School children were themselves forced to participate in the “fight for souls.” Roman Catholic and Anglican children attended separate schools but, when they did come into contact with each other, they would throw stones at one another and no teacher stopped them (PS:Kitikmeot).

Conclusion

During the residential school era, it became obvious to many that Aboriginal traditional ways of life were being affected by demographic changes as populations died from European diseases; by changes in territories and resources; by changes in trading routes and trading practices — sometimes to the benefit of Aboriginal nations and sometimes not; by the introduction of settlements in semi-nomadic communities; by contact with and travels among non-Aboriginal people which led to new versions of traditional knowledge, including

Aboriginal prophets teaching their own versions of Christianity; by the ever-increasing presence of non-Aboriginal people disrupting traditional living in numerous ways (Fossett 2001; Helm 2000; McClelland 1975; Raboff 2001). In some ways, missionaries with their emphasis on Christianity and European-style education were simply one more disruption to the lives of Aboriginal peoples.

In the NT, missionaries were also agents of change. The way of life and the religion they preached, the values they held that were reflected (or not reflected) in their own lives, and the education they tried to impart to Aboriginal peoples, tended to be were those of the dominant (i.e., EuroCanadian) society, one that was completely foreign to the local Aboriginal people. The more the people interacted with the missionaries, the more they were changed by their experiences.

Yet this European and EuroCanadian society of that time was not monolithic. The missionaries themselves worked amidst deep disagreement with governments, with other denominations, and even within their own denomination. Whether or not their activities were wholly within the colonialism narrative is therefore debatable. The intent and result of the various projects put in place by the missions to ensure schooling for Aboriginal people become one of the key issues within that debate.

8. THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN / EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS IN THE YT

Overview

The history of the diocese of Yukon differs somewhat from that of the Arctic. The most obvious difference is the number of bishops (or archbishops) who succeeded each other between 1891 and 1990. According to Anglican sources, the diocese of Yukon was originally named, “diocese of Selkirk” and has been served by nine bishops and archbishops after the Rt. Rev. William Carpenter Bompas who served as bishop from 1891 to 1905; the Rt. Rev. Isaac O. Stringer, 1905-1931; the Rt. Rev. Arthur Henry Sovereign, 1932; the Rt. Rev. William Archibald Geddes, 1933-1947; the Most Rev. Walter Robert Adams, 1947-1952 (the first to be called “Archbishop,” yet he never lived in the Yukon during that time (D-YT 2005a)); the Rt. Rev. Thomas Greenwood, 1952-1961; the Rt. Rev. Henry Hooper Marsh, 1962-1968; the Most Rev. John Timothy Frame 1968-1980; the Rt. Rev. Ronald Curry Ferris, 1981-1995; and the Most Rev. Terence Owen Buckle, 1995-2010¹.

In this chapter², I look at the ministry of the two key bishops, Isaac O. Stringer and Henry Hooper Marsh, whose personalities and relationships with Aboriginal people left a mark on the Anglican Church which is felt into the present and is part of the elders’ lives. I then explore the relationship between the ACC and its Aboriginal clergy in the Yukon: the heirs of Robert McDonald.

Anglican Missionaries of the Diocese of Yukon

General

The Rt. Rev. Isaac O. Stringer (1866-1934)

The Rt. Rev. Isaac O. Stringer (1866-1934) came from Ontario and was a graduate of the University of Toronto. In 1892, his final year at seminary, he volunteered to become an Arctic missionary, was ordained to the diaconate, and headed north with Bishop Reeve of the diocese of Mackenzie River. He stayed with Archdeacon Robert McDonald for the winter, making short, periodic trips to different Inuit communities, studying the language and learning from McDonald. In 1893, Stringer was ordained to the priesthood. Two years later, with another missionary, Charles Edward Whittaker, Stringer was posted to Herschel Island in the

Arctic. In 1896, Stringer married Sadie Alexander (Sovereign 1943; “Sarah Alexander” according to Rutherford 2002). Sadie had experience in nursing and stenography and had trained at the Church of England Deaconess House in Toronto. The Stringers and Whittaker worked among the Inuit and the two hundred to three hundred whalers who visited the island and wintered over there. They operated a school at Herschel Island, and Sadie taught English and stenography to the foreign whalers. Living conditions were primitive. The Stringers’ first home was a sod-built house on Herschel Island. They got mail twice a year, and supplies only once a year. Their winter drinking water came from a nearby pond which was frozen over. Blocks of ice had to be cut and dragged to the house where they would be thawed out as needed (Sovereign 1943).

Two years later, when Bompas resigned as bishop of Selkirk, Stringer was elected bishop. The diocese was renamed in 1907, becoming the diocese of Yukon. As bishop, Stringer moved from Whitehorse to Dawson City, which was the episcopal see at the time. Perhaps best known for having eaten his boots in order to survive when he got lost in the way between Fort McPherson and Dawson, Stringer was there during the waning days of the gold rush. Laura Berton, a contemporary of the Stringers at Dawson City, wrote how the First Nations people would wait for hours to see him with various issues or problems. Sadie Stringer would welcome them into her kitchen and supply them with “the unending stream of cups of tea and pieces of pie and plates of beans with which she plied them. When the bishop arrived, he would take them into his study, where they would, in their own language, explain their problems while the bishop listened gravely and respectfully. No matter how busy he was the bishop always made time for the Indians,” beginning his own work once they had gone. The First Nations people, according to Berton, had a word for the Stringers which translated as “the two together” — a fitting name “for the bishop and his wife were seldom apart” (Berton 1967:59). Stringer served as bishop of Yukon until 1931 when he was elected archbishop of the ecclesiastical province of Rupert’s Land (Sovereign 1943).

Stringer’s relationship with Aboriginal people seems to have been mixed. On one hand, he was very respectful of them as individuals, but on the other hand he tended to see Aboriginal catechists as donating their time to Christian mission work rather than as co-workers and, and as we will see later in this chapter, did exhibit an attitude of superiority

that is indicative of a colonialist attitude. Stringer does, however, seem to have had a special place in his heart for the Inuit. Even though he was no longer their missionary and was no longer stationed at Herschel Island, he kept in touch with what was happening, and helped however he could. In some ways, Stringer's colonialism does not seem to have been as much racist as paternalistic. Stringer was protective of Aboriginal people, and fought for their rights, yet had difficulty seeing them as capable in their own right and seeing Aboriginal clergy as equal to EuroCanadian clergy as the issue surrounding the ordination of John Martin demonstrates (later in this chapter).

According to one participant, Stringer wanted to establish schools in every community (PR:Arthur). Failing to get the money to do this, he settled with residential schools and hostels. Unfortunately, Bishop Bompas had not been a good administrator or supervisor, nor had he promoted the diocese throughout Canada and Great Britain. The diocese Stringer inherited was in disarray. A major portion of Stringer's life was spent trying to lay firm foundations for the diocese. He toured the country fundraising for money to open new missions and churches in the diocese, to support missionaries already working in the region, and to finish a memorial to Bishop Bompas. He sought young recruits to serve as priests and missionaries in the North, and encouraged students to come North for the summer but, as Coates noted, "their youthful enthusiasm often failed to overcome naive idealism and lack of experience in dealing with Native people" (Coates 1991b:125). From 1918 to the end of WWI, Stringer was sent overseas to provide support to the troops and to prepare soldiers for their return to private life (Sovereign 1943). The unfortunate result from Stringer's efforts was a distancing of himself from the Aboriginal people in his diocese, as commented on by King wrote, "... the new bishop was more interested in the main church development of the Yukon — the growing towns — and left the school [at Carcross] to operate under the direction of a succession of principals..." (King 1967:36). While Stringer may have respected Aboriginal people, that shift in focus from the Aboriginal people in the diocese to the diocese as a whole and the time Stringer spent away from the diocese fundraising and as a result of the First World War distanced Stringer from the (growing?) racial tensions that were emerging in the Yukon.

The Rt. Rev. Henry Hooper Marsh (1962-1967/8)

The Rt. Rev. Henry Hooper Marsh (1962-1967/8) became archbishop of Yukon in 1962 in the closing years of the residential school era; his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Jabez Marsh had served at Hay River, NT at the beginning of the residential school era. In her book, *Ukelele Yukon*, Emily Jane Hills Orford, who knew the Marshes from the time she was a little child, wrote about Ned and Charlie, two First Nations children who attended the residential school at Carcross and who came to know Marsh from his visits:

The children called [Marsh] Ukulele Yukon, because he always carried his ukulele with him ready with a song in his heart and a song on the tip of his tongue.

Ukulele Yukon and his wife were the children's friends. They did not like the residential schools. They did not like the children being taken from their families and never learning the ways of their ancestors. They taught Ned and Charlie and all the children at Choutla that it was O.K. to be Indian and it was O.K. to be Metis. Ned was a strong believer in what Ukulele Yukon told him. Ned knew that Indians and Metis did not have to be the losers. Ned was proud of being Metis. Charlie followed his example and was proud to be Loucheux (Orford n.d.)

Aboriginal Missionaries and Clergy

Robert McDonald had trained many Gwich'in to serve as Anglican missionaries who then led their people to a new faith. They may have been accepted by missionary societies and the ACC as Anglican missionaries but, as with McDonald, this did not mean they were accepted or treated the same as European / EuroCanadian clergy. They may have experienced racism and discrimination because of their Aboriginal identity, but they also carved a niche for themselves within the Anglican community without assimilating into the dominant EuroCanadian culture. Among these Aboriginal clergy were Edward Sittichinli, Julius Kendi, as well as Amos Njootli and his two students Richard and John Martin.

Regardless of their capabilities, many Aboriginal missionaries, such as Edward Sittichinli who was one of the first Gwich'in to be ordained, were paid less and were expected to supplement whatever income they received from the CMS with other jobs. Sittichinli, for example, worked on occasion as a guide (Fumoleau 2004:175; Vyvyan 1998:xxxi-xxxii). In 1922, Rev. Moody (a non-Aboriginal) received \$700 for his work at Old Crow. That same

year, Rev. Julius Kendi received \$550 for the same work at Mayo. Other Aboriginal catechists received even less: John Tizya at Old Crow and Joseph Kunnizzi at Peel River each got \$100; Richard Martin at Porcupine received \$75; and John Wood at Moosehide and James Pelisse at Ross River each got \$50 (Coates 1991b:126, 284-285).

Some, such as Amos Njootli, protested the inequality. A catechist and teacher, Njootli may have converted to Christianity and may have learned English, but that did not mean that he simply accepted whatever the EuroCanadian missionaries, church, or missionary society handed him. Cognizant of the differences between what he got from the ACC/missionary society, and what non-Aboriginal clergy got, he complained in 1907:

Never yet we hear nor see white man Minister was ragged. Nor see him hunting for his food. Nor see him hauling wood but sit down and eat only making service that is all he do. But Indian are not like that. When they are ordained while they do the work of Minister they still working hard for their living and where is their money? By all this I am not strong to be Minister. You are living in Winnipeg and I am living here in Dawson. Sometimes I lived on the mountain for hunting. If you think you will give me order give me 500 dollars a year, clothes and food. If all these are given to me I will be happy to take this work. God said that it is written men shall not live by bread alone but by every word that comes out of the mouth of God (Moore 2007:46).

Njootli was willing to work as minister, but not without getting monetary compensation. According to Coates, Njootli did not have a major impact on his congregation (Coates 1991b:126). What is most noteworthy about him is that he taught two nephews, both of whom became leaders in the ACC in the North: Richard and John Martin.

The issue was not simply a lack of theological training or even racism. Language factors also played a role. If the Aboriginal missionary had difficulty speaking or writing English, it became easier for government and church authorities to question his competence. Julius Kendi was the second priest of Aboriginal ancestry to be ordained in the YT. The diocese appointed him to teach at the school in Mayo but the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) questioned their wisdom since Kendi spoke so little English. What the DIA did not know was that Kendi had already established himself in the region and had already developed a relationship with the local Aboriginal people. He was posted to the Mayo district in 1915,

and later ordained in Moosehide by Bishop Stringer in 1918. On arriving in the Mayo district, Kendi did not assert his own authority or stake a claim as to where he would set up his base of operations. Instead, he turned to the local Na-Cho Nyak Dun people for suggestions. Indirectly, his request was an acknowledgement that he was no longer in Gwich'in Territory, and a recognition that he needed permission from the Na-Cho Nyak Dun before he could begin. The Na-Cho Nyak Dun suggested a site about two miles south of the current Village of Mayo. Their response was not simply an answer to his question but was in itself a granting of permission to be in their territory, and to stay and build in their territory. Kendi built a mission and a school where they had suggested, and served there for over thirty years, ministering to the Northern Tutchone who lived there (GovYT 2010). Given his background, it is no wonder that the diocese appointed him to teach in the school at Mayo³.

John Martin was raised in Fort McPherson. He learned to read and write from his uncle Amos Njootli, became a Christian leader and was posted by Bishop Stringer to Ross River. His life straddled the McDonald era (noted for McDonald working with Aboriginal people to cultivate Aboriginal clergy without requiring them to sacrifice their own Aboriginal identity) and the residential school era (that proved so destructive of Aboriginal cultures and peoples.) Sometime between 1930 and 1935, he contrasted the two eras as follows:

I remember when I was 8 or 10 years old, every day we had five different schools made for us outside the Mission House. There was one white minister — Archdeacon McDonald — the rest were all Indians teaching one another. When we came to the Fort, then every day we had service, yet we never had too much yet and it seems to me that the people of that time were better than the people now. We all went to school — young children and old people and it did not cost much for the Mission and Government to run the school at that time for those Indians rustled for food at the same time. We had no school house, only an open place and the older people who learned before and who were taught by Arch. McDonald, these were the school teachers for the others and these Indians never paid the minister for his work. Archdeacon McDonald died a long time ago, but the work that he did is working yet (Moore 2007:48).

Note Martin's view that McDonald was "white" while remembering that the CMS saw him as "country-born."

In 1932, John Martin, who had been trained by his uncle Amos Njootli, petitioned for ordination. Bishop Sovereign had just been appointed bishop so he contacted Stringer to get his opinion about Martin's potential. Stringer, who was then Bishop of Rupert's Land, answered, said that:

I would not advise ordaining John to Priest's Orders at present. The only other Indians that have been priested in Yukon and Mackenzie River were John Tsieltla, Edward Situchinli and Julius Kendi. These three were in Deacon's Orders for many years — perhaps fifteen or twenty. John is a very likely man, perhaps with more ability (natural) than any of the others. Perhaps before he is ordained Priest it might be well to have him spend a Winter with some clergy man and have him taught" (Coates 1991b:127).

Regardless of how well Stringer treated Aboriginal people, one cannot help but wonder how much was respect and how much may have resulted from paternalistic tendencies. Martin then wrote to Stringer asking for an explanation and guidance:

I not trouble where I go and stay but I want ordain Priest that all I want I told him (Geddes) and he told me I got to go school for that. ... I want to be Preist Please archbishop tell me what am wrong I may try learn more (Coates 1991b:127).

(The difference in styles between his description of the McDonald-residential school eras and his letter to Bishop Stringer is of particular interest. It is hard to believe that the two were written by the same individual. The fact that the first letter, written sometime between 1930 and 1935, seems to have been edited so much raises questions as to how much of the content was also edited.)

Sovereign served as Bishop of Yukon for only a year; during that time Martin served as catechist at Mayo. It would be two more years before Sovereign's successor, Bishop Geddes visited Martin. The question of his ordination came up again but Geddes refused to ordain him. Finally, sometime in 1934, Stringer wrote to Bishop Geddes that "Martin, 'one of the most intelligent and most responsible amongst all our Indians,' might be ready for ordination" (Coates 1991b:127). Martin was ordained, but did not serve as priest of a congregation (which would have brought him into contact with more non-Aboriginal members); he served under the leadership of the main priest at Mayo. Martin, like Njootli, was not one to simply acquiesce

to the situation. He was, as far as the Aboriginal members of the community were concerned, a priest and therefore a community leader. According to Coates, Martin ordered new furniture for his home and ran up “considerable debt at the local Taylor and Drury store” (Coates 1991b:127). He was reminded that “material comforts and ‘white man’s grub’ did not go with the job” and directed to spend more time trapping. The Bishop of Yukon at the time wrote to the priest about Martin saying,

You must remember that John Martin is *only a native* [italics added] and while in many respects he may be a highly intelligent native yet in many situations he will have the outlook and behaviour of a child (Coates 1991b:127).

Martin’s “theological competence was not highly regarded;” his job was to ensure “the forms but not necessarily the substance of Christianity ... remained familiar to the Natives” (Coates 1991b:127-128). Nevertheless, whatever his failings and whatever discrimination he faced, Martin was highly respected in Mayo by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. He died in 1937. The local newspaper, *The Mayo Miner*, wrote of Martin, “He was a very active man, a very humble man, a brave disciple and a great leader among his people” (Coates 1991b:128). He even received a double funeral ceremony: one at St. Mark’s in the “Indian village” and another at St. Mary’s, the non-Aboriginal church, in Mayo (Coates 1991b:128). Coates also notes that, following his death, things changed “for the worse in the Mayo band” (Coates 1991b:285, note 76). One diocese listing of key missionaries in the North notes him as an “outstanding Loucheux” (Appendix B).

John Martin’s brother, Richard Martin (1879?/1882?-1975), had a tremendous impact on the Aboriginal peoples in the Dawson region. When Alariaq said that her people had become Christian because the “whites” came and messed things up, she may have been referring to Richard Martin’s work in the region.

According to the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in Heritage website, as a young Gwich’in from the upper Porcupine River area, Richard Martin travelled extensively in the region, living as hunter and guide. He first visited Dawson in 1901 as a one of the hunters and traders selling fresh caribou meat. He was also a committed Christian and, in 1926, was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Isaac Stringer in Moosehide, just outside of Dawson. An accident in his

youth had blinded one eye; a second accident soon after his ordination put out the other, leaving him blind for the rest of his life. As a result of his blindness, he could not travel as much as other missionaries. He moved to Moosehide where he lived until 1962. Being forced to remain relatively stationary, Martin — like McDonald — was able to get better acquainted with his parishioners:

... Reverend Martin played an active role in church affairs in Moosehide and the Yukon. He ministered to the spiritual needs of the community during the many intervals between missionaries or when missionaries were away on leave. He interpreted for the ministers who were unable to speak or understand Hän. At Synods for the entire Diocese, he was an inspiration for younger ministers. Many decades after his loss of vision, Martin was able to vividly describe the landmarks of his homeland in the Blackstone River country. Martin remained in Moosehide long after most residents had moved to Dawson, but he finally left the community for good in 1962. When he died in 1975 at the age of 95, the people of Fort McPherson chartered an airplane to attend his funeral. (T-H Heritage 2010b).

Erica spoke about the old days in Inuvik when people had services in three languages: English, Gwich'in and Inuit, and how, in Dawson, parts of their service were in Gwich'in and had been for a long time when they had the Gwich'in deacon, Richard Martin. She also repeated what she remembered Martin having told her about McDonald:

... He chose leaders. And somehow, he was able to pick a person who was a leader, ... it was a privilege to lead a service. This is what we found out from Richard Martin. He said, "If we could get back into Fort McPherson for Easter, we could go to Archdeacon McDonald's school, and you learned reading in their own language. So then, they go to school, then you go out to where you are, and he says, 'You have to have a bigger tent' because you had to have space for the service. And then ... he asked for a bell to tell people, and they used to bang a frying pan...

Erica talked briefly about other Gwich'in missionaries with links to McDonald and one of the issues that had recently emerged: the Gwich'in missionaries were in non-Gwich'in territory, yet their services included parts that were in Gwich'in. As Aboriginal people work to reclaim their languages, there is a move away from Gwich'in to Hän⁴ or Northern Tutchone,

etc., but some oppose the change since Gwich'in has become so much a part of their understanding of Christianity!

Percy Henry, one of the more recent successors to McDonald, combines his work as a Christian deacon with his role as Tr'öndek Hwëchin elder. On the one hand, Henry actively works to preserve and share traditional knowledge, and provides spiritual guidance that has "aided and inspired many of his people" (YT-Archives n.d.). In 1999, he was ordained deacon in the ACC but that did not mean he was a full priest. He is a "street deacon."

His is a ministry of spiritual counselling, drawing on his long experience and his position as an elder and former chief of his First Nation. As Percy relates the Christian faith, he draws on the wisdom of his elders and the stories they passed on to him. Percy is that bridge between the knowledge of the past and those searching in the present.

The Bishop was careful to make it clear that ... Percy has not been ordained to do funerals, baptisms, weddings or any of the routine work of the parish, but to continue to do what he has done for many years: listen, and advise and relate the wisdom of the long line of First Nation ministers to the current generations (Tyrrell 1999).

Conclusion

Anglican history in Canada's North differs significantly from that in western Canada. While Bompas may never have ordained Aboriginal clergy, McDonald did. While Bompas was fervently evangelical and brooked no deviation from his evangelical leanings (especially not towards anything "popish"), McDonald and his Aboriginal successors did not insist on choosing between Christianity and Aboriginal traditions. Certainly, as Christians, they saw themselves as insisting that certain traditional customs be given up, and yet, their devotion to God never led to their forgetting the individual people to whom they ministered. They may have spoken out against polygamy and shamanism, yet they also recognized commonalities between Christianity and traditional teachings, and held onto traditional values and practices that did not conflict with Christian ones. In doing so, not only were McDonald and his Aboriginal successors carrying out the vision of Henry Venn, but also they were laying the foundations for an Aboriginal Anglican church: Aboriginal missionaries were converting Aboriginal peoples.

However the relationship between the Anglican institution and Aboriginal peoples was to play out in the North, McDonald's work and his influence on a number of European / EuroCanadian missionaries ensured that Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal traditions were valued at least to some extent. Most recently, Percy Henry, a Tr'öndek Hwëchin elder who is actively working to keep the Tr'öndek Hwëchin traditions alive, is also a valued member of the ACC congregation in Dawson; his recognized importance to the community and to the congregation led to his ordination in 1999 as a "street deacon." Relationships have emerged, built on respect between individual clergy / missionaries and individual Aboriginal people, as we will discover in Chapter 13.

At the same time, problems also existed. Racism has been part of the YT narrative, both in the communities and in the ACC itself. One reason seems to be the transiency of non-Aboriginal clergy who stay for only a few years (or a few summers) before leaving. The number of bishops in the diocese, compared with the number of bishops in the Mackenzie River / Arctic (nine versus six), and the average length of time bishops remain in office in the YT (11.22 years compared with 14.67 years for the Mackenzie River / Arctic) make it difficult for YT clergy to develop meaningful relations of mutual trust and respect with Aboriginal people. While clergy in the diocese of the Arctic seem to be very much involved with Aboriginal people in all communities (except Yellowknife), clergy in the diocese of Yukon are less likely to be so involved. With the exception of clergy in Dawson, the diocesan focus is more on the non-Aboriginal people who live in the Yukon. This is hardly surprising given that Aboriginal people form approximately 25% of the YT population while they form approximately 50% of the NT population.(StatCan 2009).

It is interesting to note differences in attitudes towards Aboriginal clergy between the diocese of the Arctic and that of Yukon. When asking about numbers of clergy in the diocese of the Arctic, I was given a number that included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal clergy even though some clergy (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) are non-stipended (i.e., do not receive a salary). When asking about numbers of clergy in the diocese of Yukon, however, I was given the number of stipendiary, non-Aboriginal clergy. No mention was made at the diocesan level of the numbers of Aboriginal clergy serving as assistant clergy in congregations or as primary clergy in "vacant" congregations, though the information does appear on the

Diocese of Yukon website. It is not surprising that one Aboriginal participant expressed some frustration over the fact that Aboriginal clergy in one congregation had served for decades but continued to be non-stipendiary, while newcomers to the North and newly-ordained (i.e., inexperienced) clergy received stipends. Valid reasons may exist for the difference, but to the Aboriginal parishioners, the perception may be simply that colonialism and discrimination remain alive and well in the ACC.

One important issue throughout the work of the Anglican missions in Aboriginal communities is shared with the NT: education. Aboriginal missionaries may have served in Aboriginal congregations but, they tended to be Gwich'in missionaries working among non-Gwich'in people which raises the question of another type of colonialism which would be worth exploring in the future: what were Aboriginal clergy preaching and teaching among Aboriginal peoples? The school at Mayo seems to have been mostly unproblematic, at least while under the control of Aboriginal clergy, but the residential school at Carcross, neglected by the religious leaders, seems to have become progressively more difficult to manage, in its administrative as well as its cultural policies and the treatment meted out to its Aboriginal students. Carcross becomes the main focus for the critique of residential schools in the YT. Its existence is sufficient to differentiate the Yukon and the NT as far as Aboriginal education is concerned.

9. THE EDUCATION ISSUE IN CANADA'S NORTH

Overview

This account of Anglican activities in the North demonstrates the link between missionary activities leading to religious conversion and the establishment of Christian communities, and the expansion of EuroCanadian presence in the North. Education, and the need for schools in the North, was a major issue, not just with respect to converting or assimilating Aboriginal people but also for EuroCanadian and Métis / Northern Metis people who wanted their children to get a traditional western education. What form the education system would take and what its mandate with regards to Aboriginal peoples would be would vary across the region and across different time periods: whether the education system would aim to transform Aboriginal people into “civilized,” that is, British-like citizens, or at least prepare them so they would be able to make their place within the social hierarchy of the dominant EuroCanadian society, or whether it would limit itself to facilitating the christianization process ultimately depended on the interplay between the various actors already engaged in the colonization process.

For the Canadian government, trying to establish itself as a country, having Churches look after education in the former HBC territory was a natural fit, particularly since they were also ready doing it. Furthermore, having missionaries act as intermediaries between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian government at treaty times also seemed to be a natural fit since the Churches had already cultivated relationships with many of the First Nations and Inuit peoples.

In this chapter¹, I provide the educational context in which the residential schools emerged.

The Education Issue

The role played by the Anglican missionaries in the evolution of schools in the YT reflects both tendencies of colonialism and anti-colonialism. Many of the Anglican missionaries — Roman Catholic missionaries were not active in the YT — held racist views regarding their own superiority, the (perpetual) inferiority of Aboriginal peoples, and the need for Aboriginal people to become more like the Whites. Many missionaries remained in the YT too short a time to come to appreciate or understand Aboriginal peoples or Aboriginal

cultures. Nevertheless, having said this, it is also true that Anglican missionaries were at the forefront fighting for Aboriginal rights, and lands. They saw, in a way that Ottawa and Ottawa's representatives in the region never did, the hypocrisy of a "best left as Indians" combined with "let's destroy everything that allows Indians to survive as Indians" attitudes and policies. Whether it was fighting for recognition of Aboriginal ownership of territory, Aboriginal fishing and hunting rights or providing education to a people who were coming more and more under the influence of a monied, urban society, many Anglican missionaries strove to find a way to safeguard some dignity and independence for Aboriginal people and nations.

Anglican residential schools in western Canada trace their origins back to the Rev. John West at Red River, Manitoba (1820-1823). His original plan was to provide "Indian schools all the way from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific" (Thompson 1970:48) — in other words, the schools would be located at different outposts, likely not far from their parents. The schools, as envisaged by West, were not designed to destroy Aboriginal children's culture. On the contrary, West thought it important for "the use of the bow ... not to be forgotten," and planned for Aboriginal children to "be engaged in hunting, as opportunities and circumstances might allow" (West 1824:91). That way, parents would be convinced as to the value of education.

Children would get the necessary skills they needed as "civilized" people — Christian principles and morality as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic — yet still be able to live off the land. West's primary goal was the conversion of Aboriginal peoples to Christianity; anything else was of secondary importance. His plan, however, was rejected by the HBC and CMS as being too expensive; schools were not to be located close to families. Although West remained at Red River only three years (1820-1823), his influence was considerable — not only on the Manitoba education system and western residential schools, but also on the Aboriginal people he encountered. Chief Withewacapo was willing to let his son attend the school West established at Red River (Boon 1962:4-5), and a bond seems to have developed between West and at least one of his students — Henry Budd (later Rev.) — who named one of his own sons "John West Budd" years later (Miller 2003:72).

Schooling in the North in the early years differed significantly from schooling in the South, a fact that needs to be explored in more detail but the exploration of which is beyond

the scope of this study. Among notable differences are the lack of government involvement (other than providing some funds periodically) until after World War II, the relative unwillingness to obliterate Aboriginal cultures and traditions from students' lives (particularly in the NT, and with exceptions of course), the impossibility of immediately transforming Aboriginal cultures from a nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary lifestyle based on farming (climate and permafrost were major impediments to agriculture) or fishing, and climatic/geographical factors that meant non-Aboriginal people depended on Aboriginal people and had to adapt some aspects — notably clothing — of Aboriginal lifestyles for their own survival. Many missionaries tried to provide education at the local level. They frequently instructed Aboriginal people “in small day classrooms, around the kitchen or dining room table in the mission, on the trail around the campfire at night” (Cook 1979:2). In early years, many such schools operated only sporadically, when the missionary or his wife were in the community. Schools would close when the missionary was traveling and his wife was not available, or when the missionary and his family were transferred elsewhere.

Some missionaries, such as Whittaker, developed “work-arounds”. Among the Inuit, “Eskimo primers” were distributed. Missionaries sometimes discovered that the primers were extremely popular. They even began selling the primers rather than giving them away to “test [the] sincerity of their desire” (Whittaker n.d.:44b). In addition, since it was impossible to visit all the Inuit in the region on a frequent basis, a system of letter-instruction emerged in which lessons and letters to the different communities were circulated (Whittaker n.d.:53-54). Some missionaries, such as Stringer, tried to establish formal schools that could remain open whether or not the missionaries were present. In the early twentieth century, he began classes for Inuit children on Herschel Island during the day, and evening classes for whalers wintering in Pauline Cove while his wife taught Inuit women “how to transfer their skills as sewers of skins to sewing in the new materials and fabrics that the traders brought up from San Francisco and Seattle” (Cook 1979:4).

Finding students to be educated was problematic. Attendance at schools was sporadic. Children might or might not attend when they were in the area, depending on their interest. When it was time to leave the settlements to hunt caribou and other food, children usually accompanied their parents. As Bishop Stringer noted when writing about the school at

Rampart House, “at this place the Indians have to go off for weeks and months to hunt and fish, so that school can be held only when they come to the post for few weeks” (Coates 1986a:138). The problem was that children tended to forget whatever they had learned in school once they were away. It soon became clear that children of HBC staff, whether EuroCanadian or of mixed-heritage, became better schooled than those who lived months in the bush, likely because they were able to attend school more regularly, and perhaps because they had already been socialized in the cultural context to which missionary schooling belonged. This led to the ACC decision to establish boarding schools where children would live and could get an education even when their parents were out on the land.

The first boarding school was established soon after 1865 in the Fort Norman area. The region had been hard hit by scarlet fever in the years 1862 to 1867, leading to the extermination of the Birch Creek and Lower Yukon Kutchin peoples, “heavy mortality among the Chilcotin, and the abandonment of Fort Anderson because of scarlet fever mortality among the Kitchin and Hare” (Helm 2000:121). Bishop Bompas established a small boarding school to take in some of the orphans. Mr. Hardisty was the main teacher. Selina Charlotte Bompas, the bishop’s wife, taught the older girls, younger children, and even some adults (Cook 1979:2).

In 1876, a boarding school was set up at Fort Rae with Mr. Garton as teacher and supervisor for both boys and girls.

Classroom instruction was under the $\frac{1}{2}$ day system for two reasons. teachers [sic] and classroom space were in short supply for the number of pupils and so there had to be morning and afternoon classes — the same teacher but different pupils. Secondly — because of the nomadic background of the first few generations of pupils their retention and interest periods were short. They simply could not concentrate for the period of time of a normal classroom day. Besides the girls gave help to the supervisors in the household type work that had to be done, cleaning, laundry, cooking, sewing ... the boys helped in the gardens, they cut firewood, ran the fish-nets and rabbit snares, did the outside chores (Cook 1979:3).

Ideally, as Stringer envisioned, a school would be in every community. In reality, this was not possible. The population was not large enough to warrant schools in every community.

Other problems included finding qualified teachers, determining which students would be allowed to attend what schools existed, and finding adequate and sustainable funding.

Finding qualified teachers — even qualified missionaries — was a daunting task. Few teachers were willing to brave the harsh conditions found in the North. Fewer still remained for any significant length of time. The Anglican missionaries tried to make the best of the situation. On occasion, the Anglican missionary societies hired graduates of residential schools as Aboriginal teachers in day schools in other parts of the YT. In the 1920s, summer students from the Anglican Theological College in Vancouver (BC) were brought in “to provide religious and educational services to the Natives” but as the Rev. Cecil Swanson later commented, “short-term missionaries [were] useless” (Coates 1986a:139). They may have had fervour and commitment but they were unprepared for conditions in the North and for working with Aboriginal peoples. Most importantly, they did not remain long enough to develop good relationships with the people.

Determining which students were allowed to attend school was another challenge. As a missionary society, the CMS was concerned with converting Aboriginal people, not providing education for children of mixed heritage or children of European/EuroCanadian settlers. With financial problems of its own, the CMS warned missionaries — as early as the 1840s — that the CMS might have to withdraw from Canada’s Northwest. That particular crisis of the 1840s was averted, but new financial crises emerged in the 1860s and 1880s. In 1920, the CMS officially withdrew from funding Canada’s Northern activities, and transferred its holdings to the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada (MSCC) (Archer 1986:27-28). Other sources of funding were required, but were not always available.

Parents in some communities helped by contributing towards schooling. Donations from other branches of the Anglican Church allowed missionaries and northern schools to educate orphans or children from poor families. Such sources, however, were inadequate and not always available. Stable sources of regular funding were required. The main source for such funding had to be the government.

The difficulty was that the government, particularly in the early missionary years, was not interested in funding Northern education. Canada became a country in 1867, and obtained ownership of former HBC territories in 1870. The priorities of the newly-created country and

its government, however, were not to develop Canada's North, but to develop the infrastructure and organization required for running a country, and protecting it against foreign enemies. Given that the United States had recently fought a Civil War (1861-1865), and that some American sentiments were advocating invading Canada (again), the Canadian government focused on its southern borders, and in developing the Canadian west to ensure that it remained Canadian and did not fall to the Americans by default. (It was only when large numbers of Americans entered the Yukon in search of Klondike gold, thereby raising the possibility of the Yukon becoming American by default, that the government sent the NWMP north at all). Furthermore, the Federal Government did not believe the North capable of sustained growth. It therefore concluded that there was no need to educate Aboriginal peoples or assimilate them into a lifestyle that would be non-existent in their region.

What this meant for Canada's North was, as Coates put it, a "conscious neglect" for decades (Coates 1986a:132). In 1894, the Federal Government granted \$200 to build a boarding school at Fort Resolution. The school was later moved to Hay River where the soil was better suited for farming and the fishing was better (Johns 1971:3). In 1899, the Federal Government provided money for Anglican boarding schools to be built at Fort McPherson and Fort Simpson, as well as for a number of Roman Catholic boarding schools. In 1903, however, the government changed the way it funded schools. Instead of providing grants on an ad hoc basis, it began paying per capita cost. For example, the boarding schools at Hay River, Fort Resolution and Fort Providence received \$72 per pupil for year up to a specific number of children. Additional children who attended the schools were paid for by church missionary funds.

Government reticence to get involved in northern education reflected itself in a reluctance to support "assimilationist" policies in northern schools. According to Coates, it was "generally agreed that 'great caution [had] to be observed to avoid the danger of unfitting the pupils for the surroundings to which their destiny confines them'" (Coates 1986a:135). Frank Oliver, writing in 1908 in response to the Yukon Synod's request for help, stated:

My belief is that the attempt to elevate the Indian by separating the child from his parents and educating him as a white man has turned out to be a deplorable failure ... The mutual love between parent and child is the strongest influence for the betterment of the world, and when that influence is absolutely cut apart or is deliberately intended to be cut

apart as in the education of Indian children in industrial schools the means taken defeats itself ... To teach an Indian child that his parents are degraded beyond measure and that whatever they did or thought was wrong could only result in the child becoming, as the ex-pupils of the industrial schools have become, admittedly and unquestionably a very much less desirable element of society than their parents who never saw the schools” (Coates 1986a:136).

By 1920, however, the Government had reversed its position. First, the signing of Treaty 11 in 1921 obligated the government to become more involved in providing education for treaty children in the North. When Treaty 11 was signed in 1921, the Federal Government agreed to provide support for Church-run day and residential schools for Dene children at Fort Simpson, but not for the other children who also lived there. Roman Catholic Métis children were sent to Fort Providence Catholic Indian Residential school while the Protestant Métis children attended either St. Peter’s at Hay River (until it closed) or All Saints in Aklavik (once it opened).

Second, amendments to the Indian Act mandated removal “from the Indian parent the responsibility for the care and education of his child” (Coates 1986a:138). The exception, however, were the Inuit. Milloy notes that the Inuit did not come under the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) until the early 1920s. Even then, some questioned whether the British North America Act, which had something to say about “Indians,” actually covered the Inuit since they were not “Indians.” The issue ended up in Canada’s Supreme Court in 1935 where it was decided that the Inuit were included in the British North America Act and therefore were under the responsibility of the Federal Government. Even then, responsibility was not given to the DIA, but to the Northern Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources (Milloy 2003:242).

The Rev. Henry Cook, who served and taught at Fort Simpson from 1935 to 1940, provides an interesting window onto the life and education issues of the time; it is worth quoting at length:

In the early summer of 1935 I arrived at Fort Simpson having been appointed missionary in charge of the Parish. I learned that one of my major responsibilities was to conduct classes for the non-Roman Catholic children of the Settlement. Section 120 of the then-current Indian Act, required that classroom instruction be conducted by a teacher of the same religious denomination as the majority of the pupils’

parents. ...It came as quite a jolt upon my arriving at Simpson to be told that, after 5 years of college and university study in a given discipline I had to take on duties in a profession foreign to my training. ... The challenge of trying to educate a group of youngsters of, at least, three different races, as well as being a missionary of a parish from Providence to Norman Simpson to Fort Nelson. The classroom at Simpson was attached to the mission house — a convenience when the classroom heater had to be stoked in the wee small hours of 40-50 below weather. There was an assortment of the old-style desks, rather the worst for wear as they had been declared surplus from the [Hay River] school years before ... I soon realized some planning was in order — it was far too late in the shipping season to order materials & text books from Ottawa, the headquarters in those days, but something had to be done. I canvassed my parishioners and found out the grades of prospective pupils and made arrangements with the Department of Education in Edmonton to enrol my pupils in the appropriate correspondence courses. Alberta came through in grand style — was most cooperative and, we were all set to go when classes commenced after Labour Day. ... I knew that not only myself but the kiddies would find it difficult to accomplish anything worthwhile in such a small classroom if I tried to teach in the conventional manner from the front of the classroom.

My pupils were from some few Indian families resident all year in the settlement, the sons and daughters of R.C.S. and RCMP personnel, the local Doctor-Indian Agent's son, and, oh yes, three children of Bud Alley's family ...

The correspondence courses worked well with myself playing the part of tutor and advisor. The mails were months apart in the early days which made communication with the educational people in Edmonton a little difficult but it worked out. I had trouble with the younger Indian children getting them to work with figures. The little rascals used to bring a deck of cards to school and during lunch break they played some card game I never did figure out. I played them a dirty trick however — taught them to play cribbage — it was phenomenal how their mental arithmetic improved. ...

Running the school was a joint operation between my wife and myself. When I was called away, as I frequently was, or when I was on a trip, or off in the bush cutting firewood — Opal took over. Whether she was better at instruction than myself or whether she was easier on the youngsters — I am not saying. The children however always sang her [praises] when I returned to duty.

... Over the eight years we taught school some of the pupils covered as many as ten grades. A couple, the two Goodall lads attached Grade 12.

... No Rhodes scholars came out of Simpson but some of the pupils entered university, others into good professions. A couple to jail but that is another and sad story (Cook 1979:6-9).

It was not until after World War II that the Federal Government finally accepted responsibility for providing education in the NT/YT and took a more active role in Northern education. Even then, and until 1955, Northern education fell under two different branches of government: Indian Affairs, regulating education for Canada's First Nations; and Northern Affairs, regulating education for Inuit and mixed-heritage children. In 1955, "a new and comprehensive educational strategy for the north" was developed which charged "the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources" alone for education of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children in the North (Milloy 2003:242-243). By then, several generations of Aboriginal and mixed-heritage children had come through the church educational system for better and for worse. In many cases, they were able to serve as bridges between the various cultures. In many cases, they were caught — as Coates so aptly described it — "'betwixt and between' a White society that did not welcome them and a Native way of life they no longer accepted" (Coates 1986a:137).

Conclusion

Northern missionaries were agents of colonialism, as Tinker (1993) believed, whether they wanted to be or not, in that they represented a way of life — complete with a comprehensive world view — that was foreign to Aboriginal peoples yet that was in tandem with the culture of those non-Aboriginal people in the NT and Yukon who might have power and authority over the Aboriginal peoples. The federal government might favour a hands-off policy where Aboriginal people were concerned believing they were "best left as Indians" but missionaries believed education (i.e., European-style education) was the best way for Aboriginal people to survive in a changing world and introduced the changes themselves in their European-style schooling. In what they said and in what they did, these missionaries reflected the value system and mindset of their European / EuroCanadian peers.

Often, however, northern missionaries were also opponents to colonialism in that they did not necessarily espouse the same goals or actions as did their peers and sometimes actively opposed them. The federal government might favour displacing Aboriginal people from their lands; some northern missionaries protested injustice and fought for Aboriginal rights. The

federal government might espouse a policy of cultural genocide (“kill the Indianness”); nevertheless, missionaries played a significant role in preserving and teaching Aboriginal languages even while enculturating them in a EuroCanadian environment.

While such actions led the *Hendry Report* (1969) to speak quite rightly of the “jekyll-and-hyde” nature of the relationship between Anglicans and Aboriginal peoples (Hendry 1998:21-23), it is equally evident that the Northern missionaries saw themselves as agents of change. From a colonialist perspective, they had a mandate to “raise” or “elevate” Aboriginal people so as to fit in with the lifestyle of the dominant EuroCanadian society. From a Christian perspective, they had a responsibility as good shepherds to protect their flock from predators (whether Aboriginal people placed the missionaries in such positions of power is unknown). In other words, missionaries saw themselves as having to protect Aboriginal peoples by helping them survive both in being able to live off the land using traditional skills and in developing new skills that would allow them to deal with the new situations being brought about through the presence of the non-Aboriginal population. Included in their “flock” were not simply the Aboriginal people they were trying to convert but also those families (including the children), already affiliated with their particular denomination through mixed marriages.

In 1979, Bishop Henry Cook wrote:

[There was a need] to prepare an aboriginal people for the constantly increasing encroachment [sic] of a more aggressive civilization ... This they did the better to enable the Natives to adjust to and, if possible, become active and intelligent participants in a wider world. To do this it was necessary to teach the Native pupils one of the languages widely used in the outer world. Education, beyond [sic] the religious teachings of the Church, became part and parcel of the missionary’s function. So it was especially in the N.W.T. (Cook 1979:1-2).

In a colonial environment, the alternatives remained limited. Both the missionaries and their pupils were caught in a wave that went way beyond Northern Canada and Canada itself. Throughout the circumpolar world, Indigenous peoples were facing similar situations and similar responses from the colonizing powers: settlements, boarding schools, industrialization and urbanization. Yet, in Northern Canada, the responses were less negative than in the South, leaving room for a positive relationship between Christianity and some of the Aboriginal

communities, for Aboriginal ways of life and languages to have been valued to some extent and in some schools during some periods, for Aboriginal clergy, and for European / EuroCanadian clergy who were willing to learn from Aboriginal peoples — even on matters of faith. In other words, any general account of the residential school issue and the missionary role in the history of christianization in the North needs to be on guard against presenting a one-dimensional, over-simplistic characterization of events.

The history of the relationship can no longer be written from a single source perspective. What emerges from the research and anecdotal evidence is a second narrative, one that is considerably more positive than the narrative of a profoundly negative form of colonialism shared across the country, and one in need of further research: missionaries as agents of change. (This proposition does not undermine the claims of the schools abuse victims, rather recognizing the existence of multiple voices and perspectives in the region's history effectively undermines the one reason given as to why Aboriginal children were often removed from their families: Aboriginal people were unable to take care of themselves is revealed to be a fallacious argument.)

In other words, while research revealed evidence that supports the dominant narrative of a destructive and racist colonialism, it also revealed a second narrative of respect for Aboriginals peoples, and a desire to help them adapt to the growing non-Aboriginal influence in the region without forcing them to abandon all traditions or traditional ways of living (i.e., adapt, not assimilate). Such a narrative runs counter to the dominant narrative but agrees with one of the findings in the 1969 Hendry report: that the relationship between Anglican missionaries and Aboriginal peoples too often reflected a “jekyll-and-hyde” nature (Hendry 1998:21-23).

10. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT: THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS & RELATIONSHIPS IN THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL ERA

Overview

(The schools) were the laboratory and production line of the colonial system ... the colonial system that was designed to make room for European expansion into a vast empty wilderness needed an Indian population that it could describe as lazy and shiftless ... the colonial system required such an Indian for casual labour. (George Manuel, cited in RCAP 1996 v1: 335).

Aboriginal education was advocated as a right by most Christian missionaries across Canada and as a tool by Canadian government representatives at least in southern Canada. Aboriginal education developed into a system that would affect the Aboriginal societies throughout Canada for generations to come. The education system in northern Canada has, however, somewhat different origins with Canadian government representatives having a minimal role to play until after World War II, believing that it was better to leave Aboriginal people following traditional lifestyles and no education (what Kenneth S. Coates refers to as “best left as Indians”).

Following an introduction as to the importance of the residential schools for understanding today’s relations, and a general introduction to residential schools and residential schools in Canada’s North, I look at the residential school issue and main charges against the schools.

The purpose of this chapter¹ is not to present a detailed study of Northern residential schools but rather to provide some of the context in which Northern relationships emerged and some of the history which Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people bring with them into their relationships with one another in the present, focusing on the dominant narrative of a destructive colonialism.

The Importance of Residential Schools for Understanding the Current Relationship

Today’s relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada have been profoundly shaped by the residential schools and residential school issue.

Residential schools represented one location where Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people encountered one another and interacted with one another on a regular basis. EuroCanadian adults at the schools — primarily principals, teachers and supervisors — interacted on a daily basis with Aboriginal students attending their schools and, less frequently with Aboriginal adults — notably, Aboriginal people on staff and in nearby communities and, in some cases, with Aboriginal parents. Relationships emerged from those interactions, forming the “before” dimension or historical perspective to today’s relationship. It must be stressed, however, that this may be the historical perspective, but many of the individuals involved — either as students, staff, or teachers — are still alive today. People who attended or worked at the residential schools had various experiences at those schools — good, bad, or other. Those experiences represent part of the baggage they bring to the current relationships.

Residential schools affected not only those who attended; they had an indirect affect on those who did not go to school: parents whose children were taken away and if the children did return home, were so changed by their experiences that they no longer fit into the rest of the community leaving parents devastated; siblings who lost older brothers and sisters to the schools but who may never have attended the schools themselves; and children, whose parents had attended residential schools but had never learned positive parenting skills, and who suffered as a result. Residential schools have affected several generations of Aboriginal people, leading to dysfunctional families and numerous social problems. For those people who did not attend schools but suffered indirectly as a result, the residential school experience represents part of their baggage. For others, and EuroCanadian people in particular, the resulting social problems reinforce negative and stereotypical images that contribute to their understanding of the current relationship.

Finally, for many, the baggage that is brought into the current relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people is not the actual experience but the perceived experience, experiences often generated by media and by accounts of what happened in other parts of the country to other students. This includes the understanding — or lack of understanding — expressed by many EuroCanadian people of what the problems were and why Aboriginal people were so upset by their experiences. Those sentiments and those perceptions play a role in shaping the present relationship. A similar situation exists with respect to the residential school

issue. It is not only the actual specifics surrounding the issue but also the public and personal perceptions that contribute to people's understanding of the "Other" in their relationship.

General Introduction

The Residential Schools

Debate exists as to when residential schools first emerged², and even when the first residential schools in the NT and YT opened³. The residential school system, however, refers generally to a program run jointly until 1969 by the various Canadian Churches — primarily the Roman Catholic (RC), the Anglican (ACC), the Presbyterian (PCC), and the Methodist/United (UCC) and the missionary societies associated with them — and, solely from 1970 until the end of the program, by the federal government

Debate also exists as to the number of schools that operated⁴. According to the list of residential schools posted on the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) website in 2006, there were 130 schools officially recognized as residential schools or hostels (GovCanada n.d.). Of the 130 residential schools on the list, 26 were run by the ACC.

Given the uncertainty surrounding the date when residential schools first appeared and the number of schools that existed, it is not surprising that debate also exists concerning the number of students who attended the residential schools. Estimates range from 50,000 to approximately 150,000, with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada stating in 2002 that it "is estimated that approximately 100,000 children attended these schools over the years" (INAC 2002), the Indian Residential Schools Resolution estimating in 2003 that 90,600 former students were still alive (GovCanada 2003: Question 3), one Anglican priest, the Rev. Hopkins, guestimating also in 2003 that between 50,000 and 100,000 passed through Anglican schools (Hopkins 2003) and one Aboriginal source, Windspeaker, estimating between 100,000 and 150,000 students attended residential schools (Steel n.d.). RCAP concludes in its chapter on residential schools that it is impossible to determine how many Aboriginal children attended the schools over the life of the system (RCAP vol 1 ch 10 note 15).

What is evident is that, from the beginning of Aboriginal-missionary contact, missionaries believed they had a responsibility to educate / convert Aboriginal peoples. For Protestant missionaries, that assumption was rooted in a core principle of the Protestant

Reformation: that people should be able to read the Bible for themselves in their own language. To do that, however, they would need to be taught to read. While Roman Catholicism discouraged its members from reading the Bible, let alone reading it in their own language, it encouraged them to read other religious tracts such as devotions, catechisms, and litanies.

The main issue confronting those missionaries was whether Aboriginal people should learn to read it in English (as William Duncan insisted (Zaslow 1966:62-63)) or in their own language (which meant that it would have to be translated). The problem with the principle was that it assumed people had a written language so the Bible (or religious tract) could be translated, written, and given to Aboriginal people. Canada's northern Aboriginal peoples did not have written languages. CMS and Roman Catholic missionaries found themselves having to learn the local language, a fact which led to the publication of many grammars on Aboriginal languages produced by missionaries. CMS missionaries also found themselves having to translate — or work with others to translate — portions of the Bible, the Anglican prayer book, and a few hymns. That also meant, they found themselves having to develop a writing system for the Aboriginal language they were learning, and then having to teach Aboriginal people to read their own language.

In time, experience showed missionaries they still had other roles to play. As representatives of an evangelical organization that stressed morality, and as concerned European/EuroCanadian Christians, they believed, or came to believe, they had a responsibility to undo damages caused by Aboriginal interactions with non-Aboriginal peoples of dubious character. For many, this meant opposing the use of alcohol in the fur trade, a fact which brought them at times into direct conflict with the HBC. For others, it meant recognizing the deleterious impact that contact sometimes had on people. Some missionaries tried to mitigate the impact by isolating Aboriginal peoples from contact with non-Aboriginal peoples. Residential schools were one means to accomplish this.

The Residential Schools in Canada's North

According to the Anglican website (ACC 2008b), ten “residential schools” operated in Canada's North as seen in Figure 27: St. Peter's Mission at Hay River (1894/95-1937); Chooutla in Carcross (1903-1969); St. Paul's in Dawson (1920-1952); St. John's Eskimo Residential

School at Shingle Point (now in YT, 1929-1936); All Saints at Aklavik (1936-1959); Fort McPherson in Fort McPherson (1951-1969); St. Agnes' in Whitehorse (1952-1966); the Coppermine Tent Hostel at Kugluktuk (now in Nunavut, 1955-1959); Fleming Hall in Inuvik (1959-1970); and Bompas Hall in Fort Simpson (1960-1969). (See Appendix C for more information on these ten schools).

As the government assumed responsibility for education in the North, taking, about the time of World War II, a more active role in providing “formal education” (Devitt 1965:63), the ACC gradually shifted from operating residential schools to operating hostels where students boarded when attending regular day school. By 1956, all mission school teachers became federal employees, with the government setting qualification standards for teachers, and bearing the cost of all pupil residences (Devitt 1965:66). In 1969, the ACC, along with other Churches, decided not to renew its contract with the federal government, effectively withdrawing from the residential school program at that date. In the NT, however, the ACC continued operating the hostel in Inuvik for one more year because a contract between NT and the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada (MSCC) was negotiated (ACC 2008k).

One must note, however, that no matter how one single denomination fared as far as the quality of its schools was concerned, it was affected by various constraints within which it operated — financial, geographical, social, etc. Furthermore, while schools in northern Canada developed unique approaches to the realities within which they operated, they were also affected by what happened in southern schools — particularly when Aboriginal children from the North were sent south to school.

The Residential School Issue: A Growing Awareness of the Problem

Food was gurgling out of Nancy's mouth until finally she coughed and spit all over the nun. This infuriated (the nun). Her face was pink with anger. She forced open Nancy's mouth by placing her thumb on one cheek and her middle finger on the other cheek. Then she grabbed a tin cup of milk and poured it in her mouth. Nancy's eyes began to roll and she seemed to be losing consciousness. ... She was barely able to walk. Her head was bowed and a mixture of tears and blood were streaking down her face, her mouth and cheeks were badly swollen and her lips were purple. She was sobbing and gasping for air and holding her back rigid and straight ... I never saw Nancy again (A-Grant 1996:136)

Reports of sexual and physical abuse in residential schools began coming to public attention in the late 1980s. By 2004, approximately 7000 lawsuits had been filed against the federal government and the four major denominations that ran the schools (ACC, PCC, RCC, UCC). Of these, 1200 named the ACC as co-defendant (ACC 2004a), of which approximately 90% claimed physical abuse and 60% sexual abuse (PCC n.d.).

Charges of sexual and physical abuse were not the only charges levelled against the Churches and federal government as we will see later in this chapter. Stories emerged about parents forced to send their children to residential schools and about the RCMP taking children away without their parents' knowledge or permission. Stories were told about the pain of forced relocation and the isolation that many children felt as they were removed hundreds and sometimes thousands of kilometres from their homes. Stories appeared about forced assimilation, excessive discipline, starvation, unsanitary living conditions, and the number of missing children — those who simply disappeared without a trace and whose parents were never told what had happened to their children. People spoke of cultural genocide and residential schools being designed specifically to “kill the Indian in the children” (e.g., Milloy 2003:xv). Beneath all the charges lay the spectres of racism, paternalism, and EuroCanadian arrogance in its dealings with Aboriginal peoples (Hendry 1969) and of colonialism (A-Grant 1996).

Studies began to confirm what many had known: Aboriginal people coming out of residential schools were ill prepared for life either among their own people or in EuroCanadian society. One EuroCanadian participant spoke of liminal displacement, saying:

(Aboriginal peoples are) standing on a threshold. They can't go backwards into what was there before. And they don't know how to go forward ... I think we have a lot of substance abuse because of the (spillover — the sense of) not belonging — having no place, no future (PR:Shawna).

According to Jacobs and Williams (2008), Aboriginal people came out of residential schools with an inability to make decisions on their own, unprepared for life outside an institution, having inadequate education to enter the Canadian workforce in anything other than menial positions, and with no experience of family life — of what it meant to touch, hold, parent children in non-hurtful ways.

The AHF has noted what it sees as a definite link between some of the problems faced by Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the residential schools: According to Kirmayer et al:

Transgenerational effects of the residential schools include: the structural effects of disrupting families and communities; the transmission of explicit models and ideologies of parenting based on experiences in punitive institutional settings; patterns of emotional responding that reflect the lack of warmth and intimacy in childhood; repetition of physical and sexual abuse; loss of knowledge, language and tradition; systematic devaluing of Aboriginal identity; and, paradoxically, essentialising Aboriginal identity by treating it as something intrinsic to the person, static and incapable of change (2003:S18). (Barlow 2009:8).

Many studies, including the government study cited below, note the prevalence of social problems found in Aboriginal communities, that are likely linked with residential schools. For those in the NT/YT, the problems are particularly pervasive:

A high incidence of social problems, such as unemployment, alcohol abuse, family violence and sexual abuse.... the suicide rate among Inuit is 11 times the national average ... an unemployment rate among the Aboriginal population of Yukon ... was more than double the territorial average (26.8% versus 11.6%) ... (GovCanada 2008).

With these revelations and as people came to grips with the negative dimension to the schools, the suffering and traumatization that many had experienced in the schools, and the impact the schools had had on Aboriginal communities, the topic of “residential schools” transformed from being an account of missionary history and development to becoming the “residential school issue.”

Inherent within the residential school issue is the recognition that steps needed to be taken to rectify the wrongs that have been done Aboriginal peoples. These are described in more detail in Chapter 12.

Main Charges Against the Schools and Their Applicability in the North

Among the many charges than can be levelled against residential schools and those who ran them, it is important to flag the following:

Sexual and Physical Abuse

Accounts of sexual and physical abuse are among the most prominent charges brought forth in the media and before the courts. They are also among the most problematic as far as many EuroCanadian peoples are concerned.

Sexual abuse of children is not acceptable in Canadian society today. Charges can be and are laid against sexual predators. In the past, however, though sexual abuse may not have been acceptable, considerable reluctance existed to either believe accounts of sexual abuse or to publicize what had happened by laying charges; predators were frequently transferred to other locations.

No Aboriginal participant talked to me about sexual abuse in residential schools, but one Aboriginal participant (PS:Kangoak) told about sexual abuse by Anglican clergy in the community.

Several EuroCanadian participants mentioned sexual abuse in northern residential schools. Arthur talked about sexual abuse at the Roman Catholic Lower Post residential school. Parents complained but nothing was done. In fact, when one predator was eventually dismissed from Lower Post, he became a social worker in Dawson City. He then moved on to a hostel in Inuvik and eventually died in prison. The participant (PR:Arthur) was unsure about sexual abuse in the ACC but thought there might have been some. Shawna told about one Aboriginal person she knew who had attended residential school. He had been sexually assaulted and abused in front of his younger brother. According to Shawna, he was “battling demons” and his younger brother was “really messed up.”

Physical discipline/abuse was common in residential schools and has been described in detail elsewhere⁵. The following example comes from the Carcross residential school:

H. Grant at Carcross School in the Yukon in 1940 employed punishment. Students, he admitted, were strapped on various parts of their bodies so severely that they had to be held down for the strappings. When this proved futile in curbing dishonesty, he regularly resorted to a tactic that one of the teachers assured him had worked at another school, cutting off the child's hair. When one girl stole a loaf of bread, she was given what he termed a ‘close haircut’ (Milloy 2003:112)

So closely aligned was physical discipline with residential schools that one Aboriginal, Papikatuk, referred to it as teaching the “residential school way.” She told the following story about an incident that had happened to her daughter at the public school in her community. One day, a new teacher who came from outside the NT/YT grabbed Papikatuk’s daughter by her hair to pull her back into the classroom. Papikatuk complained to the principal who called in the teacher. The teacher tried to dismiss her actions as “an accident” to which Papikatuk replied,

It was *not* an accident, pulling someone by the hair. You do that with some of the other children and you’d be a dead person. You’re lucky it’s just me and you’re getting a good yelling to. You don’t do that. You want to teach residential school way, you go down south (PS:Papikatuk).

A few weeks later, the teacher used a wooden ruler on some children — that ended her career in the North.

Evidence of physical forms of abuse that were considered excessive even in the period in which they occurred can, however, also be found, raising questions of why they occurred and why nothing was done to stop them. In the first example below, Graham likely considered what had happened to the runaway as excessive; he was doing his duty by bringing the matter to the attention of officials. Nothing was done. What he considered to be excessive, the unnamed missionary society considered as normal:

In 1919, W. Graham (a senior Western Department official) forwarded reports to the department from a local agent and a police constable describing the case of a runaway from the Anglican Old Sun’s (Alberta) school. On being brought back, the boy had been shackled to a bed, had his hands tied, and was ‘most brutally and unmercifully beaten with a hose quirt until his back was bleeding’. ... (the Missionary Society stated this was “more or less” the norm in every boarding school and did nothing) (RCAP 1996 v1:370).

In this second example, it is again evident that what the boy suffered was considered excessive not only by the government’s investigative officer but also by others. It is also evident that the government was not interested in stopping the abuse; instead, it transferred the whistle-blower.

(In 1925) another boy fled from the school (in Manitoba) ‘almost naked and barefoot’ and was found after a week in the bush ‘nearly out of his mind’ from being ‘whaled black and blue’. One of the non-Aboriginal men who saw the boy before he was taken to the hospital warned that if

the department did nothing, he would contact the 'SPCA like he would if a dog was abused' ... (nothing was done other than transferring Graham). (RCAP 1996 v1:370).

Yukon journalist Genesee Keevil (2007) writes about one student's experiences at St. Paul's hostel in Dawson. Richard Dixon's father was "heading up a hunting party." His two sons, Richard and Ollie, were too young to accompany him, so he sent them to St. Paul's. Richard was six, and was there for eight years. Ollie was beaten so badly that his hip and back were displaced, and he ended up in a wheelchair. Talking about St. Paul's and Johnson, Richard said:

"We had the hell beat out of us," said Dixon.

"Dad and Mom never beat us.

"So, we didn't know what was happening."

The priest (known as Johnson) would lose his temper and go on a rage, said Dixon. "He'd hit you on the back of the head and send you flying.

"And he was a big man — 300 pounds.

"He'd take after the girls the same way — knock them down and kick them until they were black and blue.

"But he'd never beat you in front of anyone" (Keevil 2007).

Keevil's example demonstrates that even those perpetrating the abuse recognized that they were doing something wrong — they "never beat you in front of anyone." Such examples are not examples of different ways of understanding discipline and abuse. They are and were crimes.

No Aboriginal participant went into detail about any abuse he or she might have personally experienced or witnessed. Goota said that she had been abused in residential schools by the priests and nuns (PS:Goota). Kitikmeot refused to say anything — other than the name of the school — about the residential school he attended (PS:Kitikmeot). Kiawak (Mixed heritage) who attended a Roman Catholic residential school in the NT mentioned getting "smacked."

No EuroCanadian participant went into detail about any abuse situation they knew from first-hand experience but some shared (in general terms only) what they knew from Aboriginal acquaintances. Villers knew of Aboriginal people who were bitter and angry about their time in residential schools; some who had turned to drink (PR:Villers). Linda spoke of Aboriginal people who had been through the residential school system and who were still struggling “today” (PR:Linda). Moriah told about residential school survivors who had publicly said “how horrible (the residential school) was” and how “they were hurt; they were beaten; they ran away” (PR:Moriah).

Forced Relocation and Isolation

Most of us were taken at a very, very young age, when we still needed our MOTHERS!! we ‘bonded’ with the INSTITUTIONS, instead for substitute bonding. That is why many are in (Res.School students) Mental Institutions, Jails, or on the streets, as in Group formation, from one institution to another, as a child then as an adult. ... (Akpalapik, 2009 Mar 13).

In the North, the issue of children being forcibly removed from their families and sent away to residential schools devastated communities and individuals on a number of levels, becoming a theme for an exhibit sponsored by the Legacy of Hope Foundation in 2008. *We were so far away: the Inuit experience of residential schools* was the title of the exhibition and its opening statement read simply: “We were far away from home, very far away; emotionally, geographically and spiritually” (Legacy 2010).

Children were deliberately separated from their parents, their homes, their communities. The reason was simple: EuroCanadian missionaries tended to have low opinions of Aboriginal traditions for raising children and Aboriginal values. They wanted to keep the children away from their parents’ influence. For example, the Rev. Thomas Jabez Marsh, missionary to the Dene at Hay River and later principal of the residential school there, believed that Aboriginal parents were “untutored” savages who preferred to have their children “grow up in the darkness of ignorance and superstitions” (Johns 1971:9-10). According to Marsh, a residential school, where students would be separated from their parents, was essential. It would be the best way to counteract the negative influence of parents. Marsh wanted to establish a residential school that would allow students to come “from distant posts” and “stay in the schools through the full

period of their school training, which, in some cases, reaches out into the sixth or eighth year” (Johns 1971:9). He succeeded. What he and other missionaries ignored was the impact removing children from their families would have on both the children and the parents.

One Inuvialuk, who wished to remain anonymous, attended Stringer Hall in Inuvik and shared his experience of being forcibly removed from home:

I can clearly recall my first experience leaving Aklavik for residential school sometime in the late 1960s, when I was a child of about five years. ... I had to be pulled from my mother’s arms because I did not want to leave her. I fought hard and held onto her for dear life as tears poured down my face. The cries and struggle I put in refusal to be taken away was no match for the adults who pulled me from my mother’s arms (Alunik et al 2003:199)

Allan revealed a similar sentiment:

But at that time, my parents had no choice but to send me to residential school. It was the law. And they had no say. Once your child turns old enough to go to school, they take you. I had to fight my way to stay off that plane, so — I believe it was a DC-3, Douglas DC-3, and there was stairs going up, right? You can see that arch. And it had those long stairs going up and at first, one or two white guys, they tried, you know, carrying me and carried me up those stairs, but I guess I was maybe a little tougher than I thought, because they tried again. But this time it took four white people, four white grown men to grab each arm, one to grab one arm, one to grab the other arm, one to grab one leg and one to grab the other leg. And I was yelling and screaming, kicking and whatnot, because like why I was I going and not my mom or my dad? Because, you know It was a hard day. I cried all the way to Yellowknife and all the way to Inuvik, not understanding why, what was happening, why I was taken away. But I cried all the way to Yellowknife and then to Inuvik and then from the airport in Inuvik, I cried all the way from the airport to the residential school. I think that was the first time I seen trees and a lot of buildings and a lot of people, because I grew up mostly alone with my mom and dad and here’s just one house and that’s all there was, three people. (AHF 2004:7).

Linda (EuroCanadian) reported that some Aboriginal people had told her: “we were taken away from our homes; we felt abandoned by our family” (PR:Linda).

The emotional distance children experienced was not limited to being forcibly removed from their families. It continued in the schools themselves. They were no longer members of

a small family, but part of an institution. Smaller residential schools averaged around 20 to 30 students per year; larger ones such as Aklaavik and Inuvik averaged several hundred children per year. For the Inuit and Inuvialuit peoples who still lived on the land in communities smaller than the schools themselves⁶, such a change must have a traumatic culture shock, regardless of whether or not physical or sexual abuse occurred. Children slept in dormitories, surrounded by other children and yet separated from family members of the other gender who might be at the same schools. Physical contact with siblings of the opposite gender was non-existent.

And (my mother) said that it was hard ... they couldn't mix and she saw my brother ... or her brother, or one of her younger brothers there ... she said, "He was just a baby, and I couldn't go there." She was like crying and everything. Like, you know, she couldn't hold him or anything and she couldn't talk to him (PR:Upalik).

Physical contact with staff was minimal. Upalik said that her mother was taken away to residential school when she was six years old. "There was nobody there to nurture her or hug her or anything." The mother learned from her experience, telling her daughter, "I stopped holding you kids when you were six years old" (PR:Upalik). Upalik did the same with her own son, refusing to show him any affection once he reached a certain age.

Children were not the only ones to suffer emotionally as a result of being removed from their families and sent to residential schools. *Finding our way home, Tr'ëhuhch'in Năwtr'udăh'a* (2009), created and published by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in First Nation as part of a healing initiative, tells of parents so devastated by their children leaving home to go to residential school that they turned to alcohol for comfort. The book makes clear the despair felt by those parents: there was nowhere and no one to whom they could turn for help. Both the police and the church (missionary) were involved in taking away their children, and Aboriginal friends were likely just as overwhelmed by their own loss. In a situation where no hope existed that the situation could be changed, alcohol at least blunted the grief.

The sense of powerlessness pervades residential school stories. Aqpik (Aboriginal) told how her parents had been threatened by the local priest. If they did not send their children to residential school, they would lose their allowance from the government — that is, their treaty payment allocations. Not all children were forcibly taken away from their parents but how much

choice parents actually had is debatable. As Nowyook (Aboriginal) told me, he believed his parents had no choice in whether or not he attended residential schools:

Like, if you're at school age, you have to go and your parents have to agree. At that time, we did not know the political aspects of the whole thing. I think, because we — I think my parents were, you know, they were brought up in a life where, when something has to be done, it has to be done. There are no "buts" about it, or there are no other ways about it. I think that's the way they felt when the authorities said they had to send their kids to school. That was something they had to agree to. There was no other way around it. Even if they didn't want to send us to school, that was out of the question at that time (PR:Nowyook).

Geographical distance was also another source of trauma for many Aboriginal people in the North.

The Hay River residential school, located in the southern NT, was the first residential school to be built in the NT. Its students, however, tended to come from the northern NT. Many of its students came from Fort McPherson, over 1600 kilometres away (over 1000 miles). By the 1920s, students came from even further away, and Hay River came to be recognized as "the first Anglican 'Indian and Eskimo' residential school" (ACC 2008h). At Fort Simpson, students came from as far away as Cambridge Bay, a distance of 1100 km (almost 700 miles) (ACC 2008g). Even Coppermine Tent Hostel which was to serve as a school for "local" children living no further than 80 kilometres from home (approximately 50 miles) accepted children from Bathurst Inlet and Victoria Island several hundred kilometres distant (ACC 2008d). Not only were students separated from their families and from everything they had known, but also the distances made it difficult for students to return home for holidays and some did not return home even for the summer.

The spiritual distance experienced may have had the greatest impact. It was not simply a matter of being in a Christian environment as opposed to one reflecting traditional Aboriginal spiritualities; children attending residential schools may already have been Christian. A spiritual identity represents more than a specific religious tradition. As Christian theologian Paul Tillich has noted, religion, if it is authentic, must be expressed within a culture (Tillich 1973). Children in Anglican residential schools may have been Christian and even Anglican, but they were now living within a EuroCanadian expression of Anglicanism that reflected the

EuroCanadian cultural and social values, not those of their own communities. When they returned home, they no longer “fit” in. It was not simply that they had to get re-acquainted with their parents and other family members; children had to get re-acquainted with a culture about which they knew very little and which they may have come to despise. Janna, a former supervisor in one residential school, told how one student found it hard to return to his family whose different concepts of cleanliness upset him; he become accustomed to different standards of cleanliness at the residential schools, and was happy to return to school after the holidays (PR:Janna).

Unfortunately, as Northern historian Ken S. Coates notes, many graduates of residential schools were unable to fit into either their home culture or EuroCanadian society outside the schools. They were “betwixt and between,” caught between “a White society that did not welcome them and a way of life they no longer accepted” (Coates 1986a:137).

Forced Assimilation

In residential schools, children were subject to what is now termed “cultural genocide.” Every sign of Aboriginal identity was deliberately destroyed as were expressions of children’s individuality. Long hair, styled in traditional ways, was cut short. Traditional clothing, usually handmade by relatives, was taken and thrown away, replaced by EuroCanadian uniforms. Aboriginal names were changed to EuroCanadian names or numbers.

Akpalapik, who spent fourteen years of her life “in those jail-like institutions,” wrote in an e-mail:

Really, the administrators or Govt. Agents, Teachers were just doing a job that was ordered from the ‘higher ups’, meaning the Govt. of Canada. The first Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. MacDonald, said ‘let us take these aboriginals away from their environment, culture & Family & turn them into Brown-skinned Europeans’. Almost did a damn good job, ‘genocide’, its’ called. ... forgot to include that we aboriginals had our own way of worshipping, our own spiritual beliefs that was not respected, it was overturned for the introduction & coercion of European religion.
(Akpalapik, 2009 Mar 13)

Another former student, Aggie Ulasovetz, shared some of her experiences at All Saints residential school in Aklavik. Although forced to give all her clothes to a supervisor, she was

given new clothes and allowed to keep her moccasins. Her clothes were returned to her when she left the following spring. At All Saints, her hair was cut, and she was assigned a number: “‘number seventy’ became her name, more often than not” (Ulasovetz n.d). Aggie had come with an older sister, but Edith fell ill and was hospitalized. When she tried to visit Edith, she was told that children were not allowed in the hospital⁷.

A similar story was told in 2003 by one Aboriginal woman talking about her experiences in a southern residential school. Students were assigned numbers. Those numbers became their names for the year. Each year, they would be assigned a number based on their seniority. Her number during her last year at the school was “Number One.” The following year, she was dropped off in the middle of nowhere with some pocket change for a phone call; she was too old for residential school (ACC-P 2003).

Traditional belief systems were ridiculed and rituals banned, replaced by Christianity and Christian rituals. Children were taught that traditional beliefs and practices were the “devil’s doing” and that their parents who followed such belief systems were going to go to hell (Kelly 2008). Traditional games were replaced with EuroCanadian games such as hockey, and traditional music was replaced with Western instruments and music. Children were forbidden to speak their language and severely punished whenever they did.

Aqpik told how her relatives, who had gone to residential school, could not speak their language openly. When they did and were caught, they were punished. Her husband could not speak to his sisters even though they went to the same residential school. They were kept separate (PS:Aqpik). Allan wrote about his experiences:

And getting back to my — before I went to Stringer Hall, the only language I knew was my mother tongue, Inuinnaqtun. I didn’t know a word of English. And the first, I guess, six months, they turned that around. They didn’t want me to speak my own language, because that’s all I knew. And my friends were the friends that were there and family, they were telling me, “No, don’t speak your own language. You’ve got to speak English.” And they told me you’d get punished if you spoke your language. I didn’t know what that meant. And one of the ways that the people at Stringer Hall used for me to stop using my language was they took a bar of soap and the Sun or Sunlife, I’m not sure what it’s called, it’s a long, yellow bar. Anyways, they took a piece off and they measured my mouth. They told me to open it wide, like really wide. So I’d open it

really wide and then I guess they used their fingers and they measured the bar of soap with my mouth. And what they did was they'd break that off and put that in my mouth, like my mouth was so wide open, they put the bar of soap in. And I couldn't talk. I couldn't — I could breathe by my nose, but I was wondering why are they putting soap in my mouth? (AHF 2004:8)

Deaths in the Schools

It is true that Indian children die at a much higher rate in our Indian boarding schools from communicable diseases ... But such is in keeping with policy of this Department, which is geared towards the Final Solution of the Indian Problem.

(Duncan Campbell Scott 1909, cited in Annett n.d.)

Writing in 1913, Duncan Campbell Scott estimated that “fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they received therein” (Barman et al 1986:8). So many children in the schools were dying from tuberculosis and other contagious diseases that Dr. Bryce, Ontario's Health Commissioner, wrote in 1922:

I believe the conditions are being deliberately created in our residential schools to spread infectious diseases ... it is not unusual for children who are dying from consumption (TB) to be admitted to schools and housed alongside healthy children (Fortune 2010).

In 1914, two students at St. Peter's Mission in Hay River died during a whooping cough epidemic; five village children died during the same epidemic (Johns 1971:31). Ten years later, in 1924, at least two students were admitted to the Hay River school with tuberculosis. By 1925, seven students had died. J. R. Miller (2003) reports that church officials “worried that the losses would ‘make recruiting impossible at (Fort) Macpherson (sic) this summer’” (Miller 2003:306). Nothing was recorded about their concern for the children, at least not in Miller's reports. In 1929, 8 out of 25 students died from what the mission nurse believed was tuberculosis. The next year, another student died from tuberculosis. The investigation showed that, due to “the lack of medical facilities in the northland, she was not medically examined before being admitted to the school,” to which the principal reported to Toronto “that the trouble which eventually proved fatal was of long standing and hereditary” (Miller 2003:305). In 1937, the last year the residential school operated, a seven-year-old boy was “killed by dogs at the rear of the boys' playground” (Miller 2003:312).

A. Richard King (1967) told the following from one Aboriginal who had been a student at “Mopass” residential school (probably Carcross⁸) in the mid 1920s:

They starved us up there! We got one egg a year — at Easter. The rest of the time we got dogfood mush (corn meal) and skim milk. Them in the staff dining room, though, they got bacon and eggs every day. We never saw fruit from one Christmas to the next, but they sure had it. Why some of those kids just starved to death. One year there was six of ’em died right there at the school ... starved to death! (King 1967:37).

One participant talked about her siblings who had attended residential school. Aqpik’s sister was five or six when she went to residential school. So scared about leaving home was she that her parents sent her younger brother with her even though he was only three or four. Both died at the Hay River residential school. No one told the parents that they had died. No one told the family why they had died. The school never said anything. The local clergy never said anything. No personal items were returned home — no clothing or anything else that had belonged to the children “Dad said one day he heard of the boy passing away. The girl grieved so much she passed too” (PS:Aqpik). Some time later, another sister ended up at a different residential school. She was there “September, October, November, December. January, they flew her body (home), but none of her clothing and no explanation of how or why she died (PS:Aqpik). A young girl at the time this happened, Aqpik was still haunted years later when answering my questions: Why didn’t someone come from the church to break the news? Why didn’t someone come in person to speak to her parents to explain what had happened?

Aggie Ulasovetz (n.d.) has shared stories about deaths in the residential schools online. During her fifth year at All Saints residential school in Aklavik, Aggie was responsible for looking after her younger sibling, Louisa. Louisa had trouble adjusting to the school. She eventually became ill and was hospitalized.

Louisa wept a lot at school in Aklavik. Three weeks after school started she became very ill and was hospitalized. A couple of weeks later Aggie also became ill and was admitted to the Aklavik hospital, into the same ward as Louisa. Christmas came and passed. The girls grew weaker each day. Louisa, unable to sleep, cried late one night. The crying turned to screaming as Louisa’s pain increased. Aggie was worried. Never before had she heard Louisa in such obvious pain.

“Why doesn’t somebody help her?” Aggie said loudly. Tears trickled down her cheeks as she softly cried for Louisa. Louisa’s distressing screams continued, until a nurse came, not to comfort her, but to spank her, for making too much noise. (Ulasovetz n.d)

Louisa died soon afterwards. What was experienced in the North was mirrored in other parts of Canada.

Goota spoke of having gone to a Roman Catholic residential school when she was very young — five or six years old. What has haunted her the most was the number of children who died at the residential school. Reports of abuse and missing children were filed with the RCMP but nothing was done. Files were lost. School staff buried the dead children on school grounds and planted a garden over the graves to hide the traces. Goota and the other school children were forced to eat potatoes grown in that garden ... “Do you realize what that means?” (PR:Goota). I thought I did but later discovered how little I had really understood of that horror. To me, the act showed the utmost contempt for the children and their sensitivities. To Goota, whose Athabaskan culture shunned death to such an extent that people would move away from their home rather than enter the place of the dead, eating vegetables grown on the graves of her dead friends was comparable to cannibalism.

Unfortunately, these stories are not unique. So many children died or disappeared without anyone telling their families that, for many Aboriginal people like Aqpik, finding out the specifics of what happened is important. *Where are the children?* was the name of an exhibit and project “launched at the National Archives of Canada” and supported by the Legacy of Hope Foundation (Legacy 2009). It focused on the missing children and used that issue as a way to inform others about the tragedies of the residential schools.

Inadequate Funding

Other problems also developed in the residential schools. Many of them can be traced back to funding problems — or rather the lack of funding. Inadequate funding contributed to inadequate food for students (though not always for teachers), to inadequate and unsafe housing, to overcrowding (as one way to get more funding), to inadequate health care which (along with overcrowding and poor diet) contributed to the high mortality rate, and to inadequate education. Many reasons account for the inadequate funding⁹, but one major factor, as noted by D. J. Hall,

was an attitude rooted in colonialism and racism that “the Indian cannot go out from school, making his own way and compete with the white man ... He has not the physical, mental or moral get-up to enable him to compete. He cannot do it” (A-Grant 1996:95).

If “he (could not) do it,” then the government saw no need to provide adequate funding for Aboriginal education. According to Milloy (2003), by 1938, the federal government was paying \$180 per capita for Aboriginal children in residential schools, while the Manitoba government paid \$550 per capital for non-Aboriginal children attending The School for Boys, and the Roman Catholic Church paid \$294 per capita to St. Nortbert’s Orphanage (RCAP 1996 v1:355-356) and \$320 per capita to St. Joseph’s Orphanage (Milloy 2003:103). (Even as late as 2009, Aboriginal schools on reserves continue to receive 20% to 40% less funding than do provincially-funded schools (Spielmann 2009:36)).

Racism and colonialist-type attitudes that saw Aboriginal people as “dying out” before a more advanced EuroCanadian civilization were also reflected in the government’s lack of funding for Aboriginal medical services. In the 1920s, for example, the government budget for medical care for approximately 105,000 Aboriginal people was estimated at \$10,000. During the same period, the City of Ottawa alone paid \$30,000 for approximately the same number of non-Aboriginal people suffering from one disease alone — tuberculosis (Milloy 2003:96).

Such callousness in the face of Aboriginal children’s suffering likely cannot be explained except in terms of racism, and colonialism. In some cases, particularly where the government controlled the finances and authorized the medical services to be made available, the evidence suggests deliberate genocide.

Relationships in the Residential Schools

Goota (Dene) believed that no relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people existed in the residential schools. No relationship was possible. EuroCanadian and Aboriginal children may have attended the same residential school, but the two were never allowed to mix in the school she attended. Relationships with the staff were equally impossible. As she asked, “How could you have a relationship with someone who had power over you?” (PS:Goota).

A relationship, of course, did exist but it was not a relationship built on respect but one built on power differentials and racist attitudes. Racism was expressed in policies and inadequate funding at the institutional level, and in the attitudes of many of the staff, in the types of physical and sexual abuse many experienced, and in the discrimination and/or segregation Aboriginal children experienced when around non-Aboriginal children either in the classroom, or in extracurricular activities such as sports and music.

One of the teachers (at one residential school) submitted a remarkable report on a hostel term during which the staff and Inuit children had had a “satisfactory and happy experience”, despite the fact that their accommodations were “very cold because all the heat escaped through the chimneys, there was a constant fire hazard”, the children’s clothes were “unsatisfactory”, and the children received a most non-traditional diet of corn beef and cabbage at most dinners, while the staff ate their “monthly fresh food supply” at the same table, so as to give “the youngsters an opportunity to model their table manners from those of the staff” (RCAP v1 1996:363).

Summary

From the data and participant testimonies presented so far, one has to conclude that the relationship found in residential schools was a distorted relationship based on domination by one group over another. Aboriginal students suffered physical and sexual abuse at the hands of European/EuroCanadian staff; they were removed from loving environments and placed in institutional facilities where they never learned the interpersonal skills that would enable them to live outside those facilities and develop loving relationships of their own. Their traditions and values were denigrated; they were forced to assimilate into cultures completely foreign from anything they knew; they suffered discrimination and racism in schools. No matter what harm was being done to Aboriginal children, governments and the ACC did nothing to correct the situation. The lesson was clear: Aboriginal students and their parents did not count and were not treated with the respect and consideration due to human beings. The poverty endemic throughout the school system abuse and the abuse found in many residential schools throughout Canada was tolerated because it fitted in with the intent expressed by officials in the Canadian government and religious authorities to either assimilate the Aboriginal population or to shape it to the need for cheap local labour. Such intentions were colonialistic in nature.

The accounts found throughout this chapter have shaped the dominant narrative surrounding residential schools, a narrative which circulates in Aboriginal communities throughout the continent. Such accounts have become iconic, no less powerful for being real stories about real people. While less well-known by the EuroCanadian and other non-Aboriginal people in Canada, the Churches (including the ACC) began struggling with the residential school issue long before the rest of the Canadian population became aware of it. In fact, a good portion of the twentieth century Anglican history has been spent coming to grips with the magnitude of the problem, “reforming itself so as to preclude future episodes of the same”, and supporting Aboriginal initiatives geared to “healing and reconciliation”. There was only one problem: What was I to do with the evidence I was accumulating from participants and from archival research that did not fit in with the dominant narrative?

11. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT TWISTS: RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL CHALLENGES TO THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE

Overview

We were not taken away by force to the schools!
(PR:Kiawak)

The dominant narrative surrounding residential schools at the national level states only how destructive the schools were, and how much children in the schools suffered. Exceptions might exist, but they are seen to be few. The culprit, according to many, were the colonialist policies and colonialist attitudes found in both the Canadian government and church organizations.

My research found considerable evidence supporting the dominant narrative; however, there was one problem: what was I to do with the evidence that did not fit in with that narrative?

The evidence presented in this chapter¹ of a different narrative that participants shared with me and research suggested as presented below brings new questions to light.

Two points must be noted, at the start. First, a reminder that residential school survivors who had been particularly abused or traumatized in schools likely would not volunteer to participate in my research project. Not having their stories would skew the overall picture that I discovered. Secondly, no participant — Aboriginal or EuroCanadian — questioned the veracity of those who experienced physical and/or sexual abuse. Aboriginal participants, in particular, wanted to make it clear that they were not questioning any individual's account of the abuse he or she suffered in the schools.

Twists in the Narratives: Good Memories of the Schools

Agnes Grant spoke “with hundreds of people who have attended Residential schools, but [could] name only a few who unabashedly relate happy memories” (A-Grant 1996:28-29). (One project that would be worth exploring in the future would be to plot those who had happy memories and those who did not to examine some of the differences between the two groups but that is a project for the future.) Believing what Agnes Grant had stated, I assumed that the majority of stories I would discover would be negative. What I discovered was the opposite.

Kiawak's predominant memory of the schools was positive. He had good memories of staff members whose influence had helped him survive over the years. In fact, while

recognizing that bad things happened in the schools and some people did not benefit at all from them, he also felt:

It's discouraging as well for the churches whose heart and souls went into this. I know some of the nuns that ... they would be, in my opinion, the kind of Mother Teresas. They looked after children well. They were mothers to them. They were nurses to them. They were teachers to them. Because the children had no home. They were orphans. They had no other way of obtaining what they were obtaining there. They weren't the best surroundings but hey, you know ... (PR:Kiawak).

Kiawak was adamant that this other story about residential schools be shared, and was angry at scholars who claimed that there was nothing good about residential schools. Once, after bumping into a former professor and finding out he was researching the residential school issue,

[Kiawak] said, "In all your research have you ever run into anybody — one person at least — who has had anything positive to say about residential schools?"

He said, "No."

... I said, "Bullshit. You could not have talked to people. ... You want to hear what you want to hear and you are working for people who pay you to hear that ..."

And he said, "Well, you know, there's probably ... but I haven't..."

"You never talked to me. I was your student once upon a time. Why didn't you talk to me?" ... He couldn't answer that.

I just bristle when I hear things like that. (PR:Kiawak)

Other participants expressed similar sentiments. Tiktak had attended both a residential school and a hostel in the North. She said that "school was not as bad for me as for others ... I have good memories too" (PR:Tiktak). Moriah (EuroCanadian) told how some elders had told her "they knew they wanted to go and they were happy they went" (PR:Moriah). Kudloo's mother always talked about the good things she had learned at the schools. Neither Kudloo nor Pootoogook, whose mother had attended a residential school in B.C., had ever heard anything

bad about the schools from the family members who had gone to the schools (PR:Kudloo; PS:Pootoogook). Kavik refused to be interviewed because her experiences at the two hostels she had attended had been positive; she had not experienced any abuse: “wasn’t forced to go either” (PS:Kavik). Perhaps I had stumbled across one of the differences between residential schools in Canada’s North and those in southern Canada, and/or a second narrative to the schools.

Jessica personally knew some Aboriginal people who spoke of good experiences in the schools. So did Alice. Villers had stories about Aboriginal people who could say good things the schools — such as having the opportunity to learn hockey. He also told how some who had not gone were “envious of the ones that went actually to the residential school because it was an opportunity to be involved in sports and things like that” (PR:Villers). Similarly, Erica told about one man who regretted not having gone to residential school:

Dad brought me to the school. I ran away. My Dad didn’t make me go back. And now I can’t read and write, so how can I get a job? (PR:Erica)

According to one Anglican clergy (Frank), students experienced a lot of loneliness in the schools, but the overall experiences of many was not negative. Many Aboriginal people told him, “They taught us how to sing ... they taught us to read .. they taught us God’s word ... they were our friends” (PR:Frank). Another clergy had heard similar stories, although she also shared some of the negative things about the schools she had been told:

I mean, a lot of what people talk about is quite positive. They learned to speak English. They learned about God. They learned a lot about their faith. Many of the elders in the community, whose faith is very strong, will attribute that to their residential school experience. ... most of what I hear is positive (PR:Linda).

In fact, several EuroCanadian participants in Yellowknife asked me for information about what had happened in residential schools because the negative stories in the media were so different from what their Aboriginal friends were telling them. No Aboriginal participant questioned the veracity of what any survivor told. What some did challenge, however, was the conclusion many have drawn from such stories — that residential schools were destructive and evil. They wanted people to realize there was another story.

Lana (African) had attended an Anglican boarding school in Africa. She came to our interview loaded with three huge photograph albums that she wanted to share with me. She had good memories of the boarding school she had attended, and was passionate about sharing her feelings about residential schools. In some ways, her experiences mirrored those of Aboriginal children in the North. She lost her traditional and tribal languages; she lost her culture. She had been in an abusive relationship. Rather than attributing the tragedies of her life to having been in a boarding school, she credited the school — and more importantly — a strong relationship with one teacher in particular — to having given her the skills and strength to survive and overcome obstacles in life.

Shortly after my last fieldtrip to the North, I attended a friend's birthday party when Raj (Indian) approached me. He told me that he had attended a Presbyterian boarding school in the Caribbean and had had a great experience there. Having said that, he rejoined his friends at the party.

While neither Lana nor Raj had experiences with residential schools in Canada's western North, both wanted me to know that residential schools in themselves were not the great colonialist evil so often portrayed in media accounts. Regardless of what happened in Canada's North and in Canadian residential schools, their comments serve as a reminder not to avoid over-simplifications and over-generalizations.

Archival research also revealed positive memories about residential schools from survivors. Mabel Loutit, who had attended St. Peter's in the late 1920s/early 1930s, said in a 1971 interview: "in those days, I thought it was really wonderful... I really enjoyed going to school then. ..." (Johns 1971:iii). Sarah Simon, who had attended St. Peter's as an adult with her husband, wrote:

When we went back to the boarding school, we were treated like little school children, my husband and I. But, whatever we were taught, I thank God that it was pretty well used. I was very happy and thankful that I went back to that school. (Carlson and Dumont 1997:21).

The residential school issue in Canada's North is more complex and more nuanced than I first assumed.

Twists in the Narratives: Responding to Main Charges Against the Northern Residential Schools

Sexual and Physical Abuse

Just because participants had good memories of the schools and talked about positive experiences did not mean they had suffered no abuse. Tiktak said that she had not suffered any sexual abuse, but she had been beaten. Kiawak talked about positive relationships with some members of the staff, but he also said he had been hit ... but not every day. As he put it:

So you got smacked once ... you didn't get smacked every day. There are 365 days of the year. So if 300 are those are good but you only remember the bad ones, well, there's your life you know (PR:Kiawak).

When asked about residential schools and lawsuits, Chantal stated that, as far as she knew, no lawsuits had been filed against the ACC in the Northwest Territories (PR:Chantal). This was later confirmed by other ACC clergy, including Aboriginal clergy. Sam went so far as to claim:

[the Anglicans in the Arctic] did not have one single case of sexual abuse either known about, reported, or no abuse resulted in a court case or anything like that.

No charges of abuse in Anglican residential schools in the NT may have been laid but, as mentioned earlier (Chapter 10), Kangoak did tell about sexual abuse by an ACC clergy in the parish, not the residential schools. The ACC record is not as clean as Sam and others might believe. Sam continued:

In fact, there was one ... who finally left the Roman Catholic experience because of sexual abuse it seems, and said it was like leaving hell and going to heaven. Well, that was in the local newspaper when he changed to go to one of our schools (PR:Sam).

(Who told the story to the local newspaper — the student or representatives of the Anglican residential school? If representatives of the ACC told the story to the local newspaper, then it may represent nothing more than competition between the ACC and RCC. If the comment really was the student's own opinion, then we have evidence of another narrative regarding residential school.)

The situation in the YT is different from that in the NT. While no lawsuits have been filed against the Anglican Church in the NT, lawsuits have been filed against it in the YT. I was welcomed wherever I went in the NT, and was never warned against going to certain communities because of their attitudes towards the church or EuroCanadians; the same cannot be said about the YT. Several residential schools in the NT were designed to specifically help Aboriginal people hold onto their culture and language, but not in the YT. Furthermore, Janna, who had been a supervisor at a residential school in the NT and had replaced someone at Carcross for a while, refused to say anything more about Carcross because she had nothing good to say. The contrast between the YT, where someone who worked in the schools had nothing good to say about the primary residential school in the YT and the NT, where some students had good things to say about residential schools in the NT, is stark. In his study of a Yukon residential school (probably Carcross), Richard King (1967) discussed factions within residential school personnel, conflicts that had resulted in the “removal of the principal and four teachers from the school” (King 1967:65), tensions among groups espousing different teaching methodologies, a defensive atmosphere that prevailed between the non-teaching staff and teachers, and the deleterious impact such conflicts had on students (King 1967:57ff).

One spectre to emerge from the discussion about physical abuse was that of perceived abuse. Might something perceived by Europeans/EuroCanadians as “normal” be perceived by Aboriginal people as “physical abuse?” That question was raised by Alice’s story. Alice (EuroCanadian) attended a residential school in the YT where she interacted with Aboriginal children and made friendships there which have continued to last. One friend asked her to appear as a witness in her lawsuit against the ACC/Government, and testify to the abuse that her friend had experienced in the school. Alice answered, saying she had no idea what abuse her friend was talking about. Her friend said, “Well, we had chores to do.” Alice replied:

Yes, well I had chores to do. That’s part of living as a family. You’ve got to learn to help in the home. Not to have a free life. You’ve got to learn to help your family, even if you are in a boarding school or in a foster home. You have your chores to do just as much as anybody else. ... I know they had chores to do. The girls had to help in the laundry. They had to help in the kitchen. They had to help with the cleaning of the dorm. The boys and girls both ... had to help with setting tables and clearing tables. The boys actually helped with the dishwashing. And

there was the mopping of the floor. But it's all things that you would normally have done in your own home. (PR:Alice).

The difference between abuse and perceived abuse has important ramifications on the current relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans but tends to be ignored by scholars focusing primarily on factual evidence and undisputed abuse. It would also be worth exploring to see if those who had good memories of their days in the schools also had good relationships with any of the staff².

Taken Away By Force, Separated From Parents — And Not

The dominant narrative is that children were forcibly removed from their homes and sent away to residential schools far away from their parents. According to the dominant narrative, this removal from parents represented a deliberate intent to destroy Aboriginal identity. What is frequently ignored in the narrative are some basic facts: (1) some parents wanted their children to go to school believing that education was important for adapting to the EuroCanadian society encroaching on their traditional lives; (2) not all Aboriginal children attended residential schools, even in southern Canada; and (3) “traditional lifestyles” varied considerably across the nation depending, not only on the nations involved, but also on the amount of EuroCanadian contact they had already experienced and the level of acculturation they had accepted.

As mentioned earlier, Kavik had good memories of the schools and affirmed that she hadn't been taken by force to the school either. Kiawak was more emphatic. Even before I had a chance to sit down and turn on the recorder, he stated, “We were not taken away by force to the schools!” (PR:Kiawak). Several factors had pushed him into the schools. The first was family life. He came from a large family and there were problems looking after all the children. When the children were old enough, they were simply expected to go to residential school. The second was his grandfather who challenged him:

Look, living off the land is fine. The old ways were good. But times are changing. Maybe you should think of changing with that and maybe you've got more potential than trapping. My grandfather said that to me. So he pointed me in the direction of the school (PR:Kiawak).

Other participants, like Kavik, also made it clear that they (or their parents) had chosen to go to residential school. Pootoogook told about her mother wanting to go residential school to get away from a bad home life, and being happy about going. Kudloo said that she had never gone to residential school but her brother had been a handful to raise, so her parents decided to send him to one.

Some Aboriginal children, like Kudloo, never attended residential school. Some, like Aqpik and Markoosie, attended for a short time, but were later taken out of school by their parents, and continued their education in a day school once their parents moved into a settled community.

Sam was adamant that Aboriginal children were not taken away by force. He had personally recruited children to attend a particular ACC residential school / hostel during the 1950s. According to him, no children were taken by force in the ACC Arctic; he could not understand why the government would want to take children away from their families in the south. His approach to recruiting students for the one residential school was to visit the family, tell parents what schools were, and explain that children would be looked after and given new clothes. He would then answer questions they had and give them the consent form to sign if they were agreeable to sending their children to the schools. According to Sam, parents generally signed the consent form because they wanted their children to learn English:

I cannot — we cannot understand — this business of people in the south — First Nations kids — taken from their parents and put into schools with no objection from their parents. ... Because that never happened with our kids — ever. [They] found it important that their children could speak the language of the trader ... so that they weren't cheated. And ... as jobs began to emerge ... people realized that their children would be better fitted for their future if they could speak English — or, in Quebec, French (PR:Sam).

Other EuroCanadian old-timers, such as Erica, Arthur, and Alice, confirmed that not all children were taken by force from their parents and homes.

Archival research confirmed what I was being told about residential schools in the NT and YT — particularly in the earlier and smaller residential schools.

Aboriginal attendance in the northern residential schools was never one hundred percent. Furthermore, even if children did go to residential school, families were not always far away.

St. Peter's Mission School in Hay River accepted Aboriginal children from the community and from further away, EuroCanadian children, children of mixed-heritage, orphans and, when other schooling options did not exist, children from poor families who could not afford to pay for schooling (ACC 2008a). Principal Marsh wanted to take children from their parents and keep them full-time, but parents and children had the choice of how successful he would be. Sometimes children stayed home from school precisely because they disapproved of how they were being disciplined (Johns 1971).

A series of letters from 1923 written by the principal of the time introduced a student, gave some information about the family background and some information about their time at the mission school. While the letters were probably written to garner support for the school, they do reveal that students at the school were not always "pure-blood" Aboriginal, nor had they been "forced" to go to the school, nor were they always far from their parents. One European/EuroCanadian father sent his three mixed-heritage daughters to St. Peter's while he was away on HBC business. Another sent his daughters there until fortunes improved (and, according to Miller, never returned (Miller 2003:506)). In one case, the orphaned children of an RCMP officer who had recently died, were sent to St. Peter's (ACC Archives M71-4). One Aboriginal father gave his daughters away following the death of his wife while he went out on the land with his sons; they ended up at St. Peter's. One brother had graduated from St. Peter's, had returned home and was working; he sent his sisters to St. Peter's. While a number of students did come from over one thousand kilometres away (for example, Fort McPherson and the Arctic region), others had families in Hay River. One student who boarded at St. Peter's had his siblings who lived at home with the family and attended St. Peter's as day students. Other students had parents who actually worked at St. Peter's. Some students were turned away because the school was full (ACC Archives M71-4).

Contrary to the dominant narrative, St. John's Eskimo Residential School at Shingle Point on the Arctic Ocean/Beaufort Sea was built specifically to allow children to be close to

their families. An Anglican day school had opened in 1922 built out of driftwood (Marsh 1967:7) but, following a major epidemic in the region, closed in 1925. If children were to continue their education, they would have to go over twelve hundred kilometres south to Hay River. It took a few years to work out details, arrange for full-time staff and set up in “buildings no longer required by the Hudson’s Bay Company for their own use” (Marsh 1967:7) but, in 1929, children no longer had to go south; they could stay at St. John’s. Church records indicate that adults (whether parents, American whalers or other Europeans/EuroCanadians in the region is unknown) sometimes came in the evening for lessons of their own (D-Arctic Mission (1932).

Coppermine Tent Hostel was another residential school built specifically so that children would be close to their parents and could easily return home, and would reflect more of the lifestyle to which they were accustomed. The vision was that children would live in tents that approximated what they were used to rather than living in a residential building (Sperry 2005:135). The school would run during summer months, so students could return home and be with their parents the rest of the year. Students would come from nearby communities — no further than 80 km from Coppermine — so they would not feel overwhelmed by the distance from their parents. Such was the intent but, as RCAP noted, there existed “considerable distance between intention and reality” (RCAP v1 1996:363). According to Sam, one reason why the school closed was because parents felt their children were being short-changed by going to school only during the summer; they wanted their children to have more school-time (PR:Sam).

The major residential school in the Yukon was Carcross; this was the school that treaty Aboriginal people (i.e., those whose nations had signed treaties with the government) attended. All Protestant Aboriginal children in the Yukon who went to school then went to Carcross (King 1967:36). Once the Canadian government assumed responsibility for education in the Yukon in 1956, Carcross was changed from providing Grades 1 through 8 to offering only the primary school grades. Older children were transferred to day school in larger communities and boarded at the hostels (King 1967:38). Non-treaty Aboriginal children as well as children of mixed heritage went to either St. Paul’s Hostel in Dawson (Miller 2003:297) or St. Agnes’ Hostel in Whitehorse. Parents had to pay for their children to board at the St. Agnes’ Hostel. Priority was given to EuroCanadian children and those of mixed heritage, but orphans, destitute wards of the government, and Aboriginal children attending city day schools also boarded at the hostel

(ACC 2008I). Coates and Morrison do point out that most children at the hostels also had contact with their parents, leading them to conclude that the hostels were “far less intrusive, and hence less disruptive, than the Carcross residential school” (Coates and Morrison 1988:211).

Forced Assimilation, Loss of Language — And Not

According to the dominant discourse, residential schools were designed to deliberately destroy the children’s cultural identities. While evidence does exist that some children were punished for speaking their own language in the northern residential schools, evidence also exists affirming, at least for some, not only their continued use of their own language but also their right to speak their language.

No debate exists about the pre-eminence of English in the schools. English was the language of instruction in residential schools. Residential school children were essentially in an English-immersion environment. Janna said that English was the common language at the schools since students came from all over the North and did not necessarily speak the same languages. According to Janna, traditional languages were never banned at the schools where she worked, at least not during her time there. She said that she had never learned any Aboriginal language, but when new students arrived who did not speak English, she would call on other students to translate for them. Interestingly, although Janna said that she had never learned Aboriginal languages in the early part of the interview, later in the interview she revealed that she had learned some key phrases such as “Quiet!” or “Sit down!” (PR:Janna).

Regardless of official policies or preferred practices for residential schools, many Aboriginal children continued to speak their own language(s) outside of class. Nowyook stated that was fortunate however, in being an older student when he went to residential school.

At that age, I had enough vocabulary built for the foundation of my dialect that I could regain it when I came back. I would not use it when I was away ... maybe on weekends, when I was with my peers who were from the same area, the same dialect — we’re out on the weekend and we used our language outside the school (PR:Nowyook).

Even so, students had to speak English during school hours and eventually thinking in English.

By the time 8 months were over and you go back, you’re limited in a way of remembering. So when you go back — because I was going back to a

completely no English environment when I came back from school, I gained everything back. And so, I was fortunate that was how I kept my regional dialect — at least the basis of my regional dialect because I was going back from school and not using any word of English after spending the whole summer. (PR:Nowyook)

Alice agreed with Nowyook. Away from staff, children talked their own language (PR:Alice). Some even argued with the principal of their residential school for the right to speak their own language. Oqalik told me how he did not hesitate to speak his own language even within the school building in Inuvik. One day, the principal caught him speaking his language and ordered him to stop. Oqalik told him to take it up with his grandmother, and left. What he did not know until later was that the principal did. A few days later, his grandmother came to school with his parents to meet with the principal. The next time Oqalik ran into the principal, the principal told him that it was all right to speak his own language (PR:Oqalik).

Sam was emphatic:

They went to the school — the English school — but they all spoke their own language at home. And the people that looked after them — the Native people — spoke their language. I spoke the language. They never lost their language. ... There wasn't one, that I know, who could not become bilingual (PR:Sam).

In fact, according to Sam, some who attended ACC residential schools later became interpreters. Frank, another member of clergy, told me that, while English had been the language of instruction at the schools, worship services at the schools were often in Aboriginal languages. Erica agreed, saying that she knew about one hostel where “they had services in three languages: English, Gwich'in, and Inuit — in the school ... many people who were in the school and didn't lose their language” (PR:Erica).

Archival evidence confirmed such memories.

At St. Peter's residential school at Hay River in 1910, the Session Papers 1911 stated that students' classroom work included “reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, geography, dictation, and holy scripture (sic) in the English and Stari Tukud languages [*italics added*]...” (Johns 1971:19). Vale's report mentions other traditional skills students learned:

the system of one-half day in the classroom, and the other at practical work to fit them to meet the conditions they could find on their return to

their homes. For the boys, this meant limited gardening, building of log houses, use of tools in the general repair work, care of sled dogs, and a certain amount of trapping... (Johns 1971:13)

In the 1923 letters written by the principal at Hay River, two students are identified as acting as interpreters for others at the school. It seems that, while use of Aboriginal languages may have been discouraged, some residential school staff were aware of the need for children who continued to use their languages. According to one former student who talked about her time at St. Peter's when the Rev. W.B. Singleton was principal (1927-1938), she spent approximately two years there and completed three grades. According to Mabel Loutit:

in those days, I thought it was really wonderful... I really enjoyed going to school then. ... They never taught us [religion] during school. Only in the evening when we had prayers and going to bed, and in the morning, and at supper or lunch time. During school they didn't teach religion. ... after I quit school, [Mrs. Singleton] used to teach us to read Slavi, and I can still read the Slavi language (Johns 1971:iii).

Church records from Hay River include one teacher's crib notes with common phrases in English and an Aboriginal language (ACC Archives M71-4).

St. Peter's differed from other residential schools. It was used not only to educate children but also to train Aboriginal adults who would serve as Anglican catechists and missionaries. Among the noted graduates of St. Peter's Mission school were the Rev. James Edward Sittichinli and his wife Julia, the Rev. Thomas Umaok and his wife Susie, James and Sarah Simon, and many other catechists and interpreters in the North (Scott 2005:40). In talking about her time at Hay River, Sarah Simon presented not only a different perspective of the residential school from what scholars often portray, but also a different relationship with the principal than might be expected (and one reminiscent of Oqalik's). While this might be attributed to the fact that she was an adult when she attended Hay River, or to the fact that she was of mixed heritage and may have learned to be more direct and forthright in her dealings with others than was usual among Aboriginal people, her story accentuates the diversity that existed within residential schools.

After her marriage, both she and her husband became missionaries. To train for missionary work, they had to go to Hay River. Sarah already spoke and read English. Her husband spoke, but could not read, English:

When we went away to school, our other little girl was just two years old. We were told when we went to Hay River School that we were not to speak Loucheaux [Gwich'in] to our children. The principal said no other language but English. He wanted children to talk really good English. But the children didn't listen. They all kept their language (Carlson and Dumont 1997:21).

The principal (who is not named in her published account) tried to get students to agree not to speak anything but English during Lent — in other words, they would be giving up their own language. (This implies that, regardless of what the rules were, children were speaking their own language and staff knew about it.) Sarah, who had already shown herself to be quite headstrong and able to stand up to authority figures, went into the principal's office and asked him:

"And what language will you be speaking to your wife during Lent?" When he replied, "English," she said, "And I will speak to my own husband in his own language." The principal agreed they should be free to speak in their own language. (Carlson and Dumont 1997:22).

Shingle Point residential school may have been built in a particularly remote region of the Arctic, far from any EuroCanadian settlements, but its remoteness may have contributed to socializing between teachers and students. According to the diocesan magazine, *Mission*, students and teachers took part in a carol service that alternated between "Eskimo and English carols" (D-Arctic Mission (1933). Even while granting that the magazine presents a biased account, geared to showing success in its missionary endeavours so as to encourage financial support, the fact that "Eskimo and English carols" are even mentioned suggests that deliberate efforts to "kill the Indianness" that were so prevalent in southern Canada may not have been as prevalent in Canada North.

Coppermine Tent Hostel was designed so students would learn both standard government curriculum and a "land-based" curriculum to ensure they held onto traditional skills. The staff would consist of local Inuit, "chosen especially for their interest in the welfare

of the children” and would be “able, and encouraged, to communicate with the children in their own language” (Sperry 2005:135).

Stringer Hall in Inuvik may have stressed the need to speak English but, at least at one period in its history, it had two residential supervisors who were “young Inuit women who, contrary to the common myth, spoke to the children in their mother-tongue. A number of the other employees also used aboriginal expressions and gestures with the children” (Clifton 2008).

What was evident from the interviews was how different the situation was in the NT from what it was in southern Canada. While examining why the differences exist is outside the parameters of this thesis, the fact that they exist has ramifications on the overall relationship.

Forced Assimilation, Loss of Culture — And Not

While studies on residential schools exist that describe efforts made to immerse Aboriginal children into EuroCanadian culture by deliberately destroying expressions of Aboriginal cultures, several EuroCanadian participants talked about how Aboriginal students were encouraged to practice aspects of their own culture — and, in some cases, how traditional life was actually celebrated. It must be noted, however, that no Aboriginal participant, however, talked about such initiatives for preserving or celebrating traditional cultures.

Alice, a EuroCanadian who had attended a residential school for one year when she was a child, said that students’ hair was cut at the residential school she attended and traditional clothing burned, but not all cultural traditions were banned or lost. She told about a First Nations woman on staff at one residential school who taught the girls bead work “so they wouldn’t lose the craft completely” (PR:Alice). Furthermore,

... when [students] were away from staff, they were actually talking their own languages, and they were doing a little bit of hunting, and — like, if you catch gopher and squirrels — and they’d skin them and did smudge fire and cook it and, with the berries ... they would say to me, “Can you get some sugar?” (PR:Alice)

Sam talked about the Tent Hostel in Kugluktuk. According to Sam and confirming what other research had revealed, the whole idea behind that hostel was to help Aboriginal children preserve their culture (PR:Sam). Yes, children would be given new clothes when they first

arrived in the school and their old clothes taken away, but when they returned home, their old clothes — most of which were in pretty good shape, according to Sam — would be returned to them. According to Kelly (EuroCanadian), who may have attended the hostel during that period, how Aboriginal children were treated in the school when the missionary was present was quite different from how they were treated when he was away, and he was away much of the time (PR:Kelly). She did not elaborate.

Archival evidence revealed a similar picture. According to the Rev. Thomas Jabez Marsh, St. Peter's Mission at Hay River was "seldom, if ever, without fish on our tables." It had a small garden and was able to grow some of its own food. If necessary, Marsh would hire local people to hunt game for food for the schools; he also permitted "the older boys to hunt small game in the surrounding bush and snare rabbits when they abound" (Johns 1971:8).

St. John's Eskimo Residential School at Shingle Point actually had two Inuvialuit from nearby Herschel Island working as supervisors at the school: the Rev. Thomas and Susie Umaok, along with other Inuvialuit working in other capacities. The result of having Inuvialuit among the staff as teachers was a residential school that provided a blending of cultures in the curriculum. Alstrom writes:

The boys are taught to hunt the caribou, the birds, white whales, etc., as well as to make nets, catch the fish, dry them, etc. The girls are taught cooking, how best to utilize everything that comes to them, and in many other ways to become suitable citizens in Eskimo settlements in days to come. The fact that we have two Eskimo hunters at the school who take the boys hunting and fishing, etc., and two Eskimo women who teach the girls to sew boots, clothes, etc., is sufficient proof of the seriousness of our intention regarding these matters (Coates and Morrison 1988:141-142).

All Saints Indian Residential School at Aklavik was too far north for any food to be grown locally. All food had to be imported from Fort Simpson, some 1200 km away. Consequently, students were allowed to trap animals some of the time:

In March, Aggie and the other children went trapping for muskrats. Just like back home. They walked about a mile and a half to one of the many nearby lakes, pockmarked with rat pushups, to set traps. Any muskrats that were caught were taken back to the residential school, where they

were stretched and dried, prior to being sold at the Hudson's Bay store. The girl's supervisor kept track of and rationed the money for them.

In April, before the river ice became unsafe, all of their traps were gathered and returned to the school. The daily walks were shorter because they could no longer cross the river to the lakes to visit their traps (Ulasovetz n.d)

Inuvik, built in 1959, was located in “no man's land” between the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in territories to replace Aklavik which was prone to flooding and had nowhere to expand. Sir Alexander Mackenzie Day School opened in 1959; it had separate wings for Anglican (Stringer Hall) and Roman Catholic (Grollier Hall) elementary school children. Not all students were Aboriginal and not all staff were EuroCanadian.

A few of the administrators, teachers and supervisors were aboriginal. At Stringer Hall, for example, two of the six residential supervisors were young Inuit women who, contrary to the common myth, spoke to the children in their mother-tongue. A number of the other employees also used aboriginal expressions and gestures with the children.

Similarly, not all the children who attended residential schools were aboriginal. At Stringer Hall, about 12% of the 280 students were non-aboriginal — the children of merchants, missionaries and trappers from tiny settlements where no schools existed (Clifton 2008).

Impact of the Schools — Devastating and Not

Despite the many positive reports, it was clear that Aboriginal participants who had attended residential schools and were willing to talk with me had gone through a rough period in their lives. Several mentioned problems (such as alcoholism) and the tremendous amount of anger they had to work through before being able to let go the pain. One participant said that the bishop of the Arctic, who had attended Stringer Hall as a child (Carlson and Dumont 2003:23-35), “does not speak fondly of being taken away from home and family, that's for sure” (PR:Linda). Several were still haunted to some extent by painful memories. Even where they have learned to forgive and let go, and have found strength in their faith — whether Christianity or traditional spirituality or a blend of the two — it was obvious, as they shared their stories, how painful some memories were, even after so many years. In some cases, as evident in Akpapalik's email, anger was hidden below the surface, emerging on occasion.

It was also clear that several who categorized their experiences at the residential schools as being positive focused on what they had learned or gained: reading, writing, sports, nursing, singing hymns rather than on overall experiences. Kiawak focused, in a way, on the relationships — the people who helped him. So did Lana. How much that personal relationship may have influenced their perceptions of the overall experience is something to be explored in the future. Several Aboriginal (and some EuroCanadian participants) mentioned that most of the Aboriginal politicians had come through the residential school system and probably would not have been able to be as successful in modern-day society or serve as politicians had it not been for the residential schools.

Would Aboriginal people have been better off without the residential schools? Were the schools really the source of today's problems among Aboriginal peoples? Would life have been better if contact had not occurred? These were questions that old-timers seemed to be asking themselves and answering them even though I had not asked them. Some old-timers, such as Arthur, believed that it was having general contact with EuroCanadian peoples that was the root of many of the problems. As Joanne put it:

... it's a social thing that really has nothing to do with residential schools. It has to do with changing culture. As much as they talk about the "good old days" in the '60s. It wasn't. A lot of the children were dying, neglected. They didn't have proper food. I saw it with my own eyes. It was sad (PR:Joanne).

Sam and Remi talked about having to travel a week to get from one community to the next; Janna talked about problems with building schools on the permafrost, and problems with melting water in the winter. Erica talked about the challenge of being engaged long distance in the days before radio, telephones, and air travel. Evelyn shared stories of medical challenges in the "early days" (early, from a EuroCanadian perspective) of the NT. The list could go on, but many EuroCanadian participants warned about the dangers of condemning residential schools — how they were run and what happened in those schools — from the vantage point of twenty-first century conveniences. As Anne put it: "Personally, I think [the residential school thing] was a really bad policy, but that's looking at it from where I am now" (P:Anne). Floyd talked about the importance of context, but he also raised the question of alternatives. What options were really available given that period of history, given that geographical and climatic

realities of the region, and given the fiscal constraints of the Anglican Church and/or missionary societies?

Kiawak had one answer to temptations to romanticize the pre-contact past: Would Aboriginal people prefer to hunt with handmade bows and arrows and spears — or with rifles? Good things did come out of contact. Good things did come out of the residential schools. It was ultimately up to individuals to decide which experiences they wanted to emphasize — the good things or the bad (PR:Kiawak). In a similar vein, Lisa (EuroCanadian) told about an Aboriginal woman who had spoken to a church group about residential schools:

[The woman said something along the lines of] “We need to acknowledge that there were good things that happened in those schools.” She said, “If it weren’t for that school, I wouldn’t have learned to read. I wouldn’t have learned to write. ... I learned about the bigger world.” So she said, “These were the hard things but these were the good things too.” She felt that needed to be acknowledged for the First Nations people to go forward, which I thought I thought was a really interesting point of view was rather than dwelling on being the victim. Acknowledge the good and just ... move forward with it. (PR:Lisa)

For some Aboriginal people, it is important to tell the stories — all the stories; the good ones need to be told as well. Recognizing the existence of good stories is, for some, the beginning of the healing process. It is important to move on. According to Lisa:

I’ve heard different people — First Nations and Non — say, “OK. Let’s get on with it. We all recognize what happened. We all acknowledge that it was wrong. ... Now let’s ... let’s move on and do some healing and some building towards something new, rather ...” because there is a sense sometimes that we’re just kind of going in circles. And dwelling, and dwelling ... and then they get used as an excuse for everything rather than ... looking at some solutions. (PR:Lisa)

Frank heard the same sentiment expressed by an Elder. The challenge is whether what happened in the ACC residential schools in the North has been sufficiently understood, and reparative measures taken that can ensure similar situations do not occur in the future. If not, people may move on only to experience a repeat of what was wrong with the residential schools and which has not been rectified.

Conclusion

Behind or beneath the dominant narrative, my research showed there exists a different narrative. The situation in the NT differed significantly from that in the south. While efforts to assimilate Aboriginal children into EuroCanadian culture certainly existed in the North, as did racism and many of the financial problems common in the southern residential schools, efforts were made to establish schools close (or closer) to families so as to minimize travel in at least two schools (e.g., Shingle Point and Coppermine), to teach or at least preserve Aboriginal languages by encouraging/allowing children to speak them (e.g., Hay River, Shingle Point, Inuvik, Coppermine), sometimes to learn traditional skills from Aboriginal elders (e.g., Shingle Point, Coppermine), and to keep traditional clothing (or rather to get it returned when they left, e.g., Coppermine). Efforts were not always successful, nor were they practiced at all schools at all times. Their very existence, however, argues against a policy of deliberate efforts to kill the Indianness. Nowyook said that his experiences of residential schools were “very different from the residential schools that I was hearing people talk about in the south” (PR:Nowyook). Frank said that Aboriginal people he knew who had attended Sacred Circle Convocations in the south have told him, “Boy, they’ve got it very different than we’ve got it up here” (PR:Frank). Both seem, from participant accounts and available research, to have been right.

This is not to say that residential schools in the NT were “good” or that their impact on Aboriginal students was less traumatic than it was for students in the south, but it does raise the question, “if the schools did have a devastating impact on Aboriginal students as figures suggest, and yet they did have a somewhat better situation than did students in the south, then why was the impact so devastating?”

What the situation in the YT was is more difficult to assess. Other than Alice sharing her experiences at Carcross and Kavik saying that she had had good experiences at the hostels she had attended, little positive was found from the residential school era.

In general, most participants did not side with an all black or an all white depiction of the residential school experience. What they did question at times was the one-sided bias that appeared in the media, the assumption that missionaries and school staff were committed to

cultural genocide, the existence of a definite link between residential schools and many of the societal challenges experienced by Aboriginal peoples and communities, the lack of historical context in the dominant narrative, and the possibility that cultural factors might also have played a role in people's perceptions of the schools.

12. THE ACC, DECOLONIALIZATION AND NORTHERN PERCEPTIONS

Overview

The first water for the seeds, the first sign of spring warmth for my people came in the 1960s with the closing of the residential schools and the presenting of the Hendry Report in the 1969 General Synod. ... (The church) slowly began to change direction — support the First Nations in their political struggle for the honouring of our treaty and land rights, for our right to self determination, and for respect for Mother Earth across the land. (Vi Smith (Gitk'san elder, *The Seventh Fire* (1995))).

Given the history of the ACC's relationship with its Aboriginal members, not only in Canada's North but also in southern Canada, and its direct involvement in the residential schools, the ACC began to explore and address problems it discovered in the 1960s. In this chapter¹, I look at initiatives the ACC took to ameliorate its relationship with Aboriginal peoples, focusing on three eras: (1) the *Hendry Report* and its impact on ACC policies: 1969-1993; (2) the 1993 ACC apology; (3) ACC initiatives to live the apology: 1993-2008 including (4) the Anglican Aboriginal Healing Fund initiative. The chapter ends with participant perspectives on the various ACC initiatives.

The *Hendry Report* and Its Impact on ACC Policies: 1969-1993

Missionaries seem to have played a kind of Jekyll-and-Hyde role in their dealings with non-European peoples ... the “Jekyll-and-Hyde” balance sheet of acculturation ... may be drawn up as follows ... The “Jekyll” side of the acculturative ledger was the fact that the churches made some attempt at guiding the process of acculturation and adaptation. The “Hyde” aspect consisted to the fact that the process was often carried out in a harsh and inhumane way (Hendry 1998:21-23)

The 1960s saw a number of changes for Canadian Christianity, the Canadian churches, and Canadians as well. Liberation theology, which had begun as a movement within the RCC during the 1950s and 1960s, made inroads into North American Christianity with its emphasis on social justice issues such as poverty and human rights. It opened the doors to churches recognizing their own failures in living the Gospel through their support of social injustice and inequity. North Americans (including Canadians), and North American Christians (including Canadians), became concerned about apartheid in South Africa, the Viet Nam war and its victims, the Black Civil Rights movement, and Aboriginal rights.

About the same time as Rachel Carson's *Silent spring* was published in 1962, North Americans began to be concerned about the environment, and North American Christians began to re-examine the theological bases for their own relationship with nature. Vatican II (1962-1965) opened the RCC to new forms of worship and to dialogue and cooperation with other denominations and other religions; Thomas Merton's writings (1940s-1968) introduced Christians to eastern teachings and meditation practices. Other denominations began to reassess their understandings of their relationships with other Christian groups and other religions, leading many to re-examine their own theology. By 1967, Matthew Fox was developing a theology rooted in the goodness of creation and the need to live in balance with nature.

Some Christians recognized the similarities between such a theology and Aboriginal spirituality, thereby reinforcing non-Aboriginal interest in Aboriginal cultures and what was happening to cultures among Aboriginal peoples. In 1967, Canada hosted the world with Expo '67 which celebrated both Canada's own centennial as a country and the theme "Man and His World," commemorating the myriad of cultures from around the world, including Canada's Aboriginal peoples and art.

Countering such positive shifts towards respect and acceptance of the "Other," were continued efforts to destroy Aboriginal people themselves. Canada's relationship with the Aboriginal peoples in Canada were "stressed" (Cardinal 1999). During the 1960s, Canadian social services deliberately and routinely scooped Aboriginal children from their families to place them in non-Aboriginal homes and, in 1969, the federal government tabled a White Paper which would have eliminated the Indian Act, any recognition of Aboriginal peoples as distinct nations having special rights, and all treaty obligations.

The time was ripe for the ACC to reassess its own theology and practices with respect to Aboriginal peoples. By the late 1960s, the ACC recognized its role in oppressing Aboriginal peoples. One report, presented to the General Synod of the ACC called for "forgiveness regarding Anglican participation in the perpetuation of injustices to Indians" (Hendry 1998:49-50). One aspect of this call for forgiveness were the residential schools. Responding to such a call, and the changing realities both in Canadian society and in the Anglican Church, the ACC closed its schools and hostels, transferring its responsibilities to the federal, provincial

or territorial governments in 1969. One exception was in the NT where the transfer did not occur until 1970.

As part of the ACC's re-assessment of its mission with Aboriginal peoples, the ACC commissioned a committee under the direction of anthropologist Charles Hendry. The final report, known as the *Hendry Report* and published in 1969, summarized the interaction between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples as a situation:

... where a group of people, already buffeted by drastic social change and disorganization, were placed in an administrative straitjacket by an authoritarian or paternalistic government and deprived of the power and desire for independent action ... The system was paternalism — a harsh and also stingy paternalism (Hendry 1969:27).

The *Hendry Report*, while critical of the ACC for such destructive attitudes as paternalism, arrogance, and racism, also recognized another side to the ACC relationship with Aboriginal peoples:

On the one hand (missionaries) have smashed native culture and social organization. On the other hand they have picked up the pieces of an indigenous way of life which had been smashed by other Europeans — traders, soldiers, administrators — and have helped the people put the pieces together in a new shape (Hendry 1998:21).

According to the report, and as mentioned at the beginning of this section, this mixed package in which “missionaries have been both a disruptive and an integrative force” (Hendry 1998:21) reflected a “Jekyll-and-Hyde” history.

Throughout the *Hendry Report*, a number of specific problems were identified, including: (1) a lack of clear goals on the part of the church (Hendry 1969:71); (2) an exclusion of Aboriginal involvement in ACC administration and ministries, and in any decision-making process concerning Native ministries (Hendry 1969:71-74); (3) the existence of racist attitudes among church workers (Hendry 1969:29, 42); and (4) cultural genocide (Hendry 1969:33). It concluded that, if the ACC wanted to improve its relationship with Aboriginal peoples, then the ACC would have to change its attitudes and move from paternalism to partnership — instead of trying to do things for Aboriginal peoples, it would have to start doing things with them and with other groups (Hendry 1969:79ff; 1998:101). The General Synod of the ACC approved

several resolutions based on the Hendry Report that took the ACC in “new directions” with Aboriginal peoples, other Christian churches and governments (ACC 2001:E6-7).

One of the first steps the ACC undertook was to include and involve Aboriginal peoples in the already-existing church organization. In 1972, the Rev. Ernie Willie became the first Aboriginal person to be hired onto the national staff of the Anglican Church (*Dancing* 1993). The ACC also set up the Subcommittee on Native Affairs (Carlson 1995:32). In 1980, the Subcommittee was renamed “Council on Native Affairs.” As a standing committee, the Council reported directly to the National Executive Council (Carlson 1995:33). By 1991, with the residential school issue coming “on-stage,” the Residential Schools Advisory Group for Healing and Reconciliation was created. In 1992, the ACC appointed an Indigenous Justice Coordinator to work with both Aboriginal peoples on specific claims, and non-Aboriginal peoples in the ACC to educate them “about the social reality for Aboriginal peoples and to foster that understanding that is so necessary for a healthy society” (Hendry 1998:101).

Increasing Aboriginal presence in the ACC organization and the commitment to empowering Aboriginal peoples in the ACC meant more than making administrative changes, however. New theological and training schools were established to increase the number of Aboriginal clergy in Canada: the Arthur Turner Training School (ATTS) in Pangnirtung (NT, now Nunavut) in 1970, the Henry Budd College for Ministry in The Pas (MB) in 1980 (Lewis 2004:180), and the Native Ministries Consortium at the Vancouver School of Theology in 1985 (VST 2009). Support was also given to initiatives aimed at preserving or reclaiming Aboriginal cultures such as the Canadian Bible Society’s project to translate the Bible into Inuktitut in a way that incorporated the five distinct Inuktitut dialects (beginning in 1978) (ACC 2001:B14).

Steps were taken to increase the involvement of Aboriginal people in the overall church organization, to increase the number of Aboriginal clergy, and, indirectly, to promote the use of Aboriginal languages. The ACC also moved to publicly support a number of Aboriginal causes and issues. In 1973, it publicly affirmed that “the basic rights of Canada’s native people cannot be rejected or ignored” (ANS 1973), and, in 1990, condemned the government’s handling of the Oka crisis (ANS 1990). The ACC General Synod passed a number of resolutions on Aboriginal issues: Aboriginal land claims (ACC GS 1986, 1989); the need to consult with

Aboriginal peoples on issues affecting them and their territories (ACC GS 1975, 1977) and a call to the Federal government to entrench aboriginal self-government in the Constitution (ACC GS 1989). Whether such initiatives represent a change in attitude or a continuation of paternalistic speaking out for Aboriginal people is a question to be answered by further research. The question, however, highlights the dilemma faced by the ACC: where does paternalism end and support begin?

The 1993 ACC Apology

By 1988, Aboriginal peoples were asserting themselves more openly in carving their own place within the ACC organization and determining their own understanding of the Christian faith. In that year, Aboriginal people from across Canada came together to celebrate their identities as Aboriginal peoples and as Anglicans at the First Anglican Native Convocation, held at Fort Qu'Appelle (SK). Five years later, in 1993, at the Second Native Convocation (now known as "Sacred Circle") held in Minaki (Ontario), the Primate Michael Peers, on behalf of the ACC, was prepared to formally confess and apologize for its sins towards Aboriginal peoples.

(I acknowledge and I confess before you and God) , our failures in the residential schools. ... We failed you. We failed ourselves. We failed God. ...

I am sorry, more than I can say, that we were part of a system which took you and your children from home and family. ...

I am sorry, more than I can say, that we tried to remake you in our image, ... taking from you your language and the signs of your identity. ...

I am sorry, more than I can say, that in our schools so many were abused physically, sexually, culturally, and emotionally. ... (Carlson 1995:85)

The apology followed a traditional Christian liturgical framework, composed of three sections: (1) an act of contrition in which one expressed regret and guilt; (2) a confession of guilt in which one accepted responsibility for the wrongdoing; and (3) a statement of satisfaction in which one committed to actions or reparations that might somehow "satisfy" those who had been wronged (Lawler 1983:474-478).

Peers spoke as a Christian to fellow Christians, using language and imagery to reinforce what he was communicating. In referring to the Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people present at that convocation as “brothers and sisters,” Peers used language that was traditional in some Christian evangelical circles but which also reflected an Aboriginal perspective of the closeness that should exist in the Anglican family. When speaking about the role played by EuroCanadian people in causing Aboriginal suffering, Peers identified himself as one of that community: “my people” but he also moved on to speak about “our church” — the EuroCanadian people in the ACC may have done harm, but the ACC was not limited to being an EuroCanadian Church. Its message transcended the limits of individual ethnicities.

Peers apologized for three things: the system that led to the destruction of families and communities; the arrogance of white Christians in playing God with Aboriginal lives, and the abuses that occurred. While EuroCanadian peoples and the media tend to focus on the physical and sexual abuses that took place in the residential schools, Peers’ apology recognized that the problem was much broader. Peers apologized for the system that had led to the destruction of Aboriginal cultures and identities, and for the EuroCanadian role within the ACC that had been playing God by trying to remake Aboriginal peoples in their own EuroCanadian image, in addition to the abuses that took place in the schools. In his apology, Peers acknowledged the severity of the experience by linking what Aboriginal people had gone through with both Jesus’ suffering on the cross and the atom bomb at Hiroshima.

The focus of the apology was not on specific criminal acts that had been committed, but on the need for healing at any number of levels and by any number of peoples in the present. In recognizing the multi-dimensional need for healing, Peers indirectly flagged the relationships that had been broken: with one’s self, one’s family and community, one’s spiritual life, the EuroCanadian people and, ultimately, with God.

Response was mixed. Some Aboriginal peoples, such as Mervin Wolfleg (Siksika), were moved by “a strong feeling that it was wrong for the primate, a holy man, to be compromised and humiliated.” Others, such as Wolfleg’s children, believed the primate was right to apologize (Carlson 1995:101). For others, such as Donna Bomberry (Mississauga of New Credit), it was “an enormously freeing moment which released us from that image of being

boxed into and failing at trying to live up to something that was wrong for us. The image simply did not fit for us. It wasn't us. It wasn't based on our experience" (Carlson 1995:20). In other words, one did not have to choose between a Christian and an Aboriginal identity; Christianity was not synonymous with its EuroCanadian manifestation.

Peers reminded those present that the apology was not the beginning of the reconciliation process; and that change had already been happening. Furthermore, Peers did not guarantee success. What he promised were his "best efforts" and the "efforts of our church at the national level". The apology ended with a commitment to continue its initiatives, to move beyond the national level to promote "healing at the local level," and to walk with Aboriginal peoples along the paths of healing (Carlson 1995:85).

Following the apology, the Primate left the room and was later invited back in for the healing service. During the night, Aboriginal elders discussed their response. The following day, Gitk'san elder Vi Smith, on behalf of the other elders present:

(acknowledged and accepted the Primate's Apology noting that it) was offered from his heart with sincerity, sensitivity, compassion and humility. We receive it in the same manner. We offer praise and thanks to our Creator for his courage (Carlson 1995:96).

What was evident from the various initiatives and from Peers' apology was that, at least at the national institutional level, the ACC recognized problems in its relationship with Aboriginal peoples and was committed to working on that relationship in tandem with those Aboriginal people working at the national level. What was not evident nor guaranteed was how committed the ACC would be at the diocesan and congregational levels, nor how committed it would be even at the national level should changes be required that would affect the ACC's hierarchical structure (see Appendix D).

Living the Apology: 1993-2008

Soon after the 1993 apology, the ACC submitted a brief to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples that "recounted the church's historical relationship, the change in direction set out since the '69 Hendry Report, the ecumenical residential schools healing and reconciliation work begun in the early '90s" along with its own recommendations (ACC GS 1998). In 1997, the James Settee College for Ministry was founded in Saskatchewan

(D-SKdiocese 2005) while the Dr. William Winter School of Ministry began operating in 2002 (D-Niagara 2004). The Hendry Report was republished in 1998.

The ACC continued to speak out on a number of Aboriginal issues including Aboriginal land claims and involvement in development projects (ACC GS 1995; ANS 1995, 1997); and the need for the Canadian government to apologize for its role in residential schools (ANS 1998). Working with Aboriginal Anglicans and committees, the ACC produced a number of videos on residential schools and Aboriginal peoples. One of the more better-known videos was *Topahdewin: The Gladys Cook Story*, which was produced “as part of an initiative to memorialize the experiences of residential schools survivors” and which premiered at Winnipeg’s IMAX theatre (ANS 2005).

The ACC continued its shift away from paternalism towards partnership by giving Aboriginal peoples more place within the overall church structure. In the late 1960s, only 24 First Nations and Inuit priests, and no Aboriginal bishops could be found (Hendry 1998:42). By 1996, the ACC had four Aboriginal bishops and approximately one hundred thirty priests (ACC 2004c). Since 1989, six Aboriginal bishops have been ordained in the ACC: the Rt. Rev. Charles Arthurson (of Saskatchewan), the Rt. Rev. Gordon Beardy (of Keewatin), the Rt. Rev. Paul Idlout, the Rt. Rev. Andrew Atagotaaluk and the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Arreak (of the Arctic); and the Rt. Rev. Mark MacDonald who was appointed National Indigenous Bishop in 2007.

In 2001, the Anglican General Synod re-affirmed its commitment to a “new relationship” with Aboriginal peoples “based on a partnership which focuses on the cultural, spiritual, social, and economic independence of Indigenous communities” (ACC 2001:A4). It committed itself to expanding the healing process beyond its Aboriginal membership to the broader church in issuing *A New Agape*, “a binder of stories and ideas to unbind the chains of oppression” (ACC 2001:A3), and encouraging congregations throughout Canada to explore Anglican history, treatment of Aboriginal peoples, and new models of faith.

At the same time, Aboriginal Anglicans began to re-define their own role in, and relationship to, the larger non-Aboriginal Anglican community. It had become increasingly evident that a tremendous divide existed between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian communities and congregations, at least in southern Canada. Where EuroCanadian congregations were often

concerned with fiscal issues within the congregation, repairs to church buildings, missions to other parts of the world, recruiting volunteers for Sunday School, and such, Aboriginal members were often concerned with alcoholism, suicides, drug and other abuse, lack of affordable housing or clean water, high unemployment, and other issues which affected their communities and peoples. The need for an organization which could focus on Aboriginal issues was recognized and, in 1994, the Council for Native Ministry held a meeting in Manitoba to discuss their place within the ACC.

We are Indigenous Peoples of Canada who have chosen to be partners in the worldwide Anglican Communion and the universal church. Our members come from the four directions ... from the many First Nations who inhabit this land, even to the furthestmost corners, and including the Inuit of the Arctic regions, the Métis and others of mixed heritage. (ACC 2007a).

Aboriginal Anglicans leaders at the conference committed themselves to spiritual renewal and to developing that new relationship. They “covenanted” to form “an autonomous, truly Anglican Indigenous Church that will stand side-by-side with the Anglican Church of Canada” (*Seventh Fire*). Affirming Aboriginal independence, Gitk’san elder Vi Smith stated:

... We are growing and we are going to stand beside our white brothers and sisters as equal partners in a community with one another, ... but with our own integrity, with our own identity (*Seventh Fire*).

The following year, the Council for Native Ministry was renamed The Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples (ACIP) and shifted its focus to the needs, gifts, and visions of Aboriginal Anglicans. In the following years, more Sacred Circles were held. The third Sacred Circle was held in Lethbridge in 1997; the fourth in Port Elgin in 2000, the fifth in Pinawa in 2005 which ended with approving the establishment of a National Indigenous Anglican Bishop, and the sixth in 2009. By 2007, ACIP could affirm:

This is where we find ourselves now:

- * Continuing to support healing and recovery from the injustice of the last centuries;
- * Sharing in the joyful work of renewing our spiritual and cultural traditions;

- * Exploring ways to make real the New Covenant of equal partnership we have claimed for our Peoples within the church;
- * Supporting Indigenous political struggles for self-determination, recognition of land rights, and respect for Mother Earth;
- * Discovering and celebrating our common global spirituality, concerns gifts and hopes in the Anglican Indigenous Network.
- * Supporting the United Nations International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples (1994-2004).

In these ways we claim our place and responsibility as equal partners in a shared healing journey towards wholeness and justice (ACC 2007b).

Also in 2007, Bishop Mark MacDonald became the first National Indigenous Anglican Bishop (ANS 2007). As Aboriginal communities become stronger and more assertive within the ACC, some are looking at what they could offer the church-at-large. As Donna Bomberly put it in a 2004 interview:

I think it is by our discovering how to heal we can in turn share that with others to heal. Because there is that other comment you mentioned, that the non-Native church needs healing too, so it's a healing ... and that's what the Church is about. The ministry of Christ was healing. So none of us is exempt from the need for healing because we live in relationship with one another. And so, what we can bring is the experience of our side of that relationship to help you understand the relationship. And we continually go back and take a look at our baptismal covenant as Christians and we need to pay more emphasis and attention to that so that we don't continue to act as we did in the past (Gaver 2004).

Whether the ACC as a whole is willing to accept the help and support of its Aboriginal membership in areas that are not focused specifically around Aboriginal issues may be one way to determine just how far the ACC has moved to partnership with Aboriginal peoples at any number of levels.

Nevertheless, it was the residential school issue that continued to dominate the public side of the ACC for about a decade after the Apology. When the first lawsuits claiming abuse in residential schools began to be filed in the 1990s, the ACC faced several challenges.

Aboriginal people make up more than 33% of the Anglican population in five of the ACC's thirty dioceses and, in the diocese of the Arctic, they make up approximately 90% of its Anglican population (ACC 2008j). How the ACC responded to the residential school issue would demonstrate a great deal about its character, and its commitment to forging a new relationship with its Aboriginal peoples. (By 2008, eighteen dioceses within the ACC had some kind of structure and support for Aboriginal Anglicans (ACC 2008j)).

How could the church respond? Would they cooperate with plaintiffs by opening up their archives, thereby providing evidence against themselves? Would they fight the charges in courts? Would they fight over any amounts that might be awarded to the plaintiffs? These were the types of questions asked by the ACC, its members, and its lawyers. For the most part, the ACC responded by becoming vulnerable.

The ACC, with the exception of the diocese of Huron, has gone through its records and archives, identifying and labelling anything that related to residential schools, and made them available for researchers. (The situation regarding the diocese of Huron was reported to Commissioner Marie Wilson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Equipping 2009).

When the first charges against the ACC began to be filed, the ACC had to decide whether it would fight those charges in courts. After all, victims may have remembered what happened and who committed abuses against them but not precise dates when abuse happened. Supporting testimony could be equally open to challenge. Documentary evidence might or might not exist; supporting witnesses might have died over the years or might not have remembered critical details. Enough doubt might be raised in the courts to clear the ACC of wrongdoing.

The alternative was to not contest the cases but money was an issue and, for a while, the ACC was faced with the very possibility of bankruptcy. In fact, the diocese of Cariboo did go bankrupt in 2001 (Blair 2000; ACC 2010). The ACC and the federal government negotiated the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) to ensure the ACC did not go bankrupt, signing it in 2003. Under terms of this agreement, the ACC would be liable for 30% of any compensation up to a maximum of \$25 million; the Federal Government would pay out

any additional money that might be awarded in the courts (ANS 2003b). Each diocese throughout Canada would be committed to raising a portion of the \$25 million required (ANS 2003a). Some diocesan lawyers advised not to approve the agreement, stating that the IRSSA could open up the church to further litigation. Dioceses rejected the advice of the lawyers and approved the settlement fund. As the Rev. Asselin from the Diocese of Niagara put it:

Bishop Ashdown spoke with his simple eloquence about what a no vote would mean for his ministry amongst native people in that they would perceive a no vote as a sign that we didn't care. He also argued that while the agreement may not be perfect, it was still the 'right thing to do.' And that sometimes the call of the gospel is to do the right thing even if it isn't wise or prudent (Asselin 2004).

Not only was it the “right thing to do” but, it reflected the “heart of the gospel” as Bishop Ashdown of Keewatin put it. At one congregational meeting, Bishop Ashdown, who had briefly worked in a residential school early in his career, talked about his own journey towards understanding. At first, he had concerns about approving the IRSSA but had come to realize that the settlement fund was an important part of the healing and reconciliation process; since both reflected Christ's healing and reconciliation activities that were written down in the gospel and were therefore at the heart of the gospel, Ashdown felt he had no choice but to support the agreement (Ashdown 2004).

Meanwhile, another issue emerged during that same time frame revolving around the question of what constituted residential schools. A list of officially-recognized residential schools had been prepared for INAC. Schools that were run by churches alone — without any government support — did not and still do not appear on the list. Students attending hostels such as the Coppermine Tent Hostel — found that their school was not on the list either, nor were other schools that had been lost from the corporate Church-Government memory. It became evident that the list would have to become a living document with the capability of being added to.

Other initiatives were being considered to ensure that residential school survivors would not have to face the emotional upheaval of courtroom cross-examinations, re-live traumatic experiences in an adversarial environment, which courtrooms tend to be, or wait for their case to move through the whole judicial system — i.e., courtroom dates, delays, appeals, etc. —

before getting their money. The Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) process was the result. Developed in the late 1990s as a way that would be faster, simpler and less traumatic to survivors than an adversarial courtroom system, the ADR was supposed to speed up the decisions so that survivors would get settlement money faster (ANS 2003a). Pilot projects were set up in 1999.

The ADR proved to be unwieldy; and the churches and the Federal Government debated who would pay for the process (AJournal 2003). The ADR may have been created with the best of intentions and attitudes to get money to victims as quickly and as painlessly as possible, but it reflected the EuroCanadian legal system with its focus on written statements and proofs. Despite efforts to streamline and simplify the process, the forms to be completed were thirty pages in length and complicated to fill out. The Aboriginal people trying to complete them often had only a grade school level education. Concern was raised by many individuals, such as Walpole Island resident Bud Whiteye, journalist and former residential school student himself (Gaver 2004). Efforts were made to rectify the problem. Despite its faults, the ADR was quicker than the adversarial court system, and by 2003, 630 abuse cases had been decided; 21 court cases; 609 ADR cases (AJournal 2003).

Efforts were made to streamline the ADR process. Discussions with Aboriginal groups were underway when the IRSSA was signed and sent to dioceses for ratification. When they learned about the agreement and realized they had not been part of the process, they threatened to withdraw from the ADR process as well (ACC-P 2003).

The problem revolved around two different perceptions as to what the issue being addressed was. From the Aboriginal perspective, based on what I understand, the issue was a relationship that was in trouble. For that relationship to improve, all parties had to be at the table. Instead, they had been once again excluded from an initiative that would affect that relationship in some way. The government and the ACC would make decisions regarding the ACC's viability in the face of payments awarded to Aboriginal people; the Aboriginal people had no say and no opportunity to offer their own suggestions to ensure ACC viability. From the perspective of the churches and the Federal Government, on the other hand, there was no need for Aboriginal input into the IRSSA. The agreement was among the plaintiffs; the defendant's presence was unnecessary.

Was the incident simply good will towards Aboriginal people hampered by EuroCanadian assumptions about what the government and ACC were doing and EuroCanadian blinders about how Aboriginal people might perceive and interpret such actions, or was there a mutual misunderstanding or miscommunication? Was this incident a remnant of colonialism or did it indicate the presence of a problem that went beyond colonialism — a collision of two different worldviews (see Chapter 15).

In 2005, the IRSSA was replaced. The Federal Government agreed to make a Common Experience Payment (CEP) to those who had attended residential schools. Under the terms of this agreement, \$10,000 would be paid to all who had attended at least one year “or part thereof.” An additional \$3,000 for “each school year (or part thereof)” would be paid to those who had attended more than one year. In other words, if a survivor had attended residential school for 10 years, that person would receive a total of \$37,000, regardless of what abuse he or she might have experienced. Survivors would lose the right to sue either the Federal Government or church entities for any abuse they might have suffered at the schools but were still free to file charges against specific individuals (RSSF 2005). Furthermore, they could reject the CEP settlement and pursue either the ADR process or go to court.

Survivors would get substantially less money through the CEP than through ADR or court cases, but they would not have to prove abuse or relive any traumatic experience they would have to through ADR or the courts. While the desire to settle things more quickly might have been commendable, the low amount being offered to survivors raised questions of how much had the government actually changed in its attitudes or policies towards Aboriginal peoples. As Bud Whiteye (Walpole Island) put it, the CEP is simply another “slap in the face”:

Collecting the one-time payment of \$28,000 is simply a slap in the face, another insult. News reports across Canada show other people who suffered under similar conditions have been paid millions. They apparently receive more simply because they weren't hauled away in droves, nor did they come home speaking different languages, nor looked upon as forms of alien beings. ... Many whites have said, “No amount of money can pay for what was done, so we might as well not even look at that. Maybe we could build healing centres to offer long-term care.” They didn't even want to try! What is it about us that makes them so scared, so inhumane? Why do they see us as so irrelevant, yet in every Canadian

war, we have been ready? These things, these hurts will go with the elders when their twilight turns to darkness. (Whiteye 2010).

As records are uncovered and evidence mounts, more schools — such as Coppermine Tent Hostel — have been added to the official list but schools run solely by religious organizations or territories and provinces still do not qualify for the ADR or CEP. Survivors of these schools get no money unless they pursue the matter in the courts. What began as an initiative to facilitate healing for Aboriginal victims has become, for some, a system that itself is harmful to victims by creating divisions among residential school survivors.

Anglican Aboriginal Healing Fund (ACC-AHF) Initiatives

Healing and reconciliation represent an important dimension to the residential school issue, arising from discussions between the ACC and Aboriginal representatives. In 1991, the ACC established the Residential School Advisory Group, which gradually evolved into the Anglican Healing Fund (ACC-AHF). The ACC-AHF is not a paternalistic EuroCanadian group deciding what kind of healing Natives need. Control over the fund itself was given to a committee composed of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples that reports directly to the Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples (Gaver 2004). Communities, organizations, and Diocesan Aboriginal Councils are able to apply to the ACC-AHF for grants up to \$15,000 to fund healing or reconciliation projects such as gatherings, training, community program development, community healing services, healing workshops, and resource development (ACC 2004b). As of 2007, the ACC-AHF had distributed over \$3 million. Among some of the projects that the ACC-AHF funded in 2007 were one project for the Diocese of the Arctic for a Youth Healing Conference that would focus on youth on Baffin Island in the eastern Arctic (outside the geographical limits of my research project), and two projects for the Diocese of Yukon. The first was for the “Sacred Circle Project” described as:

a grass roots community development project (which) began in January 2002 as an alternative method of healing for women. Today, the aim of this project is to support a growing community of people who are ‘walking the red path,’ meaning living a life that is alcohol, drug and crime free (ACC 2007c).

The second Yukon project was undertaken by the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in First Nation who received a grant for \$3,000 for the ‘K’anacha (Taking Care) Scrapbook Project.” The first phase

was to create the scrapbook which chronicled the residential school experiences of Aboriginal people in the community. The scrapbook contained basic information about residential schools in the Yukon and missionaries, but what made it unique was that it provided readers with first-hand accounts by former students and parents of children who had been taken away from home along with photographs. The second phase was to publish:

the original scrapbook so that copies (could) be made available for educational purposes and make it available to a broader audience. The overall purpose of the scrapbook project has been to see the past, to understand the present and to move towards a healthy future. (ACC 2007c)

John Amagoalik had summarized what he, as an Inuit, expected of Canada for reconciliation to occur:

Canada must acknowledge its past history of shameful treatment of Aboriginal peoples. It must acknowledge its racist legacy. It should not only acknowledge these facts, but also take steps to make sure that the country's history books reflect these realities" (Amagoalik 2008:93).

The same could be said of what was expected of the ACC. From the evidence presented here, it seemed that the ACC, at least at the national institutional level, had not only recognized, acknowledged and confessed its wrongdoings with respect to Aboriginal peoples, but had also made significant efforts — including adding their support to the Missing children project, the Remembering the Children tour, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission — towards reparation and satisfaction. It appeared as though the ACC and its Aboriginal membership were well on the way towards reconciliation. I wondered, however, how much of this shift towards partnership with Aboriginal peoples had filtered down to the local, congregational level, and how much did local congregations know and understand about what had happened in residential schools and the various initiatives towards reconciliation? In other words, assuming that Agnes Grant and others were correct in their analyses of the relationships during the residential school era as reflecting colonialism in attitudes and policies, the question to be asked was how far had the ACC at the local level moved towards post-colonialism?

Participant Perceptions on the *Hendry Report*

So few participants knew about the Hendry Report during my first field trip North that I stopped asking about it. Nevertheless, the report did have considerable impact on the northern ACC church. Several mission schools for training Aboriginal people were created in both the NT and YT, both the Diocese of the Arctic and the Diocese of Yukon have Aboriginal clergy (who may or may not have attended the mission schools), and two of the three bishops in the Diocese of the Arctic are Aboriginal attest to the importance of the Hendry Report for the North, even if people themselves are unaware of it.

Participant Perceptions on the Apology

Perceptions by Aboriginal Clergy and Laity

Aboriginal perceptions on the ACC (or UCC) apology varied from total ignorance to in-depth knowledge of the apology and its background.

Some, such as Goota who had attended a Roman Catholic residential school but was not involved to some extent in the ACC, Kitikmeot who had attended Stringer Hall in Inuvik, and Aqpik who had never attended a residential school herself but had lost siblings at residential schools, had never heard of the ACC apology. Moriah is not Aboriginal but, during our interview, she recounted a conversation she had had with an Aboriginal person in her community:

I'm not sure whether (news about the apology) trickled down because when I talked to some people here about it. Somebody said, "well, you should apologize," and I said, "well, we did." You know — there's a big thing — but they were so disenfranchised from the church anyway, that they didn't even know about it (PR:Moriah).

Even when learning about the apology from me, response varied from Kitikmeot's simple shrug which seemed to imply "so what?" to Goota's asking "why"? Why did the Church apologize?

The RCMP have never apologised. The government sort of has ... OK if you hit me and someone else apologizes — what kind of apology is that? The nuns have never apologized. The churches have never actually gone into the community to apologize to the people face to face (PS:Goota).

Others, such as Kudloo, had heard about the ACC apology but said it had made little impact on them. Kudloo's own experience with the schools had been second-hand. She had not attended residential schools herself, and none of her family who had ever said anything bad about the schools. She had heard about the apology, but that was about it.

Nowyook had mixed views about the apology. As a member of the clergy, he had the opportunity to hear stories from many survivors, both in the North and in the South. As a residential school survivor, he had first-hand experience. In answering questions about his views on the ACC apology, he juxtaposed his own experiences and the situation in the North with that in the South:

... the impact of my personal experiences is very different from the residential schools that I was hearing people talk about in the south. Maybe, in some ways it was very similar but my experience with the school was very different from what the whole residential school issue was talking about. Like — there was physical abuse, sexual abuse — all that stuff that I think mainly damaged lives — we had never experienced that kind ... and so I really couldn't summarize what I felt about the apology (PR:Nowyook).

Regardless of his own experiences, Nowyook believed that the ACC apology had been a “good thing,” simply because so many had been hurt in the schools. Nowyook believed:

I know it was a good thing that the church could do that, and especially knowing that how damaging the church was doing rather than doing good. Whereas we have never experienced the church doing that kind of things to people's lives up here. My experiences with the church were very different and my approach and my thinking were very different because I didn't realize there was such a negative presence of the church in the south in those years. It was hard to believe. (PR:Nowyook).

Similar to Nowyook's view that it was a “good thing”, others felt that it was the “right thing to do” even if it was to some extent irrelevant in the North. As Moriah put it:

I don't know that any (of the Aboriginal people) read it but the word got out that we had apologized. So I don't think (the Aboriginal people) care — on some level, I don't mean any disrespect — I don't think they care what the words are. We apologized because that's the right thing to do. And if you apologize, all will be well, from their point of view (PR:Moriah).

The most important point for some Aboriginal participants such as Aqpik was “So what? What happens next?”

It’s very easy to say you’re sorry but what happens next? Why can’t they leave something to say they’re sorry? — It’s like saying you’re sorry from so far away ... didn’t mean a thing. And a little bit later, what’s left? There should be some way to say they’re sorry in every community that was hurt (PS:Aqpik).

Aqpik didn’t know what could be done in but believed the apology on its own was too little, and would be remembered for too short a time. Most telling, however, is the reiteration of another principle that words carry no value unless accompanied by concrete deeds.

Perceptions by EuroCanadian Clergy

Perceptions of the ACC apology by EuroCanadian clergy sometimes mirrored those of Aboriginal peoples. Some, such as Hilda, had never heard of the apology. Others, such as Remi, had heard of it but felt that it hadn’t “made much impact upon the people in the North because they didn’t have the same problems” (PR:Remi). Linda expressed a similar sentiment though she may have been talking about the impact of Harper’s apology in the community: “This is a very remote place ... what happens in the south seems so far away from where we live ... there’s a real disconnect to what our reality is here” (PR:Linda).

Some clergy were like Kyle who saw the ACC apology as “a wonderful starting point” and who thought it was important for Anglicans “as a church to recognize the sin that we had done” (PR:Kyle) yet, “there are also people here which need to hear it, and Archbishop Peers means nothing to a person here quite honestly.” (PR:Kyle). What was needed, according to Kyle, was something personal that connected with people where they were. Kyle had come across a statement in some journal — he could not remember where — that had, in a way, become a mantra for him: “As long as there is one person who needs to hear the apology, we as a church have to be prepared to apologize” (PR:Kyle). Taking the mantra to heart, Kyle has apologized to the First Nation in his community and to individuals whom, he believed, needed to hear it.

The need to apologize over and over again to whomever needed to hear it was stressed in the Diocese of Yukon. According to Kyle, Archbishop Terry Buckle has offered the same

kind of apologies to Aboriginal people as Primate Peers offered. Darien stated that Bishop Buckle has offered apologies to both Aboriginal Nations and to individuals, and has talked to people-at-large through various interviews, the radio and in small discussion groups. Gary talked about his willingness — and the willingness of the local ministerial — to work with Aboriginal leaders in some type of Truth-and-Reconciliation context (but note that Gary emphasized the bureaucratic responsibility, and an institution-to-institution type of process). Ted served on some of the ADR sessions and stated that one of his responsibilities at the end of the process was “to go around the room and speak to the survivor ... (and) extend a personal apology on behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada” (PR:Ted) — in other words, to put a personal face on the bureaucratic institution.

Several clergy, such as Floyd, had a more mixed response. Floyd believed that the apology was important but the historical context, in which missionaries had lived and the residential schools had been established, also needed to be taken into account. Although he never mentioned the apology, Arthur seemed to be struggling with the need to apologize. Like Floyd, Arthur mentioned the historical context. He talked about the various initiatives that had been undertaken to preserve Aboriginal cultures, and about Aboriginal parents who had chosen to send their children to residential schools. Gary, although willing to be involved in Truth-and-Reconciliation initiatives also indicated he was having trouble with the need to continue offering apologies:

I struggle personally — I'll be very frank with you — with the amount of anger that they have toward us. We have tried to apologize. We have a healing fund. We have tried to ... extend ourselves to conducting services which would be pleasing to them. But I live with the sense that I haven't been forgiven, and I wonder, how many times do I need to say that before it matters (PR:Gary).

Several “divides” emerged among Anglican clergy in the NT and YT. First was the divide between the NT and YT. While clergy in both the NT and YT saw the ACC apology as somewhat irrelevant for the North, their reasons differed. Clergy in the YT saw it as irrelevant because it was offered so far away from those in the community. That sentiment explained the willingness of many to offer personal apologies when appropriate. Clergy in the NT saw it as irrelevant because it did not reflect the NT experience of the schools. None of the NT clergy

participants spoke of on-going efforts to apologize to survivors, but none were asked about such initiatives. The situation in the NT may also explain the lack of personal apologies, if this is indeed the case. The current Archbishop of the Arctic, Andrew Atagotaaluk, is Aboriginal as is one of the Suffragan bishops (Ben Arreak). Given the reality that, according to Frank, 95% of the diocese is Aboriginal as is the majority of the clergy, one wonders how effective an apology given by Aboriginal clergy and bishops to Aboriginal survivors would be.

A second noticeable “divide” was between “newcomers” and “old-timers” in terms of what they knew and how they felt about the ACC or UCC apology. Newcomers to ministry or to the region, with the exception of some who had specialized in Aboriginal studies at some point, tended to know little, if anything, about the apology or to remember their reaction to it beyond very general terms. Others, such as Lisa, focused on the background story to the apology being offered. Speaking about the UCC 1986 apology, Lisa said that it was something people wanted to do “but we didn’t want the church to go bankrupt, and that was a very real fear at that time” (PR:Lisa):

(... there was a sense of ...) Oh my God, goodness — we were part of something, and it was terrible ... that we really damaged this culture and we wanted to apologize, and yet the wording had to kind of tiptoe around that, and I remember that the First Nations response was, “Well, this is nice, but ...” you haven’t really apologized. The church was going, “Well, we wanted to, but we don’t want to be paying millions of dollars.” ... Once the federal government, I think, had settled things out to some degree, and said, “OK, churches you’re responsible for this percentage,” then the United Church was able to do a proper, full apology. (PR:Lisa)

Old-timers, on the other hand, tended to focus on the importance of the apology for the people in their communities. Their views tended to closely aligned with their views about the residential schools. The one exception was Darien who, despite having been in the North for decades, and having served in congregations with a strong Aboriginal presents in the past, currently had minimal contact with Aboriginal people and seemed to have had limited understanding about the ACC’s role in, or responsibility for, the residential school issue. Darien, as did some Aboriginal people, separated Christianity from the abuse and trauma that happened in the schools.

What became evident from conversations with some EuroCanadian clergy was the “what next” factor. As Kyle put it, what he thought parishioners needed to hear from him was: “Yes, something horrible was done. That was never our intention. Here are the things that we have done by way of trying to make things right” (PR:Kyle).

Perceptions by EuroCanadian / Mixed / Unknown Laity

Perceptions on the apology by EuroCanadian laity demonstrated a wider range of responses than either Aboriginal or EuroCanadian clergy perceptions did. Not only did a clear divide exist between “newcomers” and “old-timers” but traces of “old-timer” paternalism could still be found.

Several admitted that they had heard of the Apology but that it had made little impact on them. Janet had been a member of a different denomination. Todd, who had attended both ACC and UCC congregations over the years, remembered having seen literature about the apology in the UCC, but not in the ACC. Evelyn, who had lived in the North for decades and had had considerable interaction with Aboriginal people, said only that she thought the apology had had an impact, “I think it did. I think it must have,” but did not know for sure (PR:Evelyn). Lindsey, who had also lived in the North for several decades, knew that “the United Church was involved in apologizing and those sorts of things” but had no idea whether anything was being done locally (PR:Lindsey).

Others, such as Alice, believed the apology had been necessary, but not necessarily for the reasons stated in the apology itself. Alice did not believe the ACC had deliberately set out to destroy Aboriginal cultures, but rather that it had not realized how destructive its actions would be on those cultures and its members. The apology was necessary because of the unexpected impact on people, and because so many blamed the ACC for what had happened.

Erica had mixed feelings about the apology. She was not trying to question or minimize the suffering, nor was she trying to justify any physical or sexual abuse that may have occurred, but “does that mean then that we have done something wrong? The Church has done something wrong so we have to ...? Have to ... we’d have to apologize and then ... I don’t really know” (PR:Erica).

Part of Erica's difficulty was that she knew people who had worked in residential schools and who were "just devastated ... their years of ... dedicating ..." (PR:Erica) their lives to what they thought was helping people and having it thrown back in their faces as it were. Another part of her difficulty with the church apology was her knowledge of the history of residential schools and missions in the North. She knew that some parents had chosen to send their children to school; they had not been taken by force. She did not believe that the church had been responsible for loss of culture. Echoing what Kiawak and others said, Erica believed that if culture were important to the people, they would have held onto it: "Because as I say the church is not responsible that they can't trap anymore" (PR:Erica). Erica was also aware of the context in which the schools had emerged. She felt that too much of the talk about residential schools and apologies was one sided, believing "it's gone overboard in saying how much they suffered and not anything about what they would be like if they hadn't gone" (PR:Erica). As she put it:

They can't earn a living without an education. And, if there's been a school in very community, they wouldn't have had to have (residential schools). But there wasn't — and there was just no way of learning to read and write. (PR:Erica).

Janna had a similar objection. She felt that too much of the discussion around residential schools and the church apology was one-sided; it ignored the good that had also come out of the schools. Janna spoke about the importance of understanding the context — of what was and was not possible at the time. People just didn't understand the context in which the schools operated. Too many "just think that everything has been like it is now" (PR:Janna). Too many did not know or remember what life had been like in the early years of mission. Because of that lack of knowledge, they did not appreciate the tremendous amount of change that had taken place in the North. In this respect, Janna mirrored Arthur who thought that some of the trauma was due to contact and the amount of change in a relatively short time that had transpired rather than as a result of the residential schools.

Some, such as Joanne, mirrored what Goota felt about the apology: "The apology may have been a step forward, but it wasn't really the churches themselves that did the deed to these people." Those who had actually done the harm should be the ones to apologize (PR:Joanne). Anne, somewhat like Gary, sometimes wondered, "How much do you have to keep apologizing

for things that happened where you had no control over it?” Unlike Gary, it was not a big issue for her (PR:Anne). Kevin (UCC) reflected more of a “so what?” attitude towards the apology, seeing it as a sign but wondering whether anything substantial had really changed. If push came to shove, would we show any more respect of Aboriginal people and Aboriginal cultures than we had in the past? If it came down to gas or oil...

A clear divide emerged in EuroCanadian lay responses to the church apology (whether ACC or UCC) between the ACC and UCC lay participants. Regardless of their views on the apology, ACC laity tended to focus on individuals — missionaries, teachers, parents or students they knew; UCC laity tended to focus on the national UCC apology and deal with it in more abstract terms:

It's not always that “we apologize, and we're done deal, it's over. Our union — our relationship is now unsealed.” It's more potentially to be even become more ... deepened ... potentially because we recognize wrong. Wrong is recognized, so then forgiveness can follow and, at that point, there can be recognition that you need to heal the person that also is the doer of the damage. It's not just the person that was damaged, you know. A lot can be offered to the person that was doing the damage by the person that is essentially being — was damaged. (PR:Kevin)

Lindsey knew about the national UCC apology but had no knowledge of anything happening at the local congregational level. Kevin, on the other hand, knew about the national UCC apology and some local activities. He did not believe the local congregation was going “to re-enact another apology”. As he put it, “I don't think there was any — sort of direct — ok, now at our microcosm kind of level, we're going to do that same kind of apologizing” (PR:Kevin).

It must be noted, however, that, unlike the diocese of Yukon which had considerable history with Aboriginal people in the YT and which emphasized the need to apologize on a personal level, the UCC in both the YT and NT is very much an imported denomination, brought in with the EuroCanadian people who moved north. The UCC has no historical connections with Aboriginal people in either the NT or YT.

Conclusion

I know how often you have heard words which have been empty because they have not been accompanied by actions. I pledge to you my best

efforts and the efforts of our church at the national level, to walk with you along the path of God's healing (Carlson 1995:85).

These words from the ACC apology reflect the underlying philosophy behind much of what the ACC has done since the late 1960s towards reconciling with its Aboriginal membership.

The ACC began with recognizing a problem existed and commissioning a study (i.e., the *Hendry Report*) to investigate the situation. It then moved to accepting many of the study's recommendations. The next two decades saw the ACC continuing what Bompas and other missionaries had done: speaking out against injustice and fighting for Aboriginal rights. It also saw, however, the ACC moving from its colonialist past to initiating programs that would empower Aboriginal people, even within the church institution. In fact, the ACC Apology was not offered to Aboriginal peoples until the ACC had established a track record showing its commitment to changing itself and to moving beyond colonialism towards partnership.

This chapter examines how the ACC policies towards Aboriginal people have changed over the years. There is a twofold purpose for this narrative: to demonstrate ACC commitment to change, and to provide a baseline that could be for assessing how far the changes have filtered down to the local level – and discovering what people outside the national church institution thought and felt about the changes.

Examining what participants had to say about the ACC or UCC apology led to several general observations about the relationship between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples.

First was how often responses tended to mirror each other. Joanne, like Goota, felt that those who committed the crimes should be the ones to apologize, not the Church. Kyle and others, like Aqpik and Goota, believed that the apology was more meaningful if it was personal, face-to-face, and not from some remote (at least from the North) part of the country. Frank, like Nowyook, distinguished the situation in the North from what happened in the South. Janna, like Kiawak, believed that not enough attention was being paid to the good that had existed in the schools or the good that had come out of them. Arthur, like Kiawak, talked about the impact of contact on Aboriginal communities. Erica, like Kiawak, talked about people being able to choose whether they would hold onto or let go of their culture. Second, none — whether

Aboriginal or EuroCanadian — believed the apology should not have been made insofar as it dealt with abuse. None attempted any justification for sexual or physical abuse. None minimized the trauma that many Aboriginal people feel. Where they tended to differ was whether the apology should have been made for anything beyond sexual or physical abuse, what they understood as representative of physical abuse, and what the causes of the trauma were.

This mirroring effect did not include everyone and sometimes remained at a general level. In some ways, the two perspectives — Aboriginal and EuroCanadian — appeared worlds apart.

Aboriginal participants, regardless of their perspectives on the apology, tended to talk in terms of experiences and individuals. Kudloo talked about her brother. Aqpik spoke about her siblings and the need for personal, face-to-face apologies. Goota told of friends and of the need for the nuns who caused so much suffering to apologize. Nowyook and Kiawak shared their own experiences. EuroCanadian participants, on the other hand and regardless of their perspectives on the apology (with a few exceptions), tended to talk about the apology in more general, abstract terms. They focused on context and the historical dimension. As for the children themselves, very little was said. EuroCanadian participants wondered, “what were the options?” as though other types of schooling could have been offered. They never asked me, “what could have been done to make the transition from home to school easier for the children who came?” Aboriginal participants spoke more about the “church” in terms of its relationship with communities; EuroCanadian participants spoke more about the “church” in terms of the national institution.

For most Aboriginal participants, the apology needed to be “alive” in order to be meaningful — something present and responsive to those who needed to hear it. For many EuroCanadian participants, the apology was frozen in eternity, a historic embodiment audible and visible for any who needed to hear it. Such a view contributed to Gary’s frustration about the need to keep apologizing — how often was it necessary to say “I’m sorry” or “we’re sorry?” From his perspective, the apology had been offered and accepted; it was time to move on and let go of the past. From the perspective of people like Aqpik, however, the apology did not become real until it was offered to a specific person who needed to hear it.

What I came to realize was that though different perceptions of one event bound Aboriginal and EuroCanadian ACC (or UCC) people together in a relationship, the two sets of perceptions were at times so far apart that they could easily represent two completely different stories. The issue was not simply whether or not the ACC (or UCC) should have apologized, nor even what the ACC (or UCC) should have apologized for (i.e., the content of the apology) — though both came into play. The dividing issue is what was meant by an apology?

As Christians, the participants may have accepted the theological construct incorporating apologies into a process of reconciliation, and recognized that apologies had to be followed up with action. Even so, not everyone agreed. Some (primarily EuroCanadian) saw the apology as something static, having occurred at a fixed moment of time, and representing a generalized abstraction in the sense of dealing with institutions, theologies and people as a collective. Others (primarily Aboriginal) saw the apology as something dynamic and “alive,” and representing something intimate and personal where one individual interacted with another.

The ACC has come a long way from its colonialist past, nevertheless, participant responses lead to the question of how effective institutional apologies are at the local, congregational level where it is individuals who interact with one another?

13. THE ANTICIPATED PLOT COLLAPSES: THE FAILURES OF THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE

Overview

... it must be recognized that the best of the missionaries, even when they may have avoided functioning explicitly as agents of colonialism, were always implicitly and de facto crucial to the success of colonial expansion.

(Tinker 1993:120)

The dominant narrative regarding Aboriginal-EuroCanadian relationships in the ACC during the residential school era revolved around a perspective of colonialism that admitted only negative aspects and accounts. My research confirmed the dominant narrative yet, at the same time, challenged it with evidence of a more positive narrative that added a richer depth to the colonial experience while undermining it.

In this chapter¹, I consider:

- conceptual weaknesses within the dominant narrative of a negative colonialism due to (1) vagueness surrounding the term itself; and (2) lack of clear boundaries to the term;
- conceptual imprecision which, in turn, leads to (1) over-generalization and over-simplification; (2) contextual blinders that can easily result in caricatures of history and of colonialism itself, and that can contribute to the creation of divisions among indigenous populations; and (3) one-dimensional snapshots of history that perpetuate colonialism in some form;
- colonialism and “colonialism” in the Canadian context;
- insufficiency of the dominant narrative in the Northern context; and
- the dominant narrative as a means to avoid the “big” questions of today.

Conceptual Weaknesses Within the Colonialism Narrative

Blurring of Terminology and Conceptual Vagaries

An inherent problem exists when dealing with colonialism and Canada’s North, regardless of the historical realities that existed. “Colonialism” is one of those terms whose usage is so broad and applied to so many situations that the word itself — though not the realities

to which it points — is almost meaningless. Without a definition — or at least, a working definition of the term — it is impossible to evaluate commonly-considered evidence of colonialism in Canada. The problem is that no such simple definition of the term exists.

The term has changed over the centuries. Originally it referred to colonists and colonies². Fieldhouse notes that, at least as late as the nineteenth century, the word “colonialism” was understood as being related to the “colonies” that had been established in a region: for example, the thirteen colonies of the Americas. According to David Kenneth Fieldhouse, the term indicated “the general condition of overseas dependencies or the colonial system as a whole,” and might have provoked the same kind of reaction as “provincialism” did for some (Fieldhouse 1981:6). By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the term had gradually shifted in meaning and came to refer to the relationship between the colonialist newcomers and the Indigenous population. Without an awareness of the term’s evolution, scholars run the risk of judging sources anachronistically and drawing erroneous conclusions as one expert, Ania Loomba, on colonialism did. Loomba comments on the definition of “colonialism” found in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) stating that the OED:

quite remarkably, avoids any reference to people other than the colonisers, people who might already have been living in those places where colonies were established (Loomba 2010:7).

The definition was hardly remarkable though it could have been critiqued for being “old-fashioned” and not reflecting the modern meaning of the term.

Even the modern meaning of the term, however, poses challenges. In the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, the meaning of colonialism continued to shift. Instead of describing colonies and colonists, “colonialism” in the modern sense shifted to the larger context of a state moving into another country and “settling” its own people in the formerly independent country, transforming it into a dependent region, the economic products of which would then flow back to the foreign country. More recently, “colonialism” came to represent the relationship between colonies/colonists and the original Indigenous inhabitants of wherever the colonies had been established. Osterhammel, for example, emphasizes the power element within relationships, defining colonialism as something deliberate where one society was “externally manipulated and transformed according to the needs and interests of the colonial

rulers” (Osterhammel 2005:15). Building on this definition, Osterhammel characterizes colonialism as:

a relationship of domination between an Indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders ... (in which) the fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule. (Osterhammel 2005:16-17).

Most recently, others, such as George Manuel (Shuswap), an important First Nations writer and leader, have begun looking at colonialism in terms of its impact on the Indigenous population:

For colonialism to be fully effective it is necessary that the leaders who propagate the myths about those whom they have conquered must not only convince themselves of what they say ... they must also convince the conquered. The conquered will only submit to the theft of everything they hold dear when they can be convinced that it was been done for their own good. (A-Grant 1996:88)

A quick perusal of different dictionaries and authors reveals how nebulous the term actually is. The term “colonialism” has been defined as “a practice of domination” (Standard 2006), a “policy” or “system” (American Heritage 2006), an “idea” or “quality” (Dictionary.com n.d.), an “attitude” or “behaviour” (Perley 1993). Some see the term as interchangeable or linked with “imperialism” (Osterhammel 2005:4; Loomba 2010:7; Leonard 2005; Standard 2006), while others see “colonialism” as distinct from imperialism (Cannella 2004:14; Loomba 2010:10-12). Some scholars trace colonialism’s origins to the fifteenth-century promulgation of the “Doctrine of Discovery” (ELCIC 2007; Healing 2005; Leonard 2005) while others, such as Osterhammel, trace it back to the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest of Mexico (Osterhammel 2005:25-38). Still other scholars, such as Fieldhouse, Pruden and Steinberg, date “colonialism” to nineteenth-century economics and the Industrial Revolution (Fieldhouse 1981, Pruden and Steinberg 1963). Victoria Freeman (2005), on the other hand, links colonialism with nineteenth-century Social Darwinism.

Different approaches to studying colonialism also exist. Scholars such as Osterhammel (2005) and Fieldhouse (1981) approach colonialism from a macro level, building a theoretical construct which they apply to colonialism in its various manifestations around the world. Other scholars, such as Anderson and Robertson (2007) and Perley (1993), approach colonialism from a micro level exploring colonialism and its complexities within a specific region. Some, such as Osterhammel (2005) and Fieldhouse (1981), approach colonialism from the perspective of those in power. Others, such as Tinker (1993) and Manuel & Posluns (1974) approach it from the perspective of the Indigenous population, that is, from the perspective of those impacted by colonialism.

Complicating the discussion even further is the fact that scholars in different disciplines approach the topic from different angles. Ferry, for example, examines colonialism from an economic perspective while Chancelé speaks about its social dimension (Balandier 1966:37), and L. Joubert notes the gap between what colonialism was on paper — i.e., in official policies — and what happened in practice (Balandier 1966:38). While some scholars focus on the intent of colonialism, approaching it from the perspective of the colonialist powers), other scholars, such as Tinker, focus on the impact of colonialism, approaching the topic from the perspective of the Indigenous population.

If scholars cannot agree on what the term means — for example, is it an attitude, system, or process — then is the evidence they select equally ambiguous?

Some scholars mitigate some of the difficulties by recognizing that colonialism is not something static, but rather a process in which numerous phases or stages can be identified, some of which are more destructive and some less destructive of other cultures than others. Osterhammel identifies six stages or epochs of modern colonialism (Osterhammel 2005:25-38). Meinig identifies eight phases starting from “reconnaissance of the unknown terrain” and ending with “development of a complete colonial ruling apparatus.” Meinig’s model is useful in that it allows for historical deviations as well as for “intermediate phases” in which Indigenous people might exert some power. Osterhammel notes that in these intermediate phases, “... the Europeans generally sought a peaceful *modus vivendi* with the local authorities” (Osterhammel 2005:25-41).

A second way scholars deal with this complexity has been to recognize the existence of different types of colonialism. For example, Leonard speaks about the “colonialism of domination” (Osterhammel 2005:355) and “base colonies” (Osterhammel 2005:357). Wolfe (Wolfe 2006) identifies colonialism in America as “settler colonialism.” Osterhammel speaks of “exploitation colonies” in British India, “maritime enclaves” in Hong Kong, “settlement colonies” in North America (Osterhammel 2005:11). Other types of colonialism that Osterhammel recognizes include “international colonialism” when one nation interacts with another; “internal colonialism” when a dominant “centre” treats dependent “peripheries” within a nation in a colonialistic manner; “subcolonial” colonialism when one colony interacts with another; “formal” colonialism where direct control exists; and “quasi-colonial” or “informal” colonialism where control is indirect (Osterhammel 2005:17-21). Immanuel Wallerstein goes so far as to distinguish between “colonialism” and the “colonial situation” (Balandier 1966) making it possible for colonies to exist without colonialism (in the modern sense of the term) and for colonialism (again, in the modern sense) to exist without actually having colonies. Other scholars, such as Coates (1985), focuses on colonialism within a specific region such as Canada’s North.

The purpose of this discussion into the terminology of colonialism is not to critique any particular study of colonialism, but rather to call attention to the challenge posed by the topic. The very pluralities of definitions, variations, disciplines, and approaches reveals an ambiguity to the term. As Osterhammel puts it, a “colossal vagueness” surrounds “colonialism” (Osterhammel 2005:4).

Colonialism or Not Colonialism? The Absence of Clear Boundaries

Another problem for scholars speaking about “colonialism” is the lack of a clear demarcation between what is and what is not colonialism. What are the parameters to the term “colonialism?” For example, racism may be a component of colonialism, but how does one recognize racism outside of colonialism? Similarly, paternalism may be a reflection of colonialist attitudes, but paternalism can exist without reflecting colonialism. How do the two expressions of paternalism differ? What is the distinction between “colonialism” and “ethnocentrism?” Or between “colonialism” and “nationalism?”

However we define colonialism, much of the YT's and NT's political existence as a territory within Canada, beginning in the early twentieth century and until it achieved self-government, the northern people were not able to decide policies for themselves or shape their own destiny. Such experiences could certainly be labelled as colonialism or internal colonialism if we take Canada as a reference and assume that Aboriginal people are Canadians. They could also, however, be viewed as efforts to forge a national identity, to assert Canada's national sovereignty over northern territories, and to ensure fairness or equivalency in laws throughout the nation. Where does colonialism end and nationalism begin? Where do the two overlap?

Even Césaire's "thingafication," is problematic. While he recognizes a process of dehumanization within colonialism³ (Césaire 1972:21), the process of dehumanization is also an inherent component within bureaucratization (e.g., social insurance numbers become our identity for interacting with bureaucracies). Where is the dividing line between colonialization and bureaucratization when analyzing the dehumanization process?

This lack of identifiable parameters — of clear boundaries surrounding terms such as "colonialism," "racism," "imperialism," and "nationalism" — affects our ability to perceive the issues let alone deal with them.

Conceptual Imprecision Within the Colonialism Narrative

Flattening of Data Through Over-Generalization and Over-Simplification

Over-generalization begins the moment we assume that Europeans (whether "Whites" or "Christian") are the only ones to have practiced colonialism. Mukhopadhyay and Sarkar note that the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* defines colonialism as "a machine oriented civilization with Christian origins" encountering "a non-Christian civilization that lacks machines" (Mukhopadhyay and Sarkar 1996:235). Contrary to such views, the practice of colonialism in both its "original" and "modern" meanings is not limited to Western nations. Colonies and different forms of colonialism have been practiced by nations/empires and peoples around the world, including China, Japan, India, the Aztecs, the Incas, and others — but this is a topic for further research and is beyond the scope of this project.

Over-generalization continues the moment we talk about Aboriginal, European, or EuroCanadian people. As mentioned in Chapter 2, what existed were different groups or nations that we tend to lump together and label as “Aboriginal,” “European,” or “EuroCanadian.” While assigning labels facilitates a generalized discussion, drawing conclusions based on those labels can result in distorted over-generalizations. Such labels — along with the conclusions derived therefrom — run the risk of perpetuating and reinforcing colonialist views by depersonalizing both the “Self” and the “Other” into abstractions and by negating the variety of interactions, and the uniqueness of individuals and groups being discussed.

Over-simplification occurs when we assume that something true at some level is true for all levels. In his summation of modern colonialism, R. Kennedy presents a useful model for understanding colonialism; unfortunately, it also exemplifies a type of over-simplification. Building on a racist interpretation of colonialism, Kennedy summarizes modern colonialism in the following terms:

the color line, political dependency, economic dependency, virtually non-existent ‘social’ benefits, the lack of contact between natives and ‘the dominant caste’ (...) predicated on ‘a series of rationalizations’; for example: the superiority of the white race; the inability of the native population to govern itself correctly; the despotism of traditional chiefs; the temptation for present leaders to form ‘a dictatorial clique’, native inability to develop their own natural resources; the feeble financial resources of colonial peoples; the need to maintain national prestige, etc. (Balandier 1966:38-39)

In his example, similar to the definition of colonialism in the *International Encyclopedia of Social Services*, Kennedy identifies “the superiority of the white race” as a characteristic of colonialism (Balandier 1966:38-39). That Europeans and EuroCanadians may have held attitudes of superiority is true, and may indeed characterize European/EuroCanadian colonialism. The over-simplification / over-generalization occurs by the implicit assumption readers likely draw that what was true for “the white race” was not true for Aboriginal or other peoples. John Grant, in his book *Moon of Wintertime*, demonstrates that the “white race” did not have a monopoly on feelings of superiority; Aboriginal people also had a sense of their own superiority (Grant 1985:4-25). To assume that Europeans/EuroCanadians held such views but

that Aboriginal people did not is an over-simplification that ignores the reality of specific encounters. Worse still, it reflects a form of colonialism that continues to see Aboriginal people as somehow less than human (or more than human) in that they do not have the same tendencies as do other human beings, and cannot see them as having been anything other than victims of European / EuroCanadian aggrandizement.

At times, over-generalization and over-simplification lead to historical inaccuracies that ultimately weaken the point an author is trying to make. For example, Amagoalik wrote:

Since Europeans arrived on our shores more than five hundred years ago, there has never really been a harmonious relationship between the new arrivals and the original inhabitants of North America. The history of this relationship is marked by crushing colonialism, attempted genocide, wars, massacres, theft of land and resources, broken treaties, broken promises, abuse of human rights, relocations, residential schools, and so on (Amagoalik 2008:93).

As powerful as the above statement is, it also undermines itself. According to this statement, the history of Aboriginal-EuroCanadian encounters reflects a history of European/EuroCanadian oppression and Aboriginal victimization. What it ignores is evidence of mutuality, interdependence and cooperation that existed as well as evidence of Aboriginal agency⁴. Aboriginal peoples in Canada have never been conquered. First contact often began as alliances between nations (e.g., Dickason 1993:98-135). Recognition of Aboriginal presence and claims to the land led to English, French, and Canadian governments negotiating treaty rights with Aboriginal peoples. The European and Canadian governments may not have honoured the treaties; European and EuroCanadian peoples may have negotiated in bad faith — Amagoalik is quite correct there — but they did negotiate and did recognize certain Aboriginal claims to the country (e.g., Dickason 1993:122-135; Richardson 1993:88-94; Coates 1988:24-40). Amagoalik's over-simplification unfortunately perpetuates a myth of Aboriginal peoples as perpetual victims. Furthermore, by subsuming the variety of encounters that existed into a singular "relationship," and by over-generalizing that singular relationship as "never" having been harmonious, Amagoalik loses readers who are aware of a different story before getting to his main point about the history of "crushing colonialism..." At the same time

his statement is important because of its impact on the relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada's North.

Noted author on colonialism, Ania Loomba, has also fallen into the over-generalization/over-simplification trap. As recently as 2010, and reminiscent of Kennedy's "lack of contact" characteristic of colonialism, Loomba wrote that "In Australia, New Zealand or Canada, 'hybridity' is less evident between descendants of white settlers and those of the original inhabitants" (Loomba 2010:14). While she may have intended to flag the lack of people of mixed-heritage in the power structure in these countries, Loomba is seemingly oblivious to the widespread practice of intermarriage by French *coureurs des bois*, Nor'Westers, and HBC personnel to Aboriginal women, as well as to the type of relationships between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian peoples that emerged as a result of intermarriage. By displaying her ignorance of the Canadian situation (or having written a poorly-worded sentence), Loomba effectively undermines her position.

So extensive was the practice of intermarriage in Canada that a new "hybrid" group was born — the Métis/northern Metis, of European/EuroCanadian and Aboriginal origins. Many EuroCanadian and Aboriginal people alike are of mixed heritage even if they do not refer to themselves as Métis or northern Metis. Some scholars have gone so far as to say that "[today] French ancestry is almost the equivalent of Indian ancestry" (Buenker & Ratner 2005:27).

Intermarriage was not simply about lonely men taking Aboriginal women to satisfy their desires (though for some, such as HBC Governor George Simpson, that was certainly true (Raffan 2007)). Intermarriage became a means whereby both European/EuroCanadian traders gained access to Aboriginal customers and Aboriginal traders gained access to the trading posts and provisions (Campbell 1987:28; Van Kirk 1980:28-29). As Sylvia van Kirk notes:

The Indian viewed marriage in an integrated social and economic context; a marital alliance created a reciprocal social bond which served to consolidate his economic relationship with a stranger. "Thus, through marriage, the trader was drawn into the Indian's kinship circle." And in return for giving the traders sexual and domestic rights to their women, the Indians expected reciprocal privileges such as free access to the posts and provisions. (Van Kirk 1980:28-29).

In return, the Home Guard got items that made their own lives easier — brass kettles, knives, hatchets, guns, tobacco, ammunition, western clothing (Bryce 1910:21, 103), and alcohol. In time, Home Guard communities came to be seen as places to leave Aboriginal people who could not survive off the land — the elderly, the sick, the very young, the orphans — knowing that the HBC would look after them (Fossett 2001:154-167, 182; Van Kirk 1980:76-77). The Home Guard grew, and with the increased population — and children — so did fur trading outpost expenses. To give an idea of the problem in 1810, the winter population at Fort Vermilion was thirty-six men, twenty-seven women and sixty-seven children (Van Kirk 1980:89).

Prior to 1870, a remarkable relationship existed between First Nations, Métis, and EuroCanadian settlers in the Red River area of what is now Manitoba. Not only was there intermarriage, but the children of mixed heritage could, and did, have considerable status within the society and the HBC (cf. Pettipas 1974; McLaren 1997) although it must be noted that they still were not considered the equal of European/EuroCanadian purebloods. The situation changed in 1870 with the transfer of HBC territory to the newly-created Dominion of Canada. With the transfer of power, came the influx of settlers who knew nothing of Aboriginal people in the region nor of the history or the relationship that had built up over the years. The relatively harmonious relationship that had developed over time faltered. The new relationship marginalised Aboriginal and mixed-heritage individuals. The loss of status for those people of Métis/mixed blood who had been an integral part of Red River society contributed to the Riel rebellions of 1870 and 1885. Loomba's over-generalization and over-simplification of the topic led to either a poorly-worded sentence or a caricature of Canadian history that effectively undermined whatever point trying to be made.

Contextual Blindness: Recipe for a Caricature of History

Over-generalization and over-simplification can also lead to interpreting accounts as evidence of “colonialism” without taking into account contextual factors that may be reflected in the writings.

One example is the “myth of the dying Indian.” For many European and EuroCanadian people, it was obvious that Aboriginal people would simply disappear given the “superiority” of European / EuroCanadian society. Aboriginal people tend to respond by emphasizing “we

are here; we have not gone away” and by stating that the report of their dying out was a myth propagated through colonialism (e.g., Sioui 2008:69). Countering the myth, however, is the fact that, at different periods of Canadian history and in different parts of the country, Aboriginal people were dying out — it was not a myth. A high percentage of Aboriginal people did die as a result of contact with Europeans and European diseases (J-Grant 1985:97; Sioui 2008:104; Mishler and Simeone 2004:36-50). In the NT/YT, the Han population alone declined by over 75% in the period from 1871 to 2000, and possibly over 96% in the period from 1840 (where estimates are conjectured) to 2000 (Mishler and Simeone 2004:37-38). Most devastating was a series of epidemics between 1846 and 1897: unknown cause (1846-1851); scarlet fever (1865-1866); dysentery (1873); diphtheria (1883, 1885); smallpox (1880s); and coughing/bleeding from lungs (1897) (Mishler and Simeone 2004:12-13). To deny the facts leads to see any comment about “dying Indians” as indicative of colonialism. To emphasize only the facts leads to ignoring the colonialist worldview out of which many Europeans/EuroCanadians operated.

For example, one European visitor to the Northwest Territories in the 1920s, Raymond Murray Patterson, comments about Aboriginal people dying out “to make room for white man” (Patterson 2008:57, 114). It is possible to conclude that Patterson’s comments reflected an arrogance commonly associated with colonialism and an implicit acceptance of anthropological principles of Social Darwinism. Patterson continues, however, by saying that “the flu was killing them ‘by scores’” (Patterson 2008:57,114). How should Patterson’s comments about the “dying Indian” then be interpreted? Does the fact that Aboriginal people were dying because of one of the epidemics sweeping the territory preclude seeing his comments as reflecting colonialism? This is why the context in which the statement was made needs to be taken into account — whether it be historical, social, theological, or the cumulative body of writings by the author⁵. The Rev. Thomas Jabez Marsh also made a comment about “Indians” being a “dying race,” but how is that comment to be understood? Evidence exists that he did hold colonialist attitudes. Marsh certainly was ethnocentric and held a colonialism-type attitude believing that Aboriginal children would be better off removed from their parents. However, evidence also exists that he was not out to “kill the Indian” in the children, making a colonialist

interpretation of his remark about a “dying race” more problematic. In his 1906 report to the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), Marsh notes:

Class-room Work. — The subjects taught in our institute include, reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, grammar, geography, dictation, literature, history and Holy Scripture, as well as occasional lessons in the reading of their own native language both in the syllabic and Roman characters (Johns 1971:6).

This quote runs counter to some charges about what happened in residential schools. The quote also challenges A-Grant’s assertion that the schools could be understood only within the context of colonialism. While it is possible to modify “colonialism” for the Canadian context to accommodate such challenges, I have chosen simply to flag the challenge and acknowledge the tension between a vague and imprecise term and the historical realities of Canada’s North.

Where does history end and colonialist myth begin? Might both interpretations be valid? If one does not acknowledge the tension that exists in interpreting situations, it is easier to compose a one-dimensional snapshot of history in which everything is labelled “colonialism” (or “not colonialism”); the important fact of the devastation that resulted simply from European/EuroCanadian contact with Aboriginal peoples is missed.

Another example appears in Myra Rutherdale’s book, *Women and the White Man’s God* (2002). At one point, Rutherdale links attitudes towards cleanliness held by many women missionaries with Albert Memmi’s statement that all mythical portraits of the colonized included, among other descriptors, seeing Aboriginal people as being excessively backward (Rutherdale 2002:30)

Most missionaries in northern Canada described the appearance and behaviour of Aboriginal peoples as if viewed through what Mary Louise Pratt has termed “imperial eyes.” The deeply embedded Victorian sentiment that “cleanliness is next to Godliness” was held by many women missionaries and, according to them, left Aboriginal peoples quite far from salvation (Rutherdale 2002:31).

From one perspective, the above paragraph describes what is obviously an example of colonialism, in which European/EuroCanadian women missionaries could not appreciate the value of Aboriginal peoples. Since Aboriginal peoples’ concepts of cleanliness did not match

those of the European/EuroCanadian missionaries, it was easy for the latter to assume that Aboriginal peoples were backward or less advanced / less civilized than were the missionaries. However, given that the European/EuroCanadian women missionaries generally came from southern Canada or Europe where they had access to many conveniences not available in Canada's North at the time, one might also ask whether such comments were really examples of "imperial eyes" and colonialism or ethnocentric reflections of culture shock?

In some ways, it is impossible to say because Rutherford presents only part of the narrative. It would be interesting to learn what Aboriginal people thought about the women missionaries' obsession with cleanliness. The lack of Aboriginal perspectives facilitates the writing of a history that at once espouses a negative colonialism and reflects a negative colonialism by the omission.

Contextual Blindness: A Means To Create Internal Divisions

Labelling missionary activities as expressions of colonialism raises questions about conversions that too often lead to black-and-white caricatures of the past: one either remained traditional or became a victim of colonialism. Those who converted had bought into colonialism propaganda; they were "red apples" — red on the outside, but white inside (PS:Goota). No place exists for Aboriginal agency other than resistance and opposition to the colonialists or conquerors. No middle ground exists, nor is there any place of negotiation where Aboriginal people might pick-and-choose aspects of European or EuroCanadian cultures without losing their own identity.

Distinguishing "colonialism" from "conquest," George Manuel (Shuswap) writes, "Conquest only becomes colonialism when the conquerors try to convince the conquered that the rape of his mother was committed for the sake of some higher good" (A-Grant 1996:88). The lack of grey areas in the snapshot created by Manuel's definition assumes that "the conquered" would never believe in the "higher good" without any prompting or compulsion by "the conquerors." Such a perception may explain why many people believe that Aboriginal people were always forced to convert to Christianity and that, to be free of colonialism, they must reject Christianity and return to traditional teachings. The possibility that Aboriginal

people may have chosen Christianity does not exist: Aboriginal Christians are simply products of colonialism, imprisoned within a colonialist mindset.

Such views result from an over-simplified understanding of contact and conversion. Certainly, some were forced to convert to Christianity. Certainly, some chose to convert in order to get benefits from Christian (including nominally Christian) communities and organizations. But some Aboriginal people also genuinely converted to Christianity and some choose to remain Christian because of their faith⁶. Some Aboriginal people took elements of Christianity that they blended with their traditional spirituality (as demonstrated both by Kerry Abel (1993) and Jean-Guy Goulet (1998) in their studies of the Dene-Dha's transformation of Christianity into Dene forms). In some cases, Aboriginal peoples were converted to Christianity by Aboriginal or Métis clergy and have come to see Christianity as "their" religion (MacDonald 2009). In some cases, it was their Christian faith that helped them deal with the pain of residential schools (e.g., PS:Oshutsiak)

For some, being a Christian is not a rejection of their Aboriginal identity. As Bishop Andrew Atagotaaluk of the diocese of the Arctic (Inuit) put it:

When God calls me,
 he is calling me
 as an Inuk person;
 he's not trying to move me
 into another culture (Carlson and Dumont 2003:23)

Many Aboriginal people have the remarkable capacity to distinguish the message of Christianity from Christianity's messengers. As Gitk'san elder Vi Smith narrates in a video:

They came to us in the name of Jesus. They brought to us the story and promise of redemption, a balm for our wounded hearts. Many there were among us who received him for his yoke was gentle and his burden light. His ways were the ways of the Creator we loved. We saw that he came to fulfil the old ways, not to abolish them. For us this Jesus came as a new spring from whom we could drink again the living waters. All my relations. ... We accepted Jesus but we got the church (Vi Smith, *The Seventh Fire*)

Ignoring Aboriginal peoples' very varied responses to Christianity leads not only to a caricature of history that characterizes all Aboriginal conversions as being the fruit of

colonialism; it also carries with it colonialist seeds that do not respect Aboriginal people as having the capability to make their own decisions and opens the door to conflicts and divisions within Aboriginal communities as Aboriginal Christians have sometimes discovered.

Breaking the automatic link between Christianity and colonialism opens new doors, making it possible to see Aboriginal spiritualities in revivals of traditional ways, and in the emergence of an Aboriginal Christianity. All too often, unfortunately, Aboriginal Christians find themselves devalued and dismissed as brainwashed products of colonialism by other Aboriginal people rather than as agents in their own right who may have converted to Christianity ... but on their own terms as noted anthropologist Jean-Guy Goulet discovered in his research on the Dene:

The analysis of Alexis Seniantha's experience and of the religious behaviour among the Dènè Tha leads us to another phenomenon, a rather superficial religious dualism beneath which lives the same religion within the same worldview, that of the ancient Dènè Tha. Religious pluralism or religious dualism? Yes, if we limit ourselves to the external aspects of religious expression. Religious pluralism or religious dualism? No, if we pay attention to meanings, to Dènè ways of talking and modes of understanding. Those who appear from the outside, sometimes as "practicing catholics," and sometimes as "practicing their own religious traditions," have, for a long time, posited a fundamental equivalence in terms of meaning and function between the elements of these two cult traditions which they bring into coexistence in their external aspects. These Dènès Tha whom the Church counts as among its members and who freely present themselves as Roman Catholics have not modified their worldview nor stopped valuing as a religious experience personal knowledge that they have gained through dreams and visions (Goulet 1992:147-182, translated by the author).

Or, as Bishop Andrew Atagotaaluk put it:

I began to realize that Jesus is a God person, but he also has respect for all the kinds of people in the world. I started to sense that I was not really presenting Christ as an Inuk. I was presenting him more like a white person I started to realize that I had to believe in Jesus as an Inuk and do things the way he did, but in an Inuit way. It isn't enough to present Jesus as the truth and the way. You have to take culture into account as well. That's the way he presented himself ... And I began to see that when God calls me, he is calling me as an Inuk person; he's not trying to move me into another culture (Carlson and Dumont 2003:33-34).

In other words, through over-generalizations, and over-simplification, our efforts to recognize the colonialism of the past can lead to new forms of colonialism in the present by introducing a colonialized history of oppression and victimization in which Aboriginal people were forever helpless and passive in the face of White dominance. For Aboriginal peoples to buy into such a history by seeing Aboriginal Christians as “brainwashed” or “red apples” is, in effect, to deny that they were ever powerful, self-sufficient communities, and that at least some individuals were capable of making up their own minds — adopting and adapting what they wanted to of Christianity.

Colonialism — *Whose Colonialism?*

What has been discussed so far reflects a primarily Western understanding of history, not Aboriginal understandings. The question to be asked is whether Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples have the same narrative when dealing with specific situations and whether they interpret those situations in similar ways.

For example, when examining the history of the Klondike gold rush and the creation of Moosehide, one encounters not only different narratives but also different interpretations of those facts. Reflecting a EuroCanadian interpretation of the encounter, Northern historian Ken Coates, notes that the gold rush “sharpened the determination of the Anglican missionaries to fight for the rights of the Yukon Natives” (Coates 1991a:129). He discusses Bishop Bompas’ efforts to get compensation for Aboriginal loss of land, Bompas’ 1898 debate with Constantine of the NorthWest Mounted Police over the question of Native land rights in the Dawson City area, and the eventual setting aside of “small plots of land ... for the Natives” (Coates 1991a:130). Coates interprets such initiatives as an example of how Bompas, “combined Native territorial rights with the Christian mission.” Believing that his “mission represented the Natives’ best chance for a viable spiritual and economic future,” Bompas, “like all missionaries,” of the time saw “no contradiction in demanding attention to Native rights and suggesting that compensation come by way of support for the Anglican missions” (Coates 1991a:129). Nowhere in Coates’ account is there a suggestion that Aboriginal people protested the seizure of their land, or were involved in the creation of Moosehide. Nor is there mention

of other Anglican missionaries in the Dawson area who were also protesting and trying to ameliorate the situation.

Mishler and Simeone present a different EuroCanadian account, based on Flewelling's diaries. In their narrative, it is the Anglican missionary Frederick Flewelling — not Bompas — who acted as protector of the Han who did not know they had been swindelled or taken advantage of.

In November, 1896, the Anglican missionary Frederick Flewelling arrived in the Han village of Tr'ochëk. ... According to Flewelling, the Han, 'through a piece of bad management and influenced by Whites' sold their land to the miners while speculators had purchased all the land within a two-mile radius of the mouth of the river leaving the Han without a place to live. Flewelling therefore purchased a forty-acre tract two miles down the Yukon where he proposed to resettle the Han and build a mission (Mishler and Simeone 2004:20-21).

In Flewelling's account, as Mishler and Simeone point out, the Han were naïve Aboriginal peoples who were too innocent to understand what was happening while the miners were speculators, swindlers — less than admirable elements of society. According to Dobrowolsky, Flewelling did not actually buy the land; he applied to purchase it but withdrew his application when the government allotted the Tr'ondëk Hwëch' in a reserve of 160 acres — large enough to settle on but too small to be self-sufficient (Dobrowolsky 2003:32).

One Han version of events, however, differs significantly from either of the two above narratives:

My father was chief at the time of the gold rush. He was the first chief there is. He came along from Alaska, drift up with a few of his people, must have been Eagle, Alaska was their main place.

He never see any white people in his life before then. But, he knew that they were human beings, and he was friendly with them and welcome them. And he told his people to be good to them too. So they are, and they good friends.

But my dad didn't want my people to get mixed up with them. Because he thought it would ruin their lives and spoil them, and they'd get drinking and things like that. And so he figured he'll move them down to Moosehide about three miles away from Dawson. He was afraid of

alcohol because he saw that they were drinking and things like that, so he thought it wasn't good enough for his people. They live quite simple lives.

Moosehide was a little reserve, I would call it. They moved down there and then started to build cabins to live in. The government give them land there so they figured it would be far enough away from Dawson. Where it was civilized. The government wanted them to live across the (Yukon) river, but my father thought it was too handy to come across back and forth (Mishler and Simeone 2004:21-22).

In this version, Anglican missionaries played no role in what happened, miners were not portrayed as evil swindlers, nor were the Han themselves portrayed as innocent victims. Rather, at least Chief Isaac was very much aware of what was going — despite never having seen white men before — and took the initiative to protect his people.

What this brief foray into one episode of Yukon history reveals is how one's understanding of what happened depends, to a considerable degree, on the sources one uses, and how — consequently — one's interpretation of why events unfolded the way they did may be based on incomplete data. Using the EuroCanadian versions above, it is very easy to conclude that Aboriginal people were victims, and that the displacement of Aboriginal people provides an illustration of Canadian colonialism, as does the Anglican missionaries' tendency to see Aboriginal people as too helpless to understand what was happening or do anything to protect themselves. Using the Han version of the story, however, a different picture emerges in which the Han people were very much agents of their own destiny. They did not consider the miners particularly evil — rather, they welcomed them as people in need. They did not simply accept what the government offered — rather, they made their own decisions.

One must wonder whether the incident surrounding the creation of Moosehide was an example of colonialism with the expected passivity of the colonized people, or whether colonialism was found mostly in the minds of the missionaries and the EuroCanadian historians while the colonialist aspects of the situation were not interiorized, or interpreted as such, by the local Aboriginal people themselves.

Colonialism and “Colonialism” in the Canadian Context

Colonialism and Not Colonialism?

All strands in the above discussion come into play when dealing with the situation in Canada — were some situations representative of the negative colonialism of the dominant narrative, representative of a different colonialism that included both negative and positive dimensions, or representative of something other than colonialism?

The term “colonialism” may be vague. There may well be a tendency to over-generalize and over-simplify history so that colonialism seems to exist where it might not have. Even so, it is not possible to conclude that colonialism in Canada did not exist. There is a reality to which the term “colonialism” points. We label that reality as “colonialism” and recognize its appearance in specific situations and among specific peoples. Colonialism — particularly the negative colonialism of the dominant narrative — is part of Canadian history. Aboriginal people were (and still are) often exploited by European / EuroCanadian people who were (and are) in positions of power.

European / EuroCanadian people often had attitudes of superiority which they communicated to Aboriginal people in many ways. For example, in residential schools, colonialism in various incarnations was inevitable. Most teachers came from other parts of the world, and from cultures far removed from those of the Aboriginal children in their charge. Given that the teachers were adults and had power and that most students were children who had no power, distorted power relations were reasonable expectations. What adults accepted as normative and what they rejected as not normative would have been communicated to the children, with the children having little to no possibility to voice or seek out alternative views.

At the same time, however, evidence about the situation in Canada also exists that runs counter to the dominant narrative. Contrary to the dominant view that colonialism is characterized by a foreign minority subjugating an Indigenous majority (à la Osterhammel), Canadian history reveals quite a different picture. Aboriginal peoples in Canada have never been conquered by European/EuroCanadians. Domination of Aboriginal peoples — apart from what happened in residential schools and up until the twentieth century — occurred when European/EuroCanadian foreigners were the majority and the Indigenous population the

minority in their own land. Canadian history is replete with numerous examples of Aboriginal nations being strong and independent during early years of contact but falling under EuroCanadian domination in the aftermath of devastating epidemics or famines which severely reduced their numbers. For example, in 1634, the Wendat (Huron) numbered somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000 people (Sioui 1994:84-88). Five years later, however, only 9000 or so remained (Trigger 1987:588-589). It was only after such a huge population loss that some survivors placed themselves under French “protection” and ultimately found themselves under French domination. Domination was the result not of colonialism but of contact with Europeans/EuroCanadians and being exposed, in this case, to diseases against which the Wendat had no immunity.

A similar situation developed when large numbers of European/EuroCanadian immigrants moved into Aboriginal territories so that, once again, Aboriginal peoples became minorities within their own lands. Until the early nineteenth century, the Mississaugas of Credit River and Iroquois nations formed the majority of the population in southern Ontario. The relationship between Ontario’s Aboriginal peoples and EuroCanadian settlers tended to be reciprocal; socializing and intermarriage did occur. It was not until the influx of EuroAmerican settlers into the region following the War of 1812 that the dynamics of that relationship changed. By 1816, the Mississaugas found themselves outnumbered in their own land by a ratio of 10:1 or even 15:1 (D-Smith 1995:38). Only then, did they become a minority in their own territory. Only then, did the Mississaugas fall victim to EuroCanadian expansionism and domination. A similar situation emerged in the Yukon with the influx of fortune hunters during the Klondike Gold Rush (see Chapter 5). The worst of what we frequently label as “colonialism” — laws and practices specifically designed to destroy Aboriginal peoples, cultures, and traditions — did not come into effect until after Confederation and after Aboriginal peoples were no longer the majority in their own land. Such facts do not negate the existence of domination, but they do raise the question of whether “colonialism” is the best label to describe those encounters.

Colonialism, Evangelicalism and the Residential Schools

A similar complexity comes into play when dealing with residential schools, as exemplified by assessments of the Rev John West which praise him as having planted the germ

out of which grew the Protestant schools and college in Manitoba and condemn him for his having created the first residential school.

Missionaries — in all parts of Canada — included education as one of their responsibilities. For Protestants, this emphasis on education can be traced back to the Protestant Reformation (see Chapter 3). In time, they or the Churches they represented established colleges, universities and theological training schools throughout Canada. Included among the schools were Pictou Academy (the Rev. Thomas McCulloch), Trinity College/University of Toronto (Bishop John Strachan, Anglican), McMaster University (the Rev. R.A. Fyfe, Baptist), the University of Manitoba (Archbishop Taché, Roman Catholic, and Bishop Machray, Anglican), McGill University (Presbyterian), Université Laval (Roman Catholic), Victoria University (Methodist), Mount Allison University (Wesleyan), Queen's University (Presbyterian), Université d'Ottawa (Roman Catholic), Wycliffe College/University of Toronto (Anglican) and Manitoba College (the Rev. John Black, Presbyterian) (Klempa 1994:1-12; Oliver 1930:147-165).

Providing education for Aboriginal peoples was, in many ways, an extension of their perceived mandate to provide education for non-Aboriginal people as well. Colonialism may well have been part of the residential school narrative, but colonialism is not located in the fact of that missionaries and clergy believed in the importance of educating Aboriginal peoples, but rather in what kind of education, and how that education, was provided.

The Insufficiency of the Colonialism Hypothesis in the Northern Context

General

In addition to the challenges for dealing with colonialism in the Canadian context, new challenges emerge in the Northern context.

Whatever missionaries believed about Aboriginal people and their cultures, and however much missionaries wanted to “civilize” Aboriginal people, missionaries in Canada's North were constrained by two major impediments: the geography and the climate.

Trying to turn northern nomads into farmers was not only an unreasonable expectation, it was an impossible one. Most of the NT/YT is too far north for farming to be a viable activity. The soil is either of poor quality, too shallow, or non-existent. The growing season is too short

for most crops. Traditional ways had to be preserved if the people — both Aboriginal and missionaries — were to survive. Anglican missionaries may have had small plots for themselves, and Anglican residential schools in the southern NT/YT did have small farms, but too often, food had to be imported from elsewhere or someone had to hunt, fish, or trap for food. Such realities not only affected the missionary task in Canada's North; they also account (at least in part) for the reluctance of the government for many years to get involved in the North, believing that Aboriginal people were best left as Indians (cf. Coates 1991b). The result was, as John Grant noted, that “little was heard in the north of the ambitious plans for transforming Indian society” and that missionaries (both RC and ACC) were, for the most part, “content to leave Indian ways of life largely intact” (J-Grant 1985:110). As Sam put it, non-Aboriginal people had to assimilate to Aboriginal ways if they were to survive (PR:Sam).

It was only later — and dates vary according to region — that governments (federal, provincial, or territorial) began to assert their commitment to transforming Aboriginal cultures and finally accepting their responsibility to provide education in the NT and YT: at first, by providing funding for Church-run schools; and, after World War II, by assuming full responsibility for the education system and running the schools themselves.

By the late nineteenth century, the situations in the NT / YT were sufficiently different as to lead to different experiences of EuroCanadian culture and colonialism-type experiences. While the YT did come under government control and government policies in the nineteenth century, primarily as a result of the Klondike Gold Rush with its influx of non-Aboriginal Americans into the region, the NT did not experience a huge influx of non-Aboriginal people and government intervention/control until the twentieth century. Even today, the NT is primarily Aboriginal, except for Yellowknife. In some ways, this has facilitated preservation of Aboriginal nations and cultures, and has sharpened the focus on what might be construed as colonialism. In other ways, however, the scarcity of EuroCanadian people outside the major urban centres of Yellowknife and, to a lesser extent, Inuvik, has forced EuroCanadian people to interact more directly with the Aboriginal population both in the past and today.

In 1977, however, discussions surrounding the Mackenzie Valley pipeline project led to the Berger report which stressed the need to resolve Aboriginal land claim issues before

developing the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. Since then, Aboriginal people and nations have become more vocal about the need to be involved in any development project in their territories. They must be consulted and give their approval to any research project conducted on their territory or involving their members. The territory itself has developed an affirmative action program to ensure that its citizens — including Aboriginal people — have opportunities for employment and participation in the economic development of the NT (PR:Kiawak).

The perspectives provided by today's inhabitants of the North and archival research provide a very different window onto the lived reality than the general picture offered by the dominant narrative of an essentially one-dimensional, negative colonialism.

The Case of Bishop Bompas

A closer look at Bishop Bompas' ministry in the North reveal some of the risks in labelling events and situations as "colonialism." Bompas certainly held attitudes suggestive of colonialism in his refusal at the start of his missionary work to submit to the authority of Robert McDonald (country-born and tri-racial) and in his inability to see Aboriginal people as anything more than savages or children in need of protection. Nevertheless, his refusal to ordain Aboriginal clergy may have as much to do with his evangelistic Christianity as with colonialism.

The most important dimension to Bompas' life was Christianity — or rather, his low-church, evangelical understanding of Christianity. In many ways, Bompas never left the Baptist tradition of his youth, despite his being an Anglican bishop. Describing himself as an "old fashioned Evangelical," Bompas identified his own place in the debate between "the High and the Broad" as being "exceedingly narrow" (Abel 1991:114). Such an attitude led to conflicts with other Anglican missionaries working under him who, in his opinion, were insufficiently evangelical (e.g., David North Kirkby). It also led to conflicts with Roman Catholic missionaries in the region. Petitot noted his arrival in 1866 saying that Bompas felt he had "received a special divine mission to extricate the poor Indians from the fangs of the priests" (Choquette 1995:155), while Peake described one visit between Bompas and the brothers at the Oblate mission in Fort Providence when Bompas tried to convert the Roman Catholic fathers:

Grouard, in an attempt to put the visitor at ease, suggested that they might talk about the books. This was a golden opportunity for Bompas. For him there was but one book the Bible, and he quickly began to talk about

it with numerous references to the ignorance of Roman Catholics in general and priests in particular concerning the scriptures (Peake 1989:84).

Elsewhere, Peake summarizes Bompas' activities as "fighting a guerilla warfare against heathenism and the Church of Rome, never quite sure which was the principal enemy" (Peake 1989:87-88).

Such an attitude led to his rejecting the Anglican Church in eastern Canada which was struggling with its own "high church-low church" issues." Such an attitude led to increasing tension and Bompas' rejection of the Anglican Church in western Canada which, though still quite evangelical, was adopting some of the ritualism associated with "high" church Anglicanism and moving closer to the Anglican Church in eastern Canada. (In 1893, the two "halves" united, forming the ACC with Bishop Machray as its first primate.)

In the early years, Bompas supported Venn's directive towards promoting an indigenous church and training Aboriginal clergy. He sent three boys of Aboriginal or mixed-heritage ancestry, to St. John's College at Red River to be trained but was not pleased with the results. One committed suicide just prior to returning North; the other two returned North but Bompas felt that they were too "high church" to be of use and he refused to ordain them. Bompas wrote:

The worst of it is that we have no guarantee that the students at St. John's College have either Christian disposition or taste or fitness for Missionary work and even the morals of a young man from Manitoba are not to be trusted in the woods with the Indians (Abel 1991:117).

For Bompas, "Real and sincere piety and an earnest self-denying devotion to Christ's service is the qualification which I should deem essential for the work here but beyond this I would not be at all exacting as to other requirements (Coates 1986b:7). That same year, he wrote to the CMS:

It is of less consequence to me whether the Missionary sent is already ordained or not, and whether he has passed a College course or not. Sterling piety and a hardy constitution are the best recommendation hitherward both for men and women. Intelligence and handy habits or a useful trade are also very good (Coates 1986b:7).

By 1885, he decided not to send any more there for theological training, writing, "To what extent there is now distinctive Evangelical teaching at St. John's College Manitoba I am

not aware, and I do not wish to have any more Students trained there for this Diocese” (Abel 1991:118).

Such an attitude also fits with Bompas’ disregard for human emotions, a tendency made easier by his constant travelling from place to place, his dislike and criticisms of “White” individuals and society, and his own feelings of superiority where Aboriginal people were concerned. According to his letters to the CMS, he attempted to dissuade one his missionaries, Benjamin Totty, from marrying a girl of mixed heritage (Coates 1986b:8). According to Laura Berton who lived in Dawson during the Bompas era, however, it was Bompas himself who forced the couple to get married. A local girl of mixed-heritage fell in love with a miner. Believing that such a marriage was not appropriate and that the local missionary at Moosehide, Benjamin Totty, needed a wife, Bompas — together with the girl’s father — arranged a marriage between her and the missionary. Berton notes that “this feudal arrangement was carried out without a great deal of enthusiasm from either partner...” (Berton 1972:61). As far as Bompas was concerned, feelings were irrelevant. People were irrelevant. Church finances and even staffing were irrelevant. All that mattered was preaching the Gospel.

As much as colonialism was a part of Bompas’ life, focusing on colonialism makes it possible to avoid the theological tensions that were emerging in Canada’s North and that continue to shape the Anglican presence there⁷. While Martin’s “theological competence was not highly regarded,” and he was encouraged to supplement the small income he received from the Church with trapping since his job was to ensure “the forms but not necessarily the substance of Christianity ... remained familiar to the Natives” (Coates 1991b:127-128), one diocese listing of key missionaries in the North notes him as an “outstanding Loucheux” (Appendix B).

John Martin’s life reflects a tension within Anglicanism. The issue is not only one of racism — although racism certainly played a role. The issue is a fundamental one as far as Anglicanism is concerned: what is required to be a priest? Is faith more important or theological training and education? The CMS, with its low-church Protestant roots, believed the former but the ACC, with its high-church influence and affirming its own Protestant legacy, stressed (and stresses) the importance of education.

Both the diocese of the Arctic and the diocese of Yukon are “caught” between the two tendencies. Both have ordained Aboriginal clergy who have demonstrated deep faith and considerable skill in ministering to their communities and who may or may not have formal theological training. Both have a number of clergy who are non-stipendiary (i.e., do not get a salary), many (but not all) of whom are Aboriginal. Are Aboriginal clergy who are non-stipendiary evidence of racism or of the theological tension between “high” and “low” church (see Chapter 3). This question, dating from the Tudor era and finding its full expression in eighteenth-century England, continues to haunt the ACC today, dividing the northern Church not just over theological issues such as same-sex marriage, but also over liturgical issues such as what types of hymns are sung in the church and what kind of liturgy should be implemented, and congregational issues that emerge when high-church southerners move North, and those who were active in lay ministry in southern dioceses are excluded from any type of ministry in northern ones because of their theological leanings.

The Dominant Narrative: a Means to avoid the “Big” Questions of Today

Labelling situations too quickly as evidence of colonialism brings the temptation to ignore other possible interpretations of those situations, or creates blinders that prevent us from seeing actual issues at work in those situations.

For example, the Presbyterian missionary/historian, Roderick George MacBeth, believed it was important to “elevate” people, to raise them on the “social, civil and moral scale” (MacBeth 1912:27). The attitude certainly reflects the nineteenth-century EuroCanadian mindset about the superiority of EuroCanadian culture and could easily be labelled as reflective of “colonialism,” but in a way, such conclusion leads nowhere. Labelling them as evidence of “colonialism” avoids dealing with the problem that missionaries (or others) were attempting to solve: how do you integrate people from another culture into that of the dominant society so that they have equal access to all the benefits of that society?

As a Church we have nothing to do with immigration policies, but as a Church we have to deal with the fact of the immigrant when he comes, no matter where from, and must do our best to lift him up in the social, civil and moral scale” (MacBeth 1912:27)

MacBeth was wrestling with important questions of Church-State relations and the Church's role in fostering Canadian nationalism. His writing reflects a typical Protestant Christian attitude that saw the Church as having a role to play in the life of the nation; the Church's role was to be a "civilizing" force on society and supportive, or complementary to the work, of the Government. As MacBeth put it:

The Church as such has nothing to do with making or administering laws concerning immigration, but the Church has much to do with the conditions of life in the Dominion. (MacBeth 1912:77)

[The duty of the State is] to protect the Church in the carrying on of its work without molestation. (The duty of the Church is) to give good citizens to the State, to the end that the country may be properly governed, and that law and order should prevail in the land (147).

In other words, MacBeth was dealing with important issues that continue to challenge Canadians today, but could easily be overlooked as a result of colonialist blinders: What does it mean to be a Canadian? How do we create "good citizens" in a way that respects their traditional cultures and ways of life yet integrates them into Canadian society? How do we (whoever "we" are) deal with the "Other" in our midst? How do we assert our sovereignty over a region claimed by a foreign country (such as Russia) without minimizing or devaluing the region's Indigenous population? How willing are we to recognize the rights of other people and cultures when threatened with financial ruin or resource shortages — e.g., the Mackenzie oil pipeline issue and the price of gas as one participant (PR:Kevin) noted?

It was in this context that some of MacBeth's references to Aboriginal peoples must be understood; he was linking what the missionaries were doing in Aboriginal communities with what they were doing in immigrant communities in western Canada: creating Canadian citizens. For example:

Since that day [when the Rev. Nisbet, John Mackay, Rev. George Flett, Rev. Hugh McKay established missions] missions have been established and churches and homes and hospitals have been built to meet the growing settlements of immigrants from all parts of the World. For some years, immigrants poured into Canada at the rate of a thousand a day. ... Our activities were widespread amongst many peoples, moulding them into Christian citizens in their new home (MacBeth 1912:87).

Such a statement continues to elaborate on the role MacBeth saw for the Church (PCC) in shaping Canadian society. It is no accident that MacBeth mentioned the Rev. Nisbet, John Mackay, Rev. George Flett, and Rev. Hugh McKay. The Rev. George Flett was country-born, likely having English, French, and Cree ancestry. He was also the brother-in-law of the Rev. John Black, the first Presbyterian minister to the Red River settlement (McLaren 1997:60-98) and a legendary figure in his own right⁸. The McKays were country-born, having a Scottish father and country-born or Métis mother (and were of Cree heritage). One daughter, Mary, married the Rev. Nisbet, a Presbyterian minister from Oakville, Ontario. The brother, John McKay, married Christina MacBeath, MacBeth's sister. According to historian Darcee McLaren, John McKay had "married into the Presbyterian elite of Red River when he married Christina MacBeath, becoming the brother-in-law of the Rev. James Nisbet and the historian Rev. Robert MacBeth" (McLaren 1997:66). MacBeth's writings may reflect an ethnocentrist position or colonialism-type attitude but, given his family background and other statements in *Our Task in Canada* (1912), such a conclusion is by no means certain; they may also reflect nationalist and theological perspectives.

Likewise, another Christian church historian, William George Smith, reflected a similar perspective about Church-State relations in his writings, saying that "nation building and Christian progress [go] hand in hand" (W-Smith 1922:160). Such an attitude led to a reluctance to criticize the other (whether the Church's reluctance to criticize the Canadian government or the government's reluctance to criticize the Church). That reluctance fed into colonialism, and into the residential school system. Focusing on colonialism, however, without examining the much-broader theological issue of Church-State relations, avoids recognizing the link between the Church and nationalism, religion, the residential schools in Canada, the Holocaust in Nazi Europe, Church support of slavery in colonial America, Church support of dictatorships in twentieth-century countries in Central and South America and other parts of the world — the list goes on.

At times, the choice is not an either-or situation but rather a both-and one. Some events may well be indicative of colonialism but, ignoring the contextual factors stops the discussion, making it simpler to avoid the larger questions that continue to challenge people today.

For example, labelling missionary initiatives and residential schools mostly as expressions of colonialism leads to questions such as how should we educate Aboriginal people in a way that is respectful of their culture or how can we best convert them to Christianity without destroying their cultural identity. Such labels also make it possible to avoid the theological issues the Churches and missionary organizations need to deal with if they are to avoid similar mistakes in the future, questions like: Why should missionary activities be done? How should they be carried out? What is the relationship between Christian and non-Christian ways of life? What is the relationship between Christianity and other religions? How has Christianity accommodated itself historically to other religions? Is it possible to spread the Gospel in a way that is faithful to biblical injunctions (such as Matthew 25:31-46, Matthew 28:19 and John 14:6), without denigrating or destroying other people's cultures and sense of identity? Given the historical ties between the word "missions" and colonialism, should we also be searching to replace the label itself?

Conclusion

Colonialism poses a number of challenges for those interested in the topic at all levels. The "colossal vagueness" surrounding the term itself makes it possible to discuss colonialism from two very different and contradictory perspectives. Are those dealing with colonialism operating on the same wavelength or are they working at cross purposes? Seeing colonialism as a sweeping negative runs the risk of perpetuating colonialism in its creation of a one-dimensional caricature of history and alienating those who may be the best suited to effecting necessary changes to eliminate colonialism. Labelling something as "colonialism" makes it possible to miss broader issues that continue to challenge Canadians today, and may effectively close the discussion.

Much of the discussion surrounding colonialism revolves around issues of power — for example, economic, political, judicial, and social power — and power relationships. Who had power? Who did not? How did those with power interact with those who did not? How did those without power interact with those who had it? Much of the discussion revolves around relationships. Such discussions are not limited to power relationships but push beyond power issues to cultural divides and worldviews. For many EuroCanadian people, "colonialism" is a

relic of the past. With the destruction of many European empires in the twentieth century and the transformation of the British Empire into the British Commonwealth, “colonialism” no longer seems to be relevant. For many Aboriginal people, “colonialism” is very much in the present, evident throughout the education system (as we shall see in Chapter 15) and elsewhere⁹.

Regardless of the difficulties with the term or concept of colonialism or with the implementation of colonialism in the Canadian context, the ACC developed policies based on its understanding of what the problem was, on the assumption that those policies would improve its relationship with Aboriginal people. If, however, it assumes a context where colonialism is the dominant perspective, and that premise is not so much wrong as only half-right, then how effective can its healing and reconciliation policies really be? To answer such questions — and, in particular to throw light on aspects that might have been missed by the Church — one must go to the communities themselves and, in time (although outside the scope of this thesis), to those Aboriginal people who have left the ACC.

14. THOUGHTS ON THE CURRENT RELATIONSHIP AMONG ABORIGINAL AND EUROCANADIAN ANGLICANS

Overview

Given the “baggage” of the residential schools in Canada’s North and the historical relationship that existed between Aboriginal and European / EuroCanadian peoples that is brought into the present, what can be deduced about the current relationship? Field research into seven communities visited over three years, participant-observations, and participant comments provide a window into the relationships that have emerged. The seven communities visited were (in alphabetical order): Fort McPherson, Hay River, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Yellowknife in the NT; Dawson and Whitehorse in the YT.

In this chapter¹, I present general information about the territories, statistical information about the communities (in alphabetical order), and observations on the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in the ACC and in the communities from participants and based on my own observations.

The NT Communities Visited

General

The NT (Figure 1) is sparsely populated, having approximately 42,000 people (2007 figure). There is only one city, one village, two settlements, four towns, eleven hamlets, four charter communities, and ten designated authorities. About 50% of the population is Aboriginal (GovNT 2000b).

The majority of the people are in their 20s and 30s, with the median age being 31.1 years old, youth (under 15 years) comprising 23.6% of the population and seniors 8.6%. There is a fairly even ratio between male and female (21,951 to 20,686). The majority of the population have certificate or diploma level education (30%), but only 17% actually have a university degree, and 20% having a high school diploma as their highest level of schooling. More women than men have received a university degree (18% vs 15%) (GovNT 2008).

The average income in the territories is \$48,396. Approximately 25% of the population (9422) works with the government in some capacity: federal, territorial, municipal, school boards, etc. The employment rate for 2007 was 73.6% and the unemployment rate was 5.4%

(GovNT 2008). This rate varies according to locale, with Yellowknife enjoying an unemployment rate of 2.2% (5.8% in 2006 according to StatCan) and Tuktoyaktuk a 32.9% unemployment rate (StatCan 2009).

The government of the Northwest Territories is a territorial government that operates in “much the same way as a provincial legislature” (GovNT 2008:4). It is composed of 19 members who are elected but, unlike provincial legislatures, the government is not organized along political parties. It governs under a consensus system: elected members stand as independents; the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly is elected in secret ballot; candidates for Premier are nominated, given a chance to present their ideas and respond to questions, after which another secret ballot is held to vote for the Premier; a similar process is used to elect the six cabinet ministers. The remaining eleven members are considered to be the “unofficial opposition.” (GovNT n.d.). There is also a Commissioner, whose role is comparable to that of the Lieutenant Governor in the provinces. The Commissioner during the time of the research project was Anthony Wilfred James Whitford, an Aboriginal; the Senator for the Northwest Territories, Nick G. Sibbeston, is also Aboriginal.

The NT has eleven official languages: English, French, Cree, Dogrib, Chipewyan, South Slavey, North Slavey, Gwich'in, Inuvialuktun, Inuktitut, and Inuinnaqtun. Only two or three may be spoken in different regions of the NT, but all can be found in Yellowknife.

Fort McPherson

Fort McPherson (Figure 14), also known as Tetl'it Zheh, is one of NT's smaller communities with a 2007 population of 791, of whom ~94% are Aboriginal and ~6% are non-Aboriginal. Located along the Dempster Highway, approximately 121 km south of Inuvik, Fort McPherson is situated on land just above the Peel River.

About 11.3% of the community have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 41.5% own their own homes but 32.7% are in core need and 28.4% are unemployed. The cost of living is 152% that in Edmonton (2005 figures), while the cost of food is 163% that in Yellowknife (2004 figures). The crime rate is fairly high with a violent crime of 103.2 per 1000 people reported in 2007, and a property crime rate of 94.8 per 1000, compared to the NT rate of 70 per 1000 for violent crimes and 58 per 1000 for property crimes.

The largest Aboriginal group in Tetl'it Zheh are the Gwich'in, but some Inuvialuit and Métis also live there. Despite the strong Aboriginal presence, only 22.7% stated that they spoke Aboriginal languages (2004 figures). Some still follow traditional lifestyles with 12.9% trapping, and 37.4% hunting and fishing.

A number of volunteer organizations are found in Fort McPherson including: The Aboriginal Head Start — Tetl'it Zheh Child Centre mentioned above, the Fort McPherson Elders' Council, the Fort McPherson Radio Society which operates CBQM, the Fort McPherson Volunteer Fire Department, a Junior Canadian Rangers program, the Women's Wellness Group, the Youth Committee, the Fireworks Committee which organizes celebrations to welcome in the New Year, the Midway Lake Music Festival, the Tetlit Gwich'in Tourism Society, and the Women's Auxiliary that raises money for church-related activities (Auchterlonie 2005).

Unfortunately, with no “downtown core” to the community where people could meet and congregate and no restaurant (closed for the season), it was difficult for me to assess interaction between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people living there the short time that I was there. One participant, Gordon, who was familiar with Fort McPherson and Old Crow believed that the two groups tended to be separate at Fort McPherson. He believed that integration was much better in Old Crow. Gordon did not think that the separation he had witnessed at Fort McPherson was due to racism but rather to transitoriness. If EuroCanadian people did not see themselves staying very long in the community, they tended not to make an effort to get involved with the people there (PS:Gordon). Linda, who lived in Fort McPherson did not directly mention separation or isolation between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples but her comment suggested the tendency might well exist:

Umm... I mean that depends on what attitude you arrive in the town with. If you come with a positive attitude, and you come willing to help and be a part of the community, then you will have a fine time. If you come with a grudge, or with your own preconceived notions of who people are here, and don't want to be involved in the community, then you have a negative time. I've seen both. (PR:Linda)

Hay River

Hay River (Figure 15) is one of the larger communities in the NT with a 2007 population of 3,651, of whom ~48% are Aboriginal (primarily Dènè and Slavey) and ~52% non-Aboriginal. In 1963, a flood caused serious damage to the community. It was decided to move Hay River from its original site on the east side of the river to higher ground on the west side. It was around this time that Chief Daniel Sonfrere began negotiations with the Canadian government to establish the Hay River Reserve in “the Old Village.” This reserve is known as both Hay River and as Katl’odeeche Reserve.

About 4.9% of the Hay River community have households with more than 6 people. On the reserve, about 16.7% have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 66.7% of people in Hay River (70.6% on the reserve) own their own homes but 9.3% of households (35% on the reserve) are in core need and 6.4% (24.1% on the reserve) are unemployed. The cost of living is 127% that in Edmonton (2005 figures), while the cost of food is 113% that in Yellowknife (2004 figures). The crime rate is about average for NT with a violent crime of 61.42 per 1000 people reported in 2007, and a property crime rate of 49.8 per 1000, compared to the NT rate of 70.7 per 1000 for violent crimes and 58 per 1000 for property crimes.

One old-timer Aboriginal participant, Kudloo, believed the relationship between the two groups is positive. Newcomer Hilda agreed. “They’ve invited me to some of their things but it’s always been a time when I haven’t been able to go. But they’re pretty open to inviting you to some of the things that they do and have made it known that you are welcome to come. ... You have Aboriginal and you have whites. I’ve never had a problem... “ (PR:Hilda).

One old-timer EuroCanadian, Alistair, disagreed. Alistair’s family has lived in the NT since the Yukon Gold Rush of the 1890s, but he does not see a future with EuroCanadian children in Hay River and perhaps not even in the NT. The problem is the changing realities of the North. The NT has an affirmative action program that favours Aboriginal businesses or businesses with Aboriginal partners or co-owners. Alistair’s company partnered with an Aboriginal firm in another NT community. Then came 1999 and the division of the NT into NT and Nunavut; his partner was on the wrong side of the border. Alistair’s company no longer qualifies under the affirmative action program, his Aboriginal partner refuses to sell, and Alistair is caught between

the competition of two “Aboriginal” entities (i.e., the NT and Nunavut). Affirmative action and the residential school issue have left a “bad taste” in his mouth. His frustration and anger are very much evident as he talks about reverse discrimination and the impact it was having (PS:Alistair). At the Hay River bus stop, another non-Aboriginal person spoke about other challenges of the affirmative action program saying that some companies preferred to hire and pay Aboriginal employees, yet considered them to be unqualified to do the work; paying them was simply a way to qualify under the government program.

Problems may exist but what I noticed about Hay River was how much integration there seemed to be. Hotel staff included both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples although staff at the front desk were non-Aboriginal; restaurant staff were primarily Aboriginal but customers were both Aboriginal and EuroCanadian and there seemed to be quite a friendly level of camaraderies between staff and customers and considerable joking among them. That same kind of camaraderie was found in one other restaurant in the community.

When I was waiting for the taxi to take me to the bus station, one local started talking to me; he and his wife have continued to communicate with me since that chance meeting. It seemed that Kudloo was correct when, referring to the local ACC/UCC congregation, she said that what mattered was the person best suited for the job, not the person’s ethnicity. This seemed to be true from my observations in Hay River.

Inuvik

Inuvik (Figure 16) is one of the larger communities in the NT with a 2007 population of 3,420, of whom ~58.5% are Aboriginal and ~41.5% non-Aboriginal. This is a new community, created by the government in 1959-1960.

About 6.0% of the community have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 33.7% own their own homes but 13.1% are in core need and 11.2% are unemployed. The cost of living is 147% that in Edmonton (2005 figures), while the cost of food is 140% that in Yellowknife (2004 figures). The crime rate is fairly high with a violent crime of 97.7 per 1000 people reported in 2007, and a property crime rate of 86.5 per 1000, compared to the NT rate of 70.7 per 1000 for violent crimes and 58 per 1000 for property crimes.

The largest Aboriginal groups in Inuvik are the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit. Despite the strong Aboriginal presence, only 17.6% stated that they spoke Aboriginal languages (2004 figures). Some still follow traditional lifestyles with 7.2% trapping, and 32.6% hunting and fishing.

Inuvik presented a mixed picture. On the one hand, I saw considerable interaction, particularly among the young people in the local shopping mall, with considerable joking and comradery among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. I witnessed the same kind of friendliness on the street near the school. One participant, Alderic, who came from a part of the world ravaged by civil war, loved Inuvik. Having lived and worked in many North American cities before settling in Inuvik, he felt Inuvik was the only place in which to live: free, with a simple way of life and no politics. From his perspective, you could go wherever you wanted without any question (PS:Alderic). Some Aboriginal participants, however, had a different take on life in Inuvik. Upalik noted how Aboriginal people work in one hotel in town but only as maids and cleaning staff. In fact, she told how one Aboriginal went into the hotel restaurant and was ignored so long that he finally left. I ate in that restaurant several times and saw Aboriginal people eating there too but could not see them being treated any differently than anyone else. Hopefully the person's experience was the exception and not the norm.

Despite the good mix that I saw in the shopping mall and in the local Anglican church, however, I also saw some problems. One was an incident where I was talking with Keojuak after the service, only to be interrupted by a EuroCanadian (George) who wanted to set up a time for an interview. He did not apologize for the interruption to either Keojuak or myself. After dealing with George, I returned and apologized to Keojuak:

Me:	Sorry. Would you be willing to be interviewed?
Keojuak:	Interesting how he just butted in.
Me:	I noticed.
Keojuak:	Happens all the time (PS:Keojuak).

Having said that, Keojuak left. Racism, it seems (though it might have been just rudeness), could still be found in Inuvik. When interviewing Dawn and Travis later, I heard how active the local priest was in visiting patients — Aboriginal patients — in the hospital. A couple of

Aboriginal participants, however, felt that the local priest was “unapproachable” and were unaware of his visiting anyone in the hospital.

What really stood out for me about the Inuvik Anglican congregation was how Aboriginal and EuroCanadian seemed to worship together yet also seemed to be worlds apart. During the service, a bishop’s letter was read asking for donations to fund Anglican schools in Africa. Non-Aboriginal people seemed particularly interested in the project; Aboriginal people seemed distinctly distant from that project. What surprised me was the letter did not seem to recognize the similarities between what was being asked for schools in Africa and what had probably been asked for the residential schools; I was surprised that the bishop himself had not recognized the parallels between schools for Indigenous children in Africa and schools for Aboriginal children in the Arctic. Why did he not acknowledge the similarities as “superficial” and flag the differences that maybe existed? I got the impression, without having had the opportunity to question the bishop, that he had no understanding of the traumas the schools themselves had created by their existence — a trauma that might be recurring in a new loci: Africa.

Tuktoyaktuk

Tuktoyaktuk (Figure 17) is one of the hamlet communities in the NT with a 2007 population of 956, of whom ~96.5% are Aboriginal and ~3% are non-Aboriginal. Located on the Beaufort Sea, approximately 150 km north of Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk is one of Canada’s northernmost mainland communities. A Distant Early Warning System (DEW) station is located just outside the community.

About 12.7% of the community have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 35% own their own homes, 31.9% are in core need, and 33.3% are unemployed. The cost of living is 162% that in Edmonton (2005 figures), while the cost of food is 206% that in Yellowknife (2004 figures). An orange juice container that costs \$2.99 in Toronto cost \$11.49 in Tuktoyaktuk in September 2008. The crime rate is fairly high with 171 violent crimes reported in 2007 and a violent crime rate of 178.9 per 1000 people, and a property crime rate of 83.7 per 1000 people.

Despite being a primarily Aboriginal (Inuvialuit) community, only 28.3% speak their language. Some, however, still follow traditional lifestyles of trapping (7.2%), hunting and fishing (32.6%). Many store their meat in the community ice house. The house is built about 30 feet down into the permafrost. Families have their own room where they can store their meat in the summer.

The town is completely open to the elements and, although temperatures may be moderated somewhat by the ocean/seas, the wind can be brutal. Four church buildings are found in Tuktoyaktuk: Our Lady of Grace (Roman Catholic), Glad Tidings Mission, and two Anglican churches, one of which is St. John's Anglican Church. I had heard that there was no Anglican priest in Tuktoyaktuk but the local people were running the church themselves. The church was open in 2006 (Rebecamcneese 2006), but was closed by 2008. Services may be held elsewhere, however, but I was unable to connect with my Anglican contact to verify this; the church has recently been restored (D-Arctic 2010). Tuktoyaktuk has one school (Mangilaluk) that goes up to Grade 12, but "on any given day, half the students never (show) up for their classes." The result is that attendance figures are "among the lowest in the Mackenzie Delta" (CBC 2009). A child development centre and a community learning centre are also found in Tuktoyaktuk.

A number of non-Aboriginal people do live in the community, working mainly with the RCMP, the Inuvialuit Land Claims Office, and a few others. I gathered from some conversations I overheard that two groups lead fairly separate lives, including separate social lives. The part of town I was staying in was primarily Aboriginal; the RC church service I attended was well attended by Aboriginal people but I was the only non-Aboriginal person present.

Kitikmeot confirmed that, at times, the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples was less than positive. While he got along "really well" with teachers and nurses, he had a problem with the RCMP. He shared one incident that changed his attitude which I recount from memory, and which reveals how incidents at one level of community life affect relationships at another:

but when he went to the DEW line — and took his kid and had the truck, and was heading back. The RCMP was racing straight for his truck and almost rammed him and bumped him, then got ahead of him and stopped. "What are you doing?" "Heading home." "Where are you coming from?" "Dew Line" ... "What were you doing?" "Out for a ride in nice weather."

“Where are you coming from?” “Dew line.” Just sort of grilling him for a bit. “OK, where are you going now?” Well, he’s going home with his kid. “Well, OK. See you.” It was really, really quick. Since then, he doesn’t really trust the RCMP. He’s like ... it’s like they’re just lying in wait for you (PS:Kitikmeot).

The problem, if I understood correctly, was not that Kitikmeot had been stopped by the RCMP officer but rather that “some of them make mistakes but they don’t tell you they’re sorry and that’s a problem” (PS:Kitikmeot).

Yellowknife

Yellowknife (Figure 18) is the capital of the Northwest Territories. It is also the largest city, with a population of 18,700, of whom ~22% are Aboriginal and ~77.5% non-Aboriginal.

About 3.3% of the community have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 53.7% of the people own their own homes but 9.1% of households are in core need and 5.7 are unemployed. The cost of living is 117% that in Edmonton (2005 figures). The crime rate is about average for NT with a violent crime of 38.2 per 1000 people reported in 2007, and a property crime rate of 52.4 per 1000, compared to the NT rate of 70.7 per 1000 for violent crimes and 58 per 1000 for property crimes.

The largest Aboriginal group in Yellowknife are the Dene, but people from all NT Aboriginal nations can also be found in Yellowknife. There is also a Métis presence. Despite the strong Aboriginal presence, only 25.3% stated that they spoke Aboriginal languages (2004 figures). Some still pursue traditional activities with 32.3% hunting and fishing but only 0.8% trapping.

When asked specifically the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Christians in their own congregation in Yellowknife, participants generally answered that it was difficult to have a relationship with people who were not there. At least one priest wondered why, given my topic, I was even studying congregations that were “white.” Given that Yellowknife has a population of close to 20,000 with approximately 22.3% being Aboriginal and Hay River a population of close to 4,000 people with approximately 45.7% being Aboriginal, I had not expected the congregations to have been “white.” Why were so few Aboriginal Christians attending the local UCC or ACC?

The absence of Aboriginal presence in the Yellowknife ACC did not seem to be of concern to the clergy interviewed. They knew they were part of a diocese that was fundamentally Aboriginal and believed that no distinction even existed between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in the diocese. They also knew that historically, their ties had been primarily with the Inuit communities in the far North rather than with the Dene communities around Yellowknife. At one time, ACC and RC missionaries had a “gentleman’s agreement” to stay out of each other’s sphere of operation. The ACC worked in the north, among the Inuit; the RC worked in the south, among the Dene and the Métis. The agreement was not always adhered to (McCarthy 1995), but may explain why the clergy were not concerned about the lack of Aboriginal people in the Yellowknife congregation, believing they would prefer to go to RC churches. While services in Inuit were planned (to start later that year) and Inuit were welcome to attend the local ACC, no outreach program existed to specifically invite the local population or the Inuit who moved to Yellowknife to visit the local ACC or to welcome them to Yellowknife — at least none that one participant knew of and wondered about (PR:Janet).

Nevertheless, this does not explain why Inuit Anglicans coming to Yellowknife for whatever reason² so often choose not to worship in the local ACC, preferring to worship in the local Pentecostal church. One clue comes from Oshutsiak who saw too much of a disconnect between the type of Christianity the missionaries had brought and the type of Christianity currently practiced in the Yellowknife ACC. She felt that the church had to emphasize the Gospel and living the Gospel more (PR:Oshutsiak). Similar sentiments were expressed by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants at Hay River (PR:Kudloo and PR:Hilda).

UCC participants tended to explain the lack of Aboriginal presence in their congregation by stating they were an “imported” denomination that appealed to middle-class, liberal individuals. Lindsey felt that the UCC had little to offer Aboriginal Christians. The missionaries who had converted Aboriginal peoples had generally represented conservative, evangelical forms of Christianity. It did not seem likely, therefore, that Aboriginal Christians would be drawn to the UCC liberalism (PR:Lindsey). Todd felt that the church should reach out to the Aboriginal community. He agreed with Lindsey’s assessment about the United Church but felt that probably middle-class liberal Aboriginal Christians could be found who had rejected both conservative Christianity and traditional ways, and who might be looking for a

faith that matched their interests (PR:Todd). Jessica felt that the UCC should welcome Aboriginal Christians but should not try to accommodate them — after all, with so many different Aboriginal cultures in the region, how could accommodation even be possible? The church should continue to emphasize what the UCC stands for: its tolerance, diversity, and commitment to social concerns (PS:Jessica). She also felt that so much of life in the NT reflected northern culture that it was good to have one part of life where non-Aboriginal people were perhaps more “at home” (PS: Jessica).

According to the UCC minister, most members of the congregation worked alongside Aboriginal people or interacted with them on a daily basis; he was the only one who did not. Many of the UCC participants worked in areas such as government, education, health, homelessness, and literacy projects where they could make a difference. Jessica expressed a similar sentiment. She believed that her activities at work were a way of putting her faith into action and that developing church-run programs would essentially duplicate what members were already doing through their work and volunteer activities (PS:Jessica). Others likely held similar views. In fact, at least one member of the Yellowknife UCC has been recognized over the years for their contributions to NT society: Jan Stirling was awarded the Status of Women’s Council’s Wise Women Award “for her dedication and commitment to the community” in 1999 and the Caring Canadian Award in 2000 (Yellowknife).

Anne and Jessica talked about some of the problems they encountered in the workplace working alongside Aboriginal peoples. Anne felt:

And ... there is different — definitely, I think, a different work — I don’t want to call it ethic — but a way of looking at the work that you have to kind of become accustomed to, and accept or not accept.

I think a lot of racism comes up when people just don’t understand how other people work or think. Some people are very driven by work and they are very ... I have to admit I’ve found this more in the non-Aboriginal world — ... some folks ... have a very high expectation of their fellow employees because they are very proficient, but they expect that same proficiency or perfection from other people and maybe those other people cannot measure up. So they’re hard on staff period.

But it’s — sometimes more hard on, I guess, the staff — and a lot of times they are Aboriginal because I find they just have a different

attitude. I'm not saying they're lazy because most of the time, I don't think ... but there are different attitudes that come into play, and it's kind of hard sometimes to balance all that (PR:Anne)

Jessica's frustration came from working with Aboriginal people from many different nations and cultures, and with Yellowknife being the capital, it was attracting Aboriginal people from throughout the NT:

Sometimes when interacting with each other, the frustration is visible. It is not so much frustration with individuals or with the fact of trying to accommodate but something more complex. For example, you have a meeting — you think it should be run one way, but other people think it should be done differently. You try to accommodate. They try to accommodate. Sometimes everybody is trying so hard to accommodate that nothing gets done! ... The problem of having a multi-cultured Aboriginal environment ... with 11 different languages and everything needs to be translated 11 times ... how do you move forward? (PS:Jessica)

While Aboriginal people may have noticeably absent from ACC and UCC congregations in Yellowknife, they were not absent from the community. Considerable interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people did exist in Yellowknife — at least publicly (I cannot speak about non-public situations).

What struck me the most was the small-town atmosphere. Participants frequently suggested other people to whom I should talk — people well known in the Aboriginal community; people who had worked in the schools or attended the schools — and thought nothing of calling them to see if they were interested in speaking with me. Many of the same people were recommended by UCC, ACC and other participants. One person recommended by several others was the Commissioner of the NT. I was told that if I could not get an appointment to meet with him, I could catch him at the local Tim Horton's where he "hung out" every afternoon so he could talk with people.

A number of people seemed to live or hang out on the streets in the Yellowknife downtown core. Many hung out around one shopping centre which had a number of security guards patrolling the area. Many of the people on the streets appeared to be Aboriginal. What was interesting was how many people, assumed to be on their way to work by their appearance and the focus in their walking, stopped to say 'hi' to those hanging out. Sometimes they would

chat for a few moments before continuing on their way. One restaurant in the shopping centre had created an indoor “patio” atmosphere by placing a number of tables close to a wall that was only half-high and looked onto the main corridor of the mall. This made it easy to people watch and also for people to stop and chat with those in the restaurant — which they did. The time I ate there, the security guard passed by about eight times. A few times, he stopped to chat with different people in the restaurant. Almost each time he passed, he was accompanied by someone else. Sometimes it was a young woman. Sometimes, it was an older man. Sometimes, it looked like one of the poorer people from the street. They would be talking, joking together on their way. People passing would often say “hi” to the guard. One person even slapped him on the back as he passed by. Some of the people were Aboriginal; some were not.

Nevertheless, when I mentioned what a “good” relationship seemed to exist in Yellowknife to some participants, their reaction implied that it might not be as “good” as I had assumed. Two participants expressed surprise. On hearing what I had observed, they agreed that what I had seen was the norm but felt that the two groups were still quite separate and isolate in many ways (PS:Gordon and PS:Taylor). Lindsey mentioned that an economic divide still existed between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples (PR:Lindsey), yet another local EuroCanadian (who had been married to an Aboriginal person) expressed surprise when I mentioned isolation. According to this person, considerable interaction did occur and a good relationship definitely existed.

Yellowknife is not a perfect community. Many participants spoke about a number of social problems there: the homeless, the people who hung out on the streets, teenagers, drugs and alcohol. What is most telling, however, is that these participants did not see such problems as “Aboriginal” problems, even though Aboriginal people tended to be the most visible, but as problems faced by people in the north — better hidden in non-Aboriginal communities but still very much present.

The YT Communities Visited

General

The Yukon (Figure 2) is likewise sparsely populated, having 32,335 people (2006 figures, GovYT 2007). The majority are non-Aboriginal and live in 17 communities across the

province: Whitehorse, Dawson, Beaver Creek, Burwash Landing, Carcross, Carmacks, Destruction Bay, Faro, Haines Junction, Marsh Lake, Mayo, Old Crow, Pelly Crossing, Ross River, Tagish, Teslin, and Watson. Whitehorse, Yukon's capital, is the largest with a population of 24,151; Dawson is second largest with 1,859 people; Watson Lake has a population of 1,551. With the exception of Old Crow in the north, these cities, towns, and local advisory areas are linked by roads.

Aboriginal people make up approximately 25% of the population. They are comprised of eight major First Nations: Gwitchin, Han, Tutchone, Northern and Southern Tutchone, Kaska, Upper Tanana, and Tlingit (Reinmuth 2005:10).

Yukon crime rates are among the highest in the country. According to Statistics Canada and reported in the Yukon News, "incidents of assaults, sex crimes, robberies and violent crimes are three times higher in the Yukon than [sic] they are in BC or Alberta" (Keevil 2008).

Dawson

Dawson (Figure 19) is the second-largest community in the YT. Its 2006 population was 1,327, of whom ~30% are Aboriginal and ~71% are non-Aboriginal. Located at the start of the Dempster Highway, the end of the Klondike Highway, at the "confluence of the Yukon and Klondike rivers," within the "traditional lands of the Hän people, the Tr'ondëk Hwëchin" (YBS 2004a).

About 1.83% of the community have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 45.8% own their own homes, and 8.3% of 15-24 year-olds and 9.5% of those 25 and older are unemployed (GovYT 2001). The cost of living is almost 17% more than the cost of living in Whitehorse (YBS 2004). Violent crimes numbered 52 and property crimes numbered 88 in 2003 (YBS 2003)

Dawson is a tourist town ... in the summer, but visiting Dawson in the winter was like visiting a ghost town. I was the only person on the street and sometimes the only person in the few restaurants open making it difficult to observe any kind of interaction among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people. The main interactions I saw were in the Anglican Church during and after the service. Parts of the service were in the local Aboriginal language (that of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in people) and seemed to be generally well received. I talked about my project during

announcement time in the service, and invited people to participate. After the service, I made myself available during coffee hours. What I noticed were Aboriginal people sitting together by themselves; none volunteered to meet with me.

From conversations with people later (both Aboriginal and EuroCanadian), I got the impression that the two groups tend to lead separate lives to some extent. People spoke of museum programs and events that are well attended by EuroCanadian but not by Aboriginal peoples. Others spoke of Aboriginal ceremonies open to all but with few EuroCanadian people attending. As Tiktak put it:

The T-H (Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in) works with the church to do good things, but there is still a split. Like — art museums, movies ... we both go to these places but more whites do than Natives. Native events — like events at Moosehide and potlatches — they're open to the community but sometimes only a few whites come and they're mainly with the church. Other times, a lot of non-Natives come and help, from all walks of life. ...There are still barriers (PS:Tiktak).

Tiktak was not the only one to notice such a divide but the issue did not seem to be due to racism. In fact, Tiktak emphasized that, while sometimes “On the School Council Board — it's like a wall. Natives speak; some of the older teacher don't hear. They still don't get it and operate from ‘our way or no way’ attitude” (PS:Tiktak), overall:

Things are better now. Not sure how or why or what's different, but something is. Teachers are more open now with parents and the children they teach. They consult with Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in First Nations (PS:Tiktak).

Kyle saw the overall relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples as being very positive. He noted that many of the Tr'ondëk-Hwëch'in in Dawson were at least nominally Anglican and that the First Nation government in the region ran itself as a Christian organization, opening and closing meetings with prayer. Noting the number of intermarriages between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in the community, Kyle thought this accounted for the lack of the kind of tension that could be found in other communities (PR:Kyle).

What was evident was the effort the local Anglican priest, the Rev. Lee Titterington, was making to reach out, and make himself available, to Aboriginal people however he could. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had undertaken, with funding from the ACC-AHF, a special healing and

reconciliation project. A plaque acknowledging those who had been supportive or involved in the project listed the Anglican priest's name twice, and one Aboriginal source mentioned that he had actually worked in India with Mother Teresa at some point. In other words, while some divide seems to exist between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in the community and the church, the Anglican priest himself seems to have a good relationship by, and be well respected within, the Aboriginal community in Dawson.

Given what I had heard from participants in other communities, I could not help but wonder if shyness were a factor for the split rather than racism. What stood out from Rita's account about her relationship with some of the Aboriginal people in the Yukon was her uncertainty as to what to do or say. For some EuroCanadians, including myself, being surrounded by numbers of Aboriginal people made them aware of being in a non-EuroCanadian environment, perhaps for the first time. What Rita realized on one plane trip was that she would be talking to the fellow passenger sitting next to her if he were white, but because he was not, she kept silent. Once she realized that, however, she made a point to talk to him and had a great conversation. The longer she has been in the region, the more she has come to know Aboriginal people in different capacities. She even talked about one time where she got into a conversation with one couple who were telling her about some of the challenges and tensions within the Aboriginal community (PR:Rita).

Based on what I saw and heard, Dawson is one community where the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in council has a strong presence, and where First Nations people and the local Anglican Church have been working together to not just heal and reconcile past differences but also to develop and strengthen the relationship between them. While much of the Church activity revolves around the local priest, it is not limited to the priest by any means. At the same time, a divide between the two groups still exist, and not only during coffee hour following the service. One EuroCanadian participant had difficulty understanding the residential school issue; he believed much of the problem resulted from contact between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian peoples rather than from residential schools in particular (PR:Arthur). Another was not sure what the Anglican Church had apologized for, and wondered whether it was admitting that it had done something wrong (PR:Erica).

Whitehorse

Whitehorse (Figure 20) is the capital and largest community of the YT. Its 2006 population was 20,461, of whom ~18.5 are Aboriginal and ~80.6 are non-Aboriginal. Located in “the wide valley of the Yukon River,” Whitehorse is also within “the shared traditional territory of the Ta’an Kwach’an Council (TKC) and the Kwanlin Dun First Nation (KDFN)” (YBS 2004b).

About 2.36% of the community have households with more than 6 people. Approximately 65% own their own homes and 21.5% of 15-24 year-olds and 7.8% of those 25 and older are unemployed (GovYT 2001). The cost of living is 125.7% that in Alberta (2004) (YBS 2004b). Violent crimes numbered 795, while property crimes numbered 1910 in 2003 (YBS 2003).

Whitehorse seemed to be a very divided city, as was the Anglican Church there. At some level, Aboriginal people were invisible. I did not see them (or did not recognize them) in restaurants where I ate, or the stores I visited in the tourist area so did not see any interaction. One Anglican clergy, Darien, said that Aboriginal people did not attend the Anglican church in his area nor did they tend to live in that part of town (PR:Darien). He saw no particular need to reach out to Aboriginal people, particularly in that neighbourhood — such efforts would be too artificial. He also believed, however, that Aboriginal people would go to churches where they felt more comfortable and that reflected more of their own culture (PR:Darien). Where such churches would emerge from, what place they would have within the Yukon Anglican community, or whether such a church would even be possible given the multicultural make-up of Canada, he did not say. Another Anglican clergy, Gary, felt that there was greater acceptance than in the past, but acknowledged that still a fair amount of tension existed and that acceptance did not mean appreciation of another’s perspective (PR:Gary). Ted talked about increased tensions between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples (PR:Ted). Likewise, Albert, who did not wish to be formally interviewed, commented that when he arrived in the Yukon he had noticed discrimination existing: “Native people discriminating against non-Native” (PS:Albert). Two other participants also mentioned “Native people discriminating against non-Native” in some communities though they did not mention Whitehorse.

In some ways, tension is to be expected. While I did not research Yukon residential schools in any depth, I had not come across suggestions of respect for Aboriginal cultures or traditions, and was aware of problems at Carcross. In fact, the band council in Carcross refused to give me permission to conduct research there. I suspect that considerable anger does exist and, while the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in Dawson may have worked on a community-wide healing and reconciliation initiative, and may be working with the local Anglican congregation to bring together the two groups for healing and reconciliation, other councils in other communities may be at other stages in the healing process. Furthermore, as Aboriginal people and band councils are re-discovering their own power and voice, they are insisting on their territorial and political rights; in other words, the privileged position that had been enjoyed by EuroCanadian people since Gold Rush days is being eroded. While Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in the Yukon are renegotiating their relationship with one another, tensions can be high, particularly among those directly affected by any such changes.

The Anglican Cathedral in Whitehorse, the diocese of a whole, is not exempt from tension and divide within the congregation. Two issues stand out: the closure of the log church and the issue of non-stipendiary priests.

Next to the Anglican Cathedral in Whitehorse is an old log church (Figure 21), used as a museum during summer months; it also has several offices that are used throughout the year. Church services used to be held Sunday mornings and were attended by Aboriginal people. The church had recently been closed. Many participants mentioned it as a sore point in Aboriginal-EuroCanadian relations, and many different stories existed as to why the church had been closed.

According to one source, the log church and the Anglican Cathedral next door held services at the same time, suggesting a type of discrimination with Aboriginal people going to the log church and non-Aboriginal people going to the Cathedral. Since this was not the impression the diocese wanted to communicate, it closed the log church. Two sources mentioned the Aboriginal clergy who headed the church. One suggested the person burned out and needed rest; another that the clergy was going through a particularly troubled period

in his/her life; the end result was the same: the log church was closed. Still another source mentioned internal dissension within the Aboriginal community as having led to the closure. Aboriginal people from one nation had assumed too much power; Aboriginal Anglicans from other First Nations protested and the log church had been closed. Whatever the truth of the matter — and possibly all the versions are true to some degree — the effect on lay people who likely did not have access to all the debate that had surrounded the log church's closure was creating a fertile ground for rumours and hurt feelings.

The second issue was the number of non-stipendiary clergy in the diocese of Yukon (as a corollary, the closure of the Bishop School of Native Ministry was also mentioned). A clear distinction is made between stipendiary and non-stipendiary clergy. When I asked how many clergy there were in the diocese, what I was told represented only those who received stipends or partial stipends; the other clergy were not included in the count (unlike what I was told in the diocese of the Arctic). The problem, according to the stipendiary clergy I interviewed, was economics. The distances involved in travelling and the lack of year-round roads to access some communities result in high travel expenses. The low population density and the fact that the Anglicans are not the only Christian representatives in the region make it difficult for congregations to be self-supporting, or for sufficient funds to be available to pay stipends to all clergy in the diocese. The diocese depends in part on financing from the Council of the North (which includes both the diocese of Yukon and that of the Arctic). In recent years, those grants have been reduced approximately 40% (AJournal 2005). The diocese of Yukon under Bishop Buckle has struggled to deal with the financial constraints. While he has been willing to ordain Aboriginal clergy noted for their faith, their commitment to God, and their dedication to using their skills within their own communities, there is no money to pay them. Money is used to entice formally trained clergy from other parts of Canada to the region, not to pay clergy who have been working in the Yukon for years and even decades. The Bishop School of Native Ministry was closed, replaced by the Bishop's School of Yukon Ministries because the former was too expensive to operate as it was, and newer technologies make it possible to provide tailored training to individuals in their own communities (D-YT 2008). As with the closure of the log church, however, perceptions of why some are stipendiary and others non-stipendiary

do exist and do shape the current relationship. Alariaq, for example, could not help but wonder about the role discrimination played in determining who got paid and not paid (PS:Alariaq).

On the more positive note, Missy felt the relationship was definitely better and told about a number of initiatives in the Whitehorse school system that were designed to promote cross-cultural appreciation (PR:Missy):

My child is in French immersion in Whitehorse elementary school and has to take a course on Southern Tutchone — every student in the school has to go through the program. You learn about Southern Tutchone culture — traditions, stories, customs — and a little bit of the language. ... Yes, an elder comes in and teaches them. And then they go just outside of Whitehorse, to the “Olden Days” People Village. It’s a village like it used to be and every child gets the chance to experience life as it used to be ... I think [all the schools] have a Native program that you have to take (PR:Missy).

Several participants noted how Bishop Buckle has been very determined and very public about the need to apologize to Aboriginal survivors of residential schools. He has been on the radio apologizing on behalf of the ACC, and has been willing to go to people and apologize in person. He considers the ADR process to be important, has appointed a member of the clergy to serve on the local ADR, listening and hearing what Aboriginal people have to say, and willing to offer the Church’s apology whenever it is needed.

Participant Perceptions of the Relationships

Perceptions by Aboriginal Clergy and Laity

As might be expected, a variety of answers were provided although generally, Aboriginal participants tended to believe that relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples were better now than they used to be. Many, however they identified themselves, were not regular church-goers and talked about the relationship in terms of their community rather than with the ACC.

Some were quite positive. Kudloo, in the southern NT, saw no difference. In fact, it was the lack of discrimination in the local congregation that had drawn her “to come to know the Lord and do the Lord’s work” (PR:Kudloo). Whenever a congregational event was being held, she would call upon members to help; whether they were Aboriginal or not made no difference (PS:Kudloo).

Goota, like Kudloo and also living in the southern NT, tended not to see differences. She called me “Dene;” after all, I was a person and “Dene” means simply “the people.” For her, labels did not have the same exclusive value as for is generally true for EuroCanadians. At the same time, she still harboured anger towards the RCMP and the nuns who had run the residential school she had attended because neither group had apologized for the past.

Aqpik, who lived in the northern NT, expressed a note of caution. On the one hand, she knew some Aboriginal people who said they had no use for “white people” today, but did not count herself among that group. She had seen and interacted with many teachers and considered herself as having been well-treated and treated with respect by both teachers and clergy. She had been taught by white people, including one teacher who spoke her language well. On the other hand, when asked whether we had learned anything, she said she thought we had, then paused and qualified it by saying, “hoped we had.” When asked whether we understand one another better now, she expressed the same ambivalence: she hoped so (PS:Aqpik).

Papikatuuk told about the teacher who had behaved inappropriately towards her child and was ultimately dismissed. Aboriginal people were standing up for themselves and would not take the kind of treatment they had been accorded in the past. Tiktak would have agreed, telling about a situation where a teacher had insulted her niece in class. Her niece did not tell her family about the incident but the next day, she did not want to go to school. When she finally told them what had happened, Tiktak took her back to school. “The teacher saw me and knew why were there. She came and apologized.” Tiktak believed that something had changed over the years. Teachers were more open with parents and the children. They even consulted with the Tr’ondëk Hwëchin First Nations. Nevertheless, some people “still talk Natives down” (PS:Tiktak)

Kiawak was another Aboriginal who talked about the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in the society. He prefaced his comments by saying that, for him, being an Aboriginal did not mean keeping alive all the traditions of the past. Contact with Europeans and EuroCanadians had led to problems, but contact had also brought benefits to the people and made their lives easier. That did not mean, however, that he was willing to do things the way they were done in other parts of Canada. He was a firm believer in affirmative action and in the need to involve Aboriginal people in all business dealings. As he put it:

There's been a reluctance by private firms to get on board with that — Airlines Companies and trucking firms and stuff — well they say, "Well, this is a family operated business. We've brought it up bootstrap, and why should we share this with anybody" That was the thinking some time ago.

Lately, it's been going the other way now. "Hey, we're looking for Aboriginal connection ..." because we do have ... and we were forced to have a preference policy in place — Northern Hire — Northern Bit, they called it. That they had to be "bit" — you had to be a Northern company, and we would go to them first, and so, what happens — these other companies would latch onto a Northern company and they'd use them as the front — to start off with — just being used — but now the company's gotten more legitimate, and they're more partnered in here now (PR:Kiawak)

EuroCanadian participants had their own views about the (in)effectiveness of the affirmative action program, but Oqalik talked about some of the problems where international companies are quite willing to hire Inuvialuit people as labourers but not as professionals. Even though he has college education and certification, the foreign company operating in his region will not consider him or any Aboriginal people for anything other than labourer.

Well you see ... you see the ... how many times they hire people like — you know — pull trucks, and labourers, and bookkeepers and office workers and cooks ... any scientific thing — ... they won't given nobody ... I tried ... she said — she agreed when I said the scientific grouping ... Japanese people and Canadian scientists they don't anyone inside the ... organization ...so ... some of us ... like me, I'm Inuktut ... (PR:Oqalik)

Pagnark expressed a similar sentiment, saying: "Yeah, it's mostly southerners get the government jobs ... positions ... but it's getting better but it's like you see in the hospital, it's mostly southerners, eh ... government offices ... it's all southerners" (PR:Pagnark).

Others in both Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk (and not only Aboriginal participants) also mentioned problems in the workplace.

When I used to work — what I didn't like about the people that was — they'd come here and they would take jobs away from the Native and the Aboriginals and their only means of staying here — hated the people — hated everybody else — was just to make their money and go — that was ... that was why I felt very bad about it and yet try to still be good to them. It was hard (PR:Piktoukun).

Ungulaq added:.

Yeah ... Because ... say RCMP — they're here for a couple of months and then ... I don't even know their names — they say "hi" and whatever ... they say, "hi" — they stay for a couple of weeks — months — and then they're gone. Yeah ... but we always ... or they come when they come and we just let them come ... They don't interact very much in the community. [Even some non-Aboriginal people who work on land claims...] Never see them.... or the odd time, maybe the occasion — Christmas — Hallowe'en — and then ... when it's a busy time, they're busy — they go home — yeah ...(PR:Ungulaq)

In some ways, the relationship had not changed as Oqalik revealed in the following story:

There was also a white guy and he was a nurse. He once assaulted a girlfriend and she called the RCMP. The RCMP came and they talked to the guy and they said, "Look, you know, she laid charges on you. We don't want to arrest you." And the guy told this [to me] so this is pretty well dead on ... so the RCMP didn't arrest the white guy even though he had charges laid against him (PS:Oqalik).

Had relationships improved within the Anglican community? Alariaq had her own opinions about the current situation in the YT.

Bishop Ferris was a mover. He set up the Bishop School of Native Ministry that was very active. But he left. The next bishop closed the school and opened up his own Bishop School of Ministry. It doesn't do anything. ... We had our own church — St. Simon's, just next door, but he closed it down (PS:Alariaq).

There are two new (clergy) now. They run things but who are they? We don't know. The one missionary, he visited 800 families then started preaching. The people — they knew him and went to church. These people, we don't know them so don't go to church. They have no children They have dogs. With children, you know the frustrations of every age (PS:Alariaq)

Her comment is reminiscent of an incident recounted by one EuroCanadian clergy, and reflective of Athabaskan views of knowledge. When local Aboriginal man found out that she was not and had never been married, he simply turned and left the church; she never saw him in church again as long as she was there (PR:Sofia). According to the Athabaskan perspective, she had no experience (of married life, or of raising children) and was therefore unqualified (see

Chapter 17). From what participants told me about the closure of St. Simon's, it was obvious was that a communication breakdown had occurred leaving room for rumour and innuendo to take root, feeding bad feelings.

According to Tiktak, the T-H worked with the local Anglican church but many Aboriginal people still did not go to church — “there's lots of anger and blame but no healing” (PS:Tiktak). Aqqiq, however, talked about the importance of forgiveness, sharing advice from her father:

He was telling me that, before the religion came, everybody was a medicine people. Medicine people they got their own power. They could heal. They do a lot of things. My dad was saying that some use it in a good way and some use it not a very good way. But my dad really believes in God too ... Before my dad died, he told me, “I want to talk to you.” I sat there and he told me, “This is the last time I'll be talking to you. [Aqqik] ... If someone mistreat you, you pray for them. Don't fight back for yourself. Remember this, you always pray for people that are mistreating you.” I thought to myself, why did my dad left me such a hard message. But every time I come across someone that is mistreating me ... the words I hear ... right away, you know, my dad's words (PR:Aqqik)

Nowyook also talked about forgiveness as being not only biblically mandated but part of the way for Aboriginal people to move forward in their healing process:

I think, one of the things, one of the ways, that we need to see as Native people — Inuit people, Aboriginal people — is that we got to start to look at where we are now, today, and that real thing that is going to make a difference in our lives is that we need to pass — move from the negative experiences and, of course, the Bible clearly speaks about forgiveness as a way for you to receive your blessings. ... That is where we need to start looking at ... whatever experience we have had — whether it be bad or good, or give us a very hard time and took some of our lives away — but I think it's time that we move from just seeing the negative side of what happened and look at the positive ... look at what we can do with it, make something with it, turn it into something ...that's what is going to make a difference in people's lives (PR:Nowyook).

Pagnark spoke about a “split” in the Anglican church she attended. During the service in Inuvik, the bishop's letter about the need to support schools in Africa had been read. When I asked her view about the letter, she said

But it's always about other countries. It's never about our community. ...
Like our pastor tells us a lot to go and evangelize, but he doesn't do it
himself (PR:Pagnark)

I responded by talking about different forms of evangelism and sometimes how the best witness was simply to live your faith rather than just talk about it. She replied, saying:

But that isn't what the pastor tells us ... he doesn't acknowledge that we
are doing it ... Just living our lives is the best example. ... But we're
always out there. Everyday I'm down at (a local meeting place/mall) ...
But still he criticizes the whole church for not evangelizing. We *do* do it.
I see a lot of individuals ... Sit, ... coffee shop there ... there's a lot of
people there ... and that's where all the homeless are too (PR:Pagnark).

When asked whether the local congregation had any initiatives to help local people in trouble (e.g., homeless, alcoholics, etc.), she said, "Nothing ... at least not our church ... not at all that I know" (PR:Pagnark). (It should be noted that a EuroCanadian participant talked about some of the priest's activities with the sick, activities of which Pagnark was unaware, once again suggesting a communication breakdown).

Divisions between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in society or in congregations were not the only ones to have emerged as a result of contact and/or the residential schools. Divisions within Aboriginal communities had also emerged. Goota mentioned "red apples" — those individuals who looked Aboriginal yet were essentially assimilated (white on the inside); they were rejected by both communities and belonged nowhere. Kitikmeot had attended the Anglican hostel / school in Inuvik. He eventually moved to other parts of Canada where he pursued his education and gained practical business experience before returning home. His experiences in EuroCanadian society, however, had changed him. He enjoyed working with non-Aboriginal people but had problems at times with Aboriginal people. Kitikmeot felt that they "could be mean and really tough ... they want to get back at you in some ways." One point that he mentioned was the lack of thanks. If you did something for EuroCanadian people, they would thank you. If you did something for Aboriginal people in his community, they would not; they would take whatever you had done for them, and simply leave (PS:Kitikmeot)

Despite any divisions, examples of miscommunication, or discriminatory incidents that might exist, however, participants felt the situation in the North was quite different from that in the south. Kudloo mentioned how her son never felt he was different or Aboriginal until he

went south. Pagnark decided to go south to “see where people that had had such a big impact on our people” came from. She was not impressed with what she saw:

It’s too much of a materialistic ... and there’s ... you have to have an invitation to visit. Here, we can [visit] because we’re all related, we can visit each other without having to ask you — can drop in ... but down south, you have to have an invitation — or you’ve got to be invited to go anywhere to visit, eh? You can’t just go on to visit and drop in on people ... I found — that my son and I went through ... culture shock — a different way of life — different rules — different atmosphere.

Oh — [one of the] things that I found that had really bothered me when I moved south was that ... soon as they knew I wasn’t Indian, I was treated differently. Because I was Inuvialuit instead of Indian, and I was treated like somebody special. But ... if they didn’t know that I was ... if they thought I was Indian, I was totally ... nothing.

Because they thought I was Indian, I was treated ... but soon as they knew I wasn’t — that I was a Inuvialuit, I was treated like them. ... Different — like they wanted to even touch me. (PR:Pagnark)

What were her concluding thoughts about the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in the North?

“Up here, we’re treated the same — like Gwich’in and Inuvialuit — learn to live together — especially at Aklavik” (PR:Pagnark).

Perceptions by EuroCanadian Clergy

Perceptions in the NT

EuroCanadian clergy perceptions of the relationship revealed a profound difference between NT and YT. Clergy in the NT were aware that no residential school lawsuits had been filed against the diocese, and believed that the overall relationship was very positive, and certainly more positive than it was in southern Canada. One reason for the good relationship, according to Frank, was that most of the diocese was Aboriginal — both parishioners and the clergy. Residential school experiences had been different and the current relationship was different from what was found in other parts of the country. As Frank put it:

There always has been, I think ... much more acceptance. It’s amazing the number of people who ask me when I’m in the south, “How do you like working for a Native bishop?” Well, he’s a bishop!

And I say, “He’s a bishop. He’s my bishop.” But they seem to classify in different ways ... He’s our Bishop. Sperry was our bishop. Chris was our bishop. Andrew is our bishop. It’s not Andrew’s our Native Bishop. He’s our bishop. I think it’s different than how the south looks at it. We elected Andrew not because he was Native or non-Native. We elected him because obviously they felt he was the one God has chosen, and nationality really had nothing to do with it (PR:Frank).

In some ways, that sentiment echoed what Kudloo had said about the church and her own community: when looking for volunteers for special church projects (e.g., church socials), she would call whomever she thought was the best to call; it did not matter to her in the slightest whether the person was Aboriginal or not.

Linda was more reserved but still positive. She felt that she had been welcomed with open arms and overall her experience had been almost 100% positive, but acknowledged that some people did have problems. According to her, however, the problems lay with those EuroCanadian people who came into the community: how they were accepted or rejected by the community depended on the attitude they came with. If they were willing to “help and be a part of the community,” then they would have a good experience. If they came “with a grudge, or with [their] own ... preconceived notions ... and [didn’t] want to be involved in the community,” then they would have problems (PR:Linda.).

Old-timers Remi and Sam both saw the relationship as being a good one, and quite different from what had happened in the south. Both remembered travelling by dog sled to the different communities and living as an Inuit, among the Inuit in their travels. Sam believed that the relationship that eventually evolved between the EuroCanadian and Inuit peoples in the North was one of “mutual dependence” (PR:Sam). In fact, according to Sam, if EuroCanadians had not assimilated into the Inuit culture to some degree, they would have gone the way of the Vikings and simply disappeared from the North (PR:Sam). Both Sam and Remi felt it was very important to learn the local language because it showed respect and, “in respecting that language you respect the people” (PR:Remi). Throughout their interviews, respect for the people was very clear in what they had to say.

Lyle was a newcomer who had very little to do with Aboriginal people since so few came to his church. He did not see the lack of Aboriginal people as indications of a problem, but rather

because of history: no historical ties existed between the UCC and Aboriginal people in the North. His overall impression was:

There is a very strong pride in the Northwest Territories that “we got it right.” Now, that doesn’t mean that “we got it perfect” but it does mean “we got it right” in terms of how we do things. The way that Aboriginal / non-Aboriginal people work together, the kind of respect that we have for each other, the different cultures and different ways of doing things and so on — there’s a real strong pride in that and it’s bought into by everybody.

Now — that’s a generalization that you know is not true ...And I think it’s partly because we’re not tied up with the reservation system. You know, the land claims are still being negotiated. There’s only one of them that’s been settled in the last couple of years — the Deh Cho settlement — or is it ... I can’t remember now ... one of them has been settled and the others are still in negotiation — which is way better than what happened in the south, back whenever it happened. It’s far more mutual and there’s far more respect. Again, if you say, “what are we doing now...?” — that’s not church related that’s just government-related ... you wonder, it seems that we’re on the right track. We’re nowhere near perfect, but we’re on a better track than there has been in the past, at least in our minds. Maybe we thought that during the residential school era too, so you know, you sort of wonder. (PR:Lyle)

Lyle wanted to put a personal face to the Church and decided to attend Aboriginal events dealing with residential schools and apologies to express his and his Church’s concern for the people. Although he had been in the community a relatively short time, his efforts were already being recognized and welcomed by some of the Aboriginal communities. At the same time, he felt it important for the Church to respond to problems it saw in the community — not “Aboriginal problems” but “problems” that affected Aboriginal and EuroCanadian alike. His response mirrored what others were saying: that the divide between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal was not as important in the NT as in other parts of Canada.

Perceptions in the YT

The situation was not as positive in the YT. According to Arthur, the relationship varied from community to community. Sometimes work done and trust built up by one clergy was undermined by another. He shared a story about some Aboriginal children who came to church on their own. Their home situation was not great, but he did what he could to welcome them

into the congregation and make them feel a part of the community. His successor (unnamed) was appalled that they came without at least one parent and insisted that they would be welcome only when a parent came too (PR:Arthur). Such changes in practice had to have resulted in hurt feelings.

According to Floyd, dealing with the hurt and loss of trust were the big challenges facing the diocese:

I think it's rebuilding trust ... rebuilding relationships that have been broken ... out of ... out of hurt, and out of ... anger and resentment, and all that's taken place ... is resolved ... for some people. It needs to ... a lot of First Nation people and residential school ... is to rebuild trust. We have place ... but not necessarily trust. And so, it's almost like starting over again because we came from a place of great trust ... we came from a place where there was a strong relationship between First Nations people and church to more recent years where that whole thing has reversed itself and there was a great feeling of ... anger and resentment ... bitterness ... hurt ...and still getting past all that ... it's a slow process (PR:Floyd)

Floyd was willing to apologize to whomever needed to hear an apology. He also saw a changing attitude that had evolved over the years. In the "old days in the NT," the elders, non-Native population and government were committed to working together; in the past few decades, however, there has been more politicization of the Aboriginal people, particularly the young, and that had changed the relationship. Floyd also saw a difference between what was happening in Whitehorse and in other communities across the Yukon.

... if you just go around the town, and ... you don't see a lot of First Nations people employed in the stores and the restaurants and all this downtown, and you wonder about that. ... well, we have one restaurant over here that's owned by the former Grand Chief of Yukon First Nations ... we also have First Nations people who live in the core part of Whitehorse and are quite well integrated. We have non-Native people who are very much concerned about integrating with First Nations people, and we have others who just live their life, and don't have very much to do with them at all ... with First Nations people at all.

...I think all the way back, there's always been a segment of the non-Native community that blends very nicely, and vice versa ... First Nations blending with non-First Nations people. There's always been a segment that has been a little bit removed and separate on the non-Native side. But wherever efforts are made to move into the Native community,

it usually always worked where there was interest, where there was concern, where there was just a lot of friendship and caring. It worked. (PR:Floyd)

Gary noted ongoing challenges in his congregation with problems but also saw some positive signs, saying:

I think that it's more than just acceptance here. I think that non-Native people ... really care about the Native people that come ... Certainly, at coffee hour, some people try very hard to engage them in conversation.... There are some people that are really good about going over [to where the Native people are sitting, apart from the non-Native parishioners] and, you know, just treating them like anybody else ... and laughing, you can see them laughing and enjoying each other's company, eating together, you know. (PR:Gary).

Moriah noted how her understanding of being a priest was changing as a result of her ministry with Aboriginal people:

... for me, it has moved more towards relationships. ...Not to say we ignore the canons or anything but it's really how they are applied and they're applied within the context of, I hope, ever-increasingly healthy relationships.

And so building trust, mutual respect, where I try to learn as much from them as hopefully they are learning from me. (PR:Moriah).

What was evident from the majority of YT Anglican clergy's comments was an awareness of how deeply Aboriginal people and communities in the YT were affected by the residential school issue, an awareness of ongoing problems in communities, and even in congregations. They were aware of divisions within Aboriginal communities (e.g., traditional, Anglican, revival-type group, Pentecostal), and of the racism that still exists within Canada as a whole (PR:Moriah). Many clergy in the diocese saw a shift in focus from preaching to the pastoral ministry and the need to develop and strengthen relationships with the people. As Moriah put it:

How do we kind of meet people where they're at? So, you know, pastoral ministry here is very strong.

We've had incidents where we know people have hurt themselves ... committed suicide and things and just, you know, given the Christian

belief on suicide, ...you know, pastoral ministry has been a lot of “are they really in hell? – so when somebody asks you that question, “are they really in hell because they committed suicide?” – that’s the kind of challenge in our faith and, who are we as the church here now, at this time.

There’s not a before residential school and after — it’s kind of — we have to be where people are as they begin to heal, and we have to meet where they are at. We can’t force ourselves, we can only walk with — but we have to build relationships as we go because, when they are ready — and I do believe they will because many are already ... when they are ready, we have to be present. We have to have a relationship of trust and respect — and of mutual trust and respect... (PR:Moriah)

Perceptions by EuroCanadian Laity

As might be expected EuroCanadian people held a wide range of views on the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people in general and in the Church

Albert noted the existence of Aboriginal racist attitudes towards EuroCanadian (PS:Albert), and Erica knew that the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people was not always good in some communities (PR:Erica). Todd also expressed the view that the relationship varied considerably from community to community (PR:Todd). Lindsey felt that not much had changed over the years. In her opinion:

I think there is still a lot of racism and dismissal of Aboriginal people being a certain way and dismissal of white people being a certain way. There’s some pretty strong feelings, I think, on both sides of the ... particularly with self-government. We’re pretty far into that up here as a territory, but there is a sense that I hear quite often of “Fine, let them go — they’ll see what it’s like.” ... it’s that the Aboriginal people want their cake and eat it too — that kind of attitude which frankly I have encountered — it’s incredibly frustrating. Just when you’re trying to do your best, and you’re not trying to say “you’re this” or “you’re that” — you’re just trying to do your best and then it gets wrapped up in ... anyway ...

Particularly, ... in the work environments. This idea that Aboriginal people cannot think for themselves, look after themselves, make their own decisions. Umm, and it manifests itself in a number of ways. I think the most insidious way it manifests itself though is that we don’t have open conversation — public policy, discussion or whatever — about ...

what we're talking about is a difference of values — deeply embedded — and we do not — we very rarely — bring that out and put it right in front of everybody and say, “OK, let's talk about that. (PR:Lindsey)

Having said that, however, Lindsey saw a great difference between the relationship as it exists in the North and as it exists in southern Canada:

So I came from an experience of Aboriginal people being totally segregated, on reserve, really poverty stricken — not in any way, shape or form part of my daily life or the daily life of the community. Didn't question it. It was what was normal or whatever. ... Anyway, so when I came here, what I was actually floored by ... there were Aboriginal people everywhere... even physically in the same neighbourhood as non-Aboriginal people and that was totally foreign to me. My first boss ... was an Aboriginal woman. The premier was an Aboriginal man. It was so, so different from my experience [down south] (PR:Lindsey).

In some ways, Lindsey's overall view of the relationship echoed what Lyle had said about a sense that they had “got it right” in the NT:

...I just wanted to say that, compared to other places in the country, it's remarkable what Aboriginal people can do. I think that speaks to the attitude of non-Aboriginal people too. That it's like ... it's just normal. That's our normal. ... Yeah, that's our normal, which I really like ... I find it very disrupting when I go [south] now ... It's just ... very distressing because there's a real segregation (PR:Lindsey).

Anne was another participant who felt that Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people were fairly well integrated, at least in Yellowknife. Like Lindsey, Anne believed:

It gets to the point where you don't honestly think about it in a lot of cases. People who, you know, people who you work with — sometimes you don't know they're Aboriginal. Sometimes you do, but it's, you know, it's just so much a fact of life that you don't really think a lot about it. (PR:Anne)

Anne acknowledged that hard feelings did exist over specific policies such as affirmative action staffing practices which was essentially a quota system that tends to frustrate people; she was not sure that it was terribly productive. She also recognized that some people were racist, but did not feel that was the norm, at least not where she worked. At the same time, she noted problems sometimes emerged in the workplace:

What I found is that there are some people that are more than willing to say racism at every little thing that ...it's ... taking responsibility and there are people that say ... "like you said that because of race." And I would say, "No, I didn't say that because of race. I said that because you're not doing your job." I would have said that to anybody — it wouldn't have mattered. There are both sides to that coin.

There is different — a way of looking at the work that you have to kind of become accustomed to, and accept or not accept. ...I think a lot of racism comes up when people just don't understand how other people work or think. Some people are very driven by work and they are very ... I have to admit I've found this more in the non-Aboriginal world — that works drives ... some folks that have worked with me and for me have a very high expectation of their fellow employees because they are very proficient, but they expect that same proficiency or perfection from other people and maybe those other people cannot measure up. So they're hard on staff period.

But it's — sometimes more hard on, I guess, the staff — and a lot of times they are Aboriginal because I find they just have a different attitude. I'm not saying they're lazy because most of the time, I don't think ... there are lazy people from all walks of life ... [indecipherable] can pick out any particular race in Canada — corner on laziness or things like that — but there are different attitudes that come into play, and it's kind of hard sometimes to balance all that.

You have a lot of people working together or a lot of people that depend on each other to get work done — so, and I think people need that ... is perhaps blamed on racism — culture probably plays a part in it but it's because of the different attitudes (PR:Anne).

Jessica had a different take about problems in the workplace:

Deep differences do exist. Sometimes, when interacting with each other, the frustration is visible. Not so much frustration with individuals or with some trying to accommodate while others did not want to but rather something more complex. For example, you have a meeting ... you think it should be run one way ... but other people think it should be done different. You try to accommodate — they try to accommodate and every so often everyone just gets frustrated that they can't actually get going and do something.

We have not paid significant attention to differences in worldviews; so much of our interaction with Aboriginal people ends up being an

interaction of two worldviews. For example: how do we organize meetings? Set the agenda? Run the meetings? Who decides? Each decision is based on what we think is “normal” — but according to whom? Dene? Inuit? Dogrib? Slavey? ...

There are 11 different official languages. How do people move forward in such an environment? People want Aboriginal languages — but which ones? People from all 11 official language groups live in Yellowknife. Yellowknife is a magnet with people coming from all parts of the NT. Even if the decision was made to limit “Aboriginal languages” to the Dene, the question arises — which group within the Dene population? The Dene population is quite diverse. Whose worldview do you espouse? How do you then determine what the “standard” worldview should be? (PS:Jessica).

Janet talked about the relationship between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal people in the Church. She believed that a lot had to do with who the minister was at the time. “Yes, there was a lot of respect for Aboriginals, especially elders ... [but there are still people who] don’t really understand the Aboriginal people and why they are the way they are. When they come to our vestry meeting, they are not generally as outspoken as white people are” (PR:Janet).

While one participant talked about a K-12 curriculum in Yellowknife that reflected Aboriginal cultures, Kevin expressed a different view about the program

There are some very specific kinds of programs where there’s absolutely no education being provided. Then you’re going to see more Aboriginals intentional employment of Aboriginal elders, Aboriginal teachers, and people that have something to contribute to that kind of education. You can see it at a coordinator level, but you can also see it at the school level too — when they have an Aboriginal or language-instructional person (PR:Kevin).

Joanne believed that culture was being used to actually discriminate against Aboriginal people.

[For example] children don’t attend school. They say, “why aren’t these kids in school?” “Well, their culture ... they’re hunting; they’re fishing” (PR:Joanne)

Accepting children missing school because it “was their culture” meant that children were not getting adequate education, and therefore would not be able to get the best jobs in the region

which would go — by default — go to “the good old boys’ club.” The result would be a new form of colonialism in which culture became the means to control Aboriginal people.

I think, politically speaking, there is a rift between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in that ... [some of the activities promoting Aboriginal culture is really going to lead to their destruction]. My sister-in-law [who was an Aboriginal] felt it was a conspiracy to get rid of them. She said that the Canadian government excusing everything people [did] because of their culture is just a means of destroying their culture and imploding it from the inside out. ...(PR:Joanne).

For all the problems that existed, participants tended to see them as resulting from ignorance (PR:Joanne), different worldviews (PS:Jessica), different attitudes (PR:Anne), and different values (PR:Lindsey) more than from racism. The most important way to deal with problems in relationships, however, was not to try to make things right because “we should” (PS:Jessica), and not to try to attract Aboriginal people to the Church, but to focus on being yourselves, for Church members to focus on who they are as Christians (PR:Lisa), and to accept others as real individuals in their own right. Alice felt the best way that the Church — or rather, people in the Church — could reach out to Aboriginal people was simply to do things with them ... help out at a Christmas party for children, help with a potluck meal ... something to express one’s concern and willingness to be present (PR:Alice). Evelyn said one of the hardest things for Aboriginal people to deal with were those individuals who came north for a short term, and then left; Native people [like to have a relationship with you and feel closer to you] ... like today, I met a Native lady uptown when I was uptown ... and went over and gave her a hug and a little kiss on her cheek and she said — she speaks English, ‘Haven’t seen you long time.’” (PR:Evelyn). Erica and Janna shared some of their experiences with Aboriginal people over the years. Erica said that some of her closest friends were Aboriginal and shared a story about when she retired:

When I left, I got a stainless steel teapot, sugar and cream with a tray — it was a woman who worked for me in the nursing station, and she said, “I’m giving this to you because of you ... you were a nurse for 30 years and you weren’t proud. So, what I think she’s telling me — that I didn’t feel better than them, that I treated as equal. And probably that was the compliment of my life being told I wasn’t proud. But when you’re living in that situation, you can’t be. You depend on them, so ... as far as looking after somebody who was sick — why that side of it ... but a lot of

other things you have to depend on them so, ... so, I wasn't proud.
(PR:Erica).

Janna told about a recent incident in a local store:

There was a lady ... I realized she was looking at me, and I looked again at her — and I ... I didn't know who she was, but I knew there was a familiarity. And ... anyway, she ... started coming towards me, and she said, "I always remember a face that was kind... and the next thing, we were in each other's arms, weeping — Now, she was married and she had her children with her. And it would have been ... [XX] years ... this beautiful child — probably 7 or 8 years — long, black braids ... and ... she had come down ... to go to school.

Yeah, that incident ... took away a lot of pain [of all the bad things being said about residential schools and residential school staff] — it did me good. It didn't take all of it, but it took a huge amount. It was just that this woman — after all those years — could even recognize me and had said that. And ... it was just ... we just stood there and held onto each other. It really was a very wonderful (PR:Janna).

Conclusion

What is striking in those reactions is the difference in tone and content between laity and clergy that is as noticeable as the difference between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian. Not unexpectedly, clergy were somewhat defensive. They kept the focus on the past and on what they or the Church was doing to deal or help Aboriginal people deal with the trauma, and on differences between the situation in Canada's North and the rest of the Canada. Laity were not as bound by the past even when talking about residential schools and the pain; Aboriginal participants also shared some of their healing process. While they, like the clergy, could acknowledge the Northern situation as being better than what existed in southern Canada, laity seemed more aware of the challenges inherent in a multicultural environment, including some of its frustrations.

For all categories, however, the residential school issue has obviously had a direct impact on the relationship between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples. In spite of the small number in the sample, the residential schools issue has brought to the forefront, in addition to the question of how to move beyond a painful past, questions regarding the difficult co-existence

of cultural groups. This question is no longer to be solved by the dominance of one group over the other but what place each group has in the relationship and how each interacts with the other have yet to be negotiated. Concern and sensitivity to the issue and to the harm that had been resulted from residential schools has led to a confusion and uncertainty about what the churches' role in NT society should be — particularly for the UCC which recognizes itself as being a non-Aboriginal entity. While recognizing the need to reach out into the Aboriginal community in friendship, it is reluctant to increase the Aboriginal presence within the Yellowknife UCC simply because it should, and reluctant to respond to problems faced by many Aboriginal people lest that be perceived as a new form of paternalism. Should action be left to individual church members, many of whom deal with Aboriginal issues and challenges in their professions and daily lives? The residential school issue has made them cautious: what might they do out of the goodness of their heart that would come back to haunt them twenty years down the road? Should the church — as an institutional entity in Yellowknife — do anything at all? As one participant put it, “In our efforts to make things better, what unconscious, unrecognized, and unacknowledged values and worldviews might we bring to what we do?” (PR:Lyle).

Despite the soul-searching being done in the Yellowknife UCC, the minister had also made commitment to respond as much as possible to any initiative offered by the Aboriginal community in Yellowknife — to put a human face to the Church as an institution, and to express concern and interest without trying to impose its own agenda on the peoples and communities. When invited to attend Phil Fontaine's Yellowknife presentation to residential school survivors about the settlement, the minister did. He was the “only person there specifically from the Church” (PR:Lyle). Lyle believed the minister's presence was acknowledged and remarked upon by the meeting organizers. Surprisingly, given the number of residential schools operated by the Anglicans in the NT, no Anglican clergy attended.

Kudloo told about one parishioner who had “sort of” dismissed the residential school issue. A couple of Aboriginal people who heard the remark did not feel it should be dismissed so easily and left the congregation (PR:Kudloo). Ted also spoke of a number of old-timers who believed the issue was “just rubbish.” In fact, he has noticed that the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples is overall more tense than it was in the 1990s. According to Ted, “a lot of it is because people don't understand. I think a lot of non-Aboriginal people are

in denial. They don't want to believe that these kinds of things happened in the residential schools" (PR:Ted). The residential school issue, as Gary discovered in his own ministry, is a very sensitive one.

The residential school issue is not the only factor leading to increased tensions between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples. Ted pointed out that over the past decade or so, "eleven of the fourteen First Nations had gone through land claim negotiations." While First Nations people, such as the Gwich'in, are legitimately "making demands on the city, on the territory, and on the Federal Government," many non-Aboriginal people "question the validity of those demands in various ways." One person he knew who worked with the Yukon Territorial Government had told him, "... they can't do anything in our department until we talk to those damn Indians ..." Ted stated that the person was not alone in holding such views: "there's a lot of that out there." (PR:Ted).

The laity (both Aboriginal and EuroCanadian) stand out in their recognition of cultural differences and of the existence of Aboriginal worldviews / traditions / norms / and values that clash with EuroCanadian ones. Such differences, when neither talked about nor recognized, can affect the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in negative ways. Discovering what these differences are and learning how to interact with people holding such different worldviews/traditions/norms/values is essential for building good relationships yet few opportunities seem to exist for EuroCanadians and non-Aboriginal peoples — and for newcomers in particular — to do just that.

A relationship is not necessarily good because it is without tension, nor is it necessarily bad because tensions exist. A healthy relationship entails some tension that frequently accompanies change; this may explain the position of Aboriginal clergy and laity who characterize the relationship as improving yet can still identify problems and challenges to that relationship.

15. FOLLOWING THE CLUES: HINTS OF A THIRD NARRATIVE

Overview

Participant interviews and archival research suggested a story within or beyond the story of colonialism in Canada's North. The dominant narrative stated how destructive colonialism and how exploited Aboriginal peoples had been. Participant statements and archival research uncovered the existence of a second narrative — a narrative that reveals either a more complex interpretation of colonialism or a history that differs significantly from those in southern Canada.

Neither of these two general narratives seem to adequately explain the relationships that exist among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada's North. Why do so few Aboriginal people attend ACC services in the major cities of Whitehorse and Yellowknife? If 90% of Anglicans in the NT are Aboriginal, then why do some switch to Pentecostal congregations when they move to the city? If the relationship is "better" or "good" as many claimed, then why did Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people break into separate groups during coffee hour? Why do Aboriginal peoples in Canada's North have the major social problems that they do, with suicide among the highest in Canada, and alcoholism and the secondary risk of fetal alcohol syndrome if northern residential schools, particularly those in the NT, were so different from schools in southern Canada?

My hypothesis is that there exists still another narrative, one that remains invisible as long as one focuses on colonialism as being the only root of all social evils among Aboriginal peoples. That third narrative is one of cultural collisions.

In this chapter¹, I follow the clues that emerged from my research including: (1) differences in understanding the issue; (2) differences in social behaviour; (3) different views of identity and place; (4) differences in "categories"; and (5) differences in interpretation of events. These clues were not mere differences; they indicated a more massive cultural collision that had occurred and is still occurring.

Differences in Understanding the Issue

The Fundamental Challenge To Reconciliation

The first clue to a third narrative came in 2003 during a presentation in Oakville, Ontario on the residential school issue and the need for the ACC to contribute towards a healing fund (ACC-P). During the presentation, ACC representatives also talked about the IRSSA between the federal government and the ACC limiting financial responsibility of the ACC to \$25 million with the government picking up any amount beyond the \$25 million limit courts might award to Aboriginal people. Aboriginal representatives talked about the impact the IRSSA had on their willingness to participate in the ADR process.

What became evident during the presentation, and the questions I had the opportunity of later asking, was that Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people were operating from two completely different understandings of the issue they were trying to deal with. From the EuroCanadian response, the issue revolved around people who had been hurt in the residential schools and what needed to be done by the ACC and federal government to make reparations for the harm done. From what I came to see as the Aboriginal response, the issue revolved around the relationship among governments, churches and their members, and Aboriginal people, and what needed to be done to repair that relationship.

Individuals within the Aboriginal communities had begun filing charges against the ACC (and other churches) and federal government. Cases were coming to court and amounts were being awarded. From a EuroCanadian perspective, a relationship already existed, albeit an adversarial one, with Aboriginal plaintiffs on one side and EuroCanadian institutions as defendants on the other. How the institutions dealt with the cases would indicate how much they were willing to atone for the past. They did not want to contest charges nor to appeal any settlements. Nor did they want the ACC or any other church body to go bankrupt as a result. Since the agreement to limit ACC culpability to \$25 million was worked out among the defendants, there was no need to include the plaintiffs. The model reflected a traditional Western justice system that emphasizes differences between “us” and “them.” By resolving the issue — the harm done in the residential school system — in the courts, it would become possible to overcome the obstacle preventing a good relationship.

From the Aboriginal perspective, such distinctions were moot. Individuals had perpetrated the crimes either as a result of church and government injunctions or with their collusion (i.e., by not doing anything to stop the crimes or punish the perpetrators). The charges represented the EuroCanadian way to deal with conflicts and crimes, but the relationship itself involved at least three parties: government and government employees; church and church members; and Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal individuals. For the relationship to be repaired, all three needed to be involved and working together to overcome threats and challenges. That understanding represented a traditional Aboriginal view of relationships. By excluding Aboriginal people from the debate over settlement awards and the threat of ACC bankruptcy, the EuroCanadian parties demonstrated that colonialism was alive and well: once again Aboriginal people were being silenced, marginalized, and excluded. The incident, far from preparing the road to the next stage of an improved relationship that EuroCanadians were hoping for, had become evidence that attitudes evident during the residential school era still existed.

The difference in understanding that fundamental challenge extends beyond the incident at one presentation in Oakville, however. What is the intent of the healing and reconciliation initiatives? What is reconciliation and who are the ones to be reconciled? What is an apology and what is its significance? It seemed on the one hand that the ACC and the EuroCanadian focus was on the past and making reparations for past mistakes so that the present relationship would improve (by default?), while the Aboriginal focus was on the present and future: focusing on the relationship today, a relationship that had been shaped by the past, in efforts to create a relational environment that would allow healing and renewal.

Northern Understanding of the Residential School Issue

Many EuroCanadian participants felt badly about what had happened, but no guilt and no sense of responsibility for what had happened or for having to be involved in the healing process. Alice, for example, knew there had been abuse. While she had not seen any abuse herself in the residential school she attended, her mother must have because her mother knew “this was going to come out in the open” and told her “how to cope with things” (PR:Alice). Alice said her heart broke whenever she thought of the suffering children had experienced: “I

feel sorry for them. I know that ... I'm just praying for them constantly. That's all I can really do, and reach out to them when they need it" (P:Alice). For her, what had happened was in the past; what had to be done was for the Aboriginal people to heal; reconciliation was "for the Anglican church and the First Nation people to join together and help each other get over this hurt feeling" (PR:Alice). It seems that Alice had essentially reduced their experience to "a hurt feeling." As for the Church's responsibility? It was "to help them get over the hurt feeling" — what was missing, for all of Alice's compassion, was any sense of Church responsibility or the Church having done something wrong, or something that had traumatized others.

Alice was not alone in thinking that the residential school issue was an Aboriginal issue. Wherever I introduced myself and my project, people would talk with me afterwards — not to volunteer, but to point me to an Aboriginal person that might be worth talking to who had actually attended residential school. One priest, who did not participate in the project because of scheduling incompatibilities, wondered why I was interested in visiting his congregation since it was primarily "white." Another priest, who did participate, wondered what he could possibly contribute to the project given that there were no Aboriginal people in his congregation and he had little interaction with them, despite his having been in the region for several decades and having served as priest in a community that did have Anglican Aboriginal families. Even the University of Ottawa's ethic review board insisted that I get a list of counsellors who would be available to help Aboriginal participants if necessary; they never mentioned similar requirements for EuroCanadian participants. Gary, talking about the ministerial in his area, said there was some interest to "engage with the Native leaders and apologize to them" but, at the same time, many were reluctant. After all, "we weren't directly involved." As Gary pointed, out however, "I don't think [the Native people] tend to make these fine distinctions" (PR:Gary).

While Lyle, Kyle, Floyd, and other EuroCanadian participants reflected concern and compassion for those people wounded by the residential school tragedy — particularly in the YT — this did not mean that they necessarily understood where those wounds had come from. I discovered that most people interviewed talked about residential schools in terms of physical and sexual abuse. Remi said that there were "no allegations of abuse in an Anglican school ... I can't say about the south, but in the Anglican school in the North, I have not heard of any cases" (PR:Remi) as if that accounted for all the hurts and anger and bitterness survivors might have

felt. Chantal and Frank both mentioned that no lawsuits against the ACC had been filed in the NT, leaving the impression that this meant no abuse had occurred and that abuse accounted for the tragedies. They acknowledged that abuse may have happened in Roman Catholic residential schools in the North, and in Anglican residential schools in other parts of Canada, but not in the NT.

If abuse did happen in any school — Anglican or not, Northern Canada or not — Remi wanted to make it clear that he could not condone abuse. At the same time, he felt that the issue was almost like Aboriginal people now “realize that they’re dysfunctional and ... have to have something to blame it on” (PR:Remi). Joanne believed the problem was “a social thing that really has nothing to do with residential schools. It has to do with changing culture. It was sad. ...” (PR:Joanne). Like Remi and Joanne, Arthur saw the residential schools as having less to do with the problems currently experienced by northern Aboriginal peoples and communities. Arthur believed that many problems were the direct result of European-EuroCanadian and Aboriginal contact; the residential schools were only one factor contributing to the problem. Interestingly, all saw the problem as having occurred in the past; all saw the challenge for Aboriginal people was to get over the past enough to live in the present.

The best responses reflecting EuroCanadian understandings of the issue and the need for reconciliation were expressed by two old-timers: Floyd and Anne. “Does anybody really know what happened, and do you really hear what happened? I think that ... that there’s the whole story is not really heard” (PR:Floyd). “I don’t know that we really understand it” (PR:Anne).

The point of how little EuroCanadian people understood the residential school issue was brought home to me by one participant who thought Aboriginal people should be happy to know they had been taken from their homes and parents by force. Sylvie had been sent away by her parents during the London blitz in the Second World War and had always thought her parents did not want her; at least, Aboriginal children knew they were wanted (PR:Sylvie). Sylvie was not alone in having raised the issue. Other participants reminded me that in the “old days” only lower-class families kept their children at home; the upper classes sent their children away to boarding schools. Far from being seen as racism and colonialism, sending Aboriginal children to residential schools was a sign of how privileged and well thought of they were. Given how

underfunded the schools were and the deplorable living conditions the children experienced, being taken away to residential schools was definitely not a mark of privilege and respect. But it is conceivable — particularly in Canada's North — that some parents of European background may have indeed sent their children to residential schools because of their own experiences and backgrounds in Europe.

Sylvie's personal story is not unique or exceptional. It is part of a larger narrative where thousands of children were taken from their homes and families in England and shipped to the countryside (whence comes the C.S. Lewis story, *The Lion, Witch, and Wardrobe*), and even to Canada. It reflects practices of a society that believes it is all right to separate children from parents in certain circumstances. We remove children from homes for their education (i.e., schools). We remove children from homes for their safety when we deem their parents are incapable of looking after them². We believe children must leave home and live on their own before they can truly be considered to be adult. What happens when we come into contact with a culture which holds contrary values? What happened when we took non-Western children — i.e., Athabaskan, Inuvialuit and possibly even mixed-heritage children since they were the groups considered in my thesis — away from their homes and families during the residential school era?

Still, in contrast to the majority of EuroCanadian participants, several — both newcomers and old-timers — stand out for their understanding that the issue was very much in the present; they had listened to and heard Aboriginal accounts. During the 1990s, Lisa had worked briefly in the Arctic, and got to know people of the “lost generation:”

... these children who, not raised by their parents — they were out in the schools ... they didn't learn ... they didn't learn parenting skills. They didn't learn family skills. They didn't learn their First ... their cultural skills and ... confidence and pride ... It's no wonder a lot of them ended up with addiction issues, and when they have children ... it seems like they've got ... they've got nothing to draw on for raising their children. So the effects, I think, are huge.(PR:Lisa).

Missy, who had been raised as EuroCanadian but had recently discovered her Métis roots, had her own understanding of the residential schools:

There's a lot of information about the residential schools. How they took children away from the culture educated them in another culture then

threw them back into their home culture and wondered why they had problems ... what else would you expect? You're taken away from your parents, your grandparents, anyone who could have taught you the ways of your people — how to hunt, how to fish, how to survive in the woods — when you go back, you don't have anything that you need to fit into the community. How will you survive? (PR:Missy)

Lyle summarized the present relationship saying, “You are always wondering what are we doing now that's the same but we don't even realize it” (PR:Lyle).

Was Lyle right? Would our assumptions about what was best and our good intentions lead us to a course of action that would ultimately prove just as destructive? Had we actually learned anything from the past and had the residential school era really ended? Was the residential school issue really a matter of the past or was it playing out in the present under another guise? For Kevin and Joanne, it was. Kevin saw a link between the overall relationship in the past and wondered how much had actually changed. Would we find ourselves re-enacting the past given the right circumstances: the Mackenzie pipeline, gas prices and planned development (PR:Kevin). Joanne recognized that what had happened in the past was “only the tip of the iceberg” (PR:Joanne). She talked about reverse discrimination — where teachers in one community, cognizant of the need to respect Aboriginal cultures, accepted truancy, saying “it's their culture.” The result was that those children were not sufficiently educated to get a good job in the community. They were stuck at the bottom of society while EuroCanadian people from the South came North to get the good paying jobs. Were those children better off holding onto their culture and not attending school or was “culture” now the catchword for new forms of racism and colonialism? Joanne talked about ongoing problems in communities where children were suffering because they were:

not being educated as the rest of Canada are. They are stuck in settlements where there is very little structure. There is an abundance of addiction in those settlements. There is mass unemployment, lack of proper housing. Women in those settlements are still viewing themselves as worthy as women by being pregnant or by sleeping with so-called “white” men, to try and climb up the social ladder in some way. It's terrible. I hate hearing myself say that but this is what I see (PR:Joanne).

Anne raised questions about the underlying theory concerning children that was in vogue during the residential school era.

Who were children? What value did they have? You know, and I think we've come light years from where that was — I mean, it was 'children are seen and not heard' — that was the kind of mantra, if you will, and [children] were a kind of nuisance... more like possessions, you know — you do what you think best... (PR:Anne)

With Anne's questions, the issue of abuse was transformed. What qualified as abuse? Was it simply a matter of Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples having different understandings of abuse? Was there a cultural dimension to the residential school issue that was being undervalued by those emphasizing the colonialist dimension? Might this cultural dimension account for the poor understanding that EuroCanadian people tended to have of what was so horrible about the residential schools?

Understanding the Apology

Attitudes towards the various apologies, however, reveal a cultural divide. In Canada's North, the divide was not so much between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples as between Northerners (Aboriginal and "old-timer" EuroCanadians) and EuroCanadian Southerners (and newcomer EuroCanadians in the North).

Southerners and newcomer EuroCanadians in the North tended to see the apologies as "once-for-ever" events. They were offered and accepted, and were therefore relegated to the past. As Gary put it, "I live with the sense that I haven't been forgiven and, I wonder, how many times do I need to say that before it matters" (PR:Gary). For Gary, it was time to let go the past and move on.

For many of the Aboriginal people in his congregation, and what Gary did not realize, was that the apology had yet to be offered. Linda (EuroCanadian) said, "This is a very remote place ... what happens in the south seems so far away from where we live ..." (PR:Linda) and Kyle (EuroCanadian) stated bluntly, "Archbishop Peers means nothing to a person here quite honestly. What they need to hear is me being able to say, 'Yes, something horrible was done. That was never our intention. Here are the things that we have done by way of trying to make things right.'" (PR:Kyle).

Northerners — both Aboriginal and long-term EuroCanadian — tended to view apologies as something intimate that bound individuals together at some level. What was said

elsewhere by strangers was irrelevant; what was said to a specific individual by a specific individual had meaning. As Kyle put it “as long as there is one person who needs to hear the apology, we as a church have to be prepared to apologize” (PR:Kyle). Ted’s role on the ADR was “to go around the room and speak to the survivor ... [and] extend a personal apology on behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada” (PR:Ted) — in other words, to put a personal face on the bureaucratic institution.

A similar divide — although between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people — seems to exist in the south as well, and to have played a role in Aboriginal responses to the various apologies. The moderator of the UCC offered the Church’s first apology to Aboriginal peoples in 1986 during the General Council meeting. It was “joyfully received” and acknowledged, but not accepted. Elders “felt that time must be given to see how the church lives out the apology” (L-Jacobs:2006). In 1993, the ACC offered its apology under different circumstances. Rather than formally apologize during synod or general assembly, the primate went to Aboriginal people attending an Aboriginal conference. He stayed for the whole conference, listening to people’s painful experiences in the schools, the pain they continued to inflict on their families as a result of their experiences, and the tragedies that continue to plague many communities as a result of alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicide. Only at the very end of the conference was the apology offered. It was acknowledged and accepted the next day by the elders present. Interestingly, Elder Vi Smith’s response made no mention of any changes implemented by the ACC. Peers had personally gone to Aboriginal peoples at their convocation and apologized in person; it was that personal touch — the connection that had been made — that was a factor in the decision to accept the apology:

[The apology] was offered from his heart with sincerity, sensitivity, compassion and humility. We receive it in the same manner. (V-Smith 1993).

In 2008, the Prime Minister called Aboriginal representatives to meet with him and to receive his apology on behalf of the government. The apology was recognized as being needed and Mary Simon, National Inuit leader, President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and among those present at the event, expressed gratitude for it being offered, but ...

The Prime Minister on behalf of Canada and Canadians also asked us for forgiveness. ... As individuals we will all make our own choice in that regard (Simon 2008).

Harper was apologizing as a representative of the government that had created and condoned the situation; Simon was responding as an individual to another individual.

Understanding Reconciliation

Different understandings of the agreement between Churches and government had revealed a different understanding of the issue and the nature of the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples involved. Different interpretations of reconciliation will affect the shape of the relationship in the future. What differences in people's understanding of reconciliation had I noticed?

If participants had a varied understanding (from poor to very good) of what the issue was, then was reconciliation even possible? Eventually, I came to see that my understanding of reconciliation was one not shared by most participants. My focus was on the reconciliation between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Anglicans. The focus of EuroCanadian participants was generally on reconciliation with the past; some saw reconciliation as almost equivalent to personal healing. Some saw reconciliation as something between the individual and God, or between the individual and the Church. For Gary:

reconciliation begins with the individual's relationship with God. You know, as a Christian, that's where it's got to begin. We need to be reconciled to God through Jesus Christ. And then I think, we have the grace and power to be reconciled to each other. I think we can reach a degree of reconciliation with others that's not very profound, by simply meeting together in the same room and hammering out some accords and some mutually-agreed statements and so forth, but I think the spiritual dimension can take us a lot deeper in true reconciliation of the spirit (PR:Gary).

Certainly, Gary is correct, theologically speaking. Reconciliation does happen between the individual and God. According to Christian theology, humanity is understood as being separated from God because of our sinfulness, and reconciled with God through the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross. Reconciliation is at the heart of the Christian Gospel, and can be expressed by one of Bishop Tutu's favourite biblical passages (according to Meiring):

Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come. All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation (2 Cor 5:18f, Revised Standard Version) (Meiring 2009:105).

From an Aboriginal perspective, however, reconciliation must involve a personal dimension. It can happen at a personal level where a person “regains peace with oneself” (Kelly 2008:11). Reconciliation can occur at a societal level, “where adversaries come together to rebuild peaceful relations and a new future together” (Kelly 2008:11). Reconciliation can be done in the church — or between the church and Aboriginal peoples — in a way that, as Rice and Snyder note in writing about reconciliation, brings about “healing relationships, building trust, and working out differences” (Kelly 2008:45).

Few EuroCanadian participants believed that reconciliation had anything to do with them. It must be noted, however, that many EuroCanadian participants did count Aboriginal people among their friends so it is possible that reconciliation (in Kelly’s terms) might be occurring, but without the label.

Differences in Social Behaviour & Semantics

Differences in Social Behaviour

The question of cultural collisions again came into focus with Alice’s story about her Aboriginal friend from residential school and the claim of abuse. What her friend saw as abuse, Alice saw as something normal: “That’s part of living as a family. You’ve got to learn to help in the home” (PR:Alice).

What else happened in the schools that might have been viewed differently by Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people there? Several EuroCanadian participants (e.g., Brandon, Guy, Tyler) had already expressed reservations about how bad residential schools were precisely because what they had heard or read matched their own experiences in British boarding schools. Such experiences made it difficult for them to see evidence of racism or colonialism, or to have sympathy with any kind of settlement. After all, they had survived without compensation ... why did Aboriginal people need compensation? Ted and others reminded me how common spanking was in EuroCanadian schools even as late as the 1960s.

When people started talking about that little belt called the strap — we used it when I started in the early '50s. We had the three-foot long, three-inch wide yardstick which we used. ... I didn't think it was abuse. It was discipline. That's what I was doing. I was disciplining my students (PR:Ted).

Should school teachers be criminalized for having behaved according to the norms of the era by physically disciplining someone else's children? What none of these individuals recognized (and, to be fair, neither Brandon, Guy, nor Tyler lived in a community with a significant number of Aboriginal people), was how different Aboriginal cultures were when it came to discipline. While some residential school staff and missionaries may have become aware of Aboriginal child-rearing practices, most likely were not. None seemed to understand or appreciate the underlying pedagogy involved or how radically different the EuroCanadian pedagogical principles were from Aboriginal ones.

Janna had expressed considerable respect for the Inuit/Inuvialuit children in her care during her time at one residential school. While recognizing that the one Aboriginal culture's naming system was "totally different from what ours was," she also believed that "they would all know pretty well who was related somewhere, but the ... relationships were getting horribly garbled." Using their Aboriginal names as surnames was one way of keeping their traditional name while frequently getting an English or French first name, and a way to straighten out their relationships (PR:Janna). What was likely obvious to her young charges was impossibly vague to her.

Janna's comments raised questions that I should have asked: If Inuit/Inuvialuit relationships and gender identification so differed from EuroCanadian ones, had anything been done to smoothe the transition to a EuroCanadian environment? Had thought been given to how foreign the EuroCanadian environment in the residential schools would have been for Aboriginal children? Would Aboriginal children have been traumatized by their experiences even without a single incident of physical and sexual abuse (as defined in EuroCanadian peoples)? If "yes," then how much more would they have been traumatized when physical and sexual abuse (according to EuroCanadian understandings of the terms) did occur?

Other incidents occurred that might also have been expressions of cultural differences. In the incident that occurred in the Inuvik ACC with George interrupting my conversation with

Keojuak, Keojuak likely interpreted it as racism or continued colonialism, while George may have simply interrupted our conversation either through clumsiness or rudeness. Anne talked about situations in her workplace, and gave the example of when she criticized an Aboriginal employee. The person saw the rebuke as “you said that because of race” to which Anne responded, “No, I didn’t say that because of race; I said that because you’re not doing your job” (PR:Anne). Attributing motives to actions is, I was learning, a dangerous activity.

Differences of Identity and Place

To many Canadians, Canada’s western North still represents the unknown — a mystery in itself. One popular cliché that many maintain is that of a frozen wasteland, a region of Canada that is unbelievably cold — exotic — remote — desolate — empty — in the middle of nowhere.

With few people (population density of less than 1 person per km² (StatCan 2009), few roads, and wildlife and plant life abundant and richly diversified, it is easy to understand why a region composed of mountains, plains, deserts, oceans, lakes and rivers is often defined by EuroCanadian people as being remote, desolate, and empty. Tourist brochures, such as the *Explorers’ Guide*, build on this imagery to target outsiders. The Northwest Territories is described as “Nature’s giant theme park” with “over a million square miles of untamed paradise, brimming with spectacular scenery, freeroaming wildlife and endless pristine waters.” It is “the North of your dreams and imagination” (ExploreNWT 2005:3-5). Some brochures reinforce the imagery of a remote wilderness with photos of, and references to, cold winters, dog-pulling sleds, pristine nature, plentiful wildlife, and the Northern Lights while headings such as “Get Free, Go Wild” (Spectacular 2008a:3) accent the primitive, frontier nature of the land. These brochures emphasize how extraordinary Canada’s western North is (for outsiders), and how different the region is from the world of urbanized and industrialized everyday life.

Even government websites, such as that of the Government of the Northwest Territories, emphasize the wild ruggedness of the region stating that the NT is “threaded by wild, clean rivers feeding thousands of pristine lakes” (GovNT 2000a), while the Government of the Yukon website states:

Yukon harbours some of the last true wild space, unscarred by human development, with a diversity of wildlife. Thriving within this habitat are resilient, adventurous and hospitable people who value their connection to the land. (GovYT 2008a)

Of course, the two territories are more than wilderness areas. Both the Northwest and Yukon Territories boast of (two) cities and towns, businesses and industries, orchestras and theatre, arts and literature, schools and colleges, and museums and world-class restaurants. These are, however, framed within a frontier experience — most notably, the Gold Rush in the Yukon and the gold-diamond-uranium-oil “rushes” in the NT. Authors — such as Pierre Berton, Robert Service, and Farley Mowat — have also contributed to such an image in their works. In addition, television series such as *Ice Road Truckers* highlight the dual imagery of the region with its dangers of harsh winter travel in a land of unspoiled beauty far removed from the rest of Canada, coupled with the frontier character of its inhabitants.

To the Aboriginal and many EuroCanadian peoples living there, however, the region is not a pristine, frontier wilderness; it is home. For Aboriginal peoples, it is their ancestral home. What for many is an empty and desolate land, ripe for exploitation and development or “authentic adventures” (Spectacular 2008b:3), is for others a land teeming with all forms of life, fine just the way it is. In fact, there is no word for “wilderness” in either Inuktitut or Athapaskan languages. What for many are dangerous and treacherous ice roads are for many others simply ways to get from point A to point B. While many live in larger cities and towns, almost as many live in smaller communities, or out on the land — at least for some periods of the year.

Home or frontier? How have the two perspectives shaped the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples?

Differences in Categories

At the beginning of the research project, I developed a grid for categorizing participants. During the course of the project, however, I discovered that participants did not always fit into the categories assigned in my grid. For example, “Aboriginal,” “non-Aboriginal,” or “Mixed.” Some Aboriginal people who identified themselves as such, such as Sarah Simon (Gwich’in) and Kiawak, also mentioned having non-Aboriginal ancestors. Some non-Aboriginal people (e.g., Joanne) mentioned the possibility of having had an Aboriginal ancestor. Two people had

lived the majority of their lives as a EuroCanadian and had only later discovered they were actually Métis (Dawn, Missy). I was discovering that, as Slobodin and King noted, categories regarding ethnic identity were relatively meaningless in the North (see the discussion on “Who” in Chapter 2).

Another division that I flagged was between “clergy” and “laity.” What I had not accounted for were those laity working in church office, and individuals who had been serving in an official capacity in the ACC. The reason for the label was that I expected “clergy” to be more familiar with Church practices, history and theology than the “laity,” even if laity included those who had been elected as “Wardens” within local congregations. I discovered that at least one lay person (Dawn) had some training in theology and another (Travis) had actually been a lay minister in southern congregations; he was not permitted to serve as lay minister in the North because of his acceptance of same-sex marriage. I also discovered clergy who had little formal training. Percy Henry, for example, had been ordained in the ACC to do what he was already doing — ministering to people on the street. No mention of training was made of his having been trained in theological schools in the articles about his ordination. Hilda had been trained by another member of the clergy prior to her ordination.

Still another category that I had labelled wrongly was the denominational identifier. Having come across this challenge before³, I should have anticipated it would re-emerge in Canada’s North. I discovered once I arrived at Hay River that separate services for the UCC and ACC did not exist. The two denominations did not exist as separate denominations sharing the same building or the same minister. Rather, they were integrated: UCC and ACC members attended the same worship service. I discovered that denominational labels were unimportant for several participants which made it difficult to place them in my grid.

The difficulties were not limited to my difficulties in completing my grid. What I was noticing were different attitudes towards the categories and even (as Goota noted) towards the use of labels.

Kitikmeot and Oqalik (and others) talked about conflicts in Inuvik during their time at Stringer Hall when ACC children were encouraged to throw stones at RC children and vice versa. From their perspective, both were preaching about the same God; theological differences

seemed irrelevant. Aqpik held a similar view. Her father had told her that if she was ever in a community where there was no Anglican Church, but another service was being held — whether Roman Catholic or whatever — she should still attend. She should respect the service and people there because they were all praying to the one God (PS:Aqpik).

Goota was RC but sometimes attended ACC services in Hay River. She has also turned towards traditional Native Spirituality ... with the understanding and acceptance by both the RC and ACC/UCC priests in her community. When her grandfather, who lived in another community, died, she asked the RC priest in her community to lead the burial service since the local RCC priest was sick. The bishop refused to give permission to have the priest conduct a funeral outside his district. In the end, Goota asked the local Pentecostal minister to conduct a RC burial. Goota asked me why labels were so important in EuroCanadian society. As she saw it:

Did God create those rules and regulations? No. No. Did God put those rules and regulations in place? No. Why do we keep putting barriers up between people and between people and God?

Why do we judge people by labels? After all, are we not all children of the creator? We should treat each other with respect. We are now adults today and should look at each other as human beings, as children of the creator. (PS:Goota)

According to Goota, I am already Dene. After all, I am a human being⁴.

Labels, from the European/EuroCanadian perspective, tend to identify, define, and differentiate people. Aboriginal peoples likely have their own ways to identify, define, and differentiate people, but the systems are not synonymous. Richard A. King (1967) and Valerie Alia (1994), and other scholars, had both noted kinship issues that emerged as Aboriginal peoples, who had their own kinship rules, were forced to integrate into EuroCanadian society built along patriarchal lines. Henry S. Sharp, in his study among the Chipewyan in the NT (1988), discovered that Chipewyan in different locations may have different kinship patterns. Richard Slobodin discovered “the same people are either bilateral or matrilineal in different locations” (Sharp 1988:xiv). What the corresponding labels are to identify people is not as

simple as distinguishing between “Aboriginal” and “EuroCanadian” ways as we shall see in more detail in Chapter 17.

Kinship issues are not the only challenge Aboriginal peoples encounter living in EuroCanadian society, or that EuroCanadian peoples encounter in their dealings and relationships with Aboriginal peoples. During her time at a residential school, Janna noted what might first appear as gender or linguistic issues, saying “‘He’ would become ‘she’ and ‘she’ would become ‘he’ and you really had to think — of how far or close to understanding who was who.” (PR:Janna). The issue, however, was considerably more complex than trying to match Aboriginal terms with English ones. In Dene languages (in fact, in many Aboriginal languages including Algonquian), gender is not marked. There is no such thing as “he” or “she;” everybody is an “it” unless one adds the qualifier “male” or “female” when needed (Guédon 2010). Matches between languages were sometimes possible, but, even where comparable terms existed, the extended meanings and nuances surrounding those terms were difficult to also match. As Sharp writes:

The third person singular gender distinction in English [he, she] leads to inaccurate statements of inclusion and exclusion by gender so, although it sometimes creates grammatical disharmony, I have used the third person plural [they] where no gender exclusion is intended (Sharp 1988:xi).

The confusion, however, goes beyond semantics and categories; it reflects conceptual differences that shape and define people’s understandings of reality and the world in which they live⁵.

Differences in Interpretation of Events

Akpalapik and other Aboriginal participants gave me a clue as to just how difficult it was to move from one cultural worldview into another. Having been raised in a western environment where logic and reason are highly valued and drawing conclusions based on deductive reasoning something to be valued, I found myself being challenged again and again. What I considered knowledgeable conclusions based on reasoning, they considered to be ignorance or conclusions based on assumptions with no knowledge attached. One incident in particular stood out. Years ago, I had visited relatives in the U.S., and of course bought books and clothes while there. I returned knowing that I was within the spending limits for people outside of Canada for 48 hours

but also knowing that I was a half-hour shy of 48 hours. I hoped the customs official would be sympathetic and let me through without having to pay duty, but was quite prepared to pay if required. The customs official insisted on having my car searched. Officials went through everything, poking fingers under seats and down cracks between cushions. Suddenly (from my perspective), they stopped and told me I could go. No explanation was given, but on looking at my watch, I realized they had detained me until I really had been outside of Canada for 48 hours. As far as I was concerned, they had deliberately held me to the 48-hour rule so they would not have to charge duty on books and clothes. When I told the story to Akpalapik, she asked whether the officials had told me that was what they were doing. I told her no, and she told me I had made an assumption; I did not really know.

After similar incidents happened a few times, I came to realize that what I considered to be deductive reasoning, and well within the bounds of knowledge, Akpalapik did not. To her, I was guessing; I was assuming. Was I really? Or had I discovered different perspectives on what knowledge was? If the latter, then how had such differences played out in residential schools and how were they affecting the relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada's North today? Anthropologists Julie Cruikshank, Jean-Guy Goulet, Marie-Françoise Guédon and many others have confirmed that knowledge among Dene speakers does not come from books or deductive reasoning; knowledge is the individual realization born of experience. Nor is knowledge seen as separate and objective from the one who has that knowledge; the individual who gained that experience or knowledge is precisely identified. For example, "I do not know this for myself, but my aunt who was there told me."

The issue came into better focus when exploring the question of whether Aboriginal children in the NT were taken away by force and put into residential schools.

Sam insisted that parents he contacted did have a choice about sending their children to residential school. He did not coerce any parent into signing the consent form. As far as he was concerned, parents had a choice and he respected their choice. That was, however, from his perspective. From an Inuit/Inuvialuit perspective, however, might the situation have appeared differently? The Inuit/Inuvialuit might well have been reluctant to disagree with anything Sam

said. Sam was clergy and therefore highly powerful. He was to be respected and obeyed. As Akpalapik wrote in an email:

There was One old, old Elder who remembers when the ‘men in long black dressed with BIG cross on them’ first came around, they got so scared that they did or obeyed whatever the Priests told them to do.
(Akpalapik, 2009 Mar 13).

While Akpalapik’s reference is likely to RCC rather than to ACC priests, a similar response might have occurred. Whereas Sam assumed they were willing to send their children to school, the reality might have been that they were too afraid, or possibly — given the relationship that he enjoyed with them — too respectful to refuse.

If what Sam had said was true — at least during his time among the Inuit/Inuvialuit — and if Aboriginal people knew they had a choice, then was the situation in the NT an exception to what was happening in other parts of Canada or was Sam an exception? If Aboriginal people did not know they had a choice, had I encountered evidence of cultural miscommunication?

Noted Athapaskan anthropologist Julie Cruikshank discovered in her own research a similar issue relating to interpreting historical events. She began one research project with the assumption that discussions would revolve “around the social impact of the Klondike gold rush at the turn of the century, the construction of the Alaska Highway during the Second World War, and other disruptive events” (Cruikshank et al 1992:2). What she discovered was that those events were not even identified the same way as they are in European/EuroCanadian narratives. Instead, they had been woven into a traditional perspective. As she put it:

From the beginning, several of the eldest women responded to my questions about secular events by telling traditional stories. The more I persisted with my agenda, the more insistent each was about the direction our work should take. Each explained that these narratives were important to record as part of her life story.

Their accounts, then, included not only personal reminiscences of the kind we normally associate with autobiography, but detailed narratives elaborating mythological themes.... (Cruikshank et al 1992:2)

What is knowledge and what does it mean to know? How are events to be interpreted?

Pueblo historian Dr Alfonso Ortiz deals with the difference between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian perspectives on historical events by emphasizing that the differences are not

simply a matter of interpretation but a matter of perceptions as to what even constitutes historical events. In writing about “conventional non-Native history of Amerindian,” Ortiz sums up the issue:

... historical documents enshrine the worst images ever visited on Indian peoples. In this sense, our written history has been the handmaiden of conquest and assimilation. Conventional history is so at odds with the facts that Indians often simply ignore it. Ironically, many tribes regard history as more acceptable to them than ethnography because they believe history has nothing to do with what they consider important to their identity as Indians. That is to say, they do not fear or worry about historians because history does not usually deal with what they really value about their native cultures: their languages, religions, oral traditions, arts and kin networks. History is so distorted it is irrelevant (Sioui 2008:19-20.).

If understanding of what knowledge is, and interpretation of events differ between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples, then how do these differences affect our understanding of colonialism, of Canada’s and the ACC’s move towards post-colonialism, and of Canadian history itself?

And Then ... Colonialism

In reviewing my data, I realized that I could re-interpret some of what had happened in residential schools from the perspective of cultural collisions rather than colonialism (see Chapter 17), but might cultural collisions go beyond re-visiting residential schools to how Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples even understand and interpret colonialism, decolonialism, and restitution / reconciliation? The gap between how Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples tend to understand colonialism may seem trivial or, at least, as simply adding another level of complexity to discussions on colonialism until we look at our responses to decolonialisation, restitution, and reconciliation.

Despite the considerable vagueness that surrounded the term “colonialism,” my research led me to see the term as a function of power: who has it? who does not? how do those with power interact with those with no power? and vice versa?

I realized that EuroCanadians tend to focus on the processes, the actions, shifts in power, social, economic and political paradigms inherent within colonialism. EuroCanadians tend to

emphasize the intent of a situation when discussing colonialism. Residential schools were bad because they were designed specifically to destroy Aboriginal cultures. If they had allowed Aboriginal people to practice or preserve their cultures — and some did — then the schools were “good” (or at least “better”). Decolonialisation, therefore, has been interpreted similarly as a move towards power-sharing, and shifts from those processes and paradigms.

The *Hendry Report* recommended that the ACC move from “paternalism” towards “partnership.” The ACC has interpreted this as power-sharing, i.e., empowering Aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal staff were hired at the national level; Aboriginal schools were opened to train Aboriginal clergy; Aboriginal clergy and even bishops were ordained; an Aboriginal church with its own bishop has also been formed. This is not to say that the ACC gave power positions to Aboriginal people — though that might have been true in its early endeavours — as much as that it created opportunities for Aboriginal people to assert themselves and find their own places within the ACC. Based on my EuroCanadian understanding of “colonialism,” which the ACC seems to have shared, the ACC has succeeded in moving from its colonialist heritage: an Aboriginal Church complete with its own Aboriginal bishop (Bishop MacDonald) has emerged within the ACC.

It never occurred to me that Indigenous peoples (whether from Canada or elsewhere) might define “colonialism” in ways I never imagined, or see evidence of it when European/EuroCanadian peoples did not. From an Aboriginal perspective, however, the ACC has a long way to go. I discovered that “colonialism” tends to be defined not in terms of power but in terms of relationship. What is the nature of the relationship that exists between the two communities? Can relationships even develop between individuals and the ACC as an institution? What is the nature of the relationship between individual Aboriginal and individual EuroCanadian peoples within local congregations? From this perspective, the ACC has a long way to go to improving its relationship with Aboriginal peoples. In too many cases and in too many congregations, Aboriginal peoples remain marginalized and invisible.

I discovered that Aboriginal perspectives tend to focus not only on relationships but also on the impact on people involved in those relationships, regardless of intent. Tinker notes, missionaries “were always implicitly and de facto crucial to the success of colonial expansion”

(Tinker 1993:120), even when they were fighting to guarantee Aboriginal rights and traditions. Based on such an understanding of colonialism, it seems likely that the ACC will always be seen as colonialist because it represents a different mindset and corresponding values than traditional for Aboriginal peoples, regardless of how much it respects Aboriginal cultures, or how much it empowers Aboriginal peoples within its own hierarchical structure.

With such two widely divergent perspectives of colonialism and initiatives to move beyond colonialism, did any room for reconciliation and relationships even exist? Were the relationships worth trying to renew? I began to wonder, as Lyle's comments suggested many people within the Yellowknife UCC were also wondering, what actions might we be doing today with the best of intentions that, in the future, will be seen as destructive?

And then, another clue fell into the puzzle. I was surprised when, during a 2009 presentation on self-determination and governance, Bishop MacDonald stated that Aboriginal people continue to be oppressed today by (EuroCanadian) society / colonialism because the Canadian education system itself "bifurcates the spirit and the physical" (MacDonald 2009). His statement led to my wondering whether the problem was simply a matter of differing definitions of terms such as "colonialism," "decolonialism," and "reconciliation," or was the issue the realities to which those differing definitions point?

Scientific knowledge, far from being as neutral as we Westerners tend to believe, may indeed have "imparted rationality and civilization to the colonial subjects" (Ghosh 1996:232), but seeing a link between rationality and knowledge is not neutral. Writing about indigenous intellectual property rights, Mukhopadhyay and Sarkar state that the very ethics behind genetic engineering reflect a Judeo-Christian "anthropocentric view of the world" that has been imposed upon colonized people, and challenges indigenous peoples as to question whether they should "accept the domination of the Jewish-Christian view of the natural world and settle for portions of royalty for patented life forms" (Mukhopadhyay and Sarkar 1996:238). While genetic engineering seem far removed from the residential school issue, the point they raise — about the relationship between human beings and the natural world (e.g., nature, animals) — is not.

George Manuel (Shuswap), an important First Nations writer and leader, as we saw earlier (page 211), stated how important it was to have the “conquered” — i.e., the “colonized” — buy into colonizer thinking. Such views, while prevalent among Indigenous people around the world, are seldom in the consciousness of Europeans/EuroCanadians who focus on the more institutionalized, power structures of colonialism. When talking about residential schools and colonialism, it is no wonder that EuroCanadians tend to see the issue as something in the past: over and done. Colonialism no longer exists because Canada is now a multicultural society: we respect other cultures and encourage non-EuroCanadians to hold onto their cultural traditions. Aboriginal people, however, as Bishop McDonald illustrated with his comment, see colonialism as very much alive and present in Canadian society: the education system, the judicial system, the penal system, etc. — all reflect a non-Aboriginal perception of reality, one that continues to be imposed on Aboriginal people.

In other words, I discovered that colonialism, in its most violent form, resulted in the destruction of a people’s sense of reality — specifically, their worldview ... the way in which they viewed, organized, and interpreted their experience of reality. That sense of reality was then replaced by a foreign understanding of the world that was imposed upon them. In that sense, at its worst, colonialism was not about power or even relationships, though both were important components; colonialism destroyed people’s very soul.

Conclusions

In addition to the many forms of physical and sexual abuse that Canadians recognize as having happened in residential schools, cultural collisions also occurred as Aboriginal and EuroCanadian cultures interacted with one another. Might these collisions account for some of the traumas experienced even when sexual and physical abuse did not occur? While the ACC has made considerable headway in moving from paternalism to partnership, what has it done with respect to cultural collision in local congregations? What has the ACC (or ACC in the North) done to prepare new clergy or clergy moving to northern parishes? How are cultural collisions shaping relationships among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples today within the ACC in Canada’s North?

I had come to a point where I could recognize the validity of what George Tinker wrote in 1993:

Indian and white people may see an identical surface structure, yet understand that surface structure in radically different ways because they are rooted in culturally disparate deep structures. To make matters even more confusing, the two may go along for a long time without recognizing the deep structure differences in understanding (Tinker 1993:121).

Another narrative does exist — that of cultural collisions — which anthropologists recognize and historians such as John Sheridan Grant, Robert Choquette and Cornelius Jaenen acknowledge, but which needs to be explored in more depth. One can already follow its progress through the lines of the missionaries, including the Anglican missionaries; one can recognize it in the stories told today by their Aboriginal parishioners. But to identify it, one has to uncover at least some of the basic principles informing the cultures in question.

16. MAKING SENSE OF THE CLUES: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE

Overview

The research project uncovered three narratives: (1) the dominant narrative of a relationship built on a crushing and destructive colonialism; (2) Canada North's narrative of a relationship built on a colonialism that was both negating and affirming of Aboriginal peoples; and (3) the hidden narrative of cultural collisions that has, to some extent, been invisible due in part to the overwhelming attention paid to the dominant narrative.

Before attempting to determine the relationship among the three narratives, it is essential to be clear about what is meant by "culture" and "cultural collisions." Only then can we examine how culture and cultural clashes may have shaped the historical encounter between EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples and may continue to shape the relationship among the various groups today.

In this chapter¹, I briefly explore (1) historical understandings of "culture"; (2) modern interpretations of "culture;" (3) the "clash of civilizations;" and (4) layers or levels of "culture" and how they played out in Canada's North (case study).

Historical Understandings of "Culture"

Plato's Allegory of the Cave

Plato, who based his writings on the teachings of Socrates, is one of the most famous of the ancient Greek philosophers. Writing in the mid-4th century BCE, Plato noted the difference between "Forms" and "Images." "Forms" were perfect; "Images" represented the distortions that can be found in our world and in our lives.

The best-known illustration of this distinction is Plato's allegory of the cave. People, who have spent their whole lives in a cave, believe that the shadows on the cave walls represent reality. One person, who manages to leave the cave and live in the brightness and clarity of the daylight, returns to the cave to tell the others that what they are seeing are really shadows of the daytime world. The others dismiss his accounts and eventually kill him (for an intriguing modern depiction of the allegory see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=htW2NHektqs>).

The message is clear. We are the ones who live in shadows. What we assume to be true or perfect in our own world is but a pale imitation of the ideal form that exists at another level.

While Plato was not writing about “culture” in any sense of the term, the distinction he made between an absolute, idealized form and the relative, imperfect images of that form have played a major role in our understanding of “culture” and “colonialism,” and continue to shape our understanding both of “culture” and “globalization.”

Such thinking led many, among European thinkers, to believe that standards (or Forms) existed as objective reality and that people had the responsibility to approximate those standards in what they did to the best of their ability. In art, this thinking is reflected in classical art forms where the human body is presented in as perfect a form as possible. In music, such thinking is reflected in the concept of “music of the spheres” and the designation of certain musical intervals (I, IV, V, VIII) as “perfect;” composers were at times criticized for having too many “imperfect,” “dissonant” chords in their compositions, even as late as the nineteenth century. In seventeenth-century French theatre, such views led to the concepts of a “perfect play” that would combine unity of place, time, tone and action. An ideal form was assumed to exist; the task of the individual — artist, musician, author, etc. — was to come as close to perfection as humanly possible.

Such thinking is reflected in anthropological and sociological debates around “nature or nurture,” and sociological and religious discussions regarding social evolution. For example, Plato’s allegory distinguished between Form (the highest ideal of reality) and Image (lower, everyday reality). Darwin’s theory of evolution, used in anthropological and sociological disciplines, allowed for more levels to come into play, allowing scholars, such as E.B. Tylor, to rate different cultures into a developmental sequence. The most “famous” sequence — and one that too often continues to be taught in some form in academic settings (though outside of anthropology) — has “magic” evolving into a more systematized “religion” that eventually evolves into a replacement of “religion” by “science;” and “primitive” societies gradually evolving into “more advanced” societies.

Such thinking has also shaped colonialism in terms of Western European nations’ dealings with Indigenous societies around the world, and continues to be reflected in discussions regarding globalization and efforts to identify those qualities common to all humanity which,

in effect, bind human beings together and transcend the particularities of individual cultures and societies (e.g., Bell 2004).

Culture, Cultured, and Cultures: Evolution of the Concept to the Nineteenth Century

The term “culture” derives from the Latin *cultura* which referred to something “cared for, “cultivated”, or “tilled,” and can be traced back to the late Middle English. By the mid-fifteenth century, “culture” referred to “the tilling of land” as in “agriculture” (Dictionary.com).

Around 1500 CE, however, the term began to be used in a figurative sense, such as an individual’s “cultivation through education” (Dictionary.com, and by the seventeenth-century, Francis Bacon and Samuel Pufendorf built on Cicero’s concept of a *cultura animi*:

a field, though fertile, cannot be productive without cultivation, nor a mind without teaching. The culture of the mind ... is the business of philosophy. It removes imperfections, roots and all, and prepares minds for seed sowing ... (Tanner 1997:4).

In Britain, “culture” became linked to a “cultured person” in the sense of someone who sought to know the best that “has been said and thought in the world” (Tanner 1997:4). In eighteenth-century France, “culture” became linked with “civilization” and the “cultured person” with someone “of sophistication and refinement who populated the king’s court” (Tanner 1997:4). In eighteenth-century Germany, “Kultur” became at times synonymous with “Bildung:”

a cultured person was a person with education, a member of the then-new German middle class with a claim to political participation and national leadership by virtue of intellectual training and heightened aesthetic sensibilities (Tanner 1997:4).

As European society moved towards secularism (and therefore away from being a religious-dominated society), human self-cultivation itself became linked with salvation. Christoph Martin Wieland, German poet and writer, wrote in 1770 that:

man ... has to develop, to shape himself (*sich ausbilden*), to give himself the last touch of the file that will bathe him in glory and grace — in short, man must therefore be his own second creator (Tanner 1997:5).

Education was the key to human self-cultivation, and specifically, a classical education because such education led to one becoming a “cultured” person. The ability to be a “generalist” rather than a “specialist” meant that one could speak as a knowledgeable person in any social grouping. One could speak a number of foreign languages; one could discuss art, music, and literature with some level of expertise; one knew the Greek classical authors and could debate philosophy, politics, and social science with equal ease.

Such education was at once transcendent, yet exclusive. It was transcendent in that it bridged ethnic and national differences. Instead of ethno-national silos that stressed political identity (e.g., Scots vs English), classical education resulted in social strata across boundaries, making it easier for “cultured individuals” in one society to speak with “cultured” individuals in another (e.g., English could speak at ease with the Germans about a variety of subjects). Education also became a way for lower-class individuals and foreigners to elevate their social standing in the dominant society. Another participant (Tyler) did not understand what had been so terrible about what residential schools had done precisely because of his Irish-Scottish background. He told me that education, including boarding school education, had been the key to their survival, and a way for them to “beat the English” (PS:Tyler).

At the same time, however, such education was exclusive in that it “elevated” individuals into a special class, thereby separating them from uneducated compatriots. One could distinguish between the “educated” (upper class) and the “uneducated” (lower classes). One participant, Kitikmeot, noted the division that he was experiencing in his own community. He was educated; he had even attended college in southern Canada. That separated him from others in his community, many of whom had never even completed high school (PS:Kitikmeot). Education was a way to divide people within communities, dividing them in many ways: among them, exposure to what was happening in other parts of the world; training in social graces that befitted a “cultured” individual; and language.

Language at once elevated “educated, cultured” individuals above the uneducated (and therefore uncultured) individuals, and language became a way to affirm one’s national identity in a way that was reminiscent of Plato’s cave. The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century contributed to standardizing spelling; various academies (l’Académie française for

example) helped to standardize the language. A “cultured” person spoke a certain type of French, or English, or German. The others — the uncultured — spoke regional dialects.

This brief resumé on being “cultured” brings us to the point where education — specifically, western European education — emphasized a standardized language (e.g., Parisian French or Hochdeutsche) while, at the same time, devaluing the regional language (e.g., la langue d’oc or the Munich dialect). Regional languages were no longer recognized as languages in their own right but as “dialects” or “colloquial language.” Perhaps the best examples of the process of whereby someone from the lower classes can become a cultured person can be found in the works of nineteenth-century author Charles Dickens, and the movie, *My Fair Lady*.

Such education formed a cornerstone for the “nurture” side of the debate between “nature and nurture.” Culture was not something one was born into; culture was something one gained through education and reason. As Tanner notes:

Localized traditions or customs were not themselves considered cultures, ... they were “natural,” unformed and *uninformed*, disordered and wild states, requiring the education and discipline that civilization brings (Tanner 1997:7).

This understanding of “culture” reflected the European Christian worldview dominant through much of European history, and reflects a link not just between “education” and “culture,” but also between “civilization” and “culture.” While a detailed discussion of the concept of “civilization” and its historical evolution is beyond the scope of this thesis, some relevant points need to be made.

Much of Christian theology reflects a horror of the natural world. God had brought order out of chaos (Genesis 1:1); humanity’s task was to bring order to the chaos of the natural world. God gave human beings dominion of the world — i.e., they became masters of the world; humanity’s task was to “subdue” it (Genesis 1:28). Human beings disobeyed God and were subsequently expelled from paradise (Genesis 3).

The world in which human beings now find themselves therefore represents the less-than-paradisiacal world; nature represents the world after the Fall and is therefore evil, and in need of being tamed. Human beings were no longer to survive by the grace of God but rather through the sweat of their brow — i.e., by making land productive. Nature was something

dangerous, inhabited by evil monsters (as demonstrated in such fairy tales as *Hansel and Gretl* and *Little Red Riding Hood*), and in need of transformation into cities and farmlands (agriculture). Once again, Plato's allegory provides a valuable tool to understanding such a perspective: the untamed world in which we live — i.e., the natural world — represents the images or shadows that some ignorant, uneducated individuals believe to be real; the tamed world — i.e., transformed by agriculture, industrialization, and cities — represents the forms of reality, or at least mirror images of the greater reality to be found in paradise.

Such views continue to hold sway today and “cultured” individuals are still recognized as different from the ordinary individual. The word “culture” has been modified when linked with the notion of a “cultured” person, however, and is now referred to as “high culture.” This shift has created space for “low” and other varieties of culture that were not even considered as culture prior to the late nineteenth or twentieth centuries.

Culture, Cultured, and Cultures: Evolution of the Concept From the Nineteenth Century To Today

In the late nineteenth century, two contradictory schools of thought emerged within the field of anthropology. The first emphasized the “material factors in the evolutionary process” (Guha 1996:226), and tended to rate societies against some ideal standard of progress. The second, championed by Franz Boas, recognized “cultures” as already existing in different societies; they needed to be studied on their own terms, without value judgments being imposed on them by anthropologists studying them.

One result to emerge from the debate was the recognition of the existence of “cultures.” Even so, according to Tanner, what was understood was that “the culture of any society was that society's best ideas, its accumulated knowledge” (Tanner 1997:16). Culture came to be understood to be a product — that is, a series of things and institutions composing the heritage of a society. In that sense, “culture” in terms of different societies' “cultures” remained closely allied with “culture” and “cultured.” The term became synonymous with arts and knowledge, expressed in “monuments, architecture, art works and performances, texts and literature” (Guédon 2008).

In the late twentieth-century, the term's meaning shifted again as more levels were added. Outward or material expressions of "culture" came to be identified as "tangible culture." Some came to recognize them as "culture" themselves but as "products of a cultured society." More recently, scholars (and even businesses who have begun speaking about "investing in intangible assets" and "intellectual capital" (Joia 2000)²), such as Guédon, have begun speaking about "intangible" and "immaterial" culture.

Tangible culture corresponds to what is easily identified with culture: its outward or material expressions. That is, tangible culture corresponds to what can be seen, touched, measured: objects and visual arts, ritual sites, monuments, images and documents. But even objects do not easily teach you how they are made or used, and documents are mute unless one can decipher them.

In other words, tangible culture can quickly become intangible. Some cultural expressions are short-lived. Some, such as sand paintings or butter carvings, are not fixed on permanent material supports. Some, such as storytelling and jokes, are transient, linked to the event in which they occur. Music, when performed, can be enjoyed, but it is difficult to fix — or render permanent — until you invent a way to capture it. A drum is a tangible object; drumming styles are not. A costume is tangible; the dancing steps are not. Music can be written down, and in that sense is tangible. The performance of that music, however, depends on the musicians, the instruments, the locale, and the particulars of that performance — all of which are intangible (Guédon 2008).

Guédon concludes that what is considered "culture" by many — that is, objects, images, norms, traditions, and even language — are not "culture" but rather the expression of culture. Culture itself is a process, not a thing, and a process dependent on a living community for its continuity and transmission.

Modern Understandings of "Culture"

The word "culture" has continued to evolve in meanings and applications as the link between "culture" and "cultured" weakens.

Today, the term has a range of meanings including "the quality in a person or society that arises from a concern for what is regarded as excellent in arts, letters, manners, scholarly pursuits, etc.," "that which is excellent in the arts, manners, etc.," "a particular form or stage

of civilization, as that of a certain nation or period: Greek culture,” “development or improvement of the mind by education or training,” “the behaviors and beliefs characteristic of a particular social, ethnic, or age group: the youth culture; the drug culture,” and “the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another” (Dictionary.com).

Today, the term “culture” — like “colonialism” — is so vague as to be almost meaningless. Hofstede (1984) defined “culture” as “a black box which we know is there but not what it contains.” (Hofstede 1984:35). Reisinger and Turner (2004) spoke of culture as “a complex multidimensional phenomenon that is difficult to define, and the hundreds of different definitions presented in the literature reflect this.” (Reisinger & Turner 2004:4). Abraham Pizam defined it as “an umbrella word that encompasses a whole set of implicitly, widely shared traditions, values, and expectations that characterizes a particular group of people” (Reisinger & Turner 2004:12).

Rather than limiting the range of meanings surrounding the term “culture,” scholars have built its very complexity into their definitions. Paul Herbig saw culture as representing “the sum of a way of life, including expected behaviour, beliefs, values, language and living practices shared by members of a society. It consists of both explicit and implicit rules through which experiences are interpreted.” (Reisinger & Turner 2004:12). In other words, “culture” is now moving beyond the “intangible” and “immaterial” to something even broader: one’s worldview.

If, as Dodd believed, “culture” teaches people “how to do things and how to think in order to organize the world” (Reisinger & Turner 2004:12), and, according to Harris, represents “a way of life of a particular group of people” (Reisinger & Turner 2004:5), then the potential for conflict emerges when different cultures come into contact with one another.

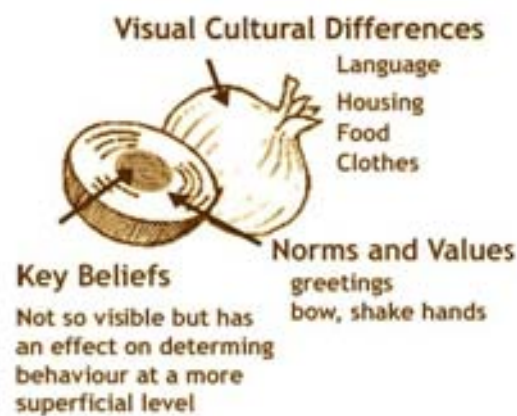
Culture’s Layers & Cross-Cultural Encounters in Canada’s North

General

Over the years, different layers or levels to culture have been identified. It is possible to speak of “high culture,” reminiscent of European understanding of the link between “culture,” “cultured,” and “cultivation/civilization,” and to speak of “low culture,” which would

not have been recognized as culture at all prior to the twentieth century. More recent interpretations of “culture” have identified tangible and material forms of culture; intangible and immaterial forms of culture; and worldviews, representing not only the invisible but also the unconscious aspects of culture. The onion has emerged as a teaching tool that captures different levels of culture and different types of impact on people that each level has (see figure below). While simplistic in that the model is static and substantivizes culture with clearly delineated layers, the onion-as-culture model is still useful for introducing the concept of culture to many people new to the topic.

The Onion-is-Culture Model
(source: www.biblicalheritage.org/images)



In the figure above, we can see three layers to the onion: the outer skin which peels away with little trouble; the middle body or fleshy part that adds so much flavour to foods; the inner core which causes people to cry when they cut it. The outer layer of the onion can be interpreted as representing the outer level of culture: that which is easily visible, measurable, discardable or modifiable. This outward or measurable dimension to culture would include items such as food and fashion. This is the realm of tangible or material culture (Guédon 2008). The middle layer of the onion or culture represents a more substantial level that is not as easily discarded or changed as the outer skin. This includes traditions, customs, actions — i.e., “norms and values” in the sense of how one greets people, whether one looks people in the eyes or not, how far or how close they stand to one another, etc. The inner layer of the onion / culture is that which is frequently invisible to people and the most difficult to modify: key beliefs, core values,

people's worldviews. This is the realm which, according to Urriola, represents "the sum of people's perceptions of themselves and of the world" (Reisinger & Turner 2004:8). Trying to change or modify culture at this level tends to produce more stress in people's lives and more resistance; the impact of changing and modifying culture at this level is more drastic than changing and modifying culture at other levels.

Culture's Outer Layers: The Tangible and Material

The challenge in how one's culture is valued revolves around how culture is defined. If defined in its tangible perspective, then culture tends to be considered as something external to the individual, and as something somewhat irrelevant when compared to values such as equality, love, peace, honesty, and so forth. Tangible, material forms of culture — such as Chinese food, African drumming, Canadian history, Spanish art — are not considered as important as issues of poverty, human rights, and economic development. As Bell put it, "visitors to Earth will likely find the variations among human cultures and languages insignificant compared with the many common traits all humans share" (Bell 2004).

When looking at the cultural component to the relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada's North, one sees how efforts have been made to respect and accommodate Aboriginal cultures in their tangible forms.

The Yellowknife UCC, the Roman Catholic church at Tuktoyaktuk and other churches visited had Aboriginal motifs as part of their decoration — banners with Inuksuit or northern scenes; posters from the local Friendship Centre; crosses made out of narwhal tusks; altar cloths made out of fur. Most of the churches, however, continued to be built along traditional European/EuroCanadian lines, complete with steeple, and cross at the top of the building. Two exceptions were the Yellowknife United Church which, together with the Lutherans, had constructed an L-shaped building housing Aurora College, student residences, low-cost housing, in addition to the area set aside for the churches (PR:Lyle), and the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Inuvik which had been constructed as an igloo. (Note: the Anglican Cathedral in Iqaluit is also designed as an igloo but was not visited).

Church interiors, regardless of the exteriors, tend to reflect typical European/EuroCanadian design: (1) the narthex where people entered; (2) the nave where the

people would sit in rows and columns; (3) the chancel at the front where the altar, lectern, pulpit, and seats for clergy were located; and (4) the apse at the end of the chancel which contained the altar and sanctuary (defined here as the area around the altar) (Episcopal n.d.).

When asked specifically about changes in liturgy as a result of being in an area with significant numbers of Aboriginal people and having Aboriginal parishioners, Gary stated that changes to accommodate Aboriginal cultures had been minimal.

There was a time not long ago when, something as simple as placing a Native blanket over a casket, and allowing one of the elders to drum the casket into the church — or the use of in ... sweetgrass would have been prohibited in a number of churches. Those are pretty much commonplace now. (PR:Gary).

While such practices may be “pretty much commonplace now,” they did not necessarily have the expected impact. Oviloo said that some changes designed to accommodate Aboriginal customs were in fact somewhat offensive because they reflected EuroCanadian ignorance of the particular Aboriginal culture in the region. The example given was the use sweetgrass for smudging. According to Alariaq (Gwich'in), “my people never smudged.”

Furthermore, as important as language for safe-guarding culture and reflecting the innermost layers of one's culture, having parts of Anglican worship services in Aboriginal languages seemed to be more indicative of the outer layer of culture. One Anglican service I attended in Whitehorse had Aboriginal hymns; the Anglican service in Dawson had both the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology in Hän. Several congregations even had Aboriginal worship services, and one participant told how the synod she had attended had been multilingual, with everything translated into different Aboriginal languages (PR:Janet). At the same time, I was also told that people who moved to the larger cities tended not to attend the Anglican church even if it did have clergy who spoke, or offered services in, their language, preferring to attend instead the Pentecostal church with its services in English. While the ACC may be trying to accommodate Aboriginal cultures, and clergy who had been in the North for considerable time tended to know at least one Aboriginal language, the ACC might be doing so in ways that are visible and measurable, and ultimately reflecting only the outer layers of culture: translating the Gospels into Dene may be linguistically correct yet still alien if the syntax and imagery are not similarly translated³.

Focusing on the visible dimension of culture, however, has led some to underestimate the cultural differences that do separate EuroCanadian and Aboriginal Anglicans. In one congregation, it has contributed to a number of problems. The reason is that, at the tangible/material level of culture, differences do not seem to be that great. Aboriginal people have integrated to some degree into the non-Aboriginal environment in both the NT and YT. Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people speak English. Both wear the same types of clothing, live in the same types of housing, drive the same types of cars and trucks, eat the same foods, work in the same locations, shop at the same stores, and attend the same schools and churches. Certainly some Aboriginal people speak traditional languages, eat traditional foods, and wear traditional clothing (which has been influenced by non-Aboriginal styles and fabrics). Some still hunt and fish. Some still have dogs they use for dog sledding. Many non-Aboriginal people, however, do the same. Some non-Aboriginal people, including clergy, have learned traditional languages, eat Aboriginal foods, and wear Aboriginal-type clothing, particularly in the winter. Many hunt and fish, and some have dog sled teams which are used in competitions.

In other words, integration has led to the emergence of what many perceive as a set of “common values” at the level of tangible culture: language, foods, clothing, housing, activities. These are, however, not expressions of “common value” as much as symbols traded or shared, or as marks of identity. Differences still exist. Accommodation at this level can be accepted because it does not seriously impact what are the real “norm” or “common values.”

Culture's Middle Layers: Behaviours and Actions

Beyond the tangible and material levels of culture, however, is the middle layer reflecting values expressed in different behaviours. Not recognizing the existence of this level of culture can lead to cultural collisions in which differences in behaviours are mis-interpreted and the cultural dimensions are underestimated.

One ACC clergy (Gary) suffered in his ministry because he misinterpreted differences in behaviours as societal or individual idiosyncrasies, and he missed efforts by Aboriginal peoples to educate him. The problem began with his respecting Aboriginal peoples and desiring desire to accommodate their traditions in some way, but still believing that ministry in the North was essentially the same as ministry elsewhere in Canada.

From Gary's perspective, it was reasonable for him to expect other clergy in that congregation, some of whom were Aboriginal, to be familiar with how the rituals were to be done. When they demonstrated their lack of familiarity with some of his practices, he concluded they had not been properly trained. As Gary put it:

[One Aboriginal clergy] had not really been very well trained, and that was quite evident in many areas of ministry where ...(a person of that age and that number of years of experience) should have known certain things (if the person had been trained properly) (PR:Gary).

While Gary recognized that his ministry in that congregation tended to be somewhat "high church," it does not seem to have occurred to him that the clergy may have been trained in "low church" practices (see Chapter 3 for a discussion on "high" and "low" church). Furthermore, while he was familiar with details of Bishop Bompas' missionary activity in the region, Gary may not have realized how "low" church Bompas was nor how Bompas rejected any clergy trained in formal rituals and practices, believing that one's commitment to Jesus and one's living faith were more important than any "popish" ritual.

Gary's ministry was the type of Anglican ministry found in many parts of Canada. He ensured that welcome cards were put into pews for people to fill out and hand in if they wanted him to visit. He developed a baptismal information package that included a booklet and DVD on baptism, as well as a form to be filled out by parents interested in having their child baptized. He tried to involve the laity (i.e., non-clergy) in services in traditional ways: welcoming people at the door and handing out bulletins (greeters), reading Scripture lessons (readers), and offering prepared Prayers of the People (intercessors). Another Anglican feature that Gary supported was the use of traditional Anglican formulaic responses that were often chanted.

None of these endeavours — from Gary's perspective — reflected anything other than the traditional Anglican way of doing things, and he did not anticipate any fall-out with the congregation over any of these initiatives. He was wrong.

Aboriginal people did not volunteer for the various roles he had identified. They did not chant the liturgical responses in the service. Because of the high illiteracy rate in the region, Gary came to believe that Aboriginal people could not participate the way he had expected because they did not know how to read.

A rumour began to spread that Gary refused to baptize Aboriginal children. The rumour was false. According to Gary, one mother had asked about having her baby baptized. He gave her the information package and asked her to contact him once she had gone through it. She stopped coming to church for a while. When she started coming again, she once again raised the question of baptism without ever talking about the information package she had been given. “That’s a pattern that’s repeated itself many times. And I don’t quite understand what’s going on,” Gary told me (PR:Gary). From his perspective, he was waiting for her to return the form and set up a meeting. From her perspective, he was not paying attention to her and was unwilling to enter into the relationship that would allow him to perform the ritual.

Once, when conducting an Aboriginal funeral, Gary told the family what he would be doing and that it was essential for there to be a homily, which he would deliver. He even drafted an order of service with them. What he discovered was that they frequently listened to what he had to say then ignored him and did things their own way:

The next thing, I knew, when ... I’m actually on the platform, I receive a bulletin — I receive an order of service which they had managed to get printed in time for the service. And lo, and behold, there was no place for a homily. They had added another eulogy because so many in the family or friend felt they just had to say something, you know. That’s the kind of thing you can expect. ... The Funeral Director and I often will, you know, kind of wink at each other, because we know that anything can happen and sometimes does (PR:Gary).

This is not to say that he objected to such improvisations, but rather that he did see them as improvisations, not the norms. He does not seem to have realized that their listening to him without saying anything was their own way of rejecting what he was saying. Small wonder they ended up ignoring him and doing things “their own way.” (I ran into the same trouble when one Aboriginal participant visited me. While visiting museums, I sometimes told her I had to disappear for a few minutes and would meet her at such-and-such exhibit; she never acknowledged what I had said nor did she ever wait for me. It took a while before I remembered that silence was not agreement!) At the same time, Gary admitted there was much he admired about how Aboriginal funerals were done:

I admire the way the family works together in preparing funerals. They will do the bulletin. They’ll do a biographical sketch of the person.

They'll have a photograph on the cover. You know, I'll just give them an order of service, and they'll take it off and work together, and do some desktop publishing at home and go to a printer. When it comes to digging the grave, many times the family will physically dig the grave in the outlying communities if there's a private burial ground, and there are a number of them around the territory. And then, at the feast which follows, there will be one — if the person who died is a member of the Wolf Clan — the two major clans here — then the Crow Clan will do all the food preparation and vice versa. That works very well.

Several Aboriginal choirs existed in the congregation who would perform on an ad hoc basis. Gary was never informed when they would sing so no notice could ever be put in the bulletin. He learned to just accept that it could happen. Frequently, an Aboriginal elder would come forward during announcements to add a thought for the day, a comment on the service, or to thank someone whom, he thought, had not been properly thanked. Gary was uncertain as to whether this reflected an Aboriginal cultural tradition or the idiosyncrasy of a particular individual. He never seems to have considered the possibility that such actions emphasized their ownership of the church, or that a cultural miscommunication existed. He likely thought of himself as the “shepherd” in charge of the congregation and in charge of liturgical matters around the congregation; Aboriginal members likely thought of him as an elder who had to be respected but they were the ones in charge of the congregation and liturgical matters. As one participant put it, they had been converted to Christianity by Aboriginal clergy such as Archdeacon McDonald or the Rev. Richard Martin, “before the white missionaries came and messed things up” (PS:Alariaq). As far as Aboriginal members seem to have believed: the church was their church.

The issue of Aboriginal ownership of the church was more emotionally-charged than Gary likely understood. Aboriginal Anglicans had had their own congregation and their own church building. The bishop had recently closed their church. Aboriginal parishioners were expected to merge with the non-Aboriginal congregation who likely had a different way of doing things. Four different participants mentioned the closure of this church; each had a different explanation as to why it had been closed. Gary was not the only clergy working in the congregation, but he was the only one paid. Aboriginal clergy were not paid. EuroCanadian

participants spoke about financial constraints and the need to pay those who were coming from outside the region. Aboriginal participants hinted at discrimination.

Gary may have read books to familiarize himself with local history and ACC history in the region, and he did read books on the history of Aboriginal people in the area in order to “keep (himself) informed as to what’s going on”, but it is likely that the books he read reflected a EuroCanadian cultural bias and a EuroCanadian understanding of history. He may have had facts and access to privileged information, but he did not realize that other people — particularly Aboriginal members of the congregation — who did not have that same knowledge would be drawing different conclusions. What he likely considered to be impartial information was far from impartial in the lived experience of the community.

Other things happened in Gary’s congregation that he was unable to understand. Were they reflective of the local culture? Were they personal idiosyncrasies of the individual? Because he had little understanding of Aboriginal cultures beyond the outer layer, he was unable to appreciate what was happening or even respond to it in a way that reflected his understanding, and not just his willingness to take it as it comes.

Culture’s Innermost Layers: Worldviews

At the innermost core of the onion lays the deepest-rooted dimension of culture: the things people take for granted as “normative” — i.e., their worldviews. This is the most challenging level to come to terms with when dealing with cultural collisions and speaking about cultural accommodation. While it is relatively easy to recognize how “Others” do things differently than yourself, it is easy to conclude that “your way is the normal way of doing things.” For “Others” to live in your world, they must accommodate to your practices. After all, why would you want to change? What is not recognized is how the values one believes to be “normative” are actually examples of one’s own culture. What are too often accepted as norms but are really examples of culture at the deepest level of one’s being govern how one perceives the world, how one interprets what one perceives, how one organizes what has been perceived and interpreted, and how one responds to what has been perceived, interpreted, and organized. In other words, the differences go so far as to affect one’s understanding of reality itself. To make the matter even more challenging, most of the basic principles that make up this

level are implicit and unsaid (because they seem so obvious) and generally remain below an individual's (or a community's) awareness.

Examples of cultural collisions at this level abound, with examples regarding the education system (as discussed in Chapter 15), the legal system, the penal system, etc. In Gary's case, the problem at this level likely emerged from his belief that his Christian ministry was culturally neutral, although he did recognize that he was coming from a different culture.

Gary came into a society profoundly different from the one to which he was accustomed. While he likely recognized this at some level, he probably did not recognize that cultural differences extended far deeper, and were not limited to the outward appearances of what is visible or measurable, but extended to the very core of one's being. He may have been an evangelical priest with high church tendencies coming into an evangelical diocese but his worldview included the belief that priests were profoundly different from non-priests (laity), and that as the only paid priest in the congregation, he was not only in charge of the congregation but also in charge of the unpaid clergy who worked with him. His worldview also included the belief that administrative matters were an important dimension to his work. These two factors effectively distanced him from people and hindered his willingness to develop close relationships with parishioners. Such a worldview also affected his understanding of missionary endeavours. Without realizing what he was saying about his relationship with his parishioners, Gary said:

If you look at the history of modern missions, you find that God raises up people to minister to a certain national group a certain ethnic group, tribal group ... and God gives you a real heart for those people. The old missionaries used to speak of a spiritual burden that they had for this particular group. And because of that divine kind of grace that God gave, it seemed that no sacrifice was too great and because you somehow had a love for these people that helped you transcend many of the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune (PR:Gary).

Gary is not unique in having such a worldview. Many clergy see themselves as a good shepherd overseeing — and protecting — their flock or congregation, and the distance between shepherd and sheep is considerable. Other clergy see themselves less as a good shepherd and more as a sheep leading other sheep along the faith journey. Such clergy are more likely to develop closer relationships with parishioners. Generally, however, regardless of whether they

see themselves as a good shepherd or a sheep among many sheep, clergy believe that a distinction exists between themselves and others that will affect whatever kind of relationships they develop with parishioners.

In some ways, Gary was very much the outsider looking in at what was happening in the congregation. When asked about the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in the congregation, he replied, “At coffee hour Aboriginal people tend to sit together, apart from non-Aboriginal people. Some non-Aboriginal people go over to help break the ice and are very good at it.” He never said that he had gone over to help break the ice nor that he saw “breaking the ice” or building bridges between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples as part of his ministry.

Similarly, Gary identified one Aboriginal couple as having taken the initiative to sponsor events that would bring together Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples, and said he supported such initiatives. What he never said was that he saw himself as needing to be involved in the initiative or as collaborating with the couple in developing an overall strategy to bring the two groups together. What emerged was Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people worshipping in the same building and being members of the same congregation/parish, yet going about their lives, including their religious lives, quite separate from one another.

When looking at some of the other problems that emerged during his time in the congregation, one is able to see how his actions reflected his worldview with its emphasis on administration. He put cards in pews which Aboriginal members did not fill out. He gave a form to be completed to an Aboriginal mother which was ignored. From his likely perspective, he was a good businessman making efficient use of his time. When people expressed an interest, then he would go to visit them. When mothers completed the form making an official request for baptism, then he would go visit to sort out the details.

From an Aboriginal perspective, however, Gary was decidedly unfriendly. As Alariaq said, “The one missionary, he visited 800 families then started preaching. The people — they knew him and went to church.” People came to church not so much out of habit nor beliefs but because of relationships — whether with the priest or with God. Gary thought he was personable

and friendly, but his actions were interpreted differently by Aboriginal members in his congregation.

Another significant difference revolved around Gary's sense of history. For him, as for many EuroCanadian people, the past is past. Somewhere along the line, one has to let go the tragedy of the residential schools to get on with one's life. An apology had been offered and accepted; restitution had been made; it was time to move on. For Aboriginal people, however, as we have seen and will see in the following chapter, the past is not limited to the past, and an apology must be personal (relational) if it is to be valid. Gary did not understand this and struggled

... with the amount of anger that they have toward us. We have tried to apologize. We have a healing fund. We have tried to extend ourselves to conducting services which would be pleasing to them. But I live with the sense that I haven't been forgiven and, I wonder, how many times do I need to say that before it matters. ...(PR:Gary).

Gary was open to change, flexible in the kinds of changes he was willing to accept, willing to learn about Aboriginal cultures, but he had had no training in what he needed to know about cultures, could not recognize Aboriginal initiatives to reach and teach him, and could not recognize the cultural baggage he brought with him.

Gary is no longer with that congregation.

On a More Positive Note

Kyle was a EuroCanadian minister in a community that was approximately 30% Aboriginal. Identifying himself as Anglican from way back, Kyle probably shared much of the same worldview as Gary. The major difference between Kyle and Gary was that Kyle had specialized in Aboriginal studies. This meant that he began work in the North with a greater awareness of Aboriginal cultures than Gary ever had.

First was his recognition that a traditional model of ministry would not work in the North given its EuroCanadian and Aboriginal history. As he put it,

This is the frontier, and it's very much that kind of individual who flourishes here — very independent, very strong spirit, very ... 'I'll do it my way, thank you very much, and we don't need any of the folks from Ottawa telling us our business ... Hierarchical doesn't — and could not —

possibly function in this kind of community. So ministry has to be a style here. You've got to work with the people. You've got to invite them. And they respond, and they'll bring their treasures and their talents and their time to it. Yeah, we walk the walk together (PR:Kyle).

In non-theological terms, Kyle implemented a collaborative style of leadership which brought together individuals to discuss common concerns, set common goals, and develop common strategies. His ministry was not only reflective of frontier life but also of Aboriginal history in the region.

The second feature that characterized Kyle's ministry in the North was his knowledge that it was Aboriginal missionaries who had first converted the Aboriginal people in the community. Kyle never spoke of Bompas but, like many of the Aboriginal participants in the project, spoke about McDonald and Richard Martin. This knowledge of Aboriginal missionaries converting Aboriginal peoples facilitated his awareness of Aboriginal ownership in what was happening in the church. Kyle worked with his parish council to develop a liturgy that would be meaningful for the Aboriginal members. The liturgy that emerged was still Anglican, but it incorporated portions — the Doxology and the Lord's Prayer — that are recited by everyone attending the services in both English and the primary Aboriginal language spoken in the community.

What is worth noting is the acceptance by non-Aboriginal members of his congregation of such initiatives. Kyle has heard no negative feedback from the non-Aboriginal community, though he recognized there may be a reluctance to tell him directly how they feel.

The third characteristic of Kyle's ministry was his knowledge of circle dynamics in Aboriginal cultures and the importance of consensus government. This fit in very well with his own collaborative leadership style, and his willingness to support Aboriginal ownership in the life of the congregation. One initiative to emerge under Kyle's ministry was a "Sharing and Prayer Circle," organized by Aboriginal members of his congregation. They developed the liturgy — based on the Anglican book *Alternative Services (BAS)* and including Anglican hymns. It also included the laying of hands at times. They invited Kyle to attend — as a participant. He did. He was one voice among many. As he put it:

We are all sinners who come to the cross. ... I'm no better than anyone else. My job is to provide spiritual leadership and spiritual direction and

so, for me and my style — the way I do it is by consensus and I do that by — again that circle — of recognizing that Christ is the one in the middle and the rest of us bring our gifts and our talents and our understandings and our squabbings and our misconceptions to try to figure out what is the best for this little parish...(PR:Kyle).

This did not mean that Kyle surrendered his position as clergy. He still considered himself — as did Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members of his congregation — to be ordained clergy with sacramental responsibilities that no one else could do. Aboriginal people in the community also saw him as a religious leader and, as such, invited him to open non-church meetings, generally Aboriginal council meetings, with prayer. His status also carried certain privileges — for example, he was expected to be the first to eat at such functions. Kyle understood that his position within the Aboriginal community might be privileged, but it also meant that he would be held “more accountable and more responsible than the people” (PR:Kyle).

This re-interpretation of his role as priest and his collaborative leadership style reflected also an awareness of the importance of relationships in Aboriginal communities. He did not focus as much on form and ritual as Gary had. He did not focus on what people were not doing or incapable of doing but on what successes they had. Kyle focused on what was meaningful to people and what allowed them to connect with themselves and with one another. Kyle saw his ministry moving towards

... an opportunity for people to worship the Creator — if that’s the language that they choose — in a way that’s meaningful for them, in a way that is fulfilling for them, and in a way that allows them to connect with God (PR:Kyle).

Kyle supported local Aboriginal healing initiatives and members of his congregation who worked with the local Aboriginal Heritage language group to preserve their language. In fact, Kyle and his congregation had a relationship with the local Aboriginal Band Council and Heritage programs. For example, as Christmas carols were translated, they were added to the congregation’s repertoire of carols. In other words, the congregation became an instrument for preserving Aboriginal language.

Far from separating himself from the community at large, of focusing primarily on the congregation, Kyle saw himself as a representative of the ACC in healing initiatives wherever

appropriate and, especially wherever residential schools were involved. He was aware of the 1993 Apology but, as he put it:

Archbishop Peers means nothing to a person here quite honestly. What they need to hear is me being able to say, “Yes, something horrible was done. That was never our intention. Here are the things that we have done by way of trying to make things right.” That began with Archbishop Peers. That began with the healing fund. That began with the establishment of the First Indigenous Bishop. That begins each and every Sunday in my small parish, where we try as a group to heal together, and we try to recognize and to move forward. ... (PR:Kyle).

Kyle agreed with something he had read somewhere along the line: “As long as there is one person who needs to hear the apology, we as a church have to be prepared to apologize.” What amazed him was the story of who Aboriginal people were and how willing they were to forgive and to heal, a fact that had amazed me as well:

We’re trying to build a healing community. We’re trying to build a community that will move forward. As a counsellor, one of the things that I always say is that ... to be happy, there has to be a connection between the head, the heart, and the soul, and so, part of my work, as the pastor and clinical counselor, is in the area of helping people reconnect to all those kinds of things — to bring all that into alignment. And, in my discussions with Chief and Council, in my discussions with the Elders Council, that’s what they want too. They want that very much ... and so, we work together.

What impact has Kyle had on his congregation and the community? Aboriginal people in the community — who may not have even attended the congregation — knew of him and respected him. Kyle had been noticed, invited and accepted by the Aboriginal community at large. He had recognized the signals, responded to the invitations in a way that acknowledged their history — including their history of pain in the residential schools — and their traditions. One story in particular stands out:

I’d been here for two days, and I was wearing my clerical collar around town so people would know who I was. A First Nation elder came up to me, walked up to me on the street, and spat on me, and said that they had gone to the residential school, and turned around and walked away, ... (what has happened over the years since then is) ... I’ve got to know the person on some of the big groups that I’ve been involved with and got to know this person who went from a nodding relationship to a “Hi, how are you doing?” to a more animated discussion, and this last Christmas, I got

a card from (this person), “To (Kyle) — wish you a blessed Christmas ... love, So-and-so” and, for the very first time, the (person) took communion from me on Christmas Eve.

Attendance at worship in Kyle’s congregation increased from 22 to 36, with more people giving more money to support of the church.

Conclusion

The cultural challenge is a complex and demanding one. What this brief historical foray into “culture” demonstrates is that condemning pre-twentieth century missionaries for not respecting or valuing Aboriginal “cultures” is anachronistic; it imposes a twentieth-century understanding of the term onto people who had no such concept of culture. According to everything they knew or had been taught, Aboriginal cultures did not exist, might have existed but were definitely “primitive” in comparison to European/EuroCanadian culture, or might have existed but were limited to specific examples: art, music, and literature (which was assumed to be written literature and, since Aboriginal societies in Canada generally had oral literature rather than written, Aboriginal literature was non-existent as far as European and EuroCanadian peoples were concerned. Furthermore, even if a concept similar to culture, such as “way of life” or “mode of thinking,” could have allowed newcomers to perceive culture at some level, nothing had prepared these newcomers to recognize their value, richness or “brilliance” (in Redfield’s term).

The encounter between Aboriginal and European and/or EuroCanadian peoples brought individuals from different “cultures” into contact with one another, and therefore with the potential for generating clashes as “cultures” collided. We cannot recognize all the dimensions of these cross-cultural contacts and collisions in the Aboriginal-European/EuroCanadian encounters in Canada’s North. We cannot measure the whole impact those contacts and collisions had on those involved. We can, however, identify the locations of some of the cultural clashes in order to construct bridges that may explain, better than does colonialism, the overall pattern of relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada’s North.

One must also acknowledge that, as exemplified by the differences between Gary and Kyle, some awareness of cultural difference and some training can go a long way towards constructing a new kind of relationship.

17. THE THIRD NARRATIVE: THE REALM OF CONFLICTING REALITIES

Overview

If historians have paid insufficient attention to Amerindian realities, values, and ethos at the time of contact between European and Amerindian, it may be equally true that insufficient thought has been given to European realities, values, and cosmography of the colonial period (Jaenen in Abel 1991:113)

In the previous chapters, I followed clues that led to a third narrative: one of cultural collisions and explored what is meant by “culture.” In this chapter¹, I explore just how different northern Aboriginal cultures were, and in many ways still are, from the dominant EuroCanadian culture. The intent is not to provide a definitive analysis of the differences between the sets of cultures but rather to furnish enough information so as to better appreciate the cultural divide between many Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada’s North without excluding similar divides among the various Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies themselves, or having to deal with the question of modified cultures that have emerged as a result of intermarriage, or the question of assimilation and levels of assimilation within Aboriginal (and non-Aboriginal) societies.

Among the many loci of potential cultural clashes, I selected those traits I considered most likely to have occurred in the residential schools and which may continue to be found in congregational settings in Canada’s North. First were those traits that had to do with social structure: family organization, gender roles, and naming practices; second to do with education and knowledge; third, those to do with power and authority; and finally, those dealing with religion.

Cultural Collisions Via Social Structures

Family Make-Up

The family is the first socializing environment the child experiences. According to EuroCanadian norms, the household consists of a nuclear family, that is father, mother, and children, with the father being the head of the family. This EuroCanadian norm served as the basic model or principle that undergirded many government policies and laws, as well as decisions and resulting actions by social agencies. According to EuroCanadian norms, the

biological parents are responsible for raising their own children except in rare cases and in special circumstances. That EuroCanadian understanding of a “traditional” or “typical” family is changing nowadays as a result of increased numbers of single-parent families, same-sex couples and extended families including ex-wives, ex-husbands, stepchildren and so on, but the nuclear family was the normative household through most of the residential school era.

A typical Dene household — particularly during the residential school era — is more difficult to define because it was constructed around the extended family, including relatives from either or both sets of grandparents as well as aunts and uncles on either side (i.e., the mother’s and father’s), together with their children.

An outsider might see no difference: a husband and wife and children. But the children may not all be the couple’s biological children, some may be the children of the husband’s sister, and the couple may have given their own children to the wife’s brother’s family to raise. The children will call each other “brother” and “sister” regardless of whether they are biological siblings or not, and the children will call the couple they live with “mother and father” even though they may not be. The practice may not be as common nowadays as in the past but is still remembered. Furthermore, a successful hunter might have had more than one wife (though Abel notes that polygyny was less common than reported by nineteenth-century missionaries (Abel 2007:20); polyandry (where two brothers were married to one woman) was also a possibility (Guédon 2010). To increase the odds of survival, men and women were encouraged to hunt. In many Dene communities, the best hunter used to be a woman! Adults were paired with a cousin or in-law of the same gender; such practice effectively linked people along with their households by affinity or friendship.

A typical Inuit nuclear family — particularly during the residential school era — resembled that of the Dene but the exchange of children was more extensive. A woman could not carry more than one child in her amautiq at a time; if she had two or children who were too young to walk, she had to transfer the care of the extra children to another. Children could also be exchanged to ensure that families had both sons and daughters; children could also be given to couples who had no children of their own. Having a “son” to hunt with the father and a “daughter” to cook and sew with the mother increased the family’s chances of survival in a

harsh, unpredictable environment. That need for complementarity was built into the culture, and was so strong that a boy born to a family with only sons could either be exchanged for a daughter or could be raised as a girl until puberty. Similarly, a daughter born to a family with only daughters could either be exchanged for a son, or could be raised as a boy until puberty. In adulthood these bridge-builders (across the genders) assumed religious, social, or political leadership roles because of their ability to switch perspectives (Saladin d'Anglure 1998:19-50). Exchanging children, and even exchanging wives (which the women called "husband exchange") not only strengthened one's sense of family (what EuroCanadians would call "extended family"); such practices contributed to developing support groups to whom one could turn for help if needed.

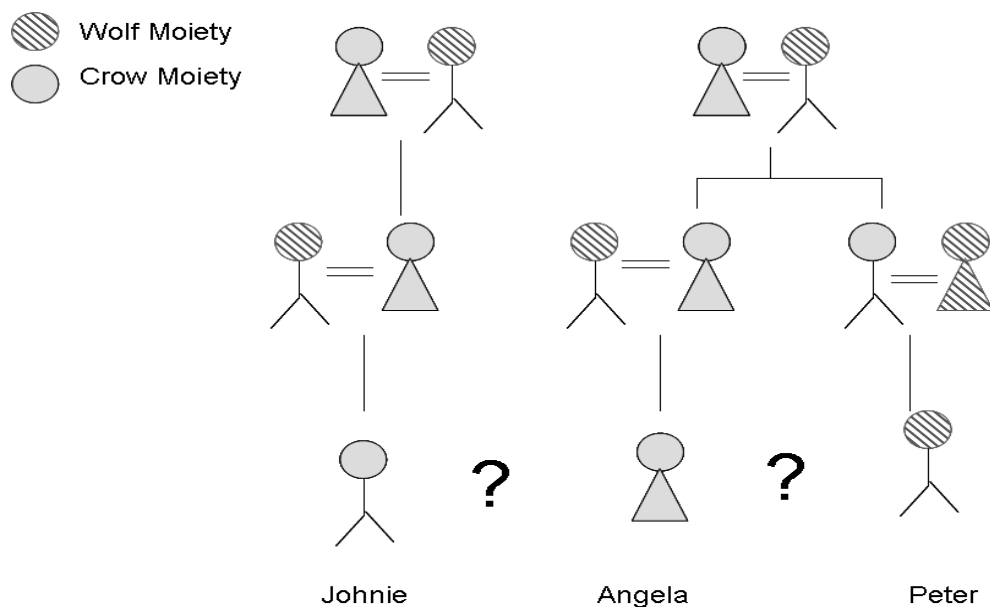
Among both the Dene and Inuit peoples, the movements of children and other relatives across households strengthened one's sense of community. The "family" was not simply one separate unit of society but was a process so intertwined with other units that it ensured a social cohesion running through the whole community.

Family Genealogies

Family genealogies can be traced to identify ancestors or relatives, and both Inuit and Dene societies were built on extensive kin networks (as seen above) where everyone was placed and identified. In Western (including European and EuroCanadian) societies, however, while both the father's and mother's genealogies are recognized, Europeans and EuroCanadians tend to emphasize (or prioritize) tracing kinship roots through the father's side of the family. In many parts of the Canada (but not Québec), women still assume the husband's family name on marriage, and children are given the father's family name as their own when born.

The Western Athabascans, as are many other Aboriginal societies², are a matrilineal society where children belong to the mother's side of the kin group. In the southern Yukon, children were born into one of two matrilineal kinship divisions or moieties, Wolf (Ägunda) and Crow (Kajit) (Cruikshank et al 1992:9; McClellan 1975; de Laguna 1975)³. Marriages were exogamous: a member of the Wolf moiety could marry only a member from the Crow moiety, not another member of the Wolf moiety, and vice versa. This resulted in situations that, at times, seemed illegal from the Western EuroCanadian perspective when, for instance, it was deemed

preferable to marry a child of one's paternal uncle, while the Western EuroCanadian pattern of relations could result in situations that seemed illegal from the predominant Athabascan perspective, as when a missionary intervened to enforce a marriage between two members of the same clan or moiety (which would have been an incestuous relationship from the Athabascan perspective), as depicted below.



Moiety System among Athabascans

In the above figure are two Athabascan couples and their descendants. From the Athabascan perspective, the two couples are related because both wives are members of the Crow moiety. The first couple eventually has a grandson, Johnnie, who is also a member of the Crow moiety. The second couple eventually have two grandchildren: Angela, a member of the Crow moiety through her mother, and Peter, a member of the Wolf moiety through his mother. It is perfectly acceptable, from the Athabascan perspective, for Angela to marry Peter because they are not related — i.e., they are not members of the same moiety. It is not acceptable for Angela to marry Johnnie because they are related since both are members of the Crow moiety. From the Western EuroCanadian perspective, however, the first two couples were not related and Angela is quite free to marry Johnnie since they come from two different families; she is not free to marry Peter since they have the same grandparents. The two systems operate

according to specific rules reflective of their respective cultures, but the two systems are also irreconcilable.

In the southern Yukon, the moieties were subdivided into clans. Rules of behaviour governed clans and clan responsibilities towards one another (Cruikshank et al 1992:9ff). Breaking the clan exogamy rules meant that children would be related to only one clan and would be effectively shut out of the economic and ritual exchange system. It was this system that Gary was talking about when discussing Aboriginal funerals. Whoever had died belonged to one moiety; it was the responsibility of the other moiety to do all the necessary preparations for the funeral (PR:Gary).

Naming Conventions

Naming conventions go beyond affixing a label to people. Names not only serve as individual identifiers; they also effectively make individuals (and identify them as being) members of a particular society. Among some segments of Western society, definite rules still exist as to how children are to be named. In Scottish families, for example, the first son is named after the father's father; the second son after the mother's father, and the third son after the father; the first daughter is named after the mother's mother; the second after the father's mother, and the third after the mother (Scotlandspeople n.d.). British, Irish and German naming conventions tended to be the same (DeYoung n.d.; IrishGT n.d.). Names therefore become one way to maintain family continuity throughout generations. American naming conventions are less pre-determined, with sons frequently given their father's name (hence, "Junior"), but just as frequently given the names of important figures in American history (e.g., "George Washington Gaver") or pop culture (e.g., "Jerry Lewis Gaver," "Bob Dylan Gaver", Gaver 1992). I was given my name precisely because no one else in the family had it. The result of such changes among American families, is a weakening of family ties through the generations and a corresponding increase in emphasis on individualism.

Changing one's name in EuroCanadian cultures is seldom done; one must go through a specific process before the new name can be legally recognized. The main instances where one's family name is changed are marriage, where the woman generally assumes the husband's family name as her own, and adoption, where children assume the family name of whoever

adopts them. Other generally-accepted reasons for changing one's name revolve around one's profession. While individuals may develop alternate names as part of their professional identity (stage names; noms de plume), they may not actually change their name as much as create a pseudonym. Naming conventions among Aboriginal peoples differs significantly. Surnames are a recent addition. Among Athabascan peoples, the practice began to come into play as Athapaskan women married non-Athapaskan fur traders (whether European, EuroCanadian, Métis or Northern Metis). Among the Inuit, surnames developed during Project Surname (1970-1972), instituted by the Canadian government (Alia 1994:1). Not only did Project Surname create surnames for the Inuit, it also forced a reorganization of the traditional family structure — at least in terms of its relationship with various government bodies — by following traditional Western EuroCanadian patrilineal naming conventions — children are given the father's surname (Alia 1994:25ff).

Intermarriage between different nations might lead to two names being given for a child, one from each nation. For example, Angela Sidney stated that her mother was Tlingit and her father Tagish; her first name is the Tlingit Stóow and her second is the Tagish Ch'óonehte' Md (Cruikshank et al 1992:21). Other names among both Athabascan and Inuit peoples tend to be meaningful. For example, Angela Sidney tells that she was given the name "Angela" because a prospector passing by saw the new baby and remarked that she looked like an "angel;" that became her English name. Furthermore, names among the Athabascan are not fixed and may be changed if situations warrant it. Abel notes that, among the Dene, "parents would change their names after the birth of a son to reflect their new status in the community. Gah (The Hare), who fathered a son named M'biss (The Knife), would become M'biss-tah (The Knife's Father)" (Abel 2007:20-21). According to Guédon (2010), this applies to the first-born child, whether boy or girl.

Alia notes that, among the Inuit, naming was a complex procedure, with each name carrying a special meaning — that is, a close connection with the individual or ancestor who previously bore that name. An individual's name therefore is more than a name; it represents the essence of the person connected with that name, what Stefansson referred to as a "soul-name" and Brody as *atiq* (Alia 1994:14):

When an Inuit baby is a few days old it is given its *atiq* ... usually translated as name ... an essence or soul (though we must imagine away the Christian connotations of these terms in order to translate with accuracy). The *atiq* is usually a relative who has died. (Alia 1994:14).

The *atiq* given a child changes the child's relationship to the rest of the family and to the community. As Brody notes:

No child is only a child. If I give my grandfather's *atiq* to my baby daughter, she is my grandfather. I will call her *ataatassiaq*, grandfather. She is entitled to call me her grandson (Alia 1994:14).

Similarly, people who have the same name are seen as being *atia'uaaluq* or namesharers and therefore related. According to Guemple, they are supposed to "help each other in time of need and are bound together in a complex and permanent set of relationships" (Alia 1994:14). That relationship extends in the concrete rules applying to meat sharing and hospitality. Contrary to Western norms, Inuit names were not static entities for the whole of one's life. They could change frequently over the course of a life — even before one was born into the world. Bernard Irquaqtuq tells:

Since I did not want to be born. Uquqtuq gave me a name so that I would come out more rapidly. That name is Naai. It didn't have much effect for I still did not make my entrance into the world. Papik, Arnaajak's husband, in turn gave me a name, Kapilruq, and I was born. That is why, since then, I also bear the name Kapilruq. But the name destined for me since my conception was Irquaqtuq (Alia 1994:13).

In other words, names among the Inuit were not only meaningful; they had power. If a name was somehow lacking in power — as in a child not being born on time — it could be replaced with a new name that demonstrated power — as in the name the child had when it was actually born. It did not matter whether a name was given to a boy or a girl; names were not gender-specific (Alia 1994:21). The naming system is so strong that, after Inuit were instructed to give their children English names, the system was expanded: people who share English names could also be considered as having a special bond. To this day, it is considered impolite by Inuit people, especially older ones, to use a person's Inuit given name; people were called by kin terms.

Such practices were confusing for the European and EuroCanadian missionaries in northern communities at least until the missionaries became more immersed in Aboriginal cultures; they were confusing for the European and EuroCanadian teachers in northern residential schools who otherwise had minimal contact with Aboriginal people and Aboriginal cultures; they created logistical nightmares for bureaucrats in Ottawa. Adopting European / EuroCanadian naming conventions, however, has had an impact on Aboriginal cultures. Giving children EuroCanadian names (often Christian names) effectively broke communal ties. The new names were dead “static” labels, that reflected nothing of the individual bearing such a name, and bore no ties to the community, to the past, and even to the future. Aboriginal people circumvent such naming “deadness” by continuing to use traditional naming conventions as well as EuroCanadian ones which leads to numerous comical situations: at coffee break in Tuktoyaktuk, one Inuvialuit grandmother told how she met someone somewhere who recognized her saying, “Oh, you’re [David’s] grandmother.” She said no, she wasn’t. The conversation continued with the person insisting she was and trying to refresh her memory. Gradually, the grandmother realized what was happening: “[David?] – that’s his white name?” She knew her grandson from his Inuvialuit name and had never learned his white name.

While the Inuit/Inuvialuit and other Aboriginal people may have developed work-arounds that would allow both Aboriginal and EuroCanadian names be given to their children, the impact has transformed their cultures. Children living with people who are not their biological parents are no longer recognized as being “sons” or “daughters” but as “boarders,” “stepchildren,” or “adopted” (Alia 1994:40), and gender-consciousness has been brought into play (Alia 1994:21).

The net result of the traditional family make-up, family genealogies, and naming conventions among both Athabaskan and Inuit peoples was the strengthening of a kinship network that bound and continues to bind individuals. One lives in a family community, is a member of the family community, and has responsibilities to the family community in a way that EuroCanadian people, with our emphasis on individuality and freedom of choice, do not experience. While EuroCanadian families and extended families may include dozens of individuals and sometimes more, Aboriginal kinship networks often reach two or three hundred relatives in neighbouring communities and sometimes far away in a vast support network

invisible to, and sometimes attacked by the official social services. Small wonder that King concludes, that there is a “relative meaninglessness of legalism in identifying Indian and non-Indian. Although such terms tend to fragment families, the underlying kinship patterns persist and family unity is a function of these feelings rather than of legal identity” (King 1967:12).

Gender Roles

Gender roles are affected by basic values and worldviews and are reflected in language.

Traditional EuroCanadian families during the residential school era tended to be strongly patriarchal, a practice rooted in Christian theology (e.g., Ephesians 5:22-24). The man was understood to be the head of the family, and of the household. All decisions relating to the family, and to the running of the household were made by the man. Men, being seen as the stronger sex, were expected to work, provide financial support for the rest of the family, do repairs around the home, and protect the women and children. Women, being seen as the weaker sex, were expected to remain at home where they would look after her husband and the children. Their primary function was to bear children. They were expected to ensure a smooth running of the home so that the husband would not have to deal with additional problems when returning home from work. While this was not always the case — particularly among the lower classes and in times of war — women were still expected to be at home on time, with dinner ready, and ensure a proper running of the home even if she did work. Work opportunities for women were limited, given the general perception of their being the weaker sex. Factory work was the best that most women without university education could hope for. Unmarried women were seen as being a disgrace to the family (though they actually had more opportunities to work in a variety of fields), unless they assumed nurturing roles such as missionaries, teachers, and nurses. Nevertheless it was still expected, and sometimes mandated, that they would retire should they ever marry.

A traditional Christian wedding service includes the question, “Who gives this woman to this man?” It reflects a tradition belonging to a time when the woman was not recognized as an entity in her own right. To some degree, she was seen as a possession, belonging to her father and given away to her husband. Traditional Western roles for men and women were not

absolute, particularly in the seventeenth- through nineteenth-century North America where women had to be strong and independent to survive frontier life. Frontier stories and family histories abound with stories of women who knew how to shoot to fight off Aboriginal attackers, women who knew how to ride as well as men, and women who managed farms on their own if they had to. But it is the traditional division of gender roles that was imposed on Aboriginal communities.

During the residential school era, children were expected to be miniature adults to a considerable degree but without any of the accruing privileges. They were to be “seen, not heard” and corporal punishment was a perfectly acceptable means of discipline, based on biblical passages such as Proverbs 13:24 and Hebrews 12:5-11. Debates on corporal punishment revolved around how thick or wide the strap should be, not on whether or not it should be used. In many families — particularly the upper class families — children were not even raised by their parents but by people engaged to raise them: for example, a nanny, governor or governess. Upper-class children were generally sent away to boarding school for their education, coming home only for holidays. Boarding schools for boys were often run in a military-type fashion with strict rules and discipline. Uniformity and uniforms were the norm.

Among the Inuit, husband and wife occupy complementary roles⁴. While the husband dominates hunting and outside production activities, the wife owns the house and rules the household, supported by the network of housewives in the settlement who together informally rule domestic activities and domestic affairs. Gender is firmly inscribed in the Inuit dualistic worldview but is based on principles rather than on biology (as we saw earlier, a girl could be raised as a boy and vice versa).

The Dene, however, do not favour dualism (Goulet 1998; Guédon 2005). The opposition between male and female is not strongly marked. The language, as mentioned in Chapter 15, does not contain the English equivalent of “he” and “she.” Though women were described as shy with strangers and burdened with the heavy tasks of carrying camp gear when on the move, hunting was not confined to men. Numerous stories exist of “strong women” or “treasure women” who were able to hunt (for example, McDonald’s wife, Julia Kutug, hunted and kept the family well-supplied with food), survive on their own, or master enough knowledge

and independence to acquire authority on the group (e.g., Wallis 1993). As a rule, women did not go to war and they avoided hunting carnivorous mammals so as not to bring their children — born or unborn — in contact with animal powers and death. But older women wielded as much shamanic powers as did the men. One aspect that did distinguish women from men was the ability of women to bear children and the related ritual restrictions (of which there were many) that accompanied menstruation, from puberty until menopause (Guédon 2005). While many male missionaries translated Dene prescriptions in terms of taboos and impurity, the Dene women translated the prescriptions in terms of spiritual and shamanic power. It must also be noted that a strong belief in reincarnation had a direct influence on one's perception of oneself in gendered terms. As Goulet notes, one could be reincarnated either as a man or a woman, regardless of what one's former sex had been (Goulet 1994).

Note: The following charts (Tables 2 to 5) are not intended to define or categorize the cultural groups in question, but rather to illustrate the depth of the cultural differences separating the Europeans from the Inuit⁵, and the Dene communities. For example, while EuroCanadians may recognize the nuclear family as being composed of “father-mother-children,” they are well aware that many families differ from the nuclear model. Similarly, regardless of what is defined for any of the cultures listed. Cultures are not static but do change over time and individual experiences. Another limitation to the charts is that they limit the categories to three (EuroCanadian, Athabaskan, Inuvialuit) while many more categories exist because of intermarriage, and amalgamation of communities. One participant, for example, strongly identified himself as Aboriginal and the importance of preserving the Aboriginal identity, yet posed the question, recognizing that his was not a unique situation, of what that meant when he combined Chipewyan, Cree, Dene, and Métis heritage.

Table 2:
Comparison of social structures among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVALUIT
Household	Father-Mother-Children (nuclear family)	Extended family	Nuclear family plus extended family
Descent	Biased towards patrilineal Both sides are traced in genealogies	Generally Matrilineal Mother's clan is passed on to children	Bilateral
Name	First and last name are the minimum; many have at least one middle name Father's family name is generally passed on to child (except in Québec) First names from both sides of the family First names generally connected with gender First names are generally kept for life; changes must be made through courts	No last name originally Parents are re-named after children	No last name originally Names and gender not connected Names may be changed throughout an individual's life Names include <i>atiq</i> or "soul-name" (which includes personality) carried over from a deceased person to a newborn named after the deceased. The <i>atiq</i> binds the newborn to the relatives of the former carrier and to the social network of all carrying the same name
Gender roles	Patriarchal Among evangelical Christians, gender roles are biblically defined (e.g., Ephesians 5:22-24)	Weakly defined, but strong people on both sides	Opposite and complementary

Table 2 cont'd

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVIALUIT
Men	MEN: The stronger sex (physically) MEN: Take the lead in work to support family MEN: Hold leadership positions and are heads of households	MEN: Carry weapons and can approach large carnivorous animals	MEN: Defined by their hunting roles as meat providers
Women	WOMEN: The weaker sex (physically, mentally, emotionally) and in need of protection WOMEN: Subordinate position in family WOMEN: Work at home to support husband and children but men are heads of households	WOMEN: The stronger sex (physically) WOMEN: Carry the tent and food; they also hunt and fish WOMEN: Protectors of the children; restricted by menstruation rituals	WOMEN: Owner and keeper of the home WOMEN: Transform game into food and clothing WOMEN: Restricted by menstruation rituals (
Children	Seen, but not heard; "owned" by parents, In 19th-century upper-class families, many were not raised by parents but by nannies, governors / governesses or sent away to boarding schools	Not possessions Persons from the very beginning Technical training done by older people Social norms taught by mother's side Spiritual (dreaming) and ritual knowledge taught by father's side	Not possessions, rather persons Persons treated according to the corresponding kin connections associated with their names The entire camp or community takes care of the children. Technical training done by close relative

Table 2 cont'd

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVALUIT
Physical Contact	Varies considerably from English reserve and a reluctance to hug others to French hugging and kissing on both cheeks Important sources include Colin Turnbull (1983), <i>The Human Cycle</i>. Edward T. Hall (1973), <i>The Silent Language</i>. (1990), <i>The Hidden Dimension</i>.	Reduced physical contact after babyhood Some physical discipline that is usually ritualized as “training” - children might be slapped. The limits of one’s own body extent to one’s clothing and bedding, i.e., no exchange of clothing or bedding (Goulet 1998) Women, babies and girls sleep on platform below or besides men Great care is taken to avoid bad smell and body odor Body is clothed at all times except in steam bath Bodily functions are hidden - sex is hidden from young people until after puberty (Guédon 1969-1970)	Plenty of physical contact, skin to skin Physical discipline and punishment are unacceptable; children are not beaten All sleep together on the same platform with the youngest between mother and father Attention is paid to body odor as part of communication Upper body is often naked Easy relations with bodily functions and sex (Guédon 1965-1966)
Discipline	Physical discipline / punishment expected and accepted as normal Among evangelical Christians, corporal punishment biblically enjoined (Proverbs 13:24; Hebrews 12:5-11)	BOYS: Training in the bush GIRLS: Puberty rituals Deep affection between a child and his/her father and father’s sister (reflected in name changes) (Guédon 2005)	No physical punishment Very warm environment with much physical contact (Guédon 2005)

Education and Knowledge

Education has been a problematic issue in Western societies for centuries. A detailed examination of education in Western society is beyond the scope of this thesis but some points

must be noted. Education — in terms of reading, writing, and learning to think and critique society — was lost to some degree during Europe’s Dark Ages which were marked by invasions (e.g., Saxons, Jutes, Danes, Vikings) and corresponding social instabilities. It was the Church (and there was only one in Western Europe during this period) that preserved books and manuscripts, and it was people in the Church who provided education for those outside the Church. While many in the general population probably had some mathematical skills — necessary for running household and the marketplace — it was generally the aristocracy and those who worked for the aristocracy in various capacities who were educated in reading and writing.

As the threat of outside invasions decreased and societies began to stabilize, the Dark Ages gave way to the Middle Ages. The Church still controlled to some extent who would and would not be educated, but it also began to establish universities where scholarship and debate were encouraged (within limits). Education became more easily available to those people who could afford it, but it was still provided by the Church. It was not until the invention of the printing press and the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century that the general population gained access to education. The Bible was translated into local languages, printed and made available to the general population (those who could afford to buy it). One of the pillars of the Protestant Reformation was people reading the Bible for themselves and Protestants used the Bible to teach people how to read. It was not until the late eighteenth century, however, that concerted efforts were made to ensure that the general population, whether or not they could afford it, had the basics of education — reading, writing, and education. Among the prime movers towards public education were people involved with the CMS (see Chapter 3).

Western education has generally emphasized the “3 R’s” of reading, writing, and arithmetic. These are considered to be the fundamental elements required of people living in Western societies. Mastery of these elements is considered critical to getting a job so that one can survive. Education was the means by which such knowledge was passed from one person to the next. The success of that transmission was determined through tests which emphasized the ability to regurgitate information. Learning by rote and memory work were key elements

to education. One either had the right answer, or one did not (which, in itself if another characteristic of Western culture, as we shall later see).

Social mores were transmitted to children by their parents and other members of the household. They learned how to eat, how to dress, and rules of behaviour in certain situations. Frequently, they were assigned chores to do. They might have specific tasks that would facilitate family survival: working alongside parents in a family business, or helping on the farm. They might have full-time jobs of their own, sometimes working in life-threatening situations (such as chimney sweeps). Such education, however, was not esteemed as highly in Western cultures as the formal education provided in schools where their knowledge could be evaluated by, and compared with, others. Students who dared to have opinions of their own or ask too many questions that challenged the status quo of the Western corpus of knowledge were frequently punished and disciplined at primary and secondary levels in schools which tended to emphasize uniformity and strict discipline. Such students might be welcomed and encouraged in universities, but even universities stressed uniformity of dress (often academic gowns) and a student's day was strictly governed and regimented.

Western education was rooted in Greek classical philosophy — notably in the question-and-answer methodology employed by Socrates and the emphasis on logic and reason. Through logic and deductive reasoning, it was assumed that objective truths, forming the corpus of factual knowledge that was both provable and accessible to all, could be determined. Searching for information that was objective — and therefore assumed to be always true, independent of situation or context — was and continues to be highly prized in Western education with one paradox: that knowledge must not contradict the authority of elders or superiors, or those designed as teachers. Reason and the development of reason-based logic are therefore valued; personal knowledge and personal experience are therefore suspect if they contradict generally-held beliefs or are deemed to be “illogical.” Such views on education and knowledge are, at the same time, however, juxtaposed with a set of a traditional body of knowledge based on religious authorities and traditions which rule how one must think and speak about the grand issues (however one chooses to define them).

Such juxtapositions make no sense to Dene-speaking children whose worldview teaches that knowledge is acquired either by personal experience or by interpersonal contact with reliable and identifiable sources (e.g., elders). Moreover, experiences can be acquired in the world of the living as well as in the world of dreams which is where one enters into contact with animals ... and with the divine (Guédon 2005). Objective truths, based on axioms and deductive reasoning are not examples of knowledge or education but of assumptions.

In the years since the residential schools were closed, education has changed considerably. More effort is now made to move students past regurgitation levels of knowledge to ensure that they truly do understand what they have learned. Techniques have been developed to encourage students to take responsibility for their own learning, and to interact with material. Many schools, colleges, and universities, include programs where students can get practical experience: field placements. Nevertheless, Canadian society as a whole still tends to devalue the informal type of education gained through one-on-one interaction with others outside the formal school setting. Many professions require proof of training before they license practitioners; that proof of training must come from recognized, certified institutions. Job applications ask about one's education - but in terms of degrees and certificates, not in terms of hands-on training experience.

Just how different Dene understanding of knowledge and learning is from the EuroCanadian norms is made evident from Jean-Guy Goulet's (1998) account of his efforts to get an informant to say "they are going for water."

... the informant's statement reads as follows: "I say they say 'we are going for water' because he [my son] says this is what is said."

When asked whether the original speakers actually said, "We are going for water," the Elder said he did not know, for he had not actually heard them say this. What the Elder knew is what he heard with his own ears from his son. Asked whether his son knew if the original speakers said, "We are going for water," the Elder answered in the negative, for his son, also was relating secondhand information. To know is to perceive directly with one's senses or with one's mind. What one has not experienced or perceived directly, one does not know. Much of what is said and repeated in conversations is, therefore, not knowledge, in the strict Dene Tha sense of the term. (34)

Goulet discovered that “Dene expect learning to occur through observation rather than instruction, an expectation consistent with the Dene view that true knowledge is personal knowledge” (Goulet 1998:27). One learns through observation and imitation and, as Buckley writes about learning practices among the Yurok which are also valid for Athabascan people, “to explain too much is to steal a person’s opportunity to learn” (Goulet 1998:29). Another source of knowledge comes from stories which are used to inform people’s experiences (see also McClellan 1975, Cruikshank 1979, 1983 and 1984).

While EuroCanadians are accustomed to asking questions to get information, Guédon discovered (according to Goulet) that “when she wanted to learn how to weave beaded headbands and sew moccasins, her Nabesna friend ‘made it clear that I was not going to go very far by asking questions. I was to keep quiet and watch her hands.’ One learns not by asking questions but by watching, silently observing how a trap is set, how a hide is tanned, how a rifle is shot, and so on” (Guédon 2005:31). Wax and Thomas note that this preference for learning by observation rather than by question-and-answer is found in “all Native North American societies” (Goulet 1998:30). The example given is that of a Maya girl who “silently observed the operators of weaving and spinning machines until she felt competent enough to take over and run the machines herself” (Goulet 1998:30). My own experience reveals a variation on the pattern. I was teaching an introductory course to MS Word and realized that one Aboriginal student never handed in any assignments yet did well on the midterm. I began watching her. She actually did the homework but, having mastered one exercise went on to the next exercise without bothering to submit anything to show she had learned the material. A similar sentiment was expressed by Bishop Atagotaaluk (Inuit) in talking about his youth as an Inuit:

My dad wouldn’t tell us how to do things, but he would let us watch him. That’s how we learned how to make a sled, how to hunt for caribou or walrus, and how to fish (Carlson and Dumont 2003:25).

Table 3:
Comparison of Knowledge & Learning among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVIALUIT
Education	Valued formal, public, indoor school	Informal, on-going; indoor and outdoor	Informal, on-going
	Devalued: informal, one-to-one, hands-on experience	Formal, ritualized training by father's relatives for power quest	
Knowledge	Facts: true or false	Experience; reliance on self	Experience, connected to others
	Reliance on authority	All experiences are transformed into stories	
	Statistical information that is always true or always false	One's expertise is weakened when transmitted to another	
Learning	Rote, memory, regurgitate in a separate "learning" space	By watching and listening rather than talking, or trial-and-error	Following the adults indoor and outdoor
	Question-and-answer methodology. Step-by-step instructions	References to myths and stories	Watching and looking at demonstration by parents or relatives, one on one
	Trial-and-error		Explanations sometimes given; visually reinforced

How confusing it must have been to attend a school where knowledge was considered completely separate from action, limited to memorization and regurgitation of phrases. Small wonder that some Aboriginal children were able to clearly distinguish between what was taught and preached in schools and churches about Christianity and what was actually lived by people who called themselves Christians. According to King, typical anecdotes from Carcross were: "They sure didn't live their lives the way they preached. There was so much prejudice it made me sick about religion. I never been much for church since them [sic]" (King 1967:36).

Socio-Political Power and Authority

Western society is hierarchical. Some of this is reinforced by Christian theology, biblical history, and the history of the Western world. While kings in ancient Israel/Judah were never

considered to be divine, they were considered as having been chosen by God through God's prophets. Greek democracy may have been about "power or rule of the people" but the "people" were the citizens. Clear demarcations existed between those who were citizens, and therefore enjoyed democratic rights and privileges, those who were outsiders but who might have limited rights and privileges, and those who were servants or slaves and who had no rights or privileges. The Roman Republic gave way in time to the Roman Empire, and the emperor had total authority — as long as the army supported him — and was worshipped as a divine being.

England (see Chapter 3) was torn apart by the issue of power and authority when its monarchs began claiming they ruled by divine authority. The issue of power and authority, often expressed in Church-State relations and conflicts, is not limited to governments or monarchs. It is reflected in social structures, business structures, education structures, religious structures, and even in children's play. At times it seems that all of Western society (i.e., European and societies strongly influenced by European values) is geared towards the acquisition and holding onto power and anything associated with that power. Competition and being "Number One" are highly-prized values (see Sioui 1994). Much of Western society is geared not to being the "best" one can be but to being "better" than anyone else. It is impossible to speak of "power" in the Western sense without including some sense of "power over" someone or something else as a result of manipulation, intimidation or coercion. Power is evidenced by possessions: the number of wives and children (in biblical times); the amount of jewels and gold in one's possession; the number and size of monuments built; the size of the military and the number of weapons; the victories one has over one's enemies.

Canadian Aboriginal societies demonstrate a wide range of attitudes towards power and power structures. While some societies are strongly egalitarian (such as the Northern Algonquian), others are not (such as the Haida). Athabaskan people in general are extremely individualistic. Even so, power is seen not so much as something of value on its own but rather of value in its use. Rather than trying to accumulate or hold onto power, people are expected to use power. Among some nations — such as the Tsimshian — the richer a chief is, the more he or she is expected to give away. Moreover, people may have power or authority for specific tasks or situations: one may be a leader in the village while another is the military leader and still another leader when dealing with outsiders and trade. A person has power, not because of

intimidation and manipulation but because of qualities evident in the person's life — influence, skills, character. In fact, the Dene have no term for “chief.” For more insight into power among Athabaskan peoples, see Sharp (1988) and McClellan (1975:481-492.)

Table 4:
Comparison of Power and Authority among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVIALUIT
Power structure	Hierarchical Whoever has power struggles to hold onto and to even amass more power	Egalitarian. Originally no word for “chief” among the Dene A moiety system when relatives are either clan (or moiety side) ... authority defined by relative age	A kinship-based structure juxtaposed with the name network system Leaders defined by their overall competence and number of relatives
Attitudes towards power	Competitive, generally non-cooperative; individualist	Competitive, but also cooperative; Self-reliance is the key to belonging to the community	Competitive with formal sharing
Metaphors for power	Coercion, strength, wealth	Communication, intelligence (smart), specific gifts from the animal and spirit world	Luck in hunting, physical stamina, knowledge, including spiritual knowledge

Religion

The various strands of relationships with gender roles and naming conventions, education and learning, power and authority as well as one's relationships with the sacred and divine and the rest of creation come together in what we know as “religion.” While this is not the place to do a lengthy contrast between Aboriginal and Western European/EuroCanadian perspectives on the religious dimension to life, some points need to be emphasized.

First is the strong sense of dichotomy that pervades the Western worldview and Western Christianity. Something is either true or false; no room for ambivalence exists. God is all-powerful; to be counted among God's followers means life; to resist, challenge or even question God defines one as not being among the “elect” and means death. Christianity is either

the “true religion” or it is not. If Christianity is the true religion, then all other religions are “false” — including Aboriginal traditions. Those who are God’s people are “saved;” all others are “damned.” To be among God’s people is to accept Jesus as Saviour and to dismiss anything which leads away from Jesus as wrong, and evil; there is no room for compromise. The way to know the truth is through the Bible. The Bible is God’s inspired word. To question or challenge it, or to re-interpret it is ultimately viewed as corrupting God’s word. To act in a way not commensurate with the written word (for example, re-defining marriage to allow a place for homosexuals within Christianity) is evil. Such an understanding of Christianity is most typical of evangelical, low-church Christianity that allows no compromise with local traditions and belief systems. What was not recognized during the residential school era — and is only partially recognized even today — is how culturally-laden Christianity is.

Other forms of Christianity exist that are more aware, and accepting of, the “greys” within Christianity. Recognizing that Christianity emerged within a particular culture and reflected the values and mindset of that culture has allowed other Christians — for example, moderates — to accept that the Bible is divinely inspired but recognize that it also reflects human perceptions and interpretations of the divine. Assuming that Paul was the author of Ephesians (a topic beyond the scope of this thesis, Paul may well be admonishing women to know their place in the human family in Ephesians 5, based on what God revealed to him as being the “true” social order in society as evangelicals claim (Gaver 2010) but, according to moderates, Paul might equally well have been describing the human relationship with God using an example from the social order of the time. The difference between a prescriptive and descriptive reading of Ephesians 5 in some ways sums up the differences between evangelical and moderate Christians. In both cases, however, the standard against which one’s faith is to be lived and judged is the sacred text of the Bible.

That dichotomy continues into other avenues of life according to the western European / EuroCanadian perspective. The world is divided into “sacred” and “non-sacred” (or “profane”) spheres, in Durkheimian terms, such as “sacred” and “profane” spaces, and “sacred” and “profane” times. As Western society becomes increasingly “secular” it is seen as becoming increasingly possible to dismiss or marginalize the “sacred” from the rest of life (i.e., the “profane.”) The dichotomy is also evident in many of the social structures in Western society.

For example, one is either among the “religious” (in the sense of ordained clergy, missionaries, catechists, etc.) or the “laity” (i.e., the ordinary people). The laity do not speak with the same authority as the “religious.”

Such a use of dichotomy in any of its incarnations is meaningless to Dene. External truths are not knowledge. Knowledge must involve the “knower.” One achieves knowledge through personal, lived experiences or through one’s own dreams and visions (i.e., which are experienced at the personal level). No sacred text exists. No well-defined sacred space exists. No distinction exists between the “natural” and “supernatural” worlds. As Richard Nelson points out when talking about the Koyukuk people:

Explanations for the origin, design and functioning of nature, and for proper human relationships to it, are found in stories of the Distant Time ... The distinction between human and animals is less sharply defined than in Western thought ... For example, animals were human in the Distant Time, they still understand human speech ... and must be treated according to a code of moral and social etiquette ... The source of preeminent spiritual power is the earth itself ... Human behaviour toward natural entities is governed by spiritually-based rules ... Their basic purpose is to show respect ... The physical environment is spiritual, conscious and subject to rules of respectful behaviour ... Characteristics of natural entities are contagious [to humans]. (Nelson 1983:228-233)

No people are barred from interaction with the divine simply because they are “laity.” Everyone has access to spirits, to dreams, to personal knowledge/experiences of the Divine. One person’s experience may differ from that of another without being labelled as “false” or “wrong” or “evil.” Some individuals are recognized as having stronger connections with animals and spirits, such as the shamans, and may use their powers for good or evil, or both. The Western pre-occupation distinguishing between “true” and “false” religion and holding an external object as the defining element of that religion is meaningless to both Dene and Inuit. Knowledge is not based on an objective reality. A “true religion” cannot exist on the basis of a written text. For knowledge to be real, it must be personal, lived, experienced (dimensions to a religion that are also found within evangelical Christianity.)

The Inuit worldview is in itself a dual system opposing summer and winter, sea and land, male and female. Their conception of the world was very sombre and pessimistic; the Inuit lived

in a world where spirits were mostly cannibalistic powers to keep at bay, or vengeful entities including the souls of the animals one had to kill in order to feed one's family. Human beings' pride was to be able to survive (Rasmussen 1929). Christianity's ideology of the world existing to be "tamed" or "conquered by human beings" (based on Genesis 1-3, see below) was foreign to the Inuit worldview, nevertheless, in some ways, it offered the Inuit spiritual help and hope. This may explain one reason why Christianity was so readily accepted by the Inuit (see Tungilik and Uyarasuk (1999)).

A second characteristic of the Western Christian world is its hierarchical structure. God is above and beyond all, transcendent yet immanent in human form as Jesus and referred to in European languages as "he." Next are the angels, then human beings who can be classified on two levels: Christians and others. Below human beings are animals, then the rest of creation. Man is separate from and superior to the natural world which must be "tamed" and "civilized". At the very bottom would be demons and Satan/the devil. Similarly, the world is hierarchical with heaven at the top, inhabited by God, angels and spirits; earth in the middle, inhabited by humans, as well as by animate and inanimate objects; and hell at the bottom, inhabited by demons.

Such a worldview is completely alien to the Dene and no equivalent terms exist. Human beings are not above anybody else in a world shared by all. If there is a God in the Dene world, then this God (remember, all beings are "it" until otherwise specified) can be accessed face-to-face like everybody else. In fact, animals, like human beings and like everything alive, have minds and souls. They are "people" (Dennis, although speaking of the Iroquois' view of animals, speaks of "people of a non-human kind" (Sioui 1994:28)) and their spiritual powers are superior to what human beings can obtain.

That relationship with animals is seen among all northern Aboriginal peoples in their attitudes towards hunting. Hunting is a ritual in which the animal offers itself to the hunter who must show it proper respect if he or she wishes success in future hunts. Such a concept could not make sense for educated EuroCanadians for whom a world created for human beings, the superiority of the human intelligence, and the mindlessness of nature were evident. Even the

Rev. McDonald could not keep from transforming Raven, the demiurge who put the present world and its inhabitants in motion, into the Christian figure of the Devil (see p. 80).

For people holding Western worldviews and particularly for those Protestants holding Western worldviews, the formulation of religious hierarchy is manifested in the primacy of the Bible. The Bible is the sacred text through which one learns what “good” and “evil” are, and the rules which one must keep in order to not be punished. Those who break the laws specified in the Bible, as interpreted through Church doctrines and teachings, will go to hell. The more evangelical forms of Christianity espoused by missionaries and teachers, the more strict one emphasizes adherence to the literal text of the Bible. Other forms of Christianity are open to interpreting and re-interpreting sacred texts in light of God’s guidance through the Holy Spirit or common sense (for example, Wolf 1979) but even these situations are not done lightly or at a personal level.

The Dene have a completely different understanding of authority and interaction with the “spirit world” (which, it must be remembered is simply part of the natural world). The main mode of contact with other entities, including the animals, the dead or God, is through dreams and visions. Traditional healers, often called Dreamers, are said to enter into dialogues with animals and other entities who grant them powers and knowledge. This is where the single authority of the Book, Bible, or prayer book would seem to clash with the Dene worldview. But, as reported by Goulet (1998) and others, the Dene are more inclined to juxtapose the two forms of knowledge as two ends of one continuum: the book or church and school; dreaming for daily life and life in the bush. At the same time, as Moriah (PR:Moriah) and Hinds (1958) note, the Bible-as-book has become an important item for the Gwich’in to take with them into the bush; its significance, however, is likely somewhere along the continuum.

Hell and heaven do not fit with the general Dene view that the dead and living are part of the same universe. There is no absolute barrier or break between the world of the living and the world of the dead — again, two sides of the continuum. Rather than a true-false dichotomy or a hierarchy where one is either “in” or “out,” the Dene worldview revolves around a dynamic continuum. Hell does not make sense precisely because life is a process not a state and reincarnation is always a possibility.

Table 5:
Comparison of Religion among Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVALUIT
Dichotomy: True / False Religion	Clear distinction between true or false religion	No word for “religion” No dogma	No word for “religion” No dogma
Dichotomy Ways of Knowing	Sacred text: The Bible which is divinely inspired; teaching what is good and bad in life Personal experience is highly suspect and devalued	Myths shape and confirm personal experience	Myths shape and confirm personal experience
Dichotomy: Sacred/ Profane	Clear distinction between sacred / profane space and time	The whole world is sacred, except for a few human camps and villages that need to be protected from the spirit	Everything is potentially sacred
Dichotomy: “Religious” / Laity	Clear distinction between the “religious” people (clergy, monks, nuns, etc.) and “laity” or ordinary people	Anybody who dreams has power. Everything alive dreams	Spiritual knowledge depends on personal experience Traditions available to all
Dichotomy Good / Bad	Good people are those who follow God; they go to heaven Bad people are those who challenge / disobey God; they go to hell.	There is no hell Mistakes, not sin Situational morality	Hell is viewed as life on this earth Mistakes, not sin Situational morality
Dichotomy Man and the World	Man is separate from the natural world Man’s task is to tame it and civilize it (to de-naturalize it) (based on Genesis 1-3)	Man is part of the natural world, including animals and spirits, the living and the dead	Man is pitted against the forces of nature In order to survive, human beings must kill other beings also endowed with souls

TOPIC	EUROCANADIAN	ATHABASCAN	INUVIALUIT
Dichotomy Active / Passive; Becoming / Being	God is the “Prime Mover;” People are, in some ways “passive” People and places are static entities, defined by their boundaries which exist independently of one’s wishes	All of life is in the process of “becoming” People and places are defined by the centres around which they move	People and place are defined in relation to one’s self and, geographically, in relation to the shoreline
The Divine	God is above us all: transcendent and good Jesus is God made present in the world: immanent yet still transcendent Clear hierarchization with God/Jesus at the top; angels below; God’s people (i.e., Christians); others; demons; Satan at the bottom.	Everything is sacred; supernatural is part of the natural world Biocentric view of the universe The sacred is not necessarily benevolent	The traditional sacred is usually malevolent

The religious differences are perhaps the most difficult to unravel because so much remains hidden not only from the “Other” but also from practitioners, hidden behind creeds and rituals, and the basic assumptions and values one accepts as normative of the culture and the religion. While Christianity can be accessed to some degree through its sacred texts, transmitting Christian teachings to a people who do not share the common values or histories of the Western world is a different matter. How does one talk about “faith,” “sacrifice,” “sin and salvation” to cultures such as the Dene and Inuit who have no such concepts in their worlds?

Conclusion

Residential schools were one place where cultural clashes were played out. Aboriginal cultures — in terms of visible differences — were at best respected and tolerated; at worst, forbidden and devalued. Aboriginal cultural values, however, — the cultural core that shaped not only one’s values but also one’s perceptions of reality itself — were generally ignored, misunderstood, or disparaged.

Displacement and separation from one's parents and communities were children's first experiences of boarding schools. Whether one chose to go or not, they represented a break from all that was familiar: Aboriginal children were not only far from home in geographical terms, but also in terms of emotions, all that was familiar to them (including food, clothing, language) and all their understanding of how the world operated — i.e., of reality itself — in terms of relationships, knowledge, power, values and goals of life. Being separated from parents might be seen as a way for children to grow up, become independent and self-reliant, but the residential schools also stressed uniformity, discipline, and compliance to those in authority. Such values are vital for Western societies, and even reflect the Western work ethic (with its emphasis on standardization and compliance to objective norms) but they also reflect the Western worldview that stresses individuality, competition, and hierarchy. Above all, is the emphasis on self-reliance and achievements or goals.

At the same time, these values — as admirable as we might believe them to be in modern society — reflect values completely contradictory to those of many Aboriginal cultures. Fundamental to both Inuit and Dene societies is the importance of kin relationships. Aboriginal kinship patterns are organized in such a way as to emphasize the fact that one is related to the community. Children may or may not be raised by their parents — they may be passed to mother's brother to be raised. Children may be left alone to play during the day — it is not up to the biological parents alone to ensure their safety or well-being. The end result is a worldview that emphasizes community, and cooperation. Above all, is the emphasis on people and relationships.

Unfortunately the two systems are contradictory. Missionaries saw what was happening in Aboriginal societies and were incapable of recognizing its significance. Bishop Bompas, even after spending forty years among Aboriginal people in the Yukon and knowing many details about their lifestyles, was unsure whether they actually loved their children or not — perhaps because of his own personal idiosyncrasies; perhaps because of his racism and colonialism reflected in his inability to see them as real individuals in their own right; and equally perhaps because of his inability to comprehend their willingness to give away their children to other family members (that is, his inability to understand the cultural differences).

By forcing Aboriginal students in residential schools to comply with the requirements of a Western school system, regardless of intent, we were teaching them to live in a way that they had been unconsciously taught to devalue. Missionaries may have consciously taught them to consider their own Aboriginal cultures to be inferior or somehow lacking when compared with EuroCanadian societies, but even if they were not consciously disparaging Aboriginal cultures, the children would have learned the same lesson: how they had lived as Aboriginal people, what they had valued as Aboriginal people was wrong, and, what they were learning to value in EuroCanadian society was also wrong according to Aboriginal values. They were damned however they lived.

Fortunately, society in Canada's North and northern residential schools reflected more than a polarity between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian cultures. Inter-marriage before and during the residential school era, led to the creation of "in-between" spaces, of families who had both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal customs and traditions. These children attended residential schools alongside Aboriginal and EuroCanadian children and, at Hay River, adults. The mixture may explain why some residential school survivors are able to talk about good experiences and able to focus on the good that came out of those experiences even while acknowledging the bad they also experienced. They may have to deal with traumatic experiences and bad memories but, unlike many students who had to deal with overwhelming cultural collisions, that was "all" they had to deal with.

For others, the cultural differences described above represent only a small part of the processes that were so traumatic for Aboriginal children in the residential schools: their very understanding of reality itself was undermined. The cultural norms shaping their perceptions and understandings were inscribed by the EuroCanadian perspective in an opposition between the traditional "primitive" Aboriginal identity and the modern "civilized" individual. The process continues today, even though the residential schools have been closed, colonialism — at least as expressed during the residential school era — has been vilified and colonialist practices devalued. It continues in education systems which encourage Aboriginal languages and traditional skills even while ridiculing anything to do with spirits or dreams. It continues in education systems that speak of objective truths while, as Bishop MacDonald pointed out, also encouraging the "bifurcation of body and soul" (MacDonald 2009). It continues in the

business world which respects multiculturalism but enforces compliance to standardization and values productivity, development and the bottom line over and against relationships and respect for the world as it is. It continues in the discussion over globalization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I want to once again thank those who shared with me and who have taught me so much. While they represent a small sample of the Northern population, their statements were either strong enough or repeated enough times so as to challenge accepted views and clichés. It is their contribution that led me to envision the possibility of other narratives within and beyond the dominant narrative of a one-dimensional interpretation of colonialism as the all-encompassing cause of residential school traumas and present problems experienced by many Aboriginal people and Aboriginal communities in Canada's North.

At the start of the project, I assumed that residential schools had been both the products and agents of a colonialism espoused by Anglican missionaries. I accepted that colonialism — a completely negative and destructive colonialism — formed the dominant narrative surrounding Canadian residential schools, a narrative shared by the Anglican missionary societies and the nascent ACC that were involved in the colonial process as agents of religious conversion, as educators responsible for the dissemination of the cultural norms imposed by the new society and, in particular, as administrators of the residential schools. I did not doubt that this dominant narrative was found throughout all of Canada. I believed that most, if not all, residential schools had been places where physical and sexual abuse had occurred, along with cultural genocide / ethnocide. Even though statistically, the majority of students in the residential schools did not report physical or sexual abuse, it was also obvious (so I believed) that many were devastated by their school experiences, many had died as a result of the poor conditions in which they were forced to live in the schools, and many lives had been destroyed by their experiences. I accepted that the dominant factors leading to such a history were the arrogance, racism, and paternalism of the EuroCanadian newcomers, settlers, state representatives and religious authorities.

I assumed at the start of the project that I would be documenting the history of colonial encounters between a European / EuroCanadian Church and Aboriginal peoples. I thought I would be exploring situations of conflict resolution and reconciliation initiatives that would allow me to believe efforts to mitigate the tragedy of that colonialist history were bearing fruit.

Since much work has been done (e.g., A-Grant (1996), RCAP (1996), Miller (2003), and Milloy (2003)) and is being done through the AHF, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (<http://www.trc.ca>) and others, I decided to not explore stories of physical and sexual abuse, but rather to focus on the relationships that had emerged from the encounters between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian Anglicans. I chose Anglicanism: first, because Anglicans had operated a significant number of residential schools, second only to the RC; secondly, because the ACC had recognized that something was amiss as early as the 1960s and had taken action to remedy whatever had gone wrong, beginning in 1969; and thirdly, because that action had led to the 1993 apology and a renewed commitment to “living the apology” (ACC website). Rather than focus on the relationship within the ACC at the national level, I decided to research what was happening at the local congregational level. Assuming that what had happened in residential schools in southern Canada would be true across Canada, I settled on Anglican congregations in the NT and YT as test cases.

Canada’s North, I believed, offered several advantages compared to the colonial situation in southern Canada. While first contact between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in the North began in the seventeenth century, concentrated contact did not begin until the nineteenth, and missionary contact did not occur until the late nineteenth century. I assumed that late contact would mean fewer variables with which to contend, and that Aboriginal people would have been able to hold onto their traditional ways and languages more easily than in other parts of Canada. Furthermore, since both the NT and YT have a significant Aboriginal population (i.e., 20% or more according to StatCan (2009)), and since communities (demographically much smaller than those in the south) are generally few and far between, I assumed their congregations would probably have a good mix of Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples. Given the relatively late date of contact, the strong Aboriginal presence, and the generally small overall population, I thought that I would be better able to perceive changes at the congregational level, then test findings at the local level against what had happened elsewhere than if I were to choose congregations in other parts of the country.

Over three years (2006-2008), I visited Northern Anglican congregations, and interviewed a number of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Northerners, both clergy and laity, Anglican, United Church, and other, fully expecting to be able to measure the effectiveness of

ACC initiatives to promote a new relationship with Aboriginal peoples in the North. I was wrong. Many of my original assumptions were challenged by my field research.

To be sure, I discovered Northern Aboriginal peoples may have, what might be termed, a “stronger” sense of identity than may be found in southern Canada. Band councils are powerful entities, governing not just themselves, but also who may or may not undertake research opportunities in their territories. Many have settled land claims agreements; many have various forms of self-government.

I also discovered that having a strong Aboriginal presence in the region did not necessarily translate to having presence or to integration at the congregational level. While the majority of Anglicans in the diocese of the Arctic are Aboriginal, almost no Aboriginal people worship in the main church in Yellowknife; and possible friction was evident in both Inuvik and Whitehorse (diocese of Yukon). In Yellowknife and Whitehorse, I was told that Aboriginal Anglicans might attend a Pentecostal service rather than an Anglican one even though that meant the service was in English, and even though the Pentecostal congregation might reject accommodation with traditional ways. In Inuvik and Whitehorse, I saw evidence of miscommunication that seemed to alienate Aboriginal members. In several congregations, including Dawson which otherwise seemed to be doing so well, I saw separation — not segregation — between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples. They worshipped together and talked briefly after the service, then separated during coffee hour: two solitudes in a shared space.

The next set of assumptions to be questioned revolved around the North. Canada’s North is not Canada-in-miniature. What happens in the North is not a mini-version of what happens elsewhere in the country. The North is a character in itself with its own identity. That identity, I am convinced, directly affected the relationship between Anglican missionaries and Aboriginal peoples, and continues to affect the relationship between Anglican congregations and its Aboriginal membership. Obviously, climate and geography impose constraints on the human inhabitants, on communication, transportation and size of settlements; it also imposes constraints, or perhaps removes constraints, on the possibilities for social interaction. Less obviously, the relationship between the Anglican congregations and dioceses and Aboriginal

Anglicans is not the same in the North as that in the South. Their religious history is different; their cultural mix is different; and most unexpectedly the history of schools in the North, particularly those in the NT, does not match that of southern schools. Just as surprising to me was the realization that Anglican history and the Church's relationship with Aboriginal Anglicans in the NT differed from those in the Yukon in many ways.

Another challenged set of assumptions dealt with the working of Christianity and of the Anglican Church in the North. As a Christian clergy, I understand the challenge of presenting a Gospel of love, mercy and forgiveness, combined with the responsibility of being a good shepherd protecting the flock from potential threats. That was one reason why I had assumed my thesis would focus on reconciliation initiatives and on how Anglican congregations were living the apology in their efforts to bring closure to the residential school issue. In the process, I suspected that Christianity itself would be transformed at some level. (To some extent, it already has been; during my years at seminary, I remember very little being said about "reconciliation;" the key terms I remember were "salvation" and "redemption." Christ redeemed us at the cross. Now it seems that "redemption" has been replaced with "reconciliation," and the focus is not simply on being reconciled with God but also on being reconciled with one another, but this remains a topic for further research.)

What I discovered in Canada's North took my research in a completely new direction. With the exception of the congregation at Dawson, reconciliation was not a major issue in any congregation. With the exception of initiatives by a few individual clergy, reconciliation was not even a priority for most clergy interviewed. In some cases, some reconciliation efforts had been made around the time of the apology; they never led to any further action and soon fizzled out. In other cases, the absence of initiatives was not due to a lack of interest in the residential school issue, but rather due to the different history in the North and to confusion arising from reflections and experiences that called the dominant narrative into question.

Time and time again, I came across EuroCanadian participants, particularly in Yellowknife, who told me the story about residential schools propagated by the media did not reflect what they had been told by Aboriginal friends. What had happened in the North had

differed from what had happened in southern Canada. They lacked sufficient knowledge about the issue to navigate between media and personal accounts.

Too often, I came away from interviews suspecting EuroCanadian participants believed the Church was correct to apologize for physical and sexual abuse that they saw as aberrations to the Christian Gospel, and that the Church (i.e., missionaries and teachers) had done the best they could given the constraints (geographic, historical, economic, etc.) within which they operated rather than even asking whether anything within Christianity itself or the Church's understanding of the Christian Gospel contributed to the tragedy. While expressing sentiments of regret and compassion, they exhibited no sense of responsibility for what had been done in the name of the Church and Christianity. I also came to realize from Aboriginal participants that formal apologies offered in other parts of Canada were important gestures but were also ultimately irrelevant. Southern Canada is too far away and impersonal apologies do not carry much weight. At one time, I thought that the ACC could better publicize the 1993 apology so as to reach all its Northern congregations. I still do, not so much to publicize the past as to show the very personal side that Primate Peers revealed in his apology to the Aboriginal people present at the Minaki Sacred Circle. But even though a personal apology is very much required by many Aboriginal people in the area, even that is not the point.

I came to realize that EuroCanadian participants did not grasp the seriousness of the residential school issue and the impact residential schools had and was having on Aboriginal people, families, and communities. While EuroCanadian participants might condemn incidents of physical and sexual abuse, too often they interpreted those experiences along a continuum: such incidents were not unique to Aboriginal people; similar incidents had occurred to many children (sometimes themselves) in many boarding schools throughout Canada and Great Britain. While they could sympathize with the pain Aboriginal people were feeling, they could not appreciate why the effects were so traumatic. They lacked knowledge of what distinguished the abuse experienced by Aboriginal children from abuse others experienced elsewhere. Most importantly, they lacked the detailed understanding of Aboriginal cultures that would allow them to grasp what had been so traumatic for so many children who attended residential schools in the North, whether or not abuse was involved.

What happened in the North, particularly in the NT, differed significantly from what happened in other parts of Canada. Furthermore, the ACC in the NT differs from the ACC elsewhere in Canada. How does the Anglican diocese of the Arctic apologize for Anglican missionary activities when many missionaries were Aboriginal or mixed-blood, or where European/EuroCanadian missionaries stayed long enough and were willing to develop relationships with local people and some appreciation of their cultures? How does an Aboriginal bishop who himself attended residential schools apologize to Aboriginal parishioners as a representative of the Church?

My biggest challenge was learning to appreciate just how different the Northern experience had been from that in the south. The dominant narrative, developed out of primarily southern experiences but promulgated throughout the country, has the Canadian government actively involved in shaping the vision and mandate of residential schools, deliberately implementing policies to “kill the Indianness” within the people while at the same time ensuring that Aboriginal children would never successfully compete with EuroCanadian students. In the south, a link between schools, churches/missionary societies, provincial and federal governments and colonialism seems evident (and I did not explore it). In Canada’s North, the link is far from clear. The Canadian government had no interest in investing in Northern schools nor in changing Aboriginal peoples until after the Second World War (i.e., after 1945). Government policy was essentially a “hands-off” policy of ignoring Aboriginal people and leaving them as they were in the NT. Neither, until recently with the development of Northern mining industries, did EuroCanadian people want to settle in the North, so the push to seize Aboriginal lands or do “something” about the “Indian problem” was not a major factor in relationships that emerged between Aboriginal and European/EuroCanadian Anglicans. The situation was different in the Yukon, in part because of the Klondike Gold Rush which did bring a number of non-Aboriginal people into the region, even if only temporarily.

While southern residential schools tried to turn Aboriginal children into farmers; few northern residential schools had any farms (except for Carcross and Hay River). Most schools were located too far north for farms to be viable: the growing season was too short; soil conditions precluded successful farming.

While missionaries and residential school staff were agents of acculturation, many were not committed to cultural ethnocide as they were in southern residential schools. Anglican Churches and missionary societies were interested in converting and educating Aboriginal people, and helping them to adapt to the increasing non-Aboriginal presence, but not necessarily to force Aboriginal people to assimilate into a foreign culture. Even though some missionaries were racist and paternalistic, some protested the marginalization of Aboriginal people in their own territories; some fought to protect Aboriginal lands, and safeguard hunting and fishing rights from EuroCanadian people moving into the region. In some NT residential schools (but not YT schools) during some periods of their history, learning an Aboriginal language was part of the curriculum as was learning traditional skills taught by traditional elders. In some schools, students received better education than seems to have been the practice in the south, and accounts of students completing three grades in only two years were found. Anglican residential schools existed in the NT, but were not limited to Aboriginal children: mixed-blood children, EuroCanadian orphans and, at Hay River, Aboriginal adults also attended. Once again, however, the situation differed in the YT where limits were sometimes placed on how many Aboriginal student could attend the same schools as non-Aboriginal children did.

Above all, the Northern narrative stands out for its empowerment of Aboriginal peoples even within the framework of racism and discrimination. The missionary work of the Rev. Robert McDonald among the Gwich'in is particularly noteworthy. This country-born missionary with a tri-racial background was the product of EuroCanadian education and training, but was able to accommodate his understanding of Christianity to the lives and worldviews of the Gwich'in. By seeking out the elders in the communities and training them to serve as missionaries in their own right, McDonald lay the foundations for an Aboriginal Anglican Christianity among the Gwich'in, and may account for Alariaq's comment that they became Christian before the white missionaries came and messed things up (PS:Alariaq)¹.

The story of the emergence of an Aboriginal Anglican Christianity among the Inuit still needs to be told but may well be similar². given the fact that approximately 95% of the diocese of the Arctic is Aboriginal and the majority of those are the Inuit/Inuvialuit. It is likely that the emergence of this Aboriginal Anglican Christianity and Aboriginal Anglican clergy, combined with the region's climate and geography, contributed to a residential school history quite

different from that found in southern Canada, though more research is required to understand why it differs from that found in the Yukon. It may also explain why, despite the devastation endured by children in Northern residential schools, no charges against the diocese of the Arctic have been laid. It is important to mention once again that this does not mean that no abuse abused or that children did not suffer. While it may be impossible to lay criminal charges, from my perspective, and from the perspective of those participants who shared such stories, no justification exists for the ACC and local priests not telling parents about their children dying in residential schools. Furthermore, what has been clearly expressed by many participants and other sources was the pain that Aboriginal children felt when they were taken so far away from their homes, separated from families and from everything they knew as their world. The evidence, however, both archival and from participants, calls into question the existence of a direct link among residential schools, church working in collusion with the Canadian government and colonialism (in particular, the colonialism process). In fact, what seemed to antagonize many participants — Aboriginal and EuroCanadian alike — when talking about the residential school issue was the one-dimensional caricature of history so frequently found in colonialistic accounts that idealized life in pre-contact and pre-residential school times; if the story were colonialism and were to be told, they believed, then it should be told in its complexity.

The second narrative suggests that what happened in the Northern residential schools may not have been a planned and directed initiative to “kill the Indian.” This is not to say, however, that the residential school experience was overall good or positive even though individual students may have found it so. Something happened to disable, disturb, and devastate both individual lives and Aboriginal communities.

The residential school issue was, I discovered and as one participant put it, “the tip of the iceberg” (PR:Joanne). Hints of a third narrative began to emerge from the research. The clues came out of incidents both in the North and in southern Canada, from remarks uttered by participants, from observations, from research, and from personal experiences of arguments and feelings of culture shock. Some participants were familiar with that third narrative, but it came only gradually into my consciousness as I studied colonialism and discovered theoretical and historical weaknesses within the dominant narrative. Theoretical weaknesses revolved around problems defining the term and determining the boundaries to colonialism, specifically, to

differentiate “colonialism” from other “-isms” (such as “nationalism”). Historical weaknesses revolved around Canadian and northern historical realities that did not fit into a simplistic understanding of “colonialism.” Most importantly, the existence of a third narrative came into focus with the realization that Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people both may speak of “colonialism” yet use the term with completely different meanings.

With that “ah-ha” moment came the realization that the understanding of residential school issue and the shared history that Aboriginal and EuroCanadian Northerners have, and the knowledge of which is critical for reconciliation to occur, might actually not be shared. What exist are not necessarily different voices and perspectives reflecting on specific events and issues. What exists is a different understanding of what those events and issues even are. Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people may use the same words but with completely different understandings of what those words mean, including words such as “apology,” “reconciliation,” and “colonialism.”

It was this recognition that Aboriginal and EuroCanadian people may refer to specific historical events, yet approach these events in ways that reflect totally different ways of perceiving and valuing reality that led to the third narrative of cultural collisions. This narrative focuses on the cultural dimension, telling how it has been underestimated and misunderstood, through many means and at various levels, with destructive results. Research on “colonialism” revealed a remarkable vagueness and confusion surrounding the term; research on “culture” revealed a similar vagueness and confusion.

Throughout Canada, the cultural dimension to the residential school story has been mentioned again and again. It has been recognized and has generally been expressed as loss of language, loss of traditional skills, loss of identity, loss of community and loss of kin ties. It is alluded to or recognized by Aboriginal witnesses, by their educators, and by the Anglican Church itself. It was included in the 1993 Anglican apology when Primate Peers apologized for trying “to remake you in our image ... taking from you your language and the signs of your identity” (Carlson 1995:85). Many of the Anglican healing and reconciliation projects revolve around rediscovering one’s cultural heritage. But even as people mourn the loss of culture, the Northern experience reveals ambiguity exists as to what precisely was lost.

Research into “culture” revealed that, despite historical roots that can be traced back to ancient times, the concept of “culture” in its current form is of very recent origin, dating back to a century-and-a-half for anthropologists. The notion of culture as used in its popular understanding is even more recent as a list of traits that are easily seen and recognized. These traits do not correspond to the lived reality of culture as a dynamic process (Guédon 2008). Anthropological theory reveals different “layers” of culture. The outer layer — tangible, material, and visible — can be easily lost without inflicting too much trauma on those losing it. Loss of one’s social skills and knowledge precludes the transmission of culture but can be rediscovered when that knowledge is explicitly formulated. The loss of the inner-most layer — the intangible, immaterial, implicit basic principles of culture — however, has a devastating impact on individuals. The inner-most layer of culture is so accepted as normative for understanding the world that it is often invisible and unrecognized even to those living within it. Loss of this layer of culture is devastating because it results not simply in the loss of language or traditional skills but also in the loss of one’s understanding of the world, one’s sense of reality.

With the help of ethnographic data and building on clues uncovered in my research and from participants, I was able to identify some of the cultural differences among the Dene, Inuvialuit and EuroCanadian. Because of the very invisibility of this inner-most layer of culture, educators, historians and most participants in my research would not have recognized them, and would likely have focused on culture’s outer-most layers.

During my field research I discovered considerable good will exists on all sides though some expressed shyness and uncertainty as to how to express and demonstrate that good will. The majority of participants viewed the current relationship as improving or positive; it definitely is not the same as it used to be; most felt it was better. Tensions were noted by some and are to be expected as Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples rediscover and reshape their relationship with one another. Nevertheless, while most participants expressed a respect for the other and a desire for a good relationship, I also discovered how far apart the two groups were.

When we blame “colonialism” (as generally understood from a non-Aboriginal perspective), we identify residential schools as results and agents of colonialism, and then interpret the overall relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples only in

colonialist terms; we become incapable of recognizing other dimensions of reality. Discussion too often revolves around what happened or did not happen and who did or did not do what. While certainly important in terms of establishing facts and accountability from a legal, judiciary perspective, we need to bring both the relationships and the residential school history out of the colonialism box if we want to understand why certain things happened or why they proved so destructive to Aboriginal peoples in order to ensure we do not repeat the same mistakes in the future.

Arrogance, racism, and paternalism in themselves do not equate with ethnocide. Neither good intentions nor respect for other human beings and other cultures would be enough to prevent it. The missing ingredient is a deep understanding of the differences we call “culture” and of how one’s culture shapes one’s understanding of the world, life, and reality itself.

It is my hypothesis that the dominant narrative of a profoundly negative colonialism does not adequately explain either the residential schools or relationships between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in Canada’s North. While such a colonialism certainly did exist, so too are elements of the second narrative — whether separate from, or representing a richer, more complex understanding of colonialism — but even the two narratives are insufficient for explaining the trauma so many Aboriginal people experienced in Canada’s North either because of residential school experiences and/or their legacy, or because of contact with representatives of European and EuroCanadian cultures. It is only when we take into account the third narrative — that of cultural collisions — that we begin to appreciate how far apart First Nations, Inuit, and European/EuroCanadian cultures were and still are, that we begin understand how the residential schools — even when trying to preserve elements of traditional cultures — too often shattered children’s perceptions of reality itself without providing an environment in which the children would be able to explore, adapt, and reject aspects of new realities as they chose. (The fact that many Northern children were of mixed background, and already somewhat familiar with European/EuroCanadian worldviews from their home life, may also account for some of the positive narratives we find in the North.)

It is my belief that as long as the residential school issue in Northern schools, and in particular in the NT, is wrapped within the “colonialism” label, a real understanding by

EuroCanadian peoples of the tragedy and continued tragedy of residential schools is impossible. On the one hand, the concept, for EuroCanadian peoples, is too wrapped up with the connotations of political imperialism to have relevance in the twenty-first century (though some recognize similarities between “colonialism” and “globalization”); on the other hand, colonialism as expressed by the dominant narrative does not fit the historical realities and the cultural processes at work in Anglican residential schools in Canada’s North. Without a deep understanding of the cultural sources of residential school tragedy, an improved relationship between Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples is less likely to be sustainable.

Only by recognizing the cultural divide that existed during the residential school era and continues to exist today will it be possible for EuroCanadian and Aboriginal Anglicans to develop a common understanding of their shared history. Such an understanding is necessary for them to reconcile in a way that brings healing to both communities and lays a foundation that will prevent such cultural collisions from having such destructive impacts in the future.

Solitudes in shared spaces do exist but with good will, the desire and commitment to create a better future for Aboriginal and EuroCanadian peoples in a way that is respectful of people and people’s cultures, solitudes can be bridged and good relationships nurtured. One poem from *Finding our way home, Tr’əhuhch’in Nāwtr’udāh’a* (Dänojà Zho 2007) sums up what one Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in community sees as the road to the future:

We can’t know why
 Some things happen ..
 But we can know
 That love
 And beautiful memories
 Outlasts the pain of grief
 And we can know
 That there’s a place
 Inside the heart
 Where love lives always ...
 And where nothing beautiful
 Can ever
 Be forgotten.

MISCELLANEOUS**APPENDICES, FIGURES, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY**

APPENDIX A TERMINOLOGY & ACRONYMS

A.1 LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACC	Anglican Church of Canada
ACC-AHF	Anglican Church of Canada / Anglican Healing Foundation
ACIP	Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AHF	Aboriginal Healing Foundation
ATTS	Arthur Turner Training School
CCCS	Commonwealth and Continental Church Society
CEP	Common Experience Payment
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DIA	Department of Indian Affairs
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
IRSR	Indian Residential School Resolution
ISRRRA	Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement
MSCC	Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, also known as the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada
NT	Northwest Territories
NWC	Northwest Company
NWMP	NorthWest Mounted Police
PCC	Presbyterian Church in Canada
RCAP	Royal Commission of Aboriginal peoples
RC	Roman Catholic Church
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RNWMP	Royal Northwest Mounted Police
SPCK	Society for Promoting of Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
T-H	Tr'ondëk-Hwëch'in
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCC	United Church of Canada

VST Vancouver School of Theology
YT Yukon

A.2 WORKING DEFINITIONS & TERMINOLOGY

Aboriginal	In this project, the term refers to First Nations peoples, the Inuit, and people of mixed (i.e., European/EuroCanadian and Aboriginal) heritage if they identify themselves as Aboriginal. Other terms such as “Natives” and “Indians” are used only when cited by other sources.
BCP	Book of Common Prayer (Episcopal n.d.)
Bishop	One of the “three orders of ordained ministers in the church; bishops are charged with the apostolic work of leading, supervising, and uniting the church.” (Episcopal n.d.)
Canada	To speak of “Canada” prior to 1867 is, to some extent, anachronistic. If speaking about a period prior to 1867-1870, then it is important to remember that “western Canada” or “Canada’s North” was not part of Canada but “belonged” to the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) or the Aboriginal people who inhabited it. Canada — i.e., the country — did not exist prior to 1867 although Upper and Lower Canada did. Canada — i.e., the Canadian government — did not purchase western Canada from the HBC until 1870.
Canada North	In this project, refers to the western portions of northern Canada — i.e., excluding Nunavut / Nunavik
Catechist	“A teacher, lay or ordained, who provides instruction in the Christian faith. ... Catechists are licensed to prepare persons for Baptism, Confirmation, Reception, and the Reaffirmation of Baptismal Vows.” (Episcopal n.d.)

Church	The term “Church” (capital “C”) is used to refer to the one Church or “ecclesia” — one body of Christ present in the world, composed of all (Christian) believers, i.e., the “organization of religious believers” (Merriam-Webster). Among ecumenical groups, the term refers to the one (Christian) Church, regardless of denomination; when preceded by a denominational affiliation (e.g., the Anglican Church of Canada), the term refers to the specific body or institution, along with the group-specific dogma and doctrine. Among non-ecumenical groups, the term refers to the one Church which is generally recognized as being their Church with all others being imposters, corrupted, misguided.
Churches	The term “Churches” (capital “C”) refers to (Christian) denominations at the institutional level — for example, the PCC, RCC, and ACC.
church	The term “church” (small “c”) refers to a sociological category covering anything from a building to a congregation to a parish, and refers to either the congregation/parish as an institution or as a collective of members.
Church Staff	Those who work in administrative capacities in either congregational or diocesan offices. They may or may not have theological training but, because of their working relationship with clergy in congregations and the, they are knowledgeable about church activities and programs than are laity.
Clergy	Individuals who have been ordained to perform sacerdotal or pastoral functions in a Christian context. In this thesis, the term refers to diocesan bishops as well as parish priests.

Congregation	The term “congregation” refers to the group of Christians who congregate in a sacred spot (generally a church building) to worship God/Jesus in services led by a priest, deacon, or catechist. In Anglicanism, congregations may be synonymous with parishes, but some parishes include more than one congregation.
Deacon	Member of the ordained ministry. In the Anglican Church, this may represent a “preliminary step toward ordination as a priest” (Episcopal n.d.) or someone who exercises “‘a special ministry of servanthood’ directly under the deacon’s bishop” (Episcopal n.d.)
Denomination	The term “denomination” is seldom used in this thesis. Anglicanism existed long before the ACC (i.e., the Canadian denomination) did; the ACC was created in 1893. Different strands of Wesleyanism and Methodism came together to form the Methodist Church of Canada in 1874; different strands of Presbyterianism united to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) in 1875. Methodists, Congregationalists, and a majority of Presbyterians came together to create the United Church of Canada in 1925. Many missionaries were sent out by missionary societies that had ties to specific Churches but did not report to the denominations directly. To avoid dealing with questions of when denominations officially came into existence and assumed responsibility for specific mission charges, I avoid the term. For example, I speak of “Anglican” missionaries rather than identifying them as members of the ACC. The “territorial jurisdiction of a diocesan bishop” (Episcopal n.d.)
Diocese	

EuroCanadian	A term that refers to Canadians of western and northern European ancestry — i.e., “White.” It also refers to people having Aboriginal ancestry who identify themselves as EuroCanadian.
Laity	The terms refer to those Christians who are not ordained to specific offices such as bishops, priests, deacons. The term “laity” represents the collective. In this project, church staff are included among the laity.
Métis/northern Metis	The term “Métis” refers to those people of French/French Canadian and Aboriginal ancestry. They are generally French-speaking RC, and have a strong sense of community and national identity. The term “northern Metis” refers to the other people of European and Aboriginal ancestry (e.g., Scottish-Aboriginal; Norwegian-Aboriginal, etc.). They are generally English-speaking Protestants. They tend not to identify themselves as of mixed heritage but as either EuroCanadian or Aboriginal. Other terms historically used for this community include “half-breed” and “country-born.”
Minister	“One who shares in the ministry of the church. The ministers of the church are lay people, bishops, priests, and deacons (BCP, p. 855). Christian ministry is based in baptism, and the promises of the baptismal covenant (BCP, pp. 304-305). All Christian ministers are to represent Christ and his church. Each order of ministry has a distinctive role in the church’s ministry. Each minister of the church is called to use his or her own distinctive gifts to share in the work of ministry.

Minister
(cont'd)

In the Prayer Book rubrics, the term indicates a person who leads liturgical prayer. A liturgical minister in the Episcopal Church may be a lay person or a member of the clergy. For example, in the Ash Wednesday service, "the Celebrant or Minister appointed" reads the exhortation inviting the people to the observance of a holy Lent (BCP, p. 264).

At the Holy Eucharist, after the bidding to confession is said by the deacon or celebrant, and after a period of silence, the "Minister and People" say the general confession (BCP, p. 360). In both of these examples, the minister may be a lay person or a member of the clergy. In many Protestant denominations, the term is applied exclusively to members of the clergy." (Episcopal n.d.)

Missionary

"One sent to proclaim the good news of Christ. The term is from the Latin "to send." All Christians by baptism are called to "proclaim by word and example the Good News of God in Christ" (BCP, p. 305). The church seeks to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ. The church carries out its mission through the ministry of all its members (BCP, p. 855)." (Episcopal n.d.)

Newcomers

Clergy: New to the region (i.e., less than 5 years) and/or newly-ordained

Others: New to the region (i.e., less than 5 years)

Non-Aboriginal

The term refers to people not having Aboriginal ancestry. It includes both EuroCanadian *and non-EuroCanadian peoples* (for example, those from Asia or Africa).

Old-Timers

Those who have been in the region for more than 15 years

Parish	In “English canon law, a parish is an area under the spiritual care of a priest” (Episcopal n.d.). A parish may be one self-supporting congregation with a full-time priest, a group of congregations that combining resources are self-supporting with a full-time priest, or one or more congregations that are not self-supporting and may or may not have a full-time priest
People, peoples	In this thesis, “people” refers to a plurality of individuals where as “peoples” refers to a plurality of collectives — for example, First Nations, bands within a First Nations, Canadians of English descent, Canadians of French descent, etc.
Priest	According to the diocese of British Columbia, a priest is one who “has studied theology, has served as a deacon for at least one year and has been ordained as a priest by a Bishop. Serves in a clerical position and is responsible for the cure of souls” (D-BC 1986). According to many evangelicals, however, a personal, individual commitment of faith and a genuine conversion experience was more important than theological training. Such a view led the CMS, which eventually did have a theological training school, to ordain missionaries who had little or no theological training.
Residential schools	The term includes boarding schools, mission schools, industrial schools, and hostels as well as those recognized as residential schools.

Stipend

A periodic payment paid to cover services and expenses. (Merriam-Webster). The term is essentially the equivalent of “salary” but reflects the theological perception of priests being called to ministry by God rather than seeing ministry as a job for which one gets paid.

western Canada

The term refers specifically to the geographical region in the nineteenth-century: western provinces, NT, YT, and (at times) BC.

APPENDIX B
PRINCIPAL ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES IN THE NORTHWEST AND
YUKON TERRITORIES

(summarized from ACC Archives M71-4)

B.1 BISHOPS OF MACKENZIE RIVER

William Carpenter Bompas	1st Mackenzie River	1884-1891
William Day Reeve	2nd Mackenzie River	1891-1907
James Richard Lucas	3rd Mackenzie River	1913-1926
William Archibald Geddes	4th Mackenzie River	1929-1933

B.2 BISHOPS OF THE ARCTIC

Archibald Land Fleming	1st Arctic	1933-1949
Donald Ben Marsh	2nd Arctic	1950-1973
John Reginald Sperry	3rd Arctic	1974-1990

B.3 BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL DISTRICT OF MACKENZIE RIVER

Henry George Cook	1st	1971-1974

B.4 BISHOPS OF YUKON

William Carpenter Bompas	1st Selkirk	1891-1905
Isaac O. Stringer	2nd Selkirk	1905-1907
Isaac O. Stringer	2nd Yukon	1907-1931
Arthur Henry Sovereign	3rd Yukon	1932
William Archibald Geddes	4th Yukon	1933-1947
Walter Robert Adams	5th Yukon	1947-1952
Tom Greenwood	6th Yukon	1952-1961
Henry Hooper Marsh	7th Yukon	1962-1968
John Timothy Frame	8th Yukon	1968-1980

B.5 OTHER KEY MISSIONARIES (FROM DIOCESE OF THE ARCTIC LISTING)

Bishop Willam C. Bompas	Mackenzie River & Coast Yukon	1865-1906
Mrs. Charlotte Bompas	Same as above (wife of Bishop)	1874-1906
Archdeacon T.H. Canham	Fort McPherson, Yukon	1881-1888
Bishop A.L. Fleming	Frobisher, Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset, Whole of Arctic	1909-1949
Rev. W.H. Fry	Kittigazuit, Coppermine, Herschel Island	1911-1928
Rev. Herbert Girling	Coppermine	1915-1919
(Oggui) Catherine Flett	Fort McPherson wife of H.B.C. Manager, assisted Archdeacon McDonald	1800s
Rv. W.H.B. Heare	Aklavik	1915-1923
Archdeacon W. Kirkby	Fort Simpson, Fort Norman	1859-1868
Bishop James R. Lucas	Fort Simpson, Norman Chipewyan	1892-1926
Rev. John Martin	McPherson, Old Crow	n.d.
Archdeacon Robert McDonald	McPherson, Old Crow, Rampart House	1862-1904
Noel	Herschel Island, Delat Eskimo leader and guide	n.d.
Patay	Simpson, Indian guide Bishop Bompas' sledboy	n.d.
Bishop Wm. D. Reeve	Fort Simpson, Fort Norman	1869-1907
Rev. Edward Sittichinli	McPherson, Old Crow, Rampart House	1874-1928
Bishop Isaac O. Stringer	McPherson, Herschel, Shingle Point, Yukon	1892-1931
Mrs. Sadie Stringer	Same as above (wife of Bishop)	1896-1931

Rev. H. Arthur Turner	Pond Inlet, Pangnirtung (ATTS named after him)	1928-1953
Archdeacon C.E. Whittaker	McPherson, Herschel, Kittiganuit	1895-1917

APPENDIX C

ANGLICAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN THE NT/YT

C.1 ANGLICAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN THE NT

C.1.1 St. Peter's Mission (Hay River)

St. Peter's Mission at Hay River (NT), Dene Territory and having contact with seven distinct nations (Chipewyans, Slaves, Dogribs, Yellowknives, Beavers, Mountain Indians, and Gwich'in (Boon 1962:232)), operated from 1895 to 1937. One of the earliest mission schools in the regions, St. Peter's had an authorized enrolment of 25 to 50, and usually had between 30 and 40 students a year.

Although originally focusing on Aboriginal children within the region, St. Peter's Mission at Hay River accepted students from as far away as Fort McPherson (over one thousand miles away) and even further by the 1920s. The school was recognized "as the first Anglican 'Indian and Eskimo' residential school" (ACC 2008h). It also accepted EuroCanadian children and children of mixed-heritage, particularly orphans and children from poor families who could not afford to pay for schooling (ACC 2008a).

By the 1920s, both the ACC and the Federal Government recognized that a school further north needed to be established to serve the Gwich'in from Fort McPherson and the Inuit from the Arctic. By 1936, All Saints Residential School in Aklavik was ready to open, and St. Peter's Mission at Hay River (NT), with its collapsing foundation (ACC 2008h), burned down in 1937; the day school continued to operate for local children.

C.1.2 St. John's Eskimo Residential School (Shingle Point)

St. John's Eskimo Residential School operated from 1929 to 1936. Although it was located in the Yukon, its historical connection was with the NT/Diocese of the Arctic. The school's authorized enrolment was between 25 to 40 students.

The first year of operation, Shingle Point Residential School had 17 children in residence and 6 day students, including Inuvialuit children in the region who had not been included in any education programs until then (ACC 2008a).

By 1932, however, it became clear that something needed to be done about the facilities. The school had been deemed "temporary" and "experimental," occupying old HBC

buildings. It was time for a more modern building to be built. Archdeacon Fleming pushed the DIA to replace the school. Instead, the government decided to close Shingle Point and transfer all 48 students — boarders and day students alike — to the All Saints Indian and Eskimo Residential School at Aklavik (ACC 2008i).

C.1.3 All Saints Indian Residential School (Aklavik)

All Saints Indian Residential school in Aklavik (NT) operated from 1936 to 1959. Its authorized enrolment was 100 to 150 children. It was intended to replace both Hay River and Shingle Point residential schools.

In 1952, the Federal Government opened an integrated day school in Aklavik. The residential school was then closed. Children from other communities still needed somewhere to live, so Anglican students were housed in the Anglican dormitory. When the Anglican dormitories were full, they were housed at the Catholic residential school.

In 1954, the Federal Government decided to move the whole community of Aklavik to a “more satisfactory site” and plans for expanding the dormitories at All Saints were shelved. In 1959, the All Saints Student Residence was closed. Students and staff, and most of Aklavik, were relocated to Inuvik by 1960 (ACC 2008a).

C.1.4 Coppermine Tent Hostel (Kugluktuk)

Coppermine Residential School operated in what is now Kugluktuk (Nunavut) from 1955 to 1959. Its authorized enrolment was 30 to 44 students.

The vision was to provide schooling in a way that was not be so traumatic for students. Children would live in tents that approximated what they were used to rather than living in a residential building. They would learn both standard government curriculum and a “land-based” curriculum to ensure they held onto traditional skills. The staff would consist of local Inuit, “chosen especially for their interest in the welfare of the children” and would be “able, and encouraged, to communicate with the children in their own language” (Sperry 2005:135). The school would run during summer months, so students could return home and be with their parents the rest of the year.

After a few years, the hostel was closed, and ACC involvement ended. A more traditional school was built, and children billeted in people's homes in Kugluktuk or were sent to Stringer Hall at Inuvik (ACC 2008d).

C.1.5 Bompas Hall Indian Residential School / Hostel (Fort Simpson)

Bompas Hall Indian Residential School and Hostel operated in Fort Simpson (NT) from 1960-1969. Its authorized enrolment was 50.

In 1955, the Federal Government opened a day school at Fort Simpson, with separate wings for Anglican and Catholic students. In 1960, the school was replaced by the Thomas Simpson Day School. Two hostels also opened that same year: the Anglican Bompas Hall with a capacity for 50 students, and the Roman Catholic Lapointe Hall with a capacity for 150.

Anglican enrolment was always low and, at times, there were more staff than students. This was resolved by transferring students from other places in the Arctic - some, from as far away as Cambridge Bay, 1100 km away. At its height in 1965, it had 32 Inuit, 19 Dene and Métis, and 1 EuroCanadian students.

ACC involvement in the hostel ended in 1969 (ACC 2008g).

C.1.6 Fort McPherson Indian Residential School (Fort McPherson)

Fort McPherson Indian Residential School operated out of Fort McPherson (NT) from 1951 to 1969. Its authorized enrolment was 20 to 100 students.

Beginning in 1917, some non-treaty children were sent to St. Peter's Mission School at Hay River. The decision whether or not to send them there was made on a case-by-case basis. Treaty 11, signed in 1921, made education available to more children. Those that could not be handled at Hay River, or its successor at Aklavik, were put on a waiting list. Non-Aboriginal children attended St. Matthew's Mission Day School at Fort McPherson.

Within a few years, St. Matthew's Mission had more students than it could handle. A replacement school building was to be built in 1952, but the ACC decided in 1951 to take the initiative in dealing with overcrowding by building a student residence to house twenty students. In 1955, the federal government decided to build a larger day school that would include two hostels - Fleming Hall for the Anglicans, named "in honour of the first Anglican

Bishop of the Arctic, Archibald Lang Fleming,” and one for the Roman Catholics. The Anglican 100-bed hostel opened in 1958 (ACC 2008f) and the older hostel, St. Matthew’s Mission, closed. (According to the Gwich’in Tribal Council, the new school (Peter Warren Dease school) and Fleming Hall Hostel were built in 1960 (Gwich’in n.d.)).

Anglican administration of Fleming Hall ended in 1969.

C.1.7 Stringer Hall (Inuvik)

Stringer Hall operated in Inuvik (NT) from 1959 to 1970. Its authorized enrolment was 250 students.

Inuvik was built in “no man’s land” between the Inuvialuit and the Gwich’in territories to replace Aklavik which was prone to flooding and had nowhere to expand. The intent was to simply transfer everyone from Aklavik to Inuvik, but many preferred to stay in Aklavik despite the risk of flooding. However, the residential school in Aklavik was closed and students transferred to Sir Alexander Mackenzie Day School in 1959. The school had separate wings for Anglican and Roman Catholic elementary school children.

In 1969, “ownership and operation of Stringer Hall was transferred from the federal government to the territorial government.” The territorial government was not yet able to assume responsibility for the residence so negotiated a one-year contract with the MSCC and took over control in 1970 (ACC 2008k).

By 1970, therefore, the government had assumed control for any residential school or hostel that continued to operate in the NT; the ACC was no longer involved in education.

C.2 ANGLICAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN THE YUKON

C.2.1 Chooutla Indian Residential School (Carcross)

The major residential school in the Yukon was the Chooutla Indian Residential School at Carcross which operated from 1903 to 1969. Its authorized enrolment varied from 40 to 135 students.

The original residential school had been built in 1897 at Forty Mile but in 1901, Bishop Bompas moved his centre of operation from Forty Mile to Caribou Crossing and in 1903, he

transferred the students from Forty Mile to Caribou Crossing — eventually renamed “Carcross” to avoid confusion with another “Caribou Crossing” in the region. In 1911, the Chooutla Indian Residential school, a new and larger residential school, opened.

The Great Depression in the 1930s led to the Federal Government reducing its financial support. In 1939, Chooutla burned to the ground. “Temporary” facilities were found until the school could be rebuilt. World War II intervened, and the government’s focus shifted. In 1943, health authorities condemned the “temporary” facilities. The school closed in 1943. In 1944, a new “temporary” school was built, capable of housing 60 children.

After other delays and false starts, a larger new school opened in 1953, capable of housing 160 students from the Yukon and northern B.C. All teaching staff were provided by the Federal Government. In 1967, the Federal Government transferred responsibility for education of Aboriginal children to the territorial government (ACC 2008c).

C.2.2 St. Paul’s Hostel (Dawson)

St. Paul’s Hostel operated in Dawson (YT) from 1920 to 1952. Its authorized enrolment was 20 to 40 students.

In 1920, the ACC opened St. Paul’s Hostel. The hostel soon reached its capacity so, in 1923, was relocated to a former hospital and expanded. Students were primarily children of mixed heritage (i.e., Métis) along with non-treaty Aboriginal children. (Miller 2003:297). Eventually, the government did provide financial support although it was not legally obligated to do so (Coates and Morrison 1988:210). Aboriginal children covered by treaties that had been negotiated with the federal government were sent to “Indian residential schools” (i.e., Carcross). In 1946, enrolment peaked at 40 students.

In 1952, Whitehorse became the territorial capital and many Dawson families moved south to the new capital. Since St. Paul’s Hostel was in need of major repairs and no longer viewed as viable, the school was closed. Its six students were transferred temporarily to Carcross, then permanently to either All Saints in Aklavik or St. Agnes’ in Whitehorse (ACC 2008l). Although the hostel itself ran from 1920 to 1952, only the years 1920-1943 are covered by the RSSF (RSSF 2010).

C.2.3 St. Agnes' Hostel (Whitehorse)

St. Agnes' Hostel operated in Whitehorse (YT) from 1952 to 1966. Its authorized enrolment was 12 to 40 students.

Parents had to pay for their children to stay in the hostel. Priority was given to EuroCanadian children and those of mixed heritage. Aboriginal children attending city day schools (including graduates of Carcross residential school), as well as orphaned or destitute wards of the government, also stayed at the hostel. By 1959, half the boarders at St. Agnes were treaty children (ACC 2008I).

Since the hostel was operated entirely by the ACC, it has not been added to the official list of residential schools covered by the IRS Settlement Agreement (RSSF 2010) even though the ACC website states that “all levels of government were partners to some extent in the policy and planning process” (ACC 2008I).

APPENDIX D

STRUCTURE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA

(source ACC 2008e)

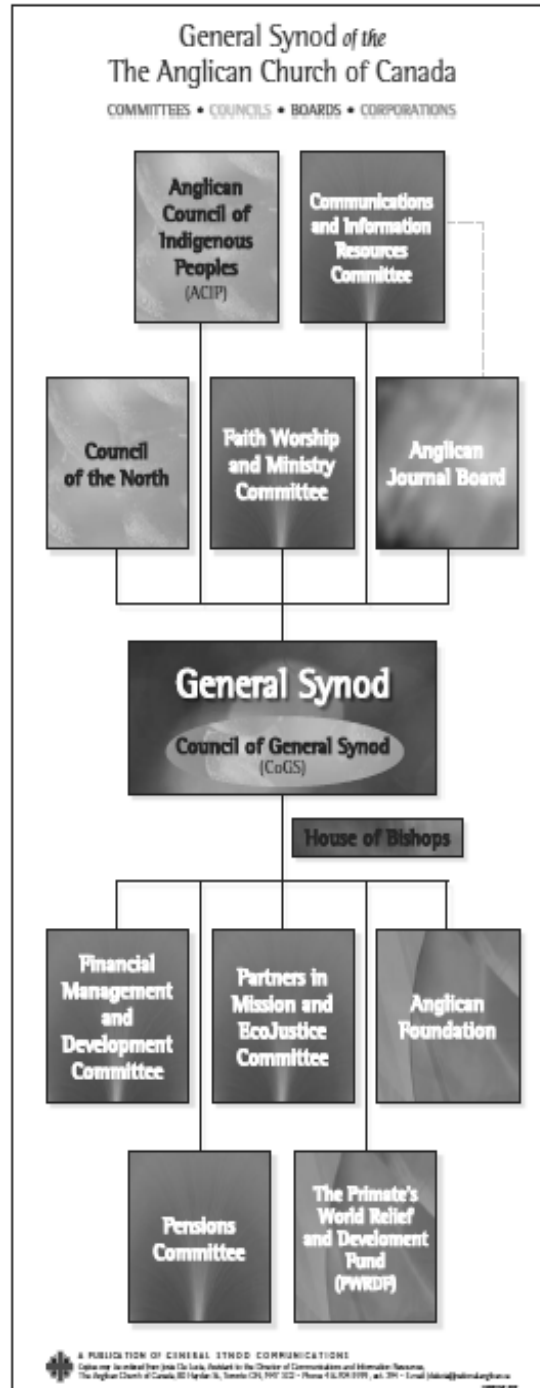
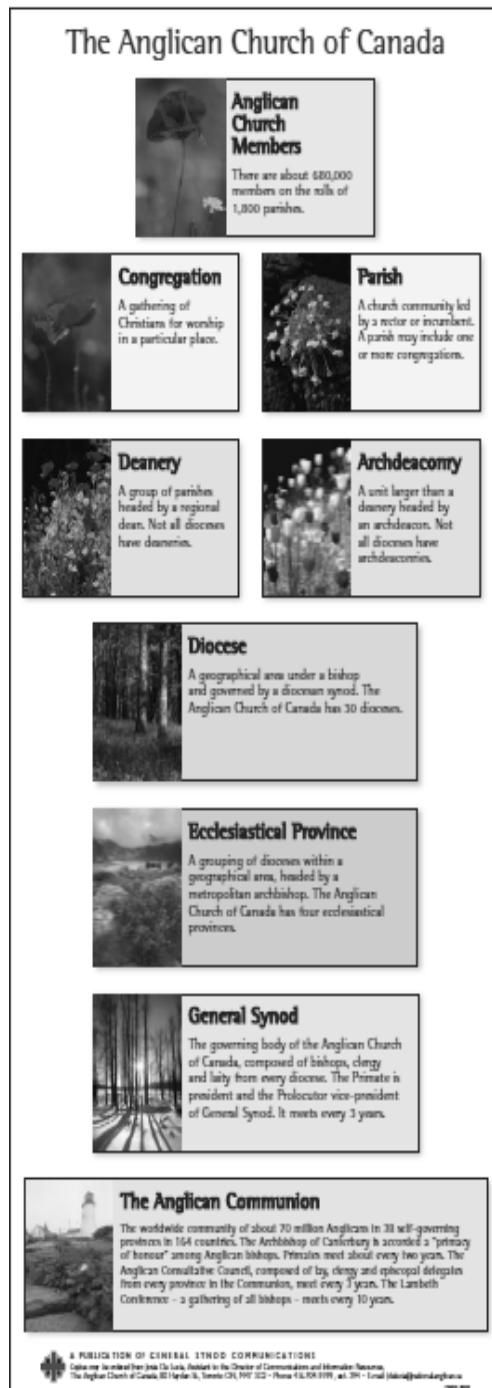


Figure 2: The Yukon
(source: NRCan 2006ab)

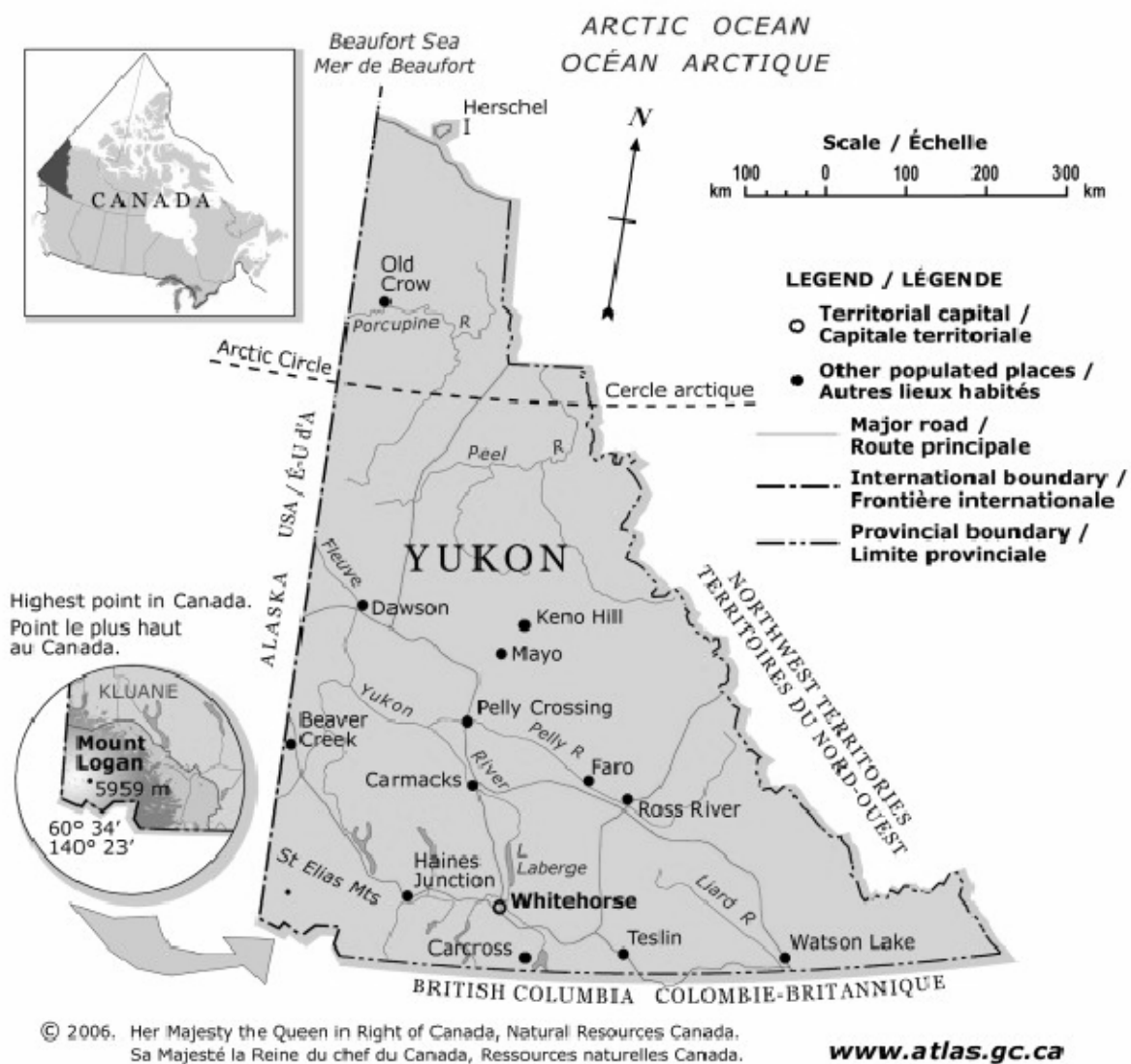


Figure 4: Map of the diocese of the Arctic
 (source: D-YT 2005b)

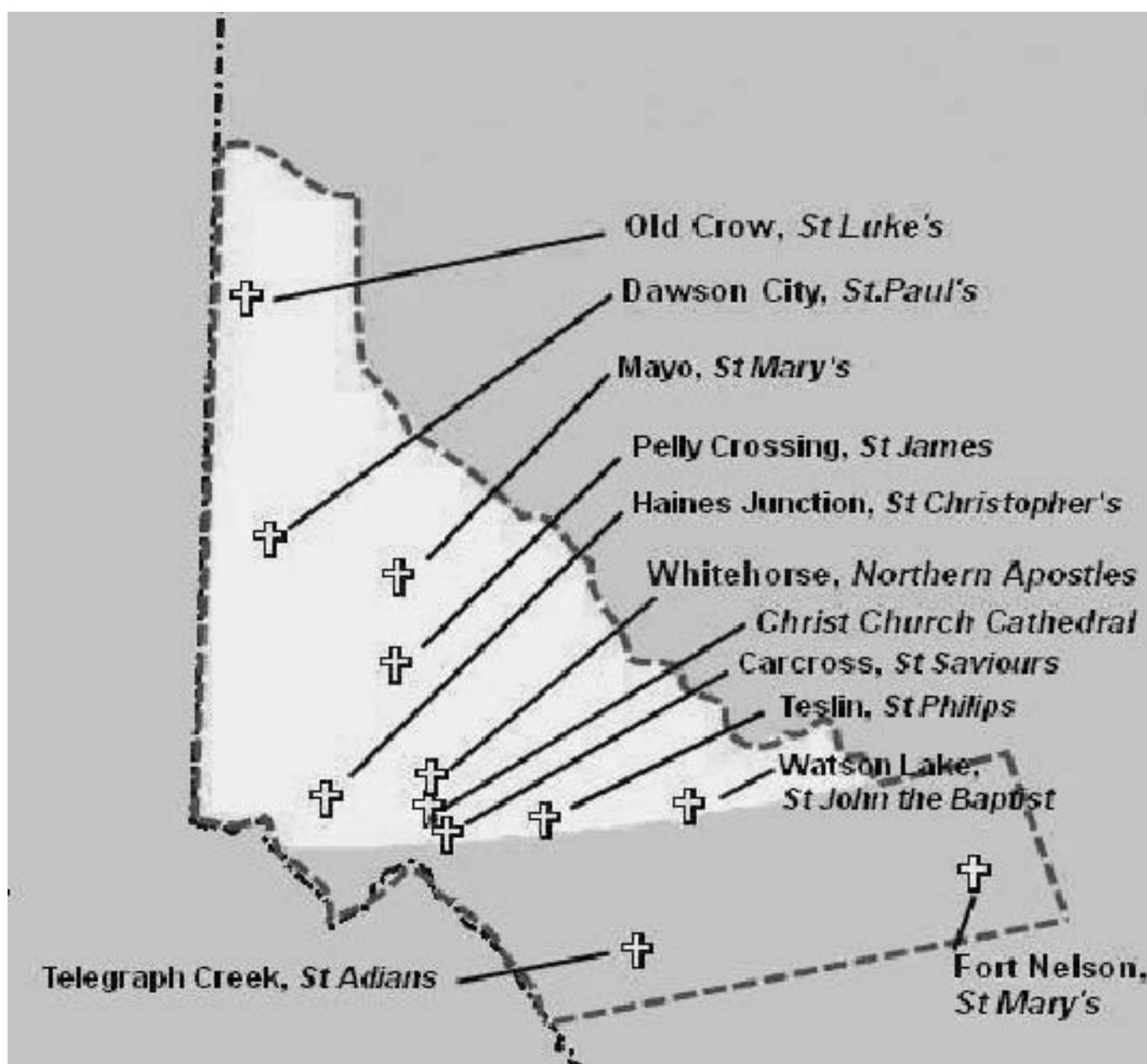


Figure 5: Christ Church Cathedral, Whitehorse (YT)
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 6: Church of the Ascension, Inuvik
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 7: Church of the Northern Apostles, Whitehorse (YT)
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 8: Holy Trinity, Yellowknife
(source: Gaver 2006)



**Figure 9: Diocesan Offices, Yellowknife
(source: Gaver 2006)**



**Figure 10: St. Andrew's Anglican / Grace United Church, Hay River
(source: Gaver 2006)**



**Figure 11: St. Matthews Anglican Church, Fort McPherson
(source: Gaver 2008)**



**Figure 12: St. Paul's Anglican Church, Dawson
(source: Gaver 2008)**



**Figure 13: Old Anglican Church, Tuktoyaktuk
(source: Gaver 2008)**



**Figure 14: Fort McPherson, NT
(source: Gaver 2008)**



Figure 15: Hay River, NT
(source: Gaver 2006)



Figure 16: Inuvik, NT
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 17: Tuktoyaktuk, NT
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 18: Yellowknife, NT
(source: Gaver 2006)



Figure 19: Dawson, YT
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 20: Downtown Whitehorse
(source: Gaver 2008)



Figure 21: St. Simon's Anglican Church, Whitehorse



Figure 22: Rupert's Land ca 1670
(source: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, University of Winnipeg)



Figure 23: Rupert's Land 1849
(source: CollectionsCanada 2005)



Figure 24: North-West Territories, 1870
(source: CollectionsCanada 2005)



Figure 25: Northwest Territories, 1898
(source: Collections Canada 2005)



Figure 26: Northwest Territories, 1999
(source: CollectionsCanada 2005)

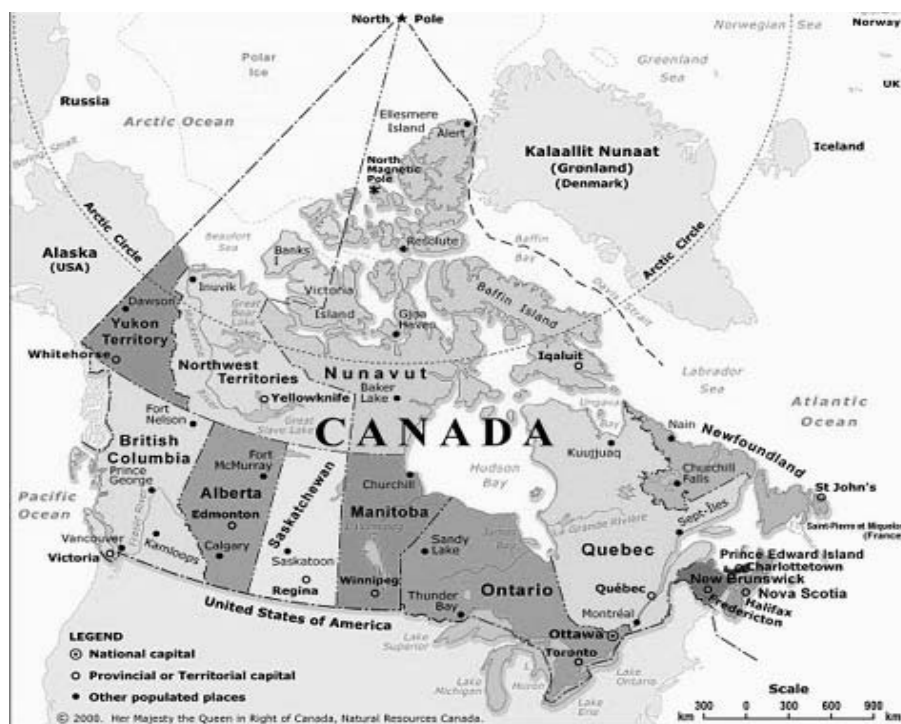


Figure 27: Anglican residential schools in the NT/YT
(source: ACC 2008b)



NOTES

Chapter 1 — Laying the foundations

1. Historically, the abbreviation for the Northwest Territories is “NWT.” Current abbreviations of provinces and territories have led to two-character abbreviations: for example, “NT.” Since “NT” is the official abbreviation recognized by Canada Post (2011), and since actually forms part of the URL for the Northwest Territories government website, I have chosen to use “NT” as the acronym for the Northwest Territories; however, sources, including maps, that may have used “NWT” have not been altered.
2. I have chosen “YT” as the acronym for the Yukon based on its being the official abbreviation recognized by Canada Post (2011).
3. Northern research must go through an approval process which involves getting approvals from, and reporting results to, those band councils and communities in whose territory the research will take place. In the NT, the process is facilitated through the Aurora Institute; the Yukon, through the Heritage Resources Unit of the Yukon Government.
4. For dating conventions, I follow SI dates: year-month (or year-month-day) both in the text and in the bibliography.
5. St. Cuthbert’s Anglican Church in Oakville, Ontario held an information session in 2003; in 2004, Bishop Ashdown of the diocese of Keewatin made a special plea for his diocese; St. Simon’s Anglican Church also in Oakville held a four-week series of workshops over two years (2008-2009); the United Church held a workshop on Aboriginal land claims at Five Oaks, its retreat centre near Brantford, Ontario; the 2008 Restorative Justice Conference, held at St. Paul’s United Church in Toronto, had sessions on residential schools; the ACC, UCC, PCC sent delegates to the *Equipping Ambassadors of Reconciliation Conference* in 2009. These are only a few of the workshops and conferences sponsored by Christian churches and some of which I was able to attend.
6. I am use the American Anthropological Association style guide (http://www.aaanet.org/publications/style_guide.pdf) for references – (Author date:page)

Chapter 2 — Practical details: the basic building blocks to the narrative

1. For example, today’s NT dates back only to 1999 while today’s YT goes back no further than 1898. The whole region has also been referred to as the Northwest Territories (until 1898). See Figures 22 to 26 for the region’s “evolution”. Aboriginal peoples would

have had their own names for the regions they inhabited. See, for example, Bennett and Rowley (2004), Cruikshank et al (1992), Fossett (2001), Guédon (2005), Raboff (2001), and Thornton (2008).

Similarly, today's diocese of Yukon was established in 1907 while today's diocese of the Arctic was created in 1933, but ACC presence pre-dates the establishment of the modern dioceses. The first diocese to be established in western Canada was that of Rupert's Land, established in 1849. It covered essentially every region west and north of Upper and Lower Canada (i.e., west and north of eastern, southern, and southwestern Ontario and Quebec). As EuroCanadian people moved into western Canada and as more clergy became available, the diocese was divided and later subdivided into smaller dioceses which were then named and renamed until at last the current boundaries and names were "finalized." Following is a list of the ACC's western dioceses and their dates of creation:

1849	Rupert's Land	1887	Calgary
1859	British Columbia	1891	Yukon
1872	Moosonee	1902	Kewatin
1874	Saskatchewan	1914	Edmonton
1874	Athabasca	1915	Kootenay
1879	Caledonia	1924	Brandon
1879	New Westminster	1925	Cariboo
1884	Qu'Appelle	1932	Saskatoon
1884	Mackenzie River	1933	The Arctic

(source Carrington 1963:307-308)

2. Anthropologist Charles E. Hendry, stated that the first Anglican schools for Aboriginal peoples began in Annapolis in 1727 (Hendry 1998: 41). Noted historian, John S. Milloy, proposes 1879 with the publication of the *Davin Report* as the beginning of the residential school system (Milloy 2003) although he recognizes that industrial and manual labour schools in Canada predated the report. He also stated that the ACC traces its residential schools in western Canada back to "the efforts of the Reverend John West in the Red River Settlement in 1820" (Milloy 2003:xi).
3. "Indian?" "Native?" "Amerindian?" "First Nations?" "Aboriginal?" "Indigenous?" What the generic term should be depends on current usage. I decided on "Aboriginal" because that was the term in vogue at the start of the project and because it refers to both those indigenous people in the Arctic (commonly referred to as "Eskimo" or "Inuit") and in the rest of Canada (commonly referred to as "Indian," "Native," "First Nations," or "Amerindian"). A similar problem emerged when referring to "EuroCanadian" people. "Non-Aboriginal" is not an adequate term because it includes people of non-European descent who had nothing to do with what happened in the residential schools and therefore were not targeted in the research project. "White" is inadequate as well since its usage has varied over the years with different European groups being identified as "white" or "non-white," and emphasizes "race" which is a problematic concept in itself. Since much of the contact with non-Aboriginal people was with people who came from

the United Kingdom, Ireland, France, Scandinavia, or descendants from these countries who had settled in southern Canada, I chose the term “EuroCanadian.”

4. Anglicanism itself can be described, as Oxford scholar and Anglican archbishop John William Charles Wand points out in his study on Anglicanism, quoting H.E.W. Turner, as “a dialectic faith, a faith that deliberately accepts the tension between different points view” (Wand 1964:227). Canadian Anglican historian Alan Hayes mentions, Canadian Anglicanism “drew broadly from three distinct models of what an Anglican Church ought to be and do: English Anglicanism, American Anglicanism, and Irish Anglicanism” (Hayes 2004:3). Anglican approaches to the Bible display a wide range going from liberal to literal (Wolf 1979:137ff), influencing positions on a number of topics including liturgy, marriage, homosexuality and same-sex marriage. Divisions also exist between Anglo-Catholic (high church or Tractarian) Anglicans and Protestant (low church or evangelical) Anglicans. This will later be explored in more detail in Chapter 3.
5. The first recorded Anglican service in Canada took place in August/September 1578 when Martin Frobisher visited eastern Canada in search of mineral wealth and the Northwest passage. Accompanying him was a chaplain, Master Wollfall, who had been charged by Queen Elizabeth I to ‘serve God twice a day’ (Carrington 1963:20). Master Wollfall may have come to Canada with a desire to “save souls, and to reform those infidels if it were possible to Christianitie” (Moir 1966:4) but his primary job was to minister to the Europeans on board the fifteen ships. That same year, Sir Francis Drake searched for the Northwest passage along Canada’s western coast. Although no chaplain was on board, Drake led worship services himself using the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), and invited local Aboriginal peoples to attend (Carrington 1963:20-21).
6. For example, the term “Athabaskan” may represent a linguistic group, but it is composed of many nations within that group as identified in the text. Even when talking about one specific nation, subtle and sometimes substantial differences may be found as Sharp (1988) mentions in his work on the Chipewyan.
7. Slobodin (1966) and others discuss the problems of terminology. Métis has come to refer to the children of French-Aboriginal ancestry, but the French were not the only European / EuroCanadian people to marry Aboriginal partners. This is particularly true in the northern NT / YT where many HBC traders, whalers, and explorers were of Scandinavian, British, Scottish, and Irish background and married Aboriginal partners. No single term exists to identify their children, who have been referred to as “country-born,” “mixed-breed,” “half-breed,” among other terms. In some cases, no distinction at all was made; the children were identified as a member of either their father or their mother’s group. Nor were French and European ancestors the only ones to take Aboriginal women, fathering children of mixed heritage. American soldiers building the Alaska Highway during the Second World War — and many of whom were black — also fathered children of mixed heritage (DuFresne 2011) who are *not* Métis or Northern Metis.

8. In 1925, Methodists, Congregationalists, and about two-thirds of Presbyterians united to create the “United Church of Canada.”

Chapter 3 — The English Reformation and Emergence of the Anglican Church

1. Main sources include Hayes (2004), Neill (1987), Scotland (2004), and Wand (1964).
2. Charles Wesley is known for having authored more than five thousand hymns, including: “And can it be that I should gain,” “Christ the Lord is risen today,” “Hark! The herald angels sing,” and “Love divine, all loves excelling.”

Chapter 4 — Background History: Contact in Western Canada

1. Sources for the section on the fur traders include the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) records; HBC Governor George Simpson’s journal; historians J.M. Bumsted, Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, John S. Galbraith, Chester Martin, Lewis Gwynne Thomas, and Sylvia Van Kirk; Canadian Geographic’s author James Raffan; Head of the Research and Publications Program for the Cultural Facilities and Historic Sites Branch of Alberta Community Development, and specialist in fur trade social history, Michael Payne.

Sources for information on the Rev. John West include West’s journal; Richard A. Willie, contributor to the Dictionary of Canadian biography online; Arthur N. Thompson, clergy and church historian; a Selkirk settler, HBC employee, and eventual member of the Legislative Council of Manitoba, Donald Gunn (with the help of Charles R. Tuttle); and historian Vera Fast.

Sources for Henry Venn and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) include: the CMS website; mission historian William R. Shenk; historians Frank A. Peake and Jean Usher; sociologist and historian David A. Nock; and Anglican clergy, Hiram Alfred Cody.

2. West was not the first missionary or priest in the region, but the first to remain. The Lutheran Pastor Rasmus Jensen likely held services in the Churchhill area in 1619-1620, (CHL 2002:115). According to Thomas, the HBC sent out a chaplain in the seventeenth century but the effort to provide pastoral care failed (Thomas 1991:19). The Roman Catholic Father de Gonor accompanied La Vérendrye’s expedition in the early eighteenth century (Bryce 1910:81), and Father Aulneau, along with La Vérendrye’s son and eighteen others, was murdered in the region (d’Eschambault 1949:59; Birk 1982:119). Jaenen recounts how an RC priest from Ireland, Father Charles Bourke, arrived with the Selkirk settlers in 1811 but decided to return to Ireland (Jaenen 1963). James Sutherland, a Presbyterian elder who had been given authority to marry and baptize people, arrived in Red River in 1815 to serve the Presbyterians and stayed until he was “forcibly carried off to Canada by the North-west people” in 1818 (Gregg

1885:225). The first resident clergymen in western Canada were the RC Fathers Provencher and Dumoulin, and seminarian Guillaume Edge, arriving in 1818 (Choquette 1995:30). It was, however, not until 1820 that the first Anglican priest arrived: the Rev. John West.

3. In 1820, the HBC was still operating under its old rules and its governor, George Simpson, had little use for religion, missionaries, or educating Aboriginal peoples. In 1822, he wrote that “an enlightened Indian is good for nothing” (Simpson and Merk 1968:181) and “a proposal to have a chaplain at York Factory [was] objected to as a nuisance.” (Simpson and Merk 1968:lviii). In fact, Simpson believed that West’s plan to “diffuse Xtian Knowledge among the natives from the shores of the Pacific to those of the Bay” looked very impressive on paper but, in reality would “be attended with little other good than filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence; they are already too much enlightened by the late opposition and more of it would in my opinion do harm instead of good to the Fur Trade. ... even half Breeds of the Country who have been educated in Canada are blackguards of the very worst description, they not only pick up the vices of the Whites upon which they improve but retain those of the Indian in their utmost extent” (Simpson and Merk 1968:181). He did agree that “the Indians of this Country are certainly quick of apprehension and have a thirst for knowledge; they would gladly be relieved of the burthen of maintaining their children, but I suspect the plan would not be productive of any real good” (Simpson and Merk 1968:181).
4. Whether in so doing West was demonstrating “the insensitivity of the missionaries to aboriginal identity and culture” (Peake 1991:23), an Aboriginal tradition of getting a new name when one entered a new stage of life, or was done at the request of Henry Budd himself, who was of mixed blood, is unknown.
5. For example, from the Presbyterian church — Rev. Mackay went to Formosa (now Taiwan); Dr. Alexander Duff to Calcutta, India; Rev. William McKenzie to Korea; Dr. John Buchanan and his wife among the Bhils in India; Miss Weir to Ijjain; Miss Jamieson to India and Trinidad (TM-Bailey 1975).

Chapter 5 — The anticipated plot: the colonialism narrative

1. Main sources for the discussion on Canadian colonialism include: David Perley; Aboriginal Healing Foundation publications; Assembly of First Nations website (AFN, <http://www.afn.ca/>); Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC, <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/>); the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP); John Amagoalik (Inuit), former president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and chief commissioner of the Nunavut Implementation Commission during the 1990s; First Nations leader and politician Harold Cardinal (Cree); Sarah Carter, Canadian historian and specialist on Western Canada and Native studies; Kenneth S. Coates, Canadian

historian specializing in Northern history; Agnes Grant, Native Studies educator; Burton Jacobs, former chief of the Walpole Island First Nation; the Rev. Laverne Jacobs (Walpole Island), UCC and ACC priest and National co-ordinator for Native Ministries for the UCC; Cornelius Jaenen, Canadian historian and professor at the University of Ottawa specializing in Franco-Amerindian relations; Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Native Ethnology at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature; Boyce Richardson, Canadian journalist, author and filmmaker; and Roger Spielmann, Native Studies Department, University of Sudbury.

Key sources for colonialism in Canada's North include INAC, Kenneth Coates; Alaskan cultural anthropologists Craig Mishler and William E. Simeone; Canadian historian, past researcher for RCAP and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Director of Research, John Sheridan Milloy; American ethnologist specializing on the Dene, Richard Slobodin; first-hand observations by Clara Vyvyan and Laura Berton; and participants.

2. For more information on the Inuit relocation see Patricia V. Tassinari, *Broken Promises: the High Arctic Relocation*. Montréal: National Film Board 1995; Frank J. Tester and Peter Keith Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994; Melanie McGrath, *The Long Exile: a True Story of Deception and Survival Among the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic*. London: Fourth Estate, 2006; and RCAP, *The High Arctic Relocation: Summary of Supporting Information*. Ottawa: RCAP 1994. For information on the Sayisi Dene relocation see Ila Bussidor and Üstün Bilgen-Reinart, *Night Spirits: the Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene*.
3. For example, the Six Nations of the Grand River were allocated 950,000 acres in 1784 as compensation for lands lost during the American Revolution (1775-1783). Over the years, that amount was whittled down until today approximately only 48,000 acres remain (SixNations 2008a). In researching to find out what happened to the rest of the acreage, the Six Nations discovered that a claim for compensation of about 2000 acres had been filed in 1890 but, almost a hundred years later in 1987, the Administrator for the Federal Court of Canada advised that the case had never actually been brought before the courts (SixNations 2008b).
4. See Jack Weatherford (1992), *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America* and (2010), *Indian Givers: How Native Americans Transformed the World* for more information on North American Aboriginal contributions to the world.
5. It is also worth noting that the *Anglican Journal* recently published an article on the slaughter of the "as many as 20,000 sled dogs in Inuit communities during the 1950s and 60s" on page one (Swift 2011).
6. It is worth remembering, however, that such systemization was not limited to the Inuit or other Aboriginal nations. We all have numbers — social insurance numbers. Is this a form of colonialism? Perhaps or perhaps not but it is a form of dehumanization.

7. The office of Commissioner of the NT was created in 1905, but it was not until 1967 that a Commissioner who actually lived in the NT was appointed and federal programs began to be transferred from Ottawa to the territorial government (Historica-Dominion 2010).

Chapter 6 — The historical relationship among Aboriginal ... in Canada's North

1. Sources include historical documents, scholars such as historian Frank A. Peake who provides much of the information used in this chapter, biographical writings, Aboriginal perspectives on some of the Anglican missionaries and missionary activities — information which is only now becoming available and accessible to English readers, thanks to (among many) Joyce Carlson, the Winnipeg author/editor/social worker and the Rev. Alf Dumont (Métis), former Director of the Dr. Jessie Saulteaux Resource Centre; and information available through the internet.
2. Although the U.S.A. obtained Alaska from the Russians in 1867, it was not until later that the border between Alaska and the Yukon was surveyed and finalized, and Aboriginal people living in the region traumatized by the creation of the national border as elder Percy Henry narrates below. In 1887-1888, the Alaska-Yukon border was surveyed and Aboriginal people whose territory spanned both Alaska and the Yukon were forced to choose whether they would be American or Canadian. Many believed they would never be able to see their relatives again. In 1993, Percy Henry described the impact this had on his community:

The last dance they had in Dawson City was when the Alaska Border went across, cut off two people there. Hän people — one is in Eagle, Alaska, another one is in Dawson City. They used to be like one people. They talk the same language. When the boundary came across they heard about it so they called a big meeting in Dawson. All the Indian gather there and they were going for quite awhile. While the meeting going, they dance til the last man stand up, that's how long it take. They drop off but they keep going til the last man stand up. And that fire is going for a week, it could take week, it could take four days, three days and that's the way they do their ceremony because they figure they never going to see one another again. And that's a real sorrow dance, really sorrow. And even they hair was burned off, because they stick their head in the fire once in a while. All their hair is scorched off and so I guess it was pretty sad. They didn't know that, they thought they never going to see one another again. (Beaumont and Edwards n.d.:72)

3. For example, Kerry Abel (2007), Jean-Guy Goulet (1992, 1998), and Mishler (1990).

Chapter 7 — The historical relationship among Aboriginal ... Anglicans in the NT

1. Sources include historical documents, scholars such as historian Frank A. Peake who provides much of the information used in this chapter, biographical writings, Aboriginal

perspectives on some of the Anglican missionaries and missionary activities — information which is only now becoming available and accessible to English readers, thanks to (among many) Joyce Carlson, the Winnipeg author/editor/social worker and the Rev. Alf Dumont (Métis), former Director of the Dr. Jessie Saulteaux Resource Centre; and information available through the internet.

2. Three different Anglican missionaries named “Marsh” have been active in the North and mentioned in this thesis: Thomas Jabez Marsh, who came from Toronto, was recruited by Bishop Geddes and established the residential school at Hay River; the Rt. Rev. Donald Ben Marsh, who came from England and who became Bishop of the diocese of the Arctic but was of no relation to Thomas Jabez; and the Rt. Rev. Henry Hooper Marsh, who was Thomas Jabez Marsh’s nephew and who became Bishop of the diocese of Yukon.

Chapter 8 — The historical relationship among Aboriginal ... Anglicans in the YT

1. Although I do not write about all the bishops of the YT, it is important to mention that some participants did talk about Bishop Ferris and Bishop Buckle. Alariaq referred to Bishop Ferris as a “mover” who “set up the Bishop School of Native Ministry” (PS:Alariaq), while Darien considered Bishop Ferris and Bishop Buckle both to have been orthodox bishops. Floyd talked about Bishop Buckle having served in the NT Arctic for a number of years (the bishop has been in the North for over 40 years), including Holman (Ulukhaktok) on Victoria Island, Inuvik, Fort Simpson and northern B.C. prior to becoming Bishop of Yukon. Bishop Buckle still had ties to northern B.C., and, during the time I was in the YT, had been called to help with one congregation who was having difficulties dealing with the same-sex issue and was threatening to leave the ACC. Janet also spoke about Bishop Buckle during his time in Inuvik and told how he would hold three services on Sundays: English in the morning and evening and an “Eskimo service in the afternoon” (PR: Janet). Kyle talked about Bishop Buckle having developed Circle Ministry which he described as “mutual ministry” (PR: Kyle). Both Kyle and Darien mentioned how important Bishop Buckle felt that apologies to Aboriginal people were.
2. The main sources for this chapter include northern historian Ken Coates, personal stories from Laura Berton and the Rt. Rev. Arthur Henry Sovereign.
3. In 1958, both mission and school were closed, and people moved back to what is now the Village of Mayo. Kendi’s village came to be known as “The Old Village” (NNDFN 2010).
4. Dawson is Hän territory, not Gwich’in, so Gwich’in is no longer used in worship. The liturgy presently uses English and Hän.

Chapter 9 — The Education Issue in Canada's North

1. The main sources are Ken. Coates (1986a), Bishop Henry Cook (1979), Miller (2003), and Rev. Charles Edward Whittaker, n.d.

Chapter 10 — The Anticipated Plot: The Residential Schools ... Residential School Era

1. The main sources for this chapter are the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) and Legacy of Hope website (<http://www.legacyofhope.ca/>); the Royal commission on Aboriginal peoples (RCAP); the Department of Indian Affairs in its incarnations (DIAND, INAC); the ACC website (<http://www.anglican.ca/>); authors previously identified such as Kenneth S. Coates, Agnes Grant, and John Sheridan Milloy; as well as authors such as: Robert E. Johns who examined education in the Hay River region prior to 1950; educator and cultural anthropologist, A. Richard King; and Native-Newcomer Relations historian James Rodger Miller. Of particular note, particularly for residential school experiences in Canada's North, are those Aboriginal survivors of schools who have shared their experiences on-line or in articles; as well as Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants.
2. See note 2 for Chapter 2.
3. According to the Anglican website, the Buxton Mission at Forty Mile (YT) opened around 1891 (ACC 2008c) and St. Peter's Mission at Hay River opened 1894-1895 (ACC 2008h); according to T-H Heritage 2010a, Forty Mile opened in 1892; and according to Legacy of Hope website (<http://www.wherearethechildren.ca/>), Forty Mile opened in 1891 and Hay River in 1898.
4. The number of residential schools that operated depends in part on what "start" date is assigned to the residential schools, whether or not one includes schools run solely by the Churches (and therefore, not eligible for government settlement payments), and on miscellaneous other factors. These include the fact that some school names refer to more than one school (e.g., Notre Dame school was found in both Alberta and Manitoba), that some schools existed for a very short time or only sporadically, and that some schools are referred to in documentation but few other details about the schools are known (e.g., White Eagle, Smokey River, Rat Portage) (GovCanada n.d.).
5. See also James Rodger Miller (2003), *Shingwauk's Vision: a History of Native Residential Schools*; John S Milloy (2003), 'A National Crime' — *the Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*.
6. For example, when the Rev. John Sperry arrived at Coppermine (Kugluktuk) in 1950, only seven Aboriginal families lived in the community; others still lived in hunting camps on the land and came in only during winter months (Sperry 2005:25). While

some schools had authorized enrolment around 40 students, others, such as Inuvik and Carcross, had authorized enrolments of well over 100 students (see Appendix C).

7. It must be pointed out, however, that children were generally not allowed to visit relatives in hospitals even as late as the 1960s (personal experience). Whether Aggie's experience represents colonialism or a cultural divide is unknown. What is known is that Aggie has not forgotten the rejection.
8. King states that all names and places in his book are fictitious but the "situations and personalities are 'true' in the sense that they exist in the relationships and patterns indicated" (King 1967:ix-x). From the details given in the book, it seems clear that "Mopass" was Carcross, the residential school established by the Anglican bishop William Carpenter Bompas.
9. Funding for schools was a problem from the beginning. Missionary societies such as the CMS which paid missionary salaries and provided some funding for education refused to pay for the education of non-Aboriginal or mixed-blood children. Other sources of funding, such as government funding, had to be found if these children were to be educated. Canada's large distances and small population made it impossible for missions to be self-supporting. The missionary societies, such as the CMS, depended for the most part on voluntary donations for their funding. To encourage donations, publicity was very important — to be able to show donors and potential donors that good value was being obtained for their money. Unfortunately, Canada's Northern missions did not provide good value for the money and Canada's North was not high priority.

Chapter 11 — The Anticipated Plot Twists: Residential School Challenges ...

1. The main sources in this chapter are participants themselves, Carlson and Dumont (1997) and (2003); and Robert E. Johns (1971).
2. In other words, does it make a difference if a child is spanked by someone the child fears and distrusts or by someone the child already knows and trusts. Having been spanked by my father when I was a child myself, I harbor no ill feelings towards him. I knew the rules and accepted that I deserved the spankings when I broke the rules. I also knew how much he loved me, that he was more upset than I was whenever he had to spank me, and never took any spanking very seriously. If a schoolteacher or someone else had spanked me, however, I likely would not be as sanguine about it. In fact, I would be "bloody angry." It would be interesting to see if a similar situation might have existed in the NT where those who had good relationships with staff could brush off physical discipline while those who did not saw only domination.

Chapter 12 — The ACC, Decolonialisation and Northern Perceptions

1. The main sources are the *Hendry Report* (both 1969 and 1998 editions); the ACC website; videos put out by the ACC; and Joyce Carlson (Métis), Winnipeg author/editor/social worker, and participants.

Chapter 13 — The Anticipated Plot Collapses: The Failures of the Dominant Narrative

1. The main sources for a general discussion on colonialism include French sociologist, anthropologist, and ethnologist specializing in sub-Saharan Africa, Georges Balandier; British historian specializing on the British Empire, David Kenneth Fieldhouse; American historian Thomas M. Leonard; German historian and specialist on colonialism and globalization, Jürgen Osterhammel; Australian historian and specialist on U.S. settler colonialism, Patrick Wolfe; and David Perley of New Brunswick's Department of Education (Canada).
2. The words “colonialism,” “colonization” and derivatives are related to the Latin *colonia* (farm or land possession), *colonus* (farmer), and *colere* (to cultivate). They entered English through Middle French and Middle English (Merriam 2008). The word “colony” first appeared in the fourteenth century (Dictionary.com n.d.); “colonize” in the sixteenth century (Dictionary.com n.d.); “colonial” in 1768; and “colonialism” in 1853 (Merriam 2008). According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), colonialism represented:

a settlement in a new country ... a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up. (Loomba 2010:7)
3. Césaire writes that colonialism involves “relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the Indigenous man into an instrument of production” (Césaire 1972:21),
4. Evidence of mutuality, interdependence and cooperation are mentioned by ELCIC 2007; Dickason 1993; J-Grant 1985. Many scholars notes the existence of Aboriginal agency even when dealing with colonialism-type situations. Dickason and others show how the Mi'kmaq, Abenaki, Hurons, and others manipulated the French to their own ends in Eastern Canada (Dickason 1993: 98-135; e.g., Richardson 1993: 88-94), and how the Cree became trading partners with the English in Western/Northern Canada (Dickason 1993:136-148). For many years, particularly in western Canada where settlement was not on the heel of the fur trade, European / EuroCanadian traders and explorers were simply incorporated into already-existing trade networks. As European / EuroCanadian

traders entered new territories, Aboriginal nations vied to act as middlemen, thereby controlling access to the new traders on the scene. Both European / EuroCanadian and Aboriginal peoples involved in the fur trade manipulated the other to get the best possible price for what they had to offer and the lowest possible price for whatever they had to pay (e.g., Fisher 1977:1-48; Coates and Morrison 1988:24-40; Dickason 1993:122-135; Richardson 1993:88-94; Pitts 2010). Anthropologists have also discovered how Aboriginal people frequently negotiated what they would and would not accept from EuroCanadian society (e.g., Kerry Abel (2007) and Jean-Guy Goulet (1998).

5. In Patterson's case, given the tenure of other comments Patterson makes about Aboriginal peoples, his remark about the "dying Indians" likely is indicative of colonialism. In the case of the Rev. Thomas Jabez Marsh, however, the remark about "Indians" being a "dying race" is more problematic.
6. Among the many books dealing with Aboriginal people converting to Christianity are Joyce Carlson (1992-2003), *The Dancing Sun* vol.1-8 and *Children of the Dancing Sun* vol 9-12; Carlson and Dumont (1993) and (2007); and James Treat (1996), *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*. Of particular note, although dealing with the Inuit of Eastern Canada while this thesis deals with the Inuviauit of western Canada, is Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk (1999).
7. Both the diocese of the Arctic and the diocese of Yukon are conservative evangelical — a legacy of their low church origins; EuroCanadian newcomers to the region may hold more liberal views — a legacy of high church positions — particularly where homosexuality and same-sex marriage are concerned. Regardless of their faith and commitment to Jesus, such individuals are *precluded* from serving in any official capacity within the dioceses, as one participant pointed out to me.
8. After some false starts resulting from conflicts between the HBC and the NWC, the Red River settlement, including the Kildonan settlers from Scotland, was (re-)established in 1817; Despite having been promised a Presbyterian minister of their own by Lord Selkirk and despite their own repeated pleas, it was not until 1851 that the Presbyterian Rev. John Black arrived. With his arrival, according to Gregg, "three hundred and upwards" Kildonan settlers left the "English Church in one day" to worship in their own church; Black was the only Presbyterian minister there for eleven years (Oliver 1930:170-171,188-193; Gregg 1885:222, 574,588) The incident stands out as a testimony to the commitment of the Kildonan settlers and a source of pride for Presbyterians.
9. The NFB film *Blockade: Who Owns the Land?* discusses the Gitxan and Wet'suwet'en law suite against the provincial government. The case eventually made its way to the Supreme Court of Canada. While the case certainly reflected colonialism — who "owned" the land: the Aboriginal people or the government? — it also reflected deep

divisions over how land was understood and how it was to be used. While EuroCanadian society tends to see land as worthless unless developed by producing something (e.g., lumber that can be turned into product) or on which something can be built (e.g., homes), the Aboriginal people living there saw the land as already producing everything that was needed (e.g., food, clothing, medicines). The collision of views over land is not indicative of colonialism but of cultural collision. How that collision of views played out in the legal system was where colonialism appeared.

Chapter 14 — Thoughts on the Current Relationship ...

1. Statistical information comes from StatCan unless otherwise stated. Other important sources of information include the government websites for both the NT (<http://www.gov.nt.ca/>) and the YT (<http://www.gov.yk.ca/>), the participants, and personal observations gathered during my three field trips (2006 September; 2008 February-March; 2008 September).
2. Reasons include coming south for relatively short periods to have a baby, going to the hospital for different types of treatment of surgery, attending college, being sent to prison, or moving south for a job, etc.

Chapter 15 — Following the Clues: Hints of a Third Narrative

1. The main sources for this chapter are the participants themselves. Other important sources for this chapter include anthropologist Julie Cruikshank and Indian anthropologists Anjan Ghosh, K. Mukhopadhyay, and B.N. Sarkar.
2. The point is not to criticize public education or the removal of children who are at risk, but rather to point out that both are accepted, and even expected, practices in Canadian society.
3. During another research project, I discovered that the Rev. Laverne Jacobs is an ordained Anglican priest / UCC minister. At times, he serves in Anglican parishes and the ACC head office; at other times, he serves in UCC parishes and the UCC head office.
4. This is not to state that the Dene have no categories or labels. They do. For example, they differentiate themselves from other Athabaskan peoples such as the Gwich'in.
5. For more information on how linguistic differences can shape people's understandings of Christianity see, for example, Tinker (1999a, 1999b).

Chapter 16 — Making Sense of the Clues: The Cultural Challenge

1. Main sources for the discussion on culture include: Christian theologian Katherine Tanner; anthropologists Abhijit Guha and Marie-Françoise Guédon; Yvette Reisinger

(Assistant Professor in the School of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Temple University, Pennsylvania) and Lindsay W. Turner (Professor specialising in Cultural Studies and Tourism, Victoria University, Australia), and participants.

2. Other articles and books on intangible assets include Daniel Andriessen (2003), *Making Sense of Intellectual Capital: Designing a Method for the Valuation of Intangibles*; Patrizio Bianchi and Sandrine Labory (2004), *The Economic Importance of Intangible Assets*; Ahmed Bounfour (2007), *The Management of Intangibles: The Organisation's Most Value Assets*; Robert Reilly, Jr. (1998), *Valuing Intangible Assets*. In fact, a search for "intangible assets" on www.amazon.com resulted in almost 2,830 results while a search for "intellectual capital" resulted in 481 hits.
3. The issue of translation is a topic in itself (see Chapter 15, Note 5 for example). Internet jokes abound with issues of mistranslations; the following are given as examples of the problem one encounters when translating:
 - "In a Leipzig elevator: Do not enter the lift backwards, and only when lit up."
 - "In a Bangkok temple: It is forbidden to enter a woman, even a foreigner, if dressed as a man" (FoundUs.com n.d.)
4. This raises the question of whether Christianity can ever be culturally neutral? Tinker suggests that Christians need to work on finding a way to communicate a culturally neutral Gospel; Tillich states that a culturally-neutral Gospel is a dead Gospel; it only comes alive when it takes root within a culture. Perhaps the most important lesson to be learned is to recognize the cultural dimensions when one is communicating it.

Chapter 17 — The Third Narrative: The Realm of Conflicting Realities

1. The main sources for this chapter include Kerry Abel (2007); Valerie Alia (1994); Julie Cruikshank et al (1992); Jean-Guy Goulet (1994, 1998); Marie-Françoise Guédon (1965-1966, 1969-1970, 2005, 2010); Knud Rasmussen (1929) and Saladin d'Anglure (1998).
2. It must be reiterated that what follows is true in the general sense but, as Sharp pointed out (and as mentioned earlier on p.291), not all Athabaskan people are matrilineal. While some Chipewyan are, others are not, depending on their location (Sharp 1988:xiv).
3. It must be mentioned that while Western Athabaskan people in the YT have a clan/moiety system, those in the NT have a slightly different system. The Inuit/Inuvialuit have a bilateral system, but also stress the importance of the *atiq* or "soul-names" which establishes relationships with others of the same name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Sources

Anglican Church of Canada Archives, (hereafter referred to as “ACC Archives”).

n.d. M71-4.

Anglican Church of Canada Presentations (hereafter referred to as “ACC-P”).

2003 Towards Healing, Reconciliation and New Life. Special Presentation at St. Cuthbert’s Anglican Church (Oakville, Ontario) 2003 March 15.

Ashdown, David.

2004 Special Presentation. St. Cuthbert’s Anglican Church, 2004 February 11.

Asselin, The Rev. Joseph.

2004 Email Correspondence 2004 April 2.

DuFresne, Lucie.

2011 Personal Communication. 2011 January 6.

Equipping Ambassadors of Reconciliation Conference (hereafter referred to as “Equipping”).

2009 Equipping Ambassadors of Reconciliation: Responding to the Legacy of Indian Residential Schools: An Ecumenical Project of the Anglican Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the United Church of Canada. Workshop held at the YMCA Geneva Park Conference Centre, Orillia, Ontario. 2009 November 19-21.

Fortune, Len.

2010 ‘A’ is for Assimilation: The A, B, C’s of Canada’s Indigenous People and Residential Schools. Unpublished manuscript. Print.

Gaver, Cheryl.

2004 The Residential Schools and the Anglican Church of Canada: Living the Apology? unpublished manuscript. Print.

2009 Students’ Comments During Class Discussion. 2009 Winter???

2010 Personal communication with family members. 2010 November.

Guédon, Marie-Françoise.

1965-1966 Unpublished fieldnotes on the Inuit

- 1969-1970 Unpublished fieldnotes on the Nabesna
 2010 Personal Communication. 2010 December 22.

MacDonald, Mark.

- 2009 "Self-Determination & Governance." Educational Series on Aboriginal Issues. Oakville: St. Simon's Anglican Church. 2009 October 21.

Published Sources

Abel, Kerry.

- 1991 Bishop Bompas and the Canadian Church. *In* The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970. Barry Ferguson, ed. Regina: University of Regina/Canadian Plains Research Center: 113-125.
 2007 Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Aboriginal Healing Foundation (hereafter referred to as "AHF").

- 2004 Allan's Story. Healing Words. 4(3) Fall 2004. 7-11. Print.

Alia, Valerie.

- 1994 Names, Numbers, and Northern Policy: Inuit, Project Surname, and the Politics of Identity. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing. Print.

Altholz, Josef L.

- 1997 Bunsen's Death: Or, How To Make a Controversy. Victorian Periodicals Review. Vol. 30(3) (1997 Fall): 189-200. Print.

Alunik, Ishmael, Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison.

- 2003 Across Time and Tundra: The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (co-publisher). Print.

Amagoalik, John.

- 2008 Reconciliation or Conciliation? An Inuit Perspective. *In* From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools. Eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald, and Mike DeGagné. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: 91-97. Print.

American Anthropological Association.

- 2009 AAA Style Guide. http://www.aaanet.org/publications/style_guide.pdf. Web. (accessed 2011 May 12).

American Heritage.

n.d. Colonialism. The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/colonialism>. Web. (accessed 2008 October 23.)

Anderson, Mark and Carmen Robertson.

2007 The 'Blended Elbow' News, Kenora 1974: How a Small-Town Newspaper Promoted Colonization. *American Indian Quarterly*. 31(3): 410-440. Print.

Anglican Church of Canada (hereafter referred to as "ACC").

2001 A New Agape: Towards Healing, Reconciliation and the New Life: The Resource Binder. Toronto: The Anglican Church of Canada. Print.

2004a Litigation and Alternative Dispute Resolution. <http://generalsynod.anglican.ca/ministries/litigation/>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 30).

2004b Indigenous Council Report to 2004 General Synod. Toronto: The Anglican Church of Canada. Web. (accessed 2004 April 12 — no longer online).

2004c Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples. <http://generalsynod.anglican.ca/ministries/committees/acip/who.html>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 30).

2007a Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples. Committees and Councils of General Synod. <http://www.anglican.ca/about/committees/acip>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 24).

2007b Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples: Our Recent History." Committees and Councils of General Synod. <http://www.anglican.ca/about/committees/acip/history.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 24).

2007c Summary of Projects — 2007. Anglican Healing Fund. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/healingund/projects/2007-2/>. Web. (accessed 2010 August 25.)

2008a All Saints school — Aklavik, NWT. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/all-saints-aklavik.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 8).

2008b Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/histories.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 21).

2008c Choooutla School — Carcross, Yukon. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/chooutla-carcross.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9.)

- 2008d Coppermine Tent Hostel — Nunavut. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/coppermine.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).
- 2008e How We Are Organized.” Resources: Library Posters. <http://www.anglican.ca/resources/posters/how-we-are-organized.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 29).
- 2008f Fort McPherson Indian Residential School and Hostel — Fort McPherson, NWT. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/ft-mcpherson-nwt.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9.)
- 2008g Fort Simpson School and Hostel — Northwest Territories. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/ft-simpson-nwt.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).
- 2008h St. Peter’s School — Hay River, NWT. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/st-peters-hay-river.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).
- 2008i Shingle Point School — Yukon. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/shingle-point-yukon.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).
- 2008j Some Facts. Indigenous Ministries. <http://www.anglican.ca/im/facts.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 5).
- 2008k Stringer Hall – Inuvik, NWT. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/stringer-hall-inuvik.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).
- 2008l Yukon Hostels – Dawson City and Whitehorse. Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/schools/yukon-hostels.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9.)
- 2010 Diocese of Cariboo. Dioceses of the Anglican Church of Canada. <http://www.anglican.ca/about/diocese.htm#cariboo>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).

Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Resolutions, (hereafter referred to as “ACC GS”).

- 1975 Northern Development and Native Affairs. Act 28. Dated 1975 June. http://qumran.national.anglican.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fqumran.national.anglican.ca%2Fics-wpd%2FTextbases%2Fsearch%2Fofficial%2Fsearch.aspx&TN=Official&SN=AUTO3976&SE=151&RN=9&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=0&XP=&RF=WebDateRev&EF=&DF=WebFull&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=1711&NR=0&NB=0&SV=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 1977 Northern Development. Act 65. Dated 1977 August. http://qumran.national.anglican.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fqumran.national.anglican.ca%2Fics-wpd%2FTextbases%2Fsearch%2Fofficial%2Fsearch.aspx&TN=Official&SN=AUTO3976&SE=151&RN=8&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=0&XP=&RF=WebDateRev&EF=&DF=WebFull&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=1168&NR=0&NB=0&SV=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 1986 Aboriginal Rights and Native People. Act 29. Dated 1986 June 14-22. http://qumran.national.anglican.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fqumran.national.anglican.ca%2Fics-wpd%2FTextbases%2Fsearch%2Fofficial%2Fsearch.aspx&TN=Official&SN=AUTO3976&SE=151&RN=4&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=0&XP=&RF=WebDateRev&EF=&DF=WebFull&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=2210&NR=0&NB=0&SV=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 1989 Support for Innu. Act 69. Dated 1989 June 15-23. http://qumran.national.anglican.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fqumran.national.anglican.ca%2Fics-wpd%2FTextbases%2Fsearch%2Fofficial%2Fsearch.aspx&TN=Official&SN=AUTO3976&SE=151&RN=1&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=0&XP=&RF=WebDateRev&EF=&DF=WebFull&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=836&NR=0&NB=0&SV=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).

- 1995 Land Claim Negotiations. Act 91. Dated 1995 June 1-9. http://qumran.national.anglican.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fqumran.national.anglican.ca%2Fics-wpd%2FTextbases%2Fsearch%2Fofficial%2Fsearch.aspx&TN=Official&SN=AUTO3976&SE=151&RN=0&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=0&XP=&RF=WebDateRev&EF=&DF=WebFull&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=112&NR=0&NB=0&SV=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 1998 The Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples Report. Reports. <http://www.anglican.ca/synod98/reports/r-indig.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 24).
- Anglican Journal (hereafter referred to as “AJournal”).
- 2003 Basics of ADR process. Anglican Journal.com. Dated 2003 May 1. <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/issues/2003/129/may/05/article/basics-of-adr-process/?cHash=d8bc4bf3fb>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 5).
- Anglican News Service (hereafter referred to as “ANS”).
- 1973 Land Claims by British Columbia Indians. Dated 1973 February 9. <http://generalsynod.anglican.ca/ministries/rs/reports/pr15.html>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 30).
- 1990 Anglican Church Leader Condemns Government Handling of Mohawk Dispute. Dated 1990 July 27. <http://generalsynod.anglican.ca/ministries/rs/reports/pr13.html>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 30).
- 1995 Personal Involvement of Chretien, Harcourt Needed to Resolve Nisga’a Talks Deadlock, Archbishop Says. Dated 1995 July 18. http://qumran.national.anglican.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fqumran.national.anglican.ca%2Fics-wpd%2FTextbases%2Fsearch%2Fofficial%2Fsearch.aspx&TN=Official&SN=AUTO505&SE=141&RN=7&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=0&XP=&RF=WebDate&EF=&DF=WebFull&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=17&NR=0&NB=1&SV=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 1997 Anglican Church Welcomes Court Decision on Native Land Claims. Dated 1997 December 12. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/history/news/pr1.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 1998 Federal Apology Useful First Step but Continuing Response Is Needed. Dated 1998 January 9. <http://generalsynod.anglican.ca/ministries/rs/reports/pr2.html>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 30).

- 2003a All 30 Canadian Anglican Dioceses Approve Residential Schools Agreement. Dated 2003 February 10. <http://news.anglican.ca/news/stories/1170>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 2003b Historic Agreement between Anglican Church and the Government of Canada Seeks Settlements with Abuse Victims. Dated 2003 March 11. <http://news.anglican.ca/news/stories/1187>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 2005 Anglican Video Production on Gladys Cook to Premiere at Winnipeg's IMAX theatre. Dated 2005 March 7. <http://news.anglican.ca/news/stories/1461>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 2007 Primate Presents Bishop of Alaska as New National Indigenous Anglican Bishop for Canadian Anglican Church. Dated 2007 January 4. <http://news.anglican.ca/news/stories/1673>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 5).

Annett, Kevin D.

- n.d. Why We Are Not Sorry For Our Crimes: The Residential Schools Settlement Farce." Hidden from History: The Canadian Holocaust. <http://www.hiddenfromhistory.org/historyfiles/html/settlement-farce.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 6).

Archer, John H.

- 1986 The Anglican Church and the Indian in the Northwest." *Journal of the Canadian church historical society* 28(1), April 1986: 19-30.

Assembly of First Nations (hereafter referred to as "AFN").

- n.d. Backgrounder: First Nations and specific land claims. Policy Areas. <http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=3214>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 1).

Auchterlonie, Sandy et al.

- 2005 Fort McPherson: A Volunteer Model - A Case Study - Aboriginal Participation in the Voluntary Sector. Imagine Canada. Available online http://nonprofitscan.imaginecanada.ca/files/nonprofitscan/kdc-cdc/fort_mcpherson.pdf. (accessed 2009 October 31.)

Bailey, Marlene (hereafter referred to be "MBailey").

- 2008 Tuk Woman 90 Years Young. Northern News Service Online. http://www.nnsi.com/frames/newspapers/2008-10/oct27_08tw.html. Web. (accessed 2010 July 25).

Bailey, Thomas Melville (hereafter referred to as "TM-Bailey").

- 1975 The Covenant in Canada: Four Hundred Years History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Hamilton: The Macnab Circle. Print.

Balandier, Georges.

- 1966 The Colonial Situation: A Theoretical Approach (1951). *In* Social Change: The Colonial Situation. Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. Translated by Robert A. Wagoner. New York, London, & Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.: 34-61. Print.

Barlow, J. Kevin.

- 2009 Residential Schools, Prisons, and HIV/AIDS Among Aboriginal People in Canada: Exploring the Connections. Ottawa. ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Print.

Barman, Jean, Yvonne Hébert and Don McCaskill.

- 1986 The Legacy of the Past: An Overview. *In* Indian Education in Canada Volume 1: The Legacy. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill, eds. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press: 1-22. Print.

Beaman, Lori G.

- 2002 Aboriginal Spirituality and the Legal Construction of Freedom of Religion. *Journal of Church and State* 44 Winter: 135-149. Print.

Beardy, Flora and Robert Coutts.

- 1996 Voices from Hudson Bay: Cree Stories from York Factory. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Print.

Beardy, Stan.

- 2009 Colonialism comment disrespectful. Wawatay News Online. 2009 October 15. http://www.wawataynews.ca/archive/all/2009/10/15/Colonialism-comment-disrespectful-Beardy_18292. Web. (accessed 2010 June 21).

Beaumont, Jody and Michael Edwards.

- n.d. An Introduction to First Nations Heritage Along the Yukon River. Department of Tourism and Culture. Government of Yukon. www.tc.gov.yk.ca/pdf/FNIC_Manual_PDF-final.pdf (accessed 2011 May 7).

Bell, Wendell.

- 2004 Humanity's Common Values Seeking a Positive Future: Overcoming the Discontents of Globalization and the Clashes of Civilizations Required Us to Reexamine and Reemphasize Those Positive Values That All Humans Share. *The Futurist*, 2004 September 1. <http://www.allbusiness.com/professional-scientific/scientific-research/201749-1.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 May 5).

Bennett, John and Susan Rowley.

2004 Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Berger, Carl.

1976 The Writing of Canadian History. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Print.

Berton, Laura Beatrice.

1972 I Married the Klondike. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited. Print.

Biblical Heritage Center.

n.d. The Onion-is-Culture Model. <http://www.biblicalheritage.org/images>. Web. (accessed 2008, precise date unknown).

Birk, Douglas A.

1982 The La Vérendryes: Reflections on the 250th Anniversary of the French Posts of La Mer de l'Ouest. Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade. Ed. Carolyn Gilman. Minnesota Historical Society. http://books.google.ca/books?id=98q9WPJVwB4C&pg=PA119&lpg=PA119&dq=Verendrye+Jesuits&source=bl&ots=SNWTGcJfjq&sig=2px71EWISVBE2Nq75kAv0U0UqLE&hl=en&ei=kdiaSpG5NcT7nQe99ci7BQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6#v=onepage&q=Verendrye%20Jesuits&f=false. Web. (accessed 2009 August 30).

Blair, Kathy.

2000 Diocese of Cariboo Plans Own Shutdown: Bishop Will Be Out of a Job." Anglican Journal. 2000 September. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_7042/is_7_126/ai_n28817649/?tag=content;col1. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).

Blanchfield, Mike.

2010 Clinton surprises Tories on Arctic, Afghanistan, abortion. The Canadian Press. 2010 March 30. http://ca.news.yahoo.com/s/capress/100330/national/cda_g8. Web. (accessed 2010 Jun 21).

Blogcatalog.

2008 Guy Fawkes Night 5th November. Discussions. <http://www.blogcatalog.com/discuss/entry/guy-fawkes-night-5th-november>. Web. (accessed 2009 July 13).

Bompas, William Carpenter.

- 1888 Diocese of Mackenzie River. London (UK): Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Print.
- 1893 Northern Lights on the Bible: Drawn from a Bishop's Experience During the Twenty-Five Years in the Great North-West. London (UK): J. Nisbet & Co. Print.

Bonoli, Lorenzo.

- 2008 Lire les cultures: la connaissance de l'altérité culturelle à travers les textes. Paris: Éditions Kimé. Print.

Boon, Thomas Charles Boucher.

- 1962 The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies; a History of the Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses from 1820 to 1950. Toronto: Ryerson Press.

Bryce, George.

- 1910 The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, Including that of the French Traders of North-Western Canada and of the North-West, XY, and Astor Fur Companies. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Print.

Buenker, John D. and Lorman Ratner.

- 2005 Multiculturalism in the United States: A Comparative Guide to Acculturation and Ethnicity. http://books.google.ca/books?id=J5o3fYIOkg4C&pg=PA27&lpg=PA27&dq=%22French-Indian+intermarriage%22+Canada&source=bl&ots=aYeM17o9J-&sig=xlsQ7RxPrKGtmSFOghnKsoaebu8&hl=en&ei=kOoVSu2mNsSfmAe7orHaDA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3. Web. (accessed 2009 May 21).

Bumsted, J.M.

- 1999a Alfred Campbell Garrioch (1849-1934). Dictionary of Manitoba Biography. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/garrioch_ac.shtml. Web. (accessed 2010 October 11). NOT IN 6, 7, 12
- 1999b Fur Trade Wars: The Founding of Western Canada. Winnipeg, MB: Great Plains Publications. Print.

Butler, Chris.

- 2007 FC96B: The English Revolution: From Civil War to Military Dictatorship. The Flow of History: A Dynamic and Graphic Approach to Teaching History. <http://www.flowofhistory.com/units/west/14/FC96B>. Web. (accessed 2009 July 12).

Cameron, Agnes Deans.

- 1909 The New North: Being Some Account of a Woman's Journey through Canada to the Arctic. <http://arthursclassicnovels.com/frontier/newnor10.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 August 28).

Campbell, Marjorie Wilkins.

- 1987 The North West Company. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. Print.

Canada Post.

- 2011 Addressing Guidelines. <http://www.canadapost.ca/tools/pg/manual/PGaddress-e.asp#1380608>. Web. (accessed 2011 May 5).

Canadian Broadcasting Company (hereafter referred to as "CBC").

- 2009 Tuktoyaktuk School Principal Appeals To Kids To Attend Class." CBC News. <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/03/27/tuk-school.html>. (accessed 2009 October 30.)

Cannella, Gaile.

- 2004 Childhood and Postcolonization: Power, Education, and Contemporary Practice. http://books.google.ca/books?id=LFsEoO3kWrIC&pg=PA14&lpg=PA14&dq=colonialism+%22distinct+from+imperialism%22&source=bl&ots=O_le5tzqKo&sig=JXgi0G6s91AxdSmN1miKpgKFD7c&hl=en&ei=GneJSrXRMpHONY-86fsO&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1#v=onepage&q=colonialism%20%22distinct%20from%20imperialism%22&f=false. Web. (accessed 2009 August 17). NOT IN 6, 7, 12

Cardinal, Harold.

- 1999 The Unjust Society. Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre. Print.

Carlson, Joyce.

- 1995 Dancing the Dream: The First Nations and Church in Partnership. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre. Print.

Carlson, Joyce and Alf Dumont.

- 1997 Bridges in Spirituality: First Nations Christian Women Tell Their Stories. Toronto: The United Church Publishing House. Print.

- 2003 Bridges in Understanding: Aboriginal Christian Men Tell Their Stories. Toronto: ABC Publishing. Print.

Carrington, Philip.

- 1963 The Anglican Church in Canada: A History. Toronto, ON: Collins. Print.

Carter, Sarah.

- 1999 Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Print.
- 2000 Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserves and Government Policy. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press. Print.

Centre for Rupert's Land Studies.

- 2007 The Rupert's Land Map. The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg. [http: //uwebpro.uwinnipeg.ca/academic/ic/rupert/map.html](http://uwebpro.uwinnipeg.ca/academic/ic/rupert/map.html). Web. (accessed 2011 January 13).

Césaire, Aimé.

- 1972 Discourse on Colonialism. Translated by Joan Pinkham. New York and London: Monthly Review Press. Print.

Choquette, Robert.

- 1995 The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. Print.
- 2004 Canada's Religions: An Historical Introduction. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. Print.

Church Missionary Society (hereafter referred to as "CMS").

- 1999 The New Society and Its Early Struggles. Yes Magazine. 1999 April-June. [http: //webarchive.cms-uk.org/yes/1999/AMJ/new%20society.htm](http://webarchive.cms-uk.org/yes/1999/AMJ/new%20society.htm). Web. (accessed 2010 July 2).
- 2010 A Brief History of CMS. History. [http: //www.cms-uk.org/Whoweare/History/tabid/181/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.cms-uk.org/Whoweare/History/tabid/181/language/en-US/Default.aspx). Web. (accessed 2010 July 2).

Church of England. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (hereafter referred to as "CE-SPCK").

- 1886 The Official Year-Book of the Church of England: 1886. London (UK): Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Churchill Ladies Club (hereafter referred to as “CHL”).

2002 ... Through the Years – Churchill, North of 58°. Altona: Friesens Corporation. Print.

Clifton, Rodney A.

2008 Rodney A. Clifton: For many aboriginal children, residential schools were a positive experience. The National Post. 2008 May 30. <http://network.nationalpost.com/np/blogs/fullcomment/archive/2008/05/30/rodney-a-clifton-for-many-aboriginal-children-residential-schools-were-a-positive-experience.aspx>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 27).

Coates, Ken.

1985 Canada's Colonies: A History of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company. Print.

1986a A Very Imperfect Means of Education: Indian Day Schools in the Yukon Territory, 1890-1955.” *In* Indian Education in Canada — Volume 1: The Legacy. Eds. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press: 132-149. Print.

1986b Send Only Those Who Rise a Peg: Anglican Clergy in the Yukon, 1858-1932. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 28(1) (1986 April): 3-18. Print.

1989 ‘Betwixt and Between’: The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Choooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954. *In* Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, eds. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.: 150-168. Print.

1991a Asking For All Sorts of Favours: The Anglican Church, the Federal Government and the Natives of the Yukon Territory, 1891-1909.” *In* The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970. Barry Ferguson, ed. Regina: University of Regina/Canadian Plains Research Center: 126-142. Print.

1991b Best Left as Indians. Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Print.

2008 The Indian Act and the Future of Aboriginal Governance in Canada. National Centre for First Nations Governance. <http://www.fngovernance.org/research/coates.pdf>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 6).

Coates, Ken and William R. Morrison.

1988 Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers. Print.

Cody, Hiram Alfred.

- 1908 An Apostle of the North. Project Canterbury. <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/bompas/cody1908/01.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 August 27).
- 2002 An Apostle of the North. (Introduction by William R. Morrison and Kenneth S. Coates). Edmonton (AB): The University of Alberta Press.

Cook, Henry.

- 1979 The Early Days of Education in the North, NWT Archives, N-1992-18.

Coutts, Robert.

- 2000 The Road to the Rapids: Nineteenth-Century Church and Society at St. Andrew's Paris, Red River. Calgary: University of Calgary Press. Print.

Cruikshank, Julie.

- 1979 Athapaskan Women, Lives and Legends. Musée national de l'Homme, Mercury Series/série Mercure 57, Ottawa: Musées nationaux du Canada. Print.
- 1983 Premières cultures du Yukon. Whitehorse: Ministère de l'Éducation, Gouvernement du territoire du Yukon. Print.
- 1984 Feminism Applied: Four Papers. Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. Print.

Cruikshank, Julie, in collaboration with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned.

- 1992 Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. Print.

D'Eschambault, Antoine.

- 1949 La Vérendrye and His Work of Discovery. CCHA, Report 16(1949): 51-60. http://www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/ccha/Back%20Issues/CCHA1949/D%27Eschambault.pdf. Web. (accessed 2009 August 30).

Dänojà Zho Cultural Centre (hereafter referred to as "Dänojà Zho").

- 2007 Tr'ëhuhch'in Năwtr'udăha/Finding Our Way Home (scrapbook version). Dawson: Dănojà Zho Cultural Centre. Print.
- 2009 Tr'ëhuhch'in Năwtr'udăha/Finding Our Way Home. Dawson: Dănojà Zho Cultural Centre. Print.

De Laguna, Frederica.

- 1975 Matrilineal Kin Groups of Northwestern North America. *In* Proceedings: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971 vol. 1: 17-145. Annette McFadyen Clark, ed., Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 27. Mercury Series. National Museum of Man. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.

Devitt, W. G.

- 1965 History of Education in the Northwest Territories. *In* The Canadian Superintendent 1964: Education North of 60. Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, eds. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 61-71. Print.

DeYoung, Lucy.

- n.d. Patronymic Naming Conventions. Lucy DeYoung's Family History and Genealogy. http://www.deyoungmatson.com/patronymic_naming_conventions.htm. Web. (accessed 2010 October 25).

Dickason, Olive Patrici

- 1993 Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. Print.

Dictionary.com.

- n.d. Colonialism. Dictionary.com Unabridged (v 1.1). <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/colonialism>. Web. (accessed 2008 October 23).
- n.d. Cultivate. Online Etymology Dictionary. Source location: Douglas Harper, Historian. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/cultivate>. Available: <http://dictionary.reference.com>. Web. (accessed 2010 May 4).
- n.d. Culture. Online Etymology Dictionary. Source location: Douglas Harper, Historian. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/culture>. Available: <http://dictionary.reference.com>. Web. (accessed 2010 May 4).

Diocese of British Columbia (hereafter referred to as "D-BC").

- 1986 Inventory of the Archival Records of the Anglican Diocese of British Columbia. Print.

Diocese of Niagara (hereafter referred to as "D-Niagara").

- 2004 The Dr. William Winter School of Ministry. The Rev. Canon Cathy Giroux. <http://www.niagara.anglican.ca/outreach/docs/Sept%20%202004%20Dr%20%20William%20Winter%20School.pdf>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).

Diocese of Saskatchewan (hereafter referred to as "D-Skdiocese").

- 2005 The James Settee College for Ministry. <http://www.skdiocese.com/james-settee-college/>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).

Diocese of the Arctic (hereafter referred to as “D-Arctic”).

- n.d.a Information About and History of the Diocese of the Arctic. Diocesan Info. <http://www.arcticnet.org/story>. Web. (accessed 2010 July 25).
- n.d.b Map of Diocese. The Diocese of the Arctic. <http://www.arcticnet.org/0010048D-007EA71E.0/map0.jpg>. Web. (accessed 2010 November 16).
- 1929-1948 Arctic Mission: 1929-1948, hereafter referred to as “Mission.” Print.
- 2010 Arctic News 2010 Fall. Print.

Diocese of Yukon (hereafter referred to as “D-YT”).

- 2005a Bishops of the Diocese of Yukon. Welcome to the Diocese of Yukon: Anglican Church of Canada. <http://anglican.yukon.net/bishops.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 September 13).
- 2005b Map of Diocese of Yukon. <http://anglican.yukon.net/map.htm#top>. Web. (accessed 2011 May 6).
- 2008 Bishop’s School of Yukon Ministries. Diocese of Yukon. <http://anglican.yukon.net/BSYM.htm#top>. (accessed 2010 March 29.)

Dobrowolsky, Helene.

- 2003 Hammerstones: A History of the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in. Dawson City: A Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in Publication. Print.

The Dominion.

- 2008 Apology Accepted? Survivors, Indigenous Observers Respond to Apology. The Dominion: News from the grassroots. Issue 52: July 7, 2008. <http://www.dominionpaper.ca/articles/1908>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 17).

Donne, John.

- 1952 The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne. New York: Random House. Print.

Environment Canada (hereafter referred to as “EnvCan”).

- 2002 Canadian wind chill records. Wind Chill Program. http://www.msc.ec.gc.ca/education/windchill/windchill_records_e.cfm. Web. (accessed 2009 June 24).
- 2009 Canadian climate normals or averages 1971-2000: Northwest territories. National Climate Data and Information Archive. http://www.climate.weatheroffice.ec.gc.ca/climate_normals/stnselect_e.html. Web. (accessed 2009 June 24).

Episcopal Church (hereafter referred to as “Episcopal”).

n.d. “Glossary of liturgical terms,” Liturgy & Music.
http:
//www.episcopalchurch.org/19625_19610_ENG_HTM.htm?menu=menu1960
9. Web. (accessed 2005 January 10).

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC).

2007 Blanket Exercise: Expanded Script. http:
//elcic.ca/GHDA/Resources/documents/BlanketExercise-March2007.pdf.
Web. (accessed 2008 November 19.)

ExploreNWT.

2005 Canada’s Northwest Territories: 2005 Explorers’ Guide. Yellowknife, NT:
Canada’s Northwest Territories. Print.

Fast, Vera.

1979 A Research Note on the Journals of John West. Journal of the Canadian
Church Historical Society. 21: 30-38.

Fieldhouse, David Kenneth.

1981 Colonialism 1870-1945: An Introduction. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
Print.

Fisher, Robin.

1977 Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia,
1774-1890. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. Print.

Fleming, Archibald Lang.

1965 Archibald the Arctic: The First Bishop of the Arctic. Great Britain: Saunders
of Toronto Limited. Print.

Ford, David Nash.

2007 “The Gunpowder Plot: Overview.” Britannia History. http:
//www.britannia.com/history/kaboom.html. Web. (accessed 2009 July 13).

Fossett, Renée.

2001 In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940.
Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press. Print.

FoundUs.Com.

n.d. School Jokes. Humor. http:
//www.foundus.com/humor_files/School%20Jokes.htm. Web. (accessed 2011
May 12).

Freeman, Victoria.

- 2005 Attitudes Toward 'Miscegenation' in Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia, 1860-1914. *Native Studies Review* 16, no 1: 41-69. Print.

Fumoleau, René.

- 2004 As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939. Calgary: University of Calgary Press. Print.

Gagan, Rosemary R.

- 1992 A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. Print.

Galbraith, John S.

- 1957 The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869. Berkeley: University of California Press. Print.

Gaver, Cheryl.

- 1992 The Gaver Families: A Jigsaw Puzzle History. Oakville: C. Gaver. Print.

Ghosh, Anjan.

- 1996 Re-Viewing Anthropology and Colonialism. *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society*. 31(1996): 231-234. Print.

Goulet, Jean-Guy A.

- 1992 Visions et conversions chez les Dènès Tha. *Expérience religieuse chez un peuple autochtone converti. Religiologiques*. 1992 automne: 142-182. Print.
- 1994 Récits de rêves et de visions chez les Déné Tha contemporains: Vision du monde et principes épistémologiques sous-jacents. *Anthropologie et sociétés*. 1994(18) no.2. Print.
- 1998 Ways of Knowing: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dene Tha. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press. Print.

Government of Canada, (hereafter referred to as "GovCanada").

- n.d. List of Residential Schools. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), www.ndhr.ca/v2/documents/List%20of%20Residential%20Schools.doc. Web. (accessed 2006 March 29.)
- 2003 Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada. <http://www.irsr-rqpi.gc.ca/english/>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 27.)

- 2008 The Arctic: Northern Aboriginal Peoples. Report PRB 08-10E, written by Tonina Simeone. <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0810-e.htm#source9>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 11.)

Government of the Northwest Territories (hereafter referred to as “GovNT”).

- n.d. Government of the Northwest Territories. <http://www.gov.nt.ca/>. Web. (accessed 2010 November 16).
- 2000a Explore Canada’s Northwest territories. Tourism Information. <http://www.gov.nt.ca/research/tourism/index.html>. Web. (accessed 2008 June 29).
- 2000b NWT statistics. Facts. <http://www.gov.nt.ca/research/facts/index.html>. (accessed 2008 June 29.)

Government of Ontario (hereafter referred to as “GovOntario”).

- 1878 Statues, Documents and Papers Bearing on the Discussion Respecting the Northern and Western Boundaries of the Province of Ontario. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co. http://books.google.ca/books?id=07sNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA38&dq=%22gradually+diminishing+and+ultimately+preventing+the+sale+or%22&hl=en&ei=g60sTJv9Nte3nAeqncz0Ag&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=%22gradually%20diminishing%20and%20ultimately%20preventing%20the%20sale%20or%22&f=false. Web. (accessed 2010 July 1).

Government of Yukon (hereafter referred to as “GovYT”).

- 2001 Community Profiles. <http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/pdf/comprofiles01.pdf>. Web. (accessed 2011 January 11).
- 2007 Yukon Fact Sheet.” Bureau of statistics. <http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/yukon06e.pdf>. Web. (accessed 2008 June 29).
- 2008a Flora and Fauna. Yukon at a Glance. <http://www.gov.yk.ca/aboutyukon/2167.html>. Web. (accessed 2009 June 6).
- 2009 Yukon Fact Sheet. Yukon Bureau of Statistics. <http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/yukonfactsheet.html>. Web. (accessed 2009 Jun 26).
- 2010 Yukon. <http://www.gov.yk.ca/>. Web. (accessed 2010 November 16).

Goyette, Linda.

- 2003 The X Files. Canadian Geographic. Vol. 123(2): 70-81. Print.

Grant, Agnes (hereafter referred to as “A-Grant”).

- 1996 No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, Inc. Print.

Grant, John (hereafter referred to as “J-Grant”).

- 1985 Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Print.

Grant, Shelagh D. (hereafter referred to as “S-Grant”).

- 2005 Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. Print.

Gregg, William.

- 1885 History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada, from the Earliest Times to 1834: With a Chronological Table of Events to the Present Time, and Map. Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company. Print.

Guay, Hélène.

- 1989 Socialisation et emplois salariés: une ethnographie des femmes Inuit d’Igloodik. Culture IX(2): 3-24.

Guédon, Marie-Françoise.

- 2005 Le rêve et la forêt: histoires de chamanes nabesna. Saint-Nicolas: Les presses de l’Université Laval.
- 2008 What Is Intangible Culture? Perspectives on the Immaterial Aspects of the Human World. Digital heritage symposium. Paper presented in Beijing, China, 2008 August. Print.

Guha, Abhijit.

- 1996 Rethinking Colonialism and Anthropology. Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society. 31(1996): 225-229. Print.

Gunn, Donald and Charles R. Tuttle.

- 1880 History of Manitoba From the Earliest Settlement to 1835. Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co. <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/847/reader.html#4>. Web. (accessed 2009 July 27).

Gwich’in Tribal Council (hereafter referred to as “Gwich’in”).

- n.d. Chronology of Gwich’in history and Self Government. Documents. <http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/documents/Chronology.pdf>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 9).

Habermas, Jürgen.

- 2004 Knowledge and Human Interests. Cambridge: Polity Press. Print.

Hardman, O.

n.d. The Clapham Sect. Project Canterbury. London: SPCK. <http://anglicanhistory.org/misc/clapham.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 July 2).

Hayes, Alan.

2004 Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Print.

[Healing] the Land!, (hereafter referred to as "Healing").

2005 Doctrine of Discovery. <http://www.healingtheland.com/research/discovery/>. Web. (accessed 2008 November 19.)

Helm, June, with contributions by Teresa S. Carterette and Nancy O. Lurie.

2000 The People of Denendeh: Ethnohistory of the Indians of Canada's Northwest Territories. Iowa City, IA: Iowa Press.

Hendry, Charles E.

1969 Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples. Canada: Ryerson Press. Print.

1998 Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples. Canada: Ryerson Press, with foreword by Bishop Gordon Beardy added. Print.

Hinds, Margery.

1958 School-House in the Arctic. London: Geoffrey Bles Ltd.

Historica-Dominion.

2010 Northwest Territories. The Canadian Encyclopedia. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0005818>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 4).

Hofstede, Geert H.

1984 Culture's Consequences, International Differences in Work-Related Values. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Hopkins, Dr. Stephen.

2003 Native Residential Schools. Sermon preached 2003 April 6. <http://www.niagara.anglican.ca/issues/newshopkinsressch.htm>. Web. (accessed 2004 January 20).

Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter referred to as "HBC").

- 1948 Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c: Begins 29th May, 1680 Ends 5 July, 1687. ed. E.E. Rich. Toronto: Champlain Society. http://link.library.utoronto.ca/champlain/item_record.cfm?Idno=9_96894&lang=eng&query=Copy-Book%20AND%20of%20AND%20Letters%20AND%20Outward&searchtype=Fulltext&startrow=1&Limit=All. Web. (accessed 2009 August 19).
- 2009a The Charter: Royal Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company. Corporate Collections: Reference. <http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/collections/archival/charter/charter.asp>. Web. (accessed 2009 June 6).
- 2009c Our History: Places. Our History. <http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/places/> (accessed 2009 July 31).

Illich, Monsignor Ivan.

- 1968 To Hell With Good Intentions. Speech Delivered at the Conference on InterAmerican Student Projects in Cuernavaca, Mexico. <http://www.altruists.org/f451>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 13).

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (hereafter referred to as "INAC").

- 2002 Backgrounder: The Residential School System. http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/schl_e.html. Web. (accessed 2004 March 27).
- 2009 Historic Treaties: Timelines and Maps. Acts, Agreements & Land Claims. <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/hts/mp-eng.asp>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 6).
- 2010 Resolving Specific Claims — Results from March 31, 2008 to September 30, 2010. Land Claims: Specific Claims. http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/lde/spc/prp/prp_lgdesc3-eng.asp. Web. (accessed 2010 December 2).

Irish Genealogy Toolkit (hereafter referred to as "IrishGT").

- 2010 Irish names. Irish Genealogy Toolkit. <http://www.irish-genealogy-toolkit.com/Irish-names.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 25).

Jacobs, Beverley and Andrea Williams.

- 2008 Legacy of Residential Schools. *In* From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools. Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald, and Mike DeGagné, eds. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: 119-140. Print.

Jacobs, Burton.

- 1992 The Indian Agent System and Our Move to Self-Government. *In* Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of Canada. Diane Engelstad and John Bird, eds.. Concord: Irwin Publishing: 113-119. Print.

Jacobs, Burton and Laverne Jacobs.

- 2003 Revolution on the Reserve: Exit the Indian Agent, Enter Self-Government. *In* Bridges in Understanding: Aboriginal Christian Men Tell Their Stories. Joyce Clouston Carlson and Alf Dumont, eds. Toronto: ABC Publishing: 63-71. Print.

Jacobs, Laverne (hereafter referred to as "L-Jacobs").

- 2006 Letter from the Rev. Laverne Jacobs. Aboriginal Peoples: Right Relationships. <http://www.united-church.ca/aboriginal/relationships/letter>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 17).

Jaenen, Cornelius J.

- 1963 Governor Miles Macdonell Writes to Bishop Plessis of Quebec, 1816. Manitoba Pageant. April 1963 vol 8(3). <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/08/macdonelltoplessis.shtml>. Web. (accessed 2011 January 13).
- 1983 Pelleteries et peaux-rouges: perceptions françaises de la Nouvelle-France et de ses peuples indigènes aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*. XIII(3): 107-115. Print.

Jervis, Robert.

- 1968 Hypotheses on Misperception. *World Politics* 20(3): 454-479. Print.

Joia, Luiz Antonio.

- 2000 Measuring Intangible Corporate Assets: Linking Business Strategy with Intellectual Capital. *Journal of Intellectual Capital*. Bradford v1(1): 68-84.

Johns, Robert E.

- 1971 St. Peter's Mission and Education in Hay River N.W.T. Prior to 1950. Paper submitted to Fr. A. Renaud. Prince of Wales Heritage Centre. Print.

Keevil, Genesee.

- 2007 Dawson Residential School Finally Recognized By Feds. *Yukon News*. 2007 June 29. <http://yukon-news.com/news/7322/>. Web. (accessed 2010 August 7).

- 2008 Yukon Assault Rates Are Some of the Highest in the Country. Yukon News. 2008 March 5. <http://wyukon-news.com/news/8726/>. Web. (accessed 2011 January 11).

Kelly, Fred.

- 2008 Confession of a Born-Again Pagan. *In* From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools. Eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald, and Mike DeGagné. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: 11-40. Print.

Kidder, Rushworth M.

- 1994 Shared Values for a Troubled World: Conversations With Men and Women of Conscience. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

King, A. Richard.

- 1967 The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity. Case Studies in Education and Culture. George and Louise Spindler, eds. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Print.

Klemencic, Pauline.

- 2009 Take-Home Exam. Selected Topics in Native History. University of Ottawa. Print.

Klempa, William.

- 1994 There's more to a Presbyterian than meets the eye. *In* The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow: The Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture. Ed. William Klempa. Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press: 1-12. Print.

Knight, Rolf.

- 1996 Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia — 1858-1930. Vancouver: New Star Books. Print.

Lawler, Ronald et al.

- 1983 The Teaching of Christ: A Catholic Catechism for Adults. Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc. Print.

Legacy of Hope Foundation (hereafter referred to as "Legacy").

- 2009 Map: History and Geography of Residential Schools." Where Are the Children: The Legacy of the Residential Schools. <http://www.wherearethekids.ca/>. Web. (accessed 2010 November 16).

- 2010 We Were So Far Away: the Inuit Experience of Residential Schools. http://www.legacyofhope.ca/assets/curatorial_booklet.pdf. Web. (accessed 2010 November 30).

Leonard, Thomas M.

- 2005 Colonialism: History. *In* Encyclopedia of the Developing World. http://books.google.ca/books?id=eq_Wma6nNfgC&pg=PA355&lpg=PA355&dq=colonialism+leonard&source=bl&ots=VOh8Jre6HC&sig=8IAB37i6Pew9k19WkmDeVYoCE4Y&hl=fr&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=5&ct=result. Web. (accessed 2008 December 3).

Lepine, Freda.

- 2009 Substitute Home Placements, Foster Care, Adoption: The 'Sixties Scoop.' *In* Mamow be-mo-tay-tay: Let Us Walk Together. Toronto: Canadian Ecumenical Anti-Racism Network (CEARN): 41-44. Print.

Lewis, Donald M.

- 2004 The Future Shape of Anglican Ministry. Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing. Print.

Liberal Party of Canada (hereafter referred to as "Liberal").

- 2010 Conservatives Embarrass Canada at Arctic Conference. Newsroom. 2010 March 30. http://www.liberal.ca/en/newsroom/media-releases/17827_conservatives-embarrass-canada-at-arctic-conference. Web. (accessed 2010 June 21).

Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada (hereafter referred to as "CollectionsCanada").

- 2005 Maps 1667-1999. Canadian Confederation. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/confederation/023001-2101-e.html>. Web. (accessed 2009 June 5).

Ljunggren, David.

- 2009 Every G20 Nation Wants To Be Canada, Stephen Harper insists. Global News. 2009 September 26. <http://news.globaltv.com/money/Every%20nation%20wants%20Canada%20Harper/2037877/story.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 21).

Loomba, Ania.

- 2010 Colonialism/Postcolonialism. London and New York: Routledge. Print.

Macbeth, Roderick George.

- 1912 Our Task in Canada. Toronto: Westminster. Print.

Manuel, George & Michael Posluns.

1974 The Fourth World: An Indian Reality. New York: The Free Press. Print.

Marsh, Donald Ben.

1967 A History of the Work of the Anglican Church in the Area Now Known as the Diocese of the Arctic, Arctic History. Diocese of the Arctic. Print.

Martin, Chester.

1916 Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Print.

McCarthy, Martha.

1995 From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

McClellan, Catherine.

1975 My Old People Say: An Ethnographic Survey of Southern Yukon Territory. Publications in Ethnology 6. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.

McLaren, Darcee.

1997 Living the Middle Ground: Four Native Presbyterian Missionaries, 1866-1912. Ann Arbor (MI): UMI. Print.

Meiring, Piet G.J.

2009 Forward, With Joy and Confidence. Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 134 (2009 July): 102-130.

Memnook, Edith.

1988 Response to the 1986 Apology. Aboriginal Peoples: Right Relationships. <http://www.united-church.ca/aboriginal/relationships/response>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 17).

Merriam-Webster.

2008 Colonialism, and Colony. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colony>. Web. (accessed 2008 October 23).

2010 Stipend. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/stipend?show=0&t=1289929682>. Web. (accessed 2010 November 16).

Miller, James Rodger.

2003 Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Milloy, John S.

- 2003 'A National Crime' — the Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press. Print.

Mishler, Craig.

- 1990 Missionaries in Collision: Anglicans and Oblates among the Gwich'in, 1861-65. *Arctic* vol 43(2) (1990 June): 121-126.

Mishler, Craig and William E. Simeone.

- 2004 Hän — People of the River — Hän Hwëch'in: an Ethnography and Ethnohistory. Fairbanks: University of Alaska. Print.

Moir, John S.

- 1966 The Cross in Canada. Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press. Print.
- 1994 'Who Pays the Piper ...': Canadian Presbyterianism and Church-State Relations. *The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow: the Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture*. William Klempa, ed. Ottawa: Carleton University Press: 67-81. Print.

Moore, Patrick.

- 2007 Archdeacon Robert McDonald and Gwich'in Literacy. *Anthropological Linguistics* 49(1) (Spring 2007): 27-53. Print.

Morrison, William R.

- 1998 True North: The Yukon and Northwest Territories. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Print.

Moss, Wendy and Elaine Gardner-O'Toole.

- 1991 Aboriginal People: History of Discriminatory Laws. Depository Services Program. Government of Canada. <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp175-e.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 21).

Moyles, Robert Gordon.

- 1989 British Law and Arctic Men: The Celebrated 1917 Murder Trials of Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, First Inuit Tried Under White Man's Law. Burnaby: The Northern Justice Society, Simon Fraser University. Print.

Mukhopadhyay, K. and B. N. Sarkar.

- 1996 Anthropology and Colonialism: Divorced or Just Staying Apart?" *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society*. 31(1996): 235-241. Print.

Na-Cho Nyak Dun, The First Nation of, (hereafter referred to as "NNDFN").

2010 History. <http://www.nndfn.com/history>. (accessed 2010 July 28.)

Natural Resources Canada / Ressources naturelles Canada (hereafter referred to as "NRCan").

2006a The Atlas of Canada: Northwest Territories. The Atlas of Canada: Discover Canada Through National Maps and Facts. http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/reference/provinceterritories/northwest_territories/referencemap_image_view. Web. (accessed 2008 June 29).

2006b The Atlas of Canada: Yukon. The Atlas of Canada: Discover Canada Through National Maps and Facts. http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/reference/provinceterritories/yukon_territory/referencemap_image_view. Web. (accessed 2011 May 12).

Neill, Stephen.

1987 Anglicanism. London & Oxford, UK: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd. Print.

Nelson, Richard.

1983 Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Print.

Nestor, Rob.

2006 Indian Policy and the Early Reserve Period. Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan. Canadian Plains Research Center: University of Regina. http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/indian_policy_and_the_early_reserve_period.html. Web. (accessed 2010 June 21).

New England Company (also known as the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England;" hereafter referred to as "NewEngland").

2004 History of the New England Company. History. <http://www.newenglandcompany.org/htms/history.htm>. Web. (accessed 2009 July 7).

New Federation House.

2008 John Amagoalik, Inuk, 1947-. Native Leaders of Canada. http://www.newfederation.org/Native_Leaders/Bios/Amagoalik.htm. Web. (accessed 2010 December 5).

Nock, David A.

1988 A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs. Cultural Displacement. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. Print.

Oliver, Edmund H.

- 1930 The Winning of the Frontier. Toronto, ON: The United Church Publishing House. Print.

Ontario Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs (hereafter referred to as "OMAA").

- 2008 Negotiation Process. Land Claims. <http://www.aboriginalaffairs.gov.on.ca/english/negotiate/aboutclaims/process.asp>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 2).

Orford, Emily Jane Hills.

- n.d. Bishop Marsh. Ukelele Yukon. <http://www3.sympatico.ca/mistymo/uk.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 September 14).

Osterhammel, Jürgen.

- 2005 Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview. Translated by Shelley L. Frisch. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers. Print.

Pannekoek, Frits.

- 1991 'Insidious' Sources and the Historical Interpretation of the Pre-1870 West. *In* The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970. Barry Ferguson, ed. Regina: University of Regina/Canadian Plains Research Center: 29-37. Print.

Patterson, Raymond Murray.

- 2008 Nahanni Journals: R.M. Patterson's 1927-1929 Journals. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press. Richard C. Davis, ed. Print.

Payne, Michael.

- 1989 The Most Respectable Place in the Territory: Everyday Life in Hudson's Bay Company Service, York Factory, 1788 to 1970. Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada. Print.

Peake, Frank A.

- 1975 Robert McDonald (1829-1913), the Great Unknown Missionary of the Northwest. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17(3) 1975: 54-72. Print.
- 1982 David Anderson: The First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*. XXIV(1): 3-46. Print.
- 1988 Church Missionary Society: Personnel and Policy in Rupert's Land. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*. XXX(2) (1988 October): 59-74. Print.

1989 From the Red River to the Arctic: Essays on Anglican Missionary Expansion in the Nineteenth Century. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 31(2) (1989 October): 1-147. Print.

1991 Henry Budd and His Colleagues. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*. XXXIII(1): (1991 April): 23-39. Print.

Perley, David G.

1993 "Aboriginal Education in Canada as Internal Colonialism." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* vol. 20 no. 1: 118-128. Print.

Pettipas, Katherine.

1974 *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd: 1870-1875*. Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Limited.

1991 'The Praying Chief': Reverend Henry Budd. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*. XXXIII(1) (1991 April): 41-50. Print.

1994 *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. Print.

Pitts, Gordon.

2010 How Canada's Other National Bank Is Expanding." *The Globe and Mail*. 2010 July 5. Print.

Plato.

1969 *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters*. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairn, eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Presbyterian Church in Canada (hereafter referred to as "PCC").

n.d. National Resolution Framework Announced for Victims of Abuse at Indian Residential Schools. <http://www.presbycan.ca/residentialschools/irsagreementframe.html>. Web. (accessed 2004 January 22).

Pruden, Durward and Samuel Steinberg.

1963 *Colonialism: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. New York: Oxford Book Company.

Raboff, Adeline.

2001 *Inuksuk: Northern Koyukon Gwich'in & Lower Tanana 1800-1901*. Alaska: Alaska Native Knowledge Network. Print.

Raffan, James.

2007 *Emperor of the North: Sir George Simpson and the Remarkable Story of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Toronto: HarperCollins. Print.

Rasmussen, Knud.

- 1929 Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, vol VII, No 1. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag

Rebeccamcneese.

- 2006 Tuktoyaktuk on the Arctic Ocean. Journeys of the Heart. http://rebeccamcneese.typepad.com/journeys_of_the_heart/tuktoyaktuk_on_the_arctic_ocean/. (accessed 2009 October 30.)

Reinmuth, Dieter.

- 2005 The Yukon: A Travel Adventure Guide. Dawson City, YT: Dieter Reinmuth.

Reisinger, Yvette and Lindsay W. Turner.

- 2004 Cross-Cultural Behaviour in Tourism: Concepts and Analysis. London: Elsevier Butterworth Heinemann. Print.

Residential Schools Settlement (hereafter referred to as "RSSF").

- 2005 Agreement in principle. Settlement Agreement. <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/AIP.pdf>. Web. (accessed 2010 March 4).
- 2010 Responses by Canada To Requests Made Pursuant To Article 12 To Add Institutions To the Settlement agreement." List of Residential Schools: residential school settlement: official court notice. <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/SchoolsEnglish.pdf> (accessed 2010 August 7.)

Rice, Brian and Anna Snyder.

- 2008 "Reconciliation in the Context of a Settler Society: Healing the Legacy of Colonialism in Canada." From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools. Eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald, and Mike DeGagné. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: 43-61. Print.

Richardson, Boyce.

- 1993 People of Terra Nullius: Betrayal and Rebirth in Aboriginal Canada. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre. Print.

Rossel, Seymour, Hyman Chanover and Chaim Stern.

- 1975 When a Jew Seeks Wisdom: the Sayings of the Fathers. New York: Behrman House, Inc. Print.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (hereafter referred to as "RCAP").

- 1996 Vol. 1 'Looking Forward Looking Back,' ch. 10. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sgmm_e.html. Web. (accessed 2005 December 25). Print.

Rutherford, Myra.

- 2002 Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field. Vancouver: UBC Press. Print.

Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard.

- 1979 Mythe de la femme et pouvoir de l'homme chez les Inuit de l'Arctique central (Canada). *Anthropologie et Sociétés* vol 1(3): 79-97.
- 1988 Penser le 'féminin' chamanique, ou le 'tiers-sexe' des chamanes inuit. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*. vol XVIII 2-3: 19-50. Print.

Saul, John Ralston.

- 2008 A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada. Toronto: Viking Canada. Print.

Scotland, Nigel.

- 2004 Evangelical Anglicans in a Revolutionary Age: 1789-1901. Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press. Print.

ScotlandsPeople.

- n.d. Forename Variants. ScotlandsPeople: Connecting Generations. <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/Content/FAQs/Questions/index.aspx?561>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 25).

Scott, Jamie S.

- 2005 Cultivating Christians in colonial Canadian missions. *In Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*. Austin Alvyn and Jamie S. Scott, eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Print.

Sharp, Henry S.

- 1988 The Transformation of Bigfoot: Maleness, Power, and Belief Among the Chipewyan. Washington: The Smithsonian Institution Press. Print.

Shenk, Wilbert R.

- 1977a Henry Venn's Legacy. *Occasional Bulletin*. 1977 April: 16-19. Print.

1977b Henry Venn's Instructions To Missionaries. *Missiology, an International Review*. V(5) (1977 October): 467-485. Print.

Simon, Mary.

2008 Speeches In Response To Apology To Residential School Survivors." Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. <http://www.itk.ca/media-centre/speeches/speeches-response-apology-residential-school-survivors>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 17).

Sioui, Georges E.

1994 Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle. Translated by Jane Brierley. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press. Print.

2008 Histoires de Kanatha: vues et contées; Histories of Kanatha: Seen and Told. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. Print.

Simpson, George and Frederick Merk.

1968 Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal Entitled 'Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and Back to York Factory 1824-25' with Related Documents. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Print.

Six Nations Council (hereafter referred to as "SixNations").

2008a The Haldimand Proclamation of 1784. Six Nations: Lands & Resources. <http://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/HaldProc.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 2).

2008b Current Claim. Six Nations: Lands & Resources. <http://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/CurrentClaim.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 2).

2008c Outstanding Lawful Obligations. Six Nations: Lands & Resources. www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/OutstandingObligations.htm. Web. (accessed 2010 December 2).

2010 Land Rights: A Global Solution for the Six Nations of the Grand River. <http://www.sixnations.ca/SNGLobalSolutions-Web.pdf>. (accessed 2010 December 2).

Slobodin, Richard.

1966 Metis of the Mackenzie District. Ottawa: Centre canadien de recherches en anthropologie / Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Université Saint-Paul University. Print.

Smith, Donald B. (hereafter referred to as "D-Smith").

1995 Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) & the Mississauga Indians. Toronto and London, ON: University of Toronto Press. Print.

Smith, Vi (hereafter referred to as “V-Smith”).

- 1993 Response to the Primate at the National Native Convocation, Delivered by Vi Smith on Behalf of the Elders and Participants Minaki, Ont., Saturday, August 7, 1993. Anglican Church of Canada’s Apology to Native People. <http://www.anglican.ca/rs/apology/apology.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 December 17).

Smith, William George (hereafter referred to as “W-Smith”).

- 1922 Building the Nation: A Study of Some Problems Concerning the Churches’ Relation to the Immigrants. Toronto: Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement. Print.

Sovereign, Arthur Henry.

- 1943 Isaac O. Stringer. Leaders of the Canadian church. Bertal Heeney, ed. <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/bheeney/3/7.html>. (accessed 2010 October 8).

Spectacular Northwest Territories (hereafter referred to as “Spectacular”).

- 2008a Introduction. 2008 Explorers’ Guide: Spectacular Northwest Territories. Yellowknife, NT: Northwest Territories Tourism. Print.
- 2008b Outdoor Adventures in the Northwest Territories. 2008 Outdoor Adventure Guide: Spectacular Northwest Territories. Yellowknife, NT: Northwest Territories Tourism. Print.

Sperry, John R.

- 2005 Igloo Dwellers Were My Church. Yellowknife: Outcrop, the Northern Publishers. Print.

Spielmann, Roger.

- 2009 Anishnaabe World: a Survival Guide for Building Bridges Between Canada and First Nations. Sudbury: Your Scrivener Press. Print.

Standard Encyclopedia of Philosophy, (hereafter referred to as “Standard”).

- 2006 Colonialism. <http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/colonialism/>. Web. (accessed 2008 December 3.)

Statistics Canada (hereafter referred to as “StatCan”).

- 2009 2006 Community Profiles. <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E>. Web. (accessed 2009 May 19).

Steel, Debora, ed.

- n.d. Pop Up Residential Schools. Windspeaker. <http://www.ammsa.com/classroom/CLASS5popup.html>. Web. (accessed 2004 March 27).

Swift, Diana.

2011 The Day the Dogs Died. *Anglican Journal* vol 137(5): 1, 7

Tanner, Kathryn.

1997 Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology. Minneapolis: Fortress Press. Print.

Thomas, Lewis Gwynne.

1991 The Church of England and the Canadian West. The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina: 16-28. Print.

Thompson, Arthur N.

1970 John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*. 12(3): 44-57. Print.

Thornton, Thomas F.

2008 Being and Place Among the Tlingit. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Tillich, Paul.

1973 What is Religion? (Trans. James Luther Adams). New York: Harper Torchbooks. Print.

Tinker, George E.

1993 Missionary Conquest: the Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide. Minneapolis: Fortress Press. Print.

1999a American Indians and Jesus: Reflections Towards an EATWOT Christology. *Voices from the Third World* 22(2): 59-78.

1999b EATWOT and Theological Methodology: Struggle, Resistance, Liberation and Indigenous Peoples. *Voices from the Third World* 22(2): 130-151.

Trigger, Bruce G.

1987 The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Print.

Tr'ondëk Hwëchrin Heritage Sites (hereafter referred to as "T-H Heritage").

2010a Forty Mile: Welcome to Forty Mile. Our Places. <http://trondekheritage.com/our-places/forty-mile/>. Web. (accessed 2010 June 28).

2010b Reverend Richard Martin. Our Places. http://trondekheritage.com/images/pdfs/Richard_Martin.pdf. Web. (accessed 2010 August 6).

Trueman, Chris.

- 2009 Life in England Under Oliver Cromwell. History Learning Site: Stuart England. http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/cromwell_england.htm. Web. (accessed 2009 July 19)

Tungilik, Victor and Rachel Uyarasuk.

- 1999 The Transition to Christianity. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College Library. Print.

Tyrrell, John.

- 1999 Percy Henry is Anglican's Newest Deacon. Klondike Sun. 1999 October 15. http://www.yukonweb.com/community/dawson/klondike_sun/oct15-99.html#perc. Web. (accessed 2010 August 27).

Ulasovetz, Aggie and Roger Ulasovetz.

- n.d. A Residential School Tragedy. Aggie's Stories. http://ulasovetz.com/aggies_stories.html. Web. (accessed 2010 July 24).

University of Saskatchewan (hereafter referred to as "USask").

- 1966 Regina v. Peters. <http://library2.usask.ca/native/cnlc/vol06/526.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 6).
 1967 Regina v. Drybones. <http://library2.usask.ca/native/cnlc/vol06/268.html>. Web. (accessed 2010 October 6).

Usher, Jean.

- 1971 Apostles and Aborigines: the Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society. *Histoire sociale / Social History*. 1971(7): 28-52. Print.

Vancouver School of Theology (hereafter referred to as "VST").

- 2009 Native Ministries. <http://www.vst.edu/main/about/native-ministries>. Web. (accessed 2010 February 27).

Van Kirk, Sylvia.

- 1980 'Many Tender Ties': Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd. <http://books.google.ca/books?id=JBAP4KhDrdUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=%22Many+tender+ties%22&cd=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Web. (accessed 2010 May 18).

VanderKlippe, Nathan.

- 2008 What Happened to the Dogs? *Uphere* vol 24(8) (2008 September): 62-70. Print.

Vyvyan, Clara.

- 1998 The Ladies, the Gwich'in, and the Rat : Travels on the Athabasca, Mackenzie, Rat, Porcupine, and Yukon Rivers in 1926. Edited and introduced by I.S. MacLaren and Lisa N. LaFramboise; foreword by Pamela Morse. Edmonton: University of Calgary Press. Print.

Wallis, Velma.

- 1993 Two Old Women: An Alaska Legend of Betrayal, Courage and Survival. Fairbanks: Epicenter Press. Print.

Walsh, Henry Horace.

- 1968 The Christian Church in Canada. Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press. Print.

Wand, John William Charles

- 1964 Anglicanism in History and Today. London: Readers Union. Print.

West, John.

- 1824 The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; and Frequent Excursions Among the North-West American Indians in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823. London: L.B. Seeley and Son. http://books.google.ca/books?id=PK8NAAAAQAAJ&dq=%22John+West%22+%22Red+River%22&printsec=frontcover&source=bl&ots=WkYX-RQyTI&sig=sr6x_JmIwDoHm0ifEPevaiwjQ-Q&hl=en&ei=UmdrSv7sDYWmMKzD-fgG&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2. Web. (accessed 2009 July 25).

Wheeler, Winona.

- 2009 Faulty Methodologies: Oral Histories Are Not Documents. Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association: 88th Annual General Meeting / CONGRESS 2009. Ottawa. 2009 May 23-May 27.

Whittaker, Charles Edward.

- n.d. Sketch of the Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of the Arctic. NWT Archives. N 90-501.

Whiteye, Bud.

- 2010 Payment to residential school survivors an insult. Sault Ste. Marie: This Week. Dated 2010 August 25. <http://www.saultthisweek.com/ArticleDisplayGenContent.aspx?e=4535>. Web. (accessed 2010 September 7).

Willie, Richard A.

- 2000 West, John. Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online. http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=3721. Web. (accessed 2010 June 30).

Wolf, William J.

- 1979 The Spirit of Anglicanism: Hooker-Maurice-Temple. Wilton: Morehouse-Barlow Co. Inc. Print.

Wolfe, Patrick.

- 2006 Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. *Journal of Genocide Research* (2006). 8(4): 387-409. Print.

Yukon Bureau of Statistics (hereafter referred to as "YBS").

- 2003 Yukon Crime Statistics: 1995-2003. http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/pdf/crimstats_95-03-1.pdf. Web (accessed 2011 January 11).
- 2004a Dawson. Yukon Community Profiles. <http://www.yukoncommunities.yk.ca/communities/>. Web. (accessed 2011 January 11).
- 2004b Whitehorse. Yukon Community Profiles. <http://www.yukoncommunities.yk.ca/communities/>. Web. (accessed 2011 January 11).

Yukon Council of Archives (hereafter referred to as "YT-Archives").

- n.d. Church & State: First Nations Church Workers. Nothing Is as Certain as Change: A Photographic Display on the Changing Lives of Yukon's First Nations People. <http://www.tc.gov.yk.ca/archives/nothing/church/intro.htm>. Web. (accessed 2010 August 27).
- 2003 Inventory to the Anglican Church, Diocese of Yukon Records. Deposited with the Yukon Archives Acc #86/61, 90/41, 94/78. http://www.tc.gov.yk.ca/pdf/finding_aids/Anglican_Church.pdf. Web. (accessed 2010 August 31).
- 2008 Arthur Creighton McCullum Fonds. Yukon Archives Photo Caption List. http://www.tc.gov.yk.ca/archives/findingaids/caption_lists/caption_list_82_337.pdf. Web. (accessed 2010 September 14).

Zaslow, Morris.

- 1966 The Missionary As Social Reformer: The Case of William Duncan. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 8(3S): 52-69. Print.

Zuehlke, Mark.

2004 The Yukon Fact Book: Everything You Ever Wanted To Know About the Yukon. Whitehorse: PR Services.

Videos

n.d. Better Ask Nellie. Filmwest Associates.

1993 Dancing the Dream (hereafter referred to as “Dancing”). Anglican Church of Canada). Video.

1995 The Seventh Fire. Anglican Video for the Council for Native Ministries. Video.

1999 Blockade: Who Owns the Land? National Film Board of Canada. Video.

2008 Ce qu’il faut pour vivre / the necessities of life. Association coopérative des productions audio-visuelles (ACPAV) and Arico Film. Video.

Participants

Aboriginal / Indigenous clergy and laity

Name	Male / Female	Formal Interview / Informal	Old-Timer / Newcomer / “—” (not in the North)
Akpalapik	F	Informal	Old-timer
Alariaq	F	Informal	Old-timer
Aqpik	F	Formal	Old-timer
Goota	F	Formal	Old-timer
Kangoak	F	Formal	Old-timer
Kavik	F	Informal	Old-timer
Keojuak	M	Informal	Old-timer
Kiakshuk	F	Formal	Old-timer
Kitikmeot	M	Formal	Old-timer
Kudloo	F	Formal	Old-timer
Lana (from Africa)	F	Formal	Newcomer
Markoosie	F	Formal	Old-timer
Nowyook	M	Formal	Old-Timer
Oqalik	M	Formal	Old-timer
Oshutsiak	F	Formal	Old-timer
Oviloo	M	Informal	Old-timer
Pagnark	F	Formal	Old-timer
Papikatuk	F	Informal	Old-timer

Name	Male / Female	Formal Interview / Informal	Old-Timer / Newcomer / “—” (not in the North)
Piktoukun	F	Formal	Old-timer
Pootoogook	F	Informal	—
Raddi	F	Informal	—
Raj (from Caribbean)	M	Informal	—
Tiktak	F	Formal	Old-timer
Ungulaq	F	Formal	Old-timer
Upalik	F	Formal	Old-timer

EuroCanadian clergy

Name	Male / Female	Formal Interview / Informal	Old-Timer / Newcomer / “—” (not in the North)
Arthur	M	Formal	Old-timer
Darien	M	Formal	Old-timer
Floyd	M	Formal	Old-timer
Frank	M	Formal	Old-timer
Gary	M	Formal	Newcomer
Harry	M	Formal	Old-timer
Hilda	F	Formal	Newcomer
Jason	M	Formal	Newcomer
Kyle	M	Formal	Newcomer
Linda	F	Formal	Newcomer
Lisa	F	Formal	Newcomer
Lyle	M	Formal	Newcomer
Moriah	F	Formal	Newcomer
Remi	M	Formal	Old-timer
Sam	M	Formal	Old-timer
Sofia	F	Formal	Newcomer
Ted	M	Formal	Old-timer
Villers	M	Formal	Old-timer

EuroCanadian laity

Name	Male / Female	Formal Interview / Informal	Old-Timer / Newcomer / “—” (not in the North)
Alice	F	Formal	Old-timer
Alistair	M	Formal	Old-timer
Anne	F	Formal	Old-timer
Brandon	M	Informal	—
Erica	F	Formal	Old-timer
Evelyn	F	Formal	Old-timer
Guy	M	Informal	—
Janet	F	Formal	Old-timer
Janna	F	Formal	Old-timer
Jessica	F	Formal	Old-timer
Kelly	F	Formal	Old-timer
Kevin	M	Formal	Old-timer
Lindsey	F	Formal	Old-timer
Rita	F	Formal	Newcomer
Shawna	F	Formal	Newcomer
Sylvie	F	Formal	Old-timer??
Todd	M	Formal	Old-timer
Travis	M	Formal	Newcomer
Tyler	M	Informal	—

Mixed or unknown laity

Name	Male / Female	Formal Interview / Informal	Old-Timer / Newcomer / “—” (not in the North)
Alderic	M	Informal	Newcomer
Chantal	F	Formal	Old-timer
Dawn	F	Formal	Newcomer
Don	M	Informal	Newcomer
Gordon	M	Informal	Newcomer
Joanne	F	Formal	Old-timer
Kiawak	M	Formal	Old-timer
Missy	F	Formal	Newcomer
Taylor	F	Informal	Newcomer