TEACHING A SCHOOL TO TALK: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE QUEEN VICTORIA JUBILEE HOME FOR INDIAN CHILDREN

by

Sandra U. Dielissen
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APPROVAL

Name: Sandra U. Dielissen
Degree: MA
Title of Thesis: Teaching a School to Talk: Archaeology of the Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children

Examiner Committee:

__________________________
Eldon Yellowhorn
Senior Supervisor
Associate Professor, Archaeology

__________________________
Rudy Reimer
Supervisor
Assistant Professor, Archaeology

__________________________
Stan Copp
Examiner
Professor, Anthropology, Langara College

Date Defended/Approved: August 17, 2012
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Abstract

The Indian Residential School System had a profound and devastating effect on Aboriginal people in Canada. The Victoria Jubilee Home (1897-1926) on the Piikani Reserve was one of the many schools with the mandate to civilize and assimilate Indian children. Although there have been many studies and research projects illuminating the social and political context in which the residential schools resided, little research has been done that concentrates specifically on the material culture. My research is an initial examination of this gap.

Utilizing the methods of historical archaeology, I retell the history of the Victoria Jubilee Home to shed light on the daily activities within the school, and how the material culture facilitated, along with the imposition of institutional forces and behaviour, the transition to a reserve lifestyle. This project underscores how the historic and social differences begun in the past remain pervasive in present society.

Keywords: Residential School; Piikani First Nation; Historical Archaeology; Early Reserve Era; Truth and Reconciliation
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Words about Words

Terminology can be confusing when describing First Peoples in Canada because of different perspectives and naming preferences. In this thesis, I use the term Indian in its historical context and as used in official Canadian documents. Aboriginal and Native are used interchangeably, and refer to Aboriginal peoples as recognized by Section 35 of the Constitution Act 1982. I use the term Indigenous to refer to original inhabitants globally. I employ the term First Nation(s) in its preferred sense for identifying individuals or groups.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Therefore, on behalf of the Government of Canada and all Canadians, I stand before you, in this Chamber so central to our life as a country, to apologize to Aboriginal peoples for Canada’s role in the Indian Residential Schools system. (Stephen Harper, Prime Minister of Canada, June 11, 2008)

Canada today exists as it does because it was imagined into being in the 19th century by corporate and political elites who believed that an autonomous federal state would best accommodate the significant political and social interests of the day (Anderson [1983] 2006:35; Green 2001:721). The dominant identity was attached to membership in the British empire and Aboriginal identity existed as a minor impediment to be removed from the path of colonial progress. As a more compelling vision of the dominion was created and social consensus achieved, concepts and expectations developed into structures and processes. Some Canadian historians have noted how the British empire promoted a deeply held belief in the need and right to dominate others for their own good (Carter 2005; Dickason 2009; Frideres & Gadacz 2005; O’Connell 2009; Ray 2005). Thus, between 1830 and 1875 policies and legislation were developed to ensure Aboriginal people were brought together under a Canadian administrative umbrella that regulated and promoted assimilation. Since 1869, the Indian Act has imposed patriarchal social forms on Aboriginal communities.

The colonial triad of commerce, civilization, and Christianity have had a far reaching impact on Aboriginal people in Canada. Efforts by the government to assimilate Native populations through coercion, constraint, and collusion with ecumenical support
has resulted in a legacy of cultural oppression, economic impoverishment, institutionalized behaviours, and other systemic social issues (Adams 1999:41; Lawrence 2004:51; Smith 2009). Colonial institutions, the Indian Act, missions and church-run residential schools have fostered generations of Aboriginal people who incorporate colonial norms (one of the most fundamental of which is patriarchy), while invoking traditional cultural knowledge (Green 2001:725).

Study and understanding of the Indian residential school experience in Canada has gained momentum over the past ten years. This is due, in part, to the impetus of Aboriginal people to understand the impact of education on their social and cultural history, and the current trends of Native life both on and off reserve (Yellowhorn 1996). Public acknowledgement from church organizations of their roles in establishing these institutions has also served to highlight the need for rebuilding relationships that have historically been fraught with animosity. The 2008 official Statement of Apology by the Canadian government for the Indian Residential School System and its responsibility for the outcomes of policies affecting Aboriginal people, have furthered the cause for research into the longstanding and continued challenges leading to reconciliation.

In response to the launch of thousands of civil lawsuits in the 1990s by former residential school students, the government implemented the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). Under the terms of the Agreement, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established to record the complex history that is emerging. The TRC process currently underway in Canada continues to illuminate evidence of the particularly influential intrusion of the residential schools on generations of Aboriginal people (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2012).
The Piikani and other First Nations people recognize that their full history includes the changes brought about by these external institutions, particularly during the beginning of the reserve era, and are interested in filling the gaps between their distant past and modern reality.

**Paegan, Peigan, Piikani**

The Piikani (formerly referred to as the Paegan or Peigan Indians), along with the Kainai (Blood), Siksika (Blackfoot), and South Piegan (Blackfeet in Montana) comprise the Blackfoot Confederacy. Sharing family relations, histories, cultural traits, traditional beliefs, and language, in 1877 the Blackfoot Confederacy entered into Treaty 7 with the Canadian government. Upon signing it, they discovered the white man’s rules, tools, and institutions and a new era of reserve life began.

Fur traders and explorers of the late 1700s and early 1800s reported an estimated 30,000 Blackfoot Indians travelling throughout the western plains. Described as “wandering and purely hunting nations”, the Blackfoot were characterized as the “most powerful Indian nation known” by the traders who were awed by formidable tribal gatherings (Gallatin 1836:132). Clark Wissler (1910) noted that the Blackfoot were powerful tribes able to keep other tribes out of their traditional territory securing hunting rights and access to an abundance of edible resources. Traversing the unbounded landscape of today’s western Canada and the United States, the Blackfoot Indians covered a vast territory of topographical diversity that influenced cultural traits and is evident in their toponyms, historical narratives, ceremonies and ritual culture (see Figure 1). Woven within the fabric of Blackfoot identity is sacred knowledge and science, and a history with the landscape that cements people, environment and geography to the animal
and plant worlds (Bastien 2004:9). The influence of Christianity, materialism, Euro-Canadian values and the perception of land as a commodity permeated and disrupted their customary value system.

Figure 1. Traditional Map.
*Blackfoot traditional territory spread eastward from the Rocky Mountains, across the northwestern plains.* © The Glenbow Museum 2012.

Several ethnographic studies of the cultural and social life of the Blackfoot speaking people stem from the observations of foreign observers attempting to set out and record the daily lives of the ancestral plains people (see Grinnell 1892; McClintock 1910 [1968]; Uhlenbeck 1911, 1912; Wissler 1910; Wissler and Duvall 1908). Explorers and
naturalists such as Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied and Swiss painter, Karl Bodmer, depicted Blackfoot life during the mid-1800s in portraits and detailed paintings (Ewers 1984). Together they travelled among the Plains cultures during which time Bodmer sketched and painted the Blackfoot and other tribes, resulting in some of the first ethno-artistic interpretations of Native life. These collections offer a visual ethnography of the changes occurring as increased European contact and trade influenced Native culture. Additionally, a number of studies and projects have compiled ethnography, Native life histories, and other data to provide contemporary insight into the strategies employed by the Blackfoot as their culture shifted with the incursion of white settlers. Cultural studies by 20th century anthropologists highlight the economic, social, and religious changes resulting from the imposition of external forces on the Blackfoot during the reserve period (Goldfrank 1966; Lancaster 1966). More recently, studies building on the Piikani narrative of early reserve life have been undertaken that highlight shifts in domestic space, resource use, and shifting landscapes (see Hannis 2012 and Solomon 2011).

The Piikani people continue to occupy the northern plains of western Canada and the United States where their ancestors dwelt. Their social structures rest on an extended family of relatives, whose parenting includes educating children about communal and cultural practices. Knowledge and understanding is passed through the generations and important moral and survival lessons are taught in the stories told by elders. By participating in the ritual life of Piikani, young community members learn the protocols of leadership, to respect ownership rights, and to value cultural traditions, local knowledge and folklore, that sustain their long history on the northern plains and helps them make sense of the world around them.
Traditionally, within the Blackfoot family unit, customary roles and routines were well established and the life of individuals embodied the culture they transmitted across generations. Blackfoot women carried the revered burden of establishing community, by pitching and dismantling their tipis, and attending to family and social needs. They kept the future of their children in mind and viewed the land and its resources as warp and weft of their social fabric. Their society would survive only by passing customs from parent to child, so women impressed their stabilizing presence in the traditional forms of social organization and structures (Lawrence 2004:47). In addition to controlling the domestic sphere of the family unit, wives made, owned, and decorated their matrimonial tipis, prepared the buffalo hides needed for covering and clothing, and organized household furnishings and ceremonial space within the home. Responsibilities and duties related to the home life were shared as polygyny, and often sororal polygamy, was common practice (Dempsey 2001:620).

In the Blackfoot community, men’s roles were primarily grounded in subsistence and survival enterprises bracketed by ceremonial and spiritual activities that comprised a significant element in hunting, butchering, and warring activities (Wissler 1910). They were often the first to interact with newcomers in the territory during the course of their daily routines. Although tribal Chiefs provided leadership and maintained kinship ties, the Blackfoot were primarily an egalitarian society in which all members contributed to different, yet complementary roles (Glenbow 2001:24).

By custom, Blackfoot boys and girls would interact with each other through play and social activities until the time came to learn about adult responsibilities. Young girls played with rag dolls and clay horses and helped in gathering a wide range of edible
plants. Young boys practiced hunting skills and learned swimming and other life skills from the older boys and men. Generally, children mimicked adults in their daily roles (Glenbow Museum & Archives [GMA], Oscar and Ruth Lewis Fond, Field Notes of Ruth Benedict 1939). Through stories, ceremonies, and ritual practices Blackfoot children learned about the natural law of reciprocity, respect for others and the environment, to honour the interconnectedness of all things natural and supernatural. Kindness and generosity were fundamental lessons, as was participating in the traditional social, cultural, and economic structures of the band. Children learned their responsibilities to family and the greater Blackfoot society by emulating the actions of their elders. These internal structures reaffirmed the “heart of knowing” among Blackfoot people (Bastien 2004:3). Family, as the heart of culture, provided strong values, maintained long evolved spiritual beliefs, helped maintain life, cosmic balance, and social harmony.

The extinction of the buffalo in 1879-1880 meant that the Blackfoot people could no longer avoid the expansion of commerce and white settlements in the west. The advent of the railroad claimed land and crowded the Blackfoot out of their traditional hunting areas enforcing confinement to the reserves. New laws and a changed social order was forming that would make a grave impact and have lasting consequences for the Blackfoot people.

By 1880 the Indian Agent, supported by the NWMP, was the official authority on the Piikani reserve, implementing government policies that affected trade, housing, food production, and education. Farming and ranching were encouraged by the government agent as long as it did not impair settlement of the region by white settlers. Consumption of mass produced goods replaced the use of country foods and traditional harvesting
practices. Education, in the form of missionary day schools rapidly developed into industrial and boarding schools, a valuable tool of social control on the reserve.

The notion of a superior knowledge of progress, the growing desire for national land accumulation, a religious ethos steeped with contradictions, and the belief that Native peoples were dying set the foundation for the everlasting legacy that is residential schools.

**Thesis Goal and Objectives**

The history of the Victoria Jubilee Home (1897-1926) has not been told, and the scattered historical record of its existence is flawed. Misnamed, misrepresented, and simply missed altogether in the story of the residential school system, it nevertheless had a profound impact on the Piikani Nation. Archaeological investigation was undertaken at the former school ground, and historical documents were examined. In conjunction with oral narratives, these methods were used to address primary research questions, such as:

1. What were the daily conditions at the Victoria Jubilee Home?  
2. What were the cultural interactions between the school and the Piikani Nation, and between the school and local white settlers?  
3. What were the educational conditions at the Victoria Jubilee Home?  
4. How will daily life at the school be expressed in the archaeological record?

The ability of historical archaeology to produce an inclusive understanding of the past, rests on its use of multiple data sources and the vision to use these more critically, rigorously, and imaginatively to reflect the actions and interactions which often go unrecorded in historical accounts. This type of research is well suited to answering questions about the Indigenous past, as it encompasses the concerns Aboriginal people
have about how their histories have been, and are being, represented (Rubertone 2008:14-15). The pressures of modernity have forced Aboriginal people to reconsider their ancient and recent past, which includes the imposition of external institutions.

While some attempts have been made to record the short life histories of individual schools within the residential school system, little to no archaeological investigations have been undertaken at residential or boarding school sites in North America. In the U.S., excavations have been limited to sites described as known “dump sites such as those used by many people over a long period of time” (Lindauer 1996:200). These investigations were undertaken at Native American boarding schools still in operation.

In Canada, the archaeological record of Indian residential schools remains to be examined. This thesis provides an initial contribution to such research. As part of a multi-site archaeological study of the Piikani First Nation initiated by Dr. Eldon Yellowhorn to investigate Piikani encounters with modern times, it adds to the chronicle of experiences of the historic era and associated material culture. The appearance of external institutions that administered the Piikani, such as the old residential school, are of particular interest because the material culture introduced to the community, along with the imposition of institutional forces and behaviour, facilitated the transition to a reserve lifestyle.

The goal of the archaeology therefore, is to show an accurate understanding of daily life at the residential school and how lessons learned were incorporated into Piikani life. In addition, the main objectives of this thesis are to:

1. contribute to the literature pertaining to the colonial impact in the Treaty 7 region;
2. augment the connection to material culture reflected in Piikani history;
   and,

3. contribute to the national narrative about residential schools, provoking
   interest in further archaeological investigation of residential schools.

This project illuminates how the historic and social differences of the past remain
pervasive in our present society.

**Chapter Progression**

Research regarding residential schooling has taken many turns and has crossed
many disciplines, encompassing a range of theories and methods designed to explore and
reflect on the impact of these institutions. Chapter 2 summarizes the current literature on
the subject, and points out the lack of archaeological research undertaken thus far.
However, research in institutional archaeology has much to offer in this regard.

In Chapter 3, I provide a brief history of the Indian Residential School system and
events leading to its inception. Assimilation was the prime directive of the schools,
transforming young Aboriginal children into proper Canadian citizens who would
contribute to the economic growth of the country. Promises were made to provide a
steadfast education, but both the government and church organizations responsible for
instructing the students, failed to deliver. Schools were underfunded, understaffed, poorly
constructed, and were highly regimented, regulated, and incompatible with Aboriginal
learning. As a case study, I tell the life history of the Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian
Children, a residential boarding school on the Piikani Reserve. Throughout its history, the
school underwent much change and, although considered an exemplary school by church
officials and the Indian Agent, it was filled with problems (Diocese of Calgary 1898; DIA Annual Report 1900).

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology I used for data collection, including field work and site sampling, archival research, personal interviews and discussions with the Piikani community, and observations made while attending Truth and Reconciliation events.

The results of the archaeology portion of my thesis are discussed in Chapter 5. Not surprising, based on findings from rural schoolhouses, the majority of the assemblage consists of architectural remains, followed by the school related items. Artifacts recovered fit broadly within the time period of the school’s operation between 1897-1926, and reflect the addition, removal, and renovating of buildings. The most remarkable “find” however, was the lack of objects representing children’s activities, toys and such.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I relay the lessons learned in “teaching a school to talk”. I expected that much of the research and data collected would reveal a narrative of the school’s history, its place in the larger scheme of Canadian Indian policy, and some of the key forces that impressed the school on Piikani memory. I did not however anticipate the range of questions that would arise as a result of this initial study, and the potential for future archaeology at residential school sites. After tying together all the information gathered, it is apparent that these institutions not only failed Aboriginal people, but failed in their efforts to eradicate centuries-old customs and traditions.
Chapter 2: Teaching A School to Talk

Introduction

The 1965 review, The Education of Indian Children in Canada, prepared by the Education Division of Indian Affairs responsible for implementing government policy stated, “our hope is that [this report] may open up vistas for researchers…to explore this field of education of historic interest and of growing importance to an ethnic group which has survived with remarkable resilience the vicissitudes of colonization and immigration” (Government of Canada 1965:vi). Emphasizing a positive picture of the history of Aboriginal education, the report asks for leniency from critics and suggests future research address issues that “hinder the accultural process” (Canada 1965:vi). Since its publication, researchers have indeed answered the call for further study on teaching Aboriginal pupils. However, they are not forgiving in their critique of colonial policies, and paint a picture of a flawed education system that reaches back to the early 19th century.

Despite the body of work accumulated to assist in understanding the political and social contexts within which the Indian Residential School System was implemented, little research exists that concentrates explicitly on the material culture of residential schools in Canada. Archaeology connects modern observers with the events of the past through artifacts and site features that focus on the activities that took place in that location. Historical archaeology has demonstrated that empirical observations become significant when paired with social discourses about the world. “These discourses occur
in the present and entail social and political interests” (McGuire 2008:230) that can serve social justice. Additionally, archaeology adds to the limited record documenting the transitions brought about by material culture introduced through the residential schools, providing insight into the broad transformations that resulted when mobile people were forced into permanent settlements.

This chapter situates the archaeology of Indian residential schools among parallel initiatives at other institutions, specifically those designed for educational and missionary roles. Institutional archaeology covers a broad range of sites, and the significant tropes of research attempt to understand the policies and structures of confinement, regulation of mind, body, and actions, and the impact on cultural developments coeval with such places. Centres of education and religious training, such as missions, offer considerable insight into the manifestations of broader social policies.

Lest I leave the impression that the residential school system is an artifact of a certain era, I should hasten to add that the last one operated as recently as 1996. For the sake of clarity then, I begin with a brief overview of scholarly insight regarding governmental objectives with Indian education.

**The Discourse of Residential Schooling in Canada**

A 2008 *National Benchmark Survey* prepared for Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, indicated that only one-third of Canadians surveyed had heard or read something about Indian residential schools. Of these, nearly 60% believe there is a causal link between them and challenges Aboriginal peoples and First Nations communities struggle to overcome (Environics 2008). Compared to the 1996 *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,*
which concluded that most Canadians are simply unaware of the history of the Aboriginal presence in Canada and have even less understanding of the relationship between Canadians and Aboriginal people, this increased awareness can be attributed to significant scholarly research conducted and media coverage during the past thirty years.

Although the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996) was not the first attempt to address and redress issues and concerns of Aboriginal people in Canada, it did provide an additional catalyst for residential school research. Indeed, Chapter 10 is devoted entirely to a summary review of the history of residential schools drawn from the historic documents of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. The *Report* signalled the need for more in-depth research about the failed relationship between residential schooling and Aboriginal communities, and acted as a springboard for the development of a more recent historiography of this topic.

The current discourse in residential school literature has given many reasons to revisit this important subject and to discern some lessons that lead to better schooling for Aboriginal students. According to Trevithick (1996) the corpus of documents, while differing significantly in quantity and quality as studies, can continue to benefit from the exploration of topics that address the conditions and legacies of small groups of schools within the system and address the specific details of individual institutions. Further, researchers interested in Indian residential schools have broadened their outlook to include other sources such as pictures, oral testimony and memories, as well as interrogating the artifacts and architectural features remaining from these schools (Trevithick 1996). Regardless of the methodology employed or the various social
elements highlighted in recent studies, the established literature charts the historical trajectory for the development of Aboriginal education in Canada.

Anglo-centric perspectives that emanate primarily from government policies and processes however, do little to account for the lived experience of the Aboriginal children who attended the schools. Contemporary authors often criticize the politics and social engineering responsible for the establishment of these schools, situated within the context of colonialism, and in doing so they shine some light on a dark history in Canadian pedagogy (see Grant 1996; Milloy 1999). Thorough accounts of the historical development of the system and the impact on Aboriginal communities is often drawn from government records that virtually ignore the voices of the families of those who were incarcerated in these institutions. In addition, this literature while useful in understanding the colonial context for residential schools, recites a passive history that does not reflect the resilience of Aboriginal people. As Miller (1990:386) states, the extant volumes focus on the suppression of cultural practices and have a tendency to describe Aboriginal people as “victims rather than creators of their history.” But there are exceptions.

Scholarly examination of residential schools have attempted to include multiple perspectives in an effort to reconcile the official rhetoric of government documents with the establishment of sub-cultures, acts of defiance and resistance, and the acceptance or rejection of a colonial education among former pupils. The most noted, and perhaps earliest of these comprehensive undertakings, is Celia Haig-Brown’s (1988) Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School. Drawing on interviews and the experiences of former residents of the Kamloops Indian Residential School, she provides
insight into their purpose and impact. She incorporates student voices to corroborate the survival of a strong Aboriginal identity among the Tk’emlúpsemc people. Other authors have followed suit, enhancing traditional research approaches with the first hand testimony of Aboriginal children who attended the schools (see Bezeau 2007; Jack 2006; Treaty 7 Elders 1996). Their stories were also handed down to subsequent generations and preserved in family lore.

In the growing scholarship on the history of residential schools, understanding of the broader significance of these institutions globally, demonstrates the similarities and differences in education among Indigenous peoples. The phenomenon of sending children away to be educated was not limited to Canada. One scholarly examination of the impact of residential schools in North America, Australia, and the United Kingdom reveals the “multiple aspects of the boarding school experience” that co-exist as part of the larger imperial picture (Trafzer, Keller and Sisquoc 2006:xi). The authors argue that there can be no single explanation or interpretation of this experience or the relationship between the schools and Native people, and that these events must be viewed as a whole. Comparisons between colonial experiences worldwide are valuable to researchers and policy makers, but need to be cautiously undertaken to accurately reflect the needs and values of disparate communities. Therefore, the authors explore the legacy of the late 19th and early 20th century residential schools within present-day Indian boarding schools in the United States, interpreting their research to reflect the extent to which a deeply flawed system affected Indigenous people worldwide.

Balancing the global view can bring new insights because “particular regional experience is critical for a more sophisticated understanding of how colonialism operated
differently according to space and place” (Burnett 2007:19). Historical geographers agree that the notion of place itself is a complex and contested concept, even if there is a general agreement that it has a far more intimate connotation than ‘space’. Place, for example, is where “social relations are constituted” and should not be viewed as passive or fixed, rather place is defined as the locale in which social and political ideologies are made to function, are practiced and understood (De Leeuw 2007:342). Thus, research that focuses on a discrete regional area reveals the key roles residential schools played in creating a new place for the Aboriginal population in the emergent nation of Canada.

Roman Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, and Mormon missionaries established day schools, industrial schools, and residential boarding schools throughout the old Northwest Territories of the newly formed Dominion of Canada. The interaction between the Aboriginal communities and these institutions varied greatly between regions and between reserves, and the success of the individual schools was largely based on the concerted proselytising of the missionaries themselves. Further, missions were in competition with each other to establish schools and to recruit pupils (Burnett 2007). One study of the correspondence and diaries of missionary women who travelled across Canada to northern British Columbia in the late 19th century, relates their personal investment in the “success or failure of the civilizing influence” of independent missions (Rutherford 1994:9). Always a popular literary genre, the mission newsletters reported on the appearance and behaviour of Aboriginal people and critiqued the ability of the children to be educated.

Volumes such as *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada, 1877-1927* by Donald Smith (2009), formerly a history
professor at the University of Calgary, further supports the theme that research within a
distinct regional context provides a focused approach to understanding the hegemonic
processes of imperial expansion. The southern Alberta and the Kamloops-Okanagan
regions of British Columbia experienced rapid colonial settlement at the local level and
that growth can be examined in concrete material ways (Smith 2009). Institutions, such as
residential schools were developed to “de-Indianize” the students and were adjusted to
meet local conditions (Smith 2009:51). Their geographic location as well as the design
and layout of the buildings were constant reminders to the Aboriginal children that the
“physical conditions at those institutions were very different than those they were used to
in their home villages” (De Leeuw 2007:343). The collective histories often attest to the
influence and control of the material world through architecture and goods introduced
through the residential schools.

Regardless of approach taken in recording or studying the Indian Residential
School System, the overarching theoretical trend is in understanding government
motivation and intentions for the establishment of such policies. However, just as there
are commonalities and differences between Aboriginal peoples throughout Canada, their
encounters with politics, the residential school system, and with imported consumer
goods, varied. Therefore, making any meaningful comparisons is difficult because there
is a huge gap in material culture studies related to them; a gap, ironically, that
archaeological practice can fill.

A is for Archaeology

Historical archaeology is well suited to the study of residential schools,
particularly as it relates to an institutional context. The material culture of a regimented
life adds significant insight into the relationship between places, things, and people (De Cunzo 2009). Within their confines are societies writ small, which are dynamic indicators of their highest values and deepest fears. Material culture plays both a conscious and deliberate role in accomplishing the goals of the institution. It provides access to the individuals who were social agents in maintaining their own identities, often through personally meaningful objects (Spencer-Wood 2009). Institutional life is concerned with controlling behaviour and imposing a daily routine that is structured to reach certain outcomes. Archaeological examination of such places must necessarily encompass the architecture, furnishings, personal items, food remains, landscape design and utilized space to create narratives about them.

The archaeology of institutions has contributed to a growing understanding of the culture and economy of capitalism and the inequitable power relationships manifested in the social, political, and moral acts of establishing them. Prisons and penitentiaries, military compounds, almshouses and workhouses, hospitals, and asylums have produced abundant archaeological data addressing issues of dominance, reform, ritual, resistance, coping, and survival. The range of experiences from different institutions instills a deeper understanding that requires appreciation of the inmates as well as the socially constructed restrictions apparent with them (Casella 2009:25). In this regard, historical archaeology can address issues of inmate behavior from multiple perspectives within the mise en scène of activities at the institution.

**Archaeology of Education**

Fledgling status aptly describes the archaeology of educational institutions, such as Indian residential schools, African-American boarding schools, and rural
schoolhouses. Although schools add volumes to the history of a community because of their socializing influence, archaeologists have not embraced this avenue of research and few studies reflect on their role as agents of change, and there is no current information available from Canada.

Early attempts at schoolhouse archaeology in the United States was driven by State authority or National Parks requirements, and by the 1990s was limited to historic sites that were exposed to potential demolition or relocation (Beisaw and Gibb 2003). Dominated by architectural debris and a lack of any discernible stratigraphy, testing of schoolyards rarely results in spatial patterning of the assemblage and may, in fact, not provide an assemblage large enough for statistical analysis. Consequently, these sites are rarely considered as having archaeological potential (Beisaw 2003). However, emergent archaeological investigation and analytical study of these sites has brought meaning to the role of education in affecting acculturation in marginalized communities, the acceptance or resistance of educational institutions as venues of change, and the re-creation of social identity.

Archaeological survey and excavations conducted near the Stewart Indian School (1887-1930), Stewart, Nevada were the response to mitigation efforts in advance of construction of a sewer line. Children from Native American tribes in Nevada and California attended the school and artifacts recovered from the school trash disposal area suggested that students regularly modified items to signify ownership and identity (Hattori 1978). While some research uncovered flaked stone technology, “the continuance of any aboriginal lifeway at the Stewart Indian School appears to have been strongly discouraged” (Hattori 1978:64). Nonetheless, the site reveals a distinctive school
inventory that viewed in a holistic manner may well expose deeper practices of resistance and cultural survival among the children.

In a similar vein, the Phoenix Indian School Archaeological Project produced a body of research that addressed questions about the form and function of material items while considering what these meant in the daily lives of Native American children and the staff who worked at the boarding school (Barton and James 1991; Lindauer 1996, 1997, 2009). The Phoenix Indian School, Arizona, operated as a federal educational institution between 1891 and 1990. Students were educated to be different than their families and to accept new values and customs that conflicted with customary teachings. The introduction of modern technology brought a mixture of conformity through regulated activity, though covert resistance, such as food smuggling, conducting traditional ceremonies or using Native languages in secret, did occur.

Theories of power relations contextualize the practices of surveillance, domination and subservience employed within U.S. federally run, on and off-reservation boarding schools. The Carlisle Indian School, the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, and the Theodore Roosevelt School exemplify the military influence used in inculcating Native American children into a civilized lifestyle. School staff ensured that regimented routines divested Native American communities of any sovereignty and independent life (Lomawaima 1993; Welch 2008).

**Mission Archaeology**

Cloaked in the language of morality, Indian boarding schools of the late 19th and early 20th centuries promoted a Christian agenda. Indeed, the Canadian Residential
School System depended largely on the proselytizing efforts of various missionary organizations that received government support to establish church missions and administer them. Archaeologist Elizabeth Graham, in a 1998 review of the archaeology of Christian missions, suggested that these places played a significant role in understanding colonial attempts to enculturate Indigenous people through the mechanisms of religious reform (Graham 1998). Attention has focused on missions as sites of colonial encounters that reveal the dynamics of power relations and how the use of space controlled and affected social change, and affected the structuring of new societies. Since contemporary research may inadvertently create a morality play about missions with relative terms such as “good” and “bad” preceding Indigenous people which can be carceral and homiletic (Lydon and Ash 2010). However, cautious archaeologists should not interpret the material manifestation of mission buildings or uncovered material objects as the degree of acceptance or rejection of Christianity as a whole by Indigenous people (Graham 1998). In her examination of the archaeology of the Wea View Schoolhouse, Indiana, Deborah Rotman (2009) argues that religious activities have poor archaeological visibility because artifacts relating to these activities are rarely found as they are assiduously curated and removed prior to renovation, demolition or abandonment of the buildings.

While much of the archaeological research at mission sites has focused on topics such as the impact of imposing the state and its laws on Indigenous people, intercultural relations within missions constructs a unique history that is localized and represents the limitations of legislation, particularly in geographically remote places. Missions represent sites of growing mutual dependence between missionaries and Indigenous people, and
“how this tension worked and why” provides the context for understanding the “persuasive or coercive relationships between missionaries, Indigenous peoples, and British colonists” (Dally and Memmott 2010:114).

Despite the idiosyncratic nature of historical studies about missions, they did exist within a broader system that recreated itself in those far away places so common themes necessarily emerge. In their volume, The Archaeology of Missions in Australasia, the authors noted that,

accessing mission compounds, imposing European forms of settlement organization and space/time regimes, the consumption of Western goods, the integration of Indigenous labor [sic] into global economic systems, and especially the practices and bodily performances required by domesticity (Lydon and Ash 2010:2).

More recently, the inclusion of Indigenous research programs and perspectives uncovered multiple layers of meaning at mission sites, where diversity guides colonial interactions (see Lyndon 2009; Rutherford 2005). In other words, missions were not merely examples of state and religious power; the material culture at these sites imply that improvisation was integral to establishing successful missions.

Children in Archaeology

Reference to institutional archaeology, specifically mission and education related, produces a rich methodology for analysis specific to residential schools. Further, reference to multitudinous studies of residential schools, and the incorporation of oral narrative, enlivens the discussion of material culture influences on Aboriginal people. However, one fact I cannot overlook is that these institutions were constructed for the incarceration of Indian children. My research is not an exercise in abstracting my way
around it, rather the study of children and children’s activities in archaeological contexts plays a significant role in understanding the residential school experience. This context broadens the research about transmission of cultural information across generations (see Baxter 2005, 2006, 2008; Beisaw 2003, 2004; Beisaw and Gibb 2004; Derevenski 2000).

Children contribute to the archaeological record, whether or not they are specifically identified. Recognizing their presence can be challenging as they are often considered actors incidental to social dialogues rather than active participants shaping the archaeological record (Wilkie 2000). Children do not write their own histories. Approaches, theories, and questions raised are often guided by mortuary remains at excavated sites or ethnographic observations of child’s play in social development at historic archaeological sites. Whereas discovering intent in the material culture record may be difficult, there are other possibilities besides socializing activities that account for children (Schwartzman 2006). Historical archaeology, with its inherent interrogation of various sources such as photographs, documents, and archival material, exposes how the representation of children is not always what we expect.

The prevailing perception is that children have a distorting effect on the archaeological record that distracts from the more significant behaviour of adults (Baxter 2006, 2005; Hammond and Hammond 1981). However, archaeology of children has grown over the past decade from traditional gender studies that link the activities of children to the activities of women, to observing children as independent creators of the past. Further, this view has shifted with the recognition that children maintained their own sense of identity, priorities and networks, and created social spaces and landscapes distinctive to them (see Derevenski 2000; Lillehammer 2000; Schwartzman 2006;
Vermeer 2009; Wilkie 2000). An object, therefore, does not have to be a toy or child-specific to be an important part of a child’s experience. Moreover, the activities and material culture of children extend beyond any category of child-specific artifacts (Baxter 2005). That is to say “children are a vital element of society and society cannot be perpetuated without children” (Lillehammer 2000:19). They are not isolated from the broader social, economic, and political concerns of their times. Within the interment campus this is particularly meaningful because they were designed with the specific purpose of regulating the behaviour of Aboriginal children in both work and play.

**Remembering Memories**

Residential schools have a distinctive history that supports continuity of memory and history because they are institutions invested with meaning for Aboriginal people. Similar to a monument, their mnemonic function within communities form part of the dialectic between stability or historical continuity and innovations or change (Climo and Cattell 2002). Just as the material culture enhances historical documents and community consultations, personal reflection expands the site’s history by providing glimpses into the social memory associated with cultural norms and issues of authenticity, identity and power (Nesper 2002; Welch 2008). Such a phenomenon is pervasive and was observed at the Meshingomesia Indian Village Schoolhouse site, which was a place of remembering and re-imagining for the tribe because it was filled with memories of relationships, celebrations, and betrayals (Nesper 2002).

Vicarious memories, that is, memories of past events transmitted from person to person, extend knowledge across generations. Indigenous traditional knowledge considers these mnemonic heirlooms as a way to preserve the history of witnesses of
ceremonies, celebrations, and ritual gatherings through oral testimonies. Sharing rememberances constitutes a trust relationship and carries responsibilities for any actions that facilitate community change, definition, or history. Recollection is a companion to theory-rich studies because living memory of events and experiences brings forward new interpretations that help archaeologists imbue their findings with meaning (Ouzman 2005).

“There is…a story of these schools that can only be told by…ex-students, their families and communities whose lives have been shaped by that painful reality” (Milloy 1999:7). The TRC is gathering stories from Aboriginal people whose life experience includes attending residential school and who voluntarily testify to the impact of these institutions. Additionally, a recent literary trend includes the autobiographical testimonies and personal accounts from Aboriginal people who have both fond memories filled with humour, laughter, and forgiveness, and tragic memories of pain and suffering.

**Summary**

Written documents, while important, are of only limited usefulness for reconstructing the intangible aspects of the residential schools such as the experiences of students and staff, general conditions within the institutions, and expressions of resistance (Trevithick 1996). A complete history of these institutions requires a holistic approach that includes less traditional sources such as archaeological artifacts, pictures, and especially oral narrative.
Chapter 3: Indian Education as the Pedagogy of Work

Introduction

The idea that education is always good and necessary begets the question of who is teaching and who is learning. Standardizing the labour force across the world introduced homogeneity to every corner of the globe, and a modern education was the vehicle for that business. This was certainly the prevailing attitude of the early 19th century and by 1850, Canadian lawmakers deemed that Aboriginal adults lacked the acumen to become proper citizens, so emphasis shifted towards civilizing and educating Indian children. Policies and structures flowing from an expanded British Empire laminated to the ideological stratum of Christianity produced a system of education geared towards blending an anonymous aboriginal society into the new Canadian commonwealth.

Residential and industrial schools were common educational institutions in Europe and part of the British imperial landscape since mediaeval times. These schools were staffed almost entirely by clergy, and during the global colonial era, boarding schools and training schools often accompanied expatriates. In part to ensure that their own children received proper training in the mother culture, the boarding schools became an effective way to encourage native people to internalize British ideals and to achieve their imperial goals. However, reformatory institutions for young non-Indian offenders also existed at this time. Children who were difficult to handle were placed in these
institutions by their parents, and were often incarcerated for up to five years. Known as “schools for bad kids”, these institutions followed a regiment of academic studies and industrial skills such as carpentry, tailoring, and farming (Scott-Brown 1987). Given the choice of model schools, the fledgling Canadian government opted for the reformatory system then in vogue in Britain.

In this chapter, I provide a brief history of Indian education in Canada within the context of nation building. Theories about the structure of nation building present an opportunity to look at the residential school system as a major catalyst in normalizing the way Aboriginal children experienced colonialism. Each school, although defined by specific geographic boundaries, is housed within a larger network of colonial policies centralized within greater social and political institutions (De Leeuw 2007). To focus this experience, a discussion of Indian education within the parametres of Treaty 7 is warranted. Finally, I offer the story of the Victoria Jubilee Home as an example of the complex relationship and entangled history of Indian residential schools in Canada.

**Making Proper Citizens**

As early as 1620, Jesuit missions in New France advanced the idea that education of Native children was the best method of bringing European civilization to the Indians. Indeed, Catholic missionaries established numerous institutions to provide instruction for both Native and non-Native children. By the time New France was absorbed in the British Empire in the mid1700s, the Roman Catholic church monopolized Indian
education. After 1783, British loyalists\(^1\) settled in Canada and Protestant denominations became active in the field of Indian education. The Church of England Missionary Society was among the first to establish church-supported schools, so that by the late 1800s the Anglican Church of Canada was dedicated to “affording Indian children the advantage of education” (Canada 1965:12).

In 1845, supported by the Anglican Bishop in Toronto and several missionaries, Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, presented a report to Indian Affairs recommending the adoption of industrial boarding schools as the best method of establishing and conducting the education of Indian children. These boarding schools would replace the day schools that allowed Indian students to return to their homes at the end of lessons, and, according to the conventional thinking of the time, revert back to a native state of savagery. Hayter Reed, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (and one of the most influential Indian Agents in western Canada) concurred that industrial and boarding schools provided constant attention to the students, and those Indians who were completely removed from the “uncivilized life” were more successfully reformed. The purpose of industrial schools, according to Ryerson, was to “give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic” and, “agriculture, kitchen-gardening and mechanics so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements”. He further insisted that the “animating and controlling spirit of each Industrial School ‘should be a religious one’” and suggested that their operation be a joint effort of the government and concerned

\(^1\) Known in Canada and England as the United Empire Loyalists, they were the considered the first wave of American immigration into British North America, settling in the Quebec and Ontario regions and eventually spreading first east and then west (O’Connell 2009).
religious organizations (Canada 1965:13). Ryerson’s pitch to convert from day schools to residential schools reverberated well into the 20th century.

Three decades later, John A. MacDonald, under political pressure and popular will to expand across western Canada, awarded a commission to Nicholas Flood Davin to investigate and report on the Indian industrial schools operating in the United States. MacDonald believed that similar measures were needed in Canada and would be particularly appropriate for national purposes in Western Canada. In March 1879, Davin, a journalist, lawyer and Macdonald’s political ally, produced the Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds (the Davin Report). In it, he promoted the establishment of industrial schools similar to those in the U.S., but advocated for denominational boarding schools throughout western Canada as these would provide an alternative faith to the “simple Indian mythology” that had to be eradicated (Davin 1879:14). MacDonald agreed that secular education was appropriate among white men, but that the first objective among Indians was to make them better men, and, if possible, good Christian men. In his view, religious schoolmasters possessed the “higher motives” and “moral restraints” necessary for a proper Christian education (Enns 2009:106).

Macdonald further argued in the House of Commons that the government did not like Indian children returning home when they left school. He noted that, “the young men when trained [in the schools] can get their homesteads, and if they can get white women or educated [Indian] women as wives, they sever themselves from their tribes”, a situation far more conducive to entry into civilized society (Canada, House of Commons Sessional Paper 1881: 1681). Eventually, this attitude led the government to grant power to the administrators of residential schools to loan male students money and equipment to
establish small farms, on the condition that they married the young women who also completed residential schooling. Graduates were further encouraged to take advantage of the enfranchisement provision of the Indian Act (Milloy 1999). Later in his political career, Nicholas Davin reiterated the notion that “wanton folly” would have followed had the government not established the schools. “There is no way of spending money that will be so emphatically endorsed by the people of Canada as spending it for the education of the Indian, and contemporaneously…giving him this industrial education to fit him for earning his living in civilized life” (Davin 1895 cited in Enns 2009:110).

The 1880s and 1890s were characterized by a series of justifications for residential schools that grew to include confinement to reserves, legal punishments, restricted access by Aboriginal people to court and legal systems, and a change to the Indian Act in 1884 that authorized the regular round-up and forced removal of children to residential schools. Edgar Dewdney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs during the late 1880s, wrote,

> the most essential lever for the elevation of the race would be the adoption of a policy of imparting to the young a thorough practical knowledge of mechanical arts and agriculture, as well as of other employments, including a systematic method of ordering and managing their domestic affairs - in short a complete training in industries and in domestic economy (DIA, Annual Report 1889:x).

Control and surveillance of Aboriginal people, not only in terms of wage labour, but also in their daily routines and activities was key to the national agenda.

The relentless pursuit of industrial education for Aboriginal youth by the Department of Indian Affairs was celebrated as a highlight of the 1893 World’s Fair and Columbia Exposition in Chicago. The exhibition provided the opportunity for the
Dominion of Canada to demonstrate to the world how an aggressive Indian education policy produced the best results towards advancing civilization among Indian boys and girls. Along with such public demonstrations of the benefits of residential schooling, the Indian Act was further amended in 1894 to allow for the “arrest and conveyance to school, and detention there, of truant children and of children who are prevented by their parents or guardians from attending” and to fine or imprison the parents (DIA, Annual Report 1894). This assured that government policy was less likely to fail.

Conservative policy towards Indian education was not without opposition however. Liberal members of parliament disagreed with it because that meant taking power away from the government and giving administrative leeway to church organizations. Joseph Martin, Liberal Member of Parliament in 1891, openly rejected Conservative arguments that denominational schools were more expedient. He argued that funding of schools based on religious affiliation created intense rivalries among denominations (although he supported a separate Catholic school system), and the church-run residential school policy did not “turn out a very large number of good citizens, because so many died” (Enns 2009:102). Further, Martin opposed clauses in the Indian Act allowing the power to restrict the liberty, not only of the parents but of the students themselves. Liberal politicians reiterated Martin’s argument after the 1907 release of Dr. Peter Bryce’s, The Story of a National Crime, which reported on the deplorable conditions of residential schools and the high mortality rates of Aboriginal children.

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2 Martin was a politician, lawyer, and educator who openly argued against established government policies and introduced controversial issues for political debate, thus earning him the title “Fighting Joe”.

32
Principally, the industrial schools of the 1800s were designed to civilize by means of the "pedagogy of work", religious conversion, and Europeanization (Smith 2001:257). Teaching basic skills in literacy and numeracy was secondary to progress made in farm work, trade skills, and domestic chores. Initially, the schools were to teach boys at least two industrial skills in addition to agriculture skills, and girls were to be instructed in household skills. The daily work and upkeep of the school, done by the children, ensured that the “discipline of work” also played a role in the “disciplining” of school inmates (see Foucault 1977). School mottos, such as “No idleness here” from St. Joseph’s Industrial School in Alberta, reaffirmed that the schools were preparing inmates for full participation in the emergent industrial economy of the new Canada.

Located at considerable distance from Aboriginal communities and often situated off reserve lands, industrial schools were built in close proximity to white settlements so that students could learn by observing how civilized societies functioned, and, potentially, gain menial employment with the rudimentary skills they learned. The last of these industrial schools, the Calgary Industrial School, built in 1896, recruited students from throughout Alberta and Saskatchewan. Shortly thereafter, industrial schools were either closed or reconfigured as boarding schools\(^3\), where training and teaching focused on those skills deemed necessary for students to live on reserve land. Boarding schools on the reserve gained popularity as recommendations from missionaries, settlers, and Indian agents called for isolating and segregating Aboriginal people to spark the growth of the nation. Applications from religious bodies for on-reserve residential schools in western Canada dominated over all other aspects of Aboriginal welfare. The government’s key

\(^3\) Not until 1923 did all industrial and boarding schools receive official designation by the government as residential schools (Canada 1996).
strategy was to impose separation and isolation, not only from white communities, but also to ensure that young Indians were isolated from the influences of Native traditions. Practically, that meant erecting schools on the reserves as far as possible from family homesteads and settlements.

Regardless of on-going debates regarding the merits of church-run residential schools, education for Indians was steeped in racist dogma. Predicated on the belief that Indians were inferior and incapable, residential schools set out to provide a class of labourers and domestic workers to support the emerging agricultural and commercial economy of western Canada. Although costly to operate, Indian Affairs officials waxed philosophical that a residential school

“education must be considered with relation to the future of the pupils, and only the certainty of some practical results can justify the large expense entailed upon the country by the maintenance of these schools. To educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life would be not only a waste of money, but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them” (DIA, Annual Report 1898 :xxvii).

Only an education that promoted the ideas of citizenry was encouraged, with instruction in English as paramount (see Table 1). School inspectors remonstrated that “without a knowledge of our language, when the children now being introduced grow up, they will be unable to work with their neighbours, and cannot possibly become assimilated with them” (DIA, Annual Report 1898). In addition, pupils were to be instructed in the proper behaviour of Canadian citizens, and all games and playtime were focused on strict rules and well regulated in order to produce obedience. Only activities that fit these parameters were encouraged (such as glee clubs, brass bands, calisthenics, football, cricket, baseball, basketball, and hockey) (Milloy1999:45). Christian ideology
was, of course, the foundation for citizenship so it was enshrined in Indian residential schools and secured their place in Canadian history.

**Table 1. Programme of Studies for Indian Schools**
(adapted from Milloy 1999 and DIA, Annual Report 1895)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Programme of Studies</th>
<th>Language and General Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard I</td>
<td>Students are taught the practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness</td>
<td>Simple English language skills</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>General knowledge; things in school, days of the week</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing words on slates</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers 1-10, simple problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard II</td>
<td>Students are taught right and wrong, truth, proper appearance and behaviours</td>
<td>Sentence making; orthography, oral and written</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seasons; measurements; colours; animal and vegetable knowledge-uses, cultivation, growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing words on slates</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers 10-25, count to 100; simple problems using coins, fractions; converting gallons to pecks, pecks to bushels, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard III</td>
<td>Students should develop the reasons for proper appearance and behaviour, as well as independence and self-respect</td>
<td>Sentence making; grammar; compose sentences about objects</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Animal and vegetable kingdoms; money; useful metals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Use slates and copy book</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers 25-100; variations in counting; simple problems; measurements; pounds in a bushel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard IV</td>
<td>Industry, Honesty, Thrift</td>
<td>Writing continued; sounds; easy oral and written composition</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Animal, vegetable, minerals; use of railways and ships; explain manufacture of common articles; races of man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numeration to 10,000; Roman numerals to 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard V</td>
<td>Students should focus on patriotism, self-maintenance, charity, pauperism; this included the difference in Indian and white life, the evils of Indian isolation, labour (the law of life) and its relation to home and public duties</td>
<td>Write complex sentences</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laws regarding fires, game, and daily use</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numeration completed; reading and writing fractions and decimals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard VI</td>
<td>Reinforce values</td>
<td>Review general knowledge, oral and written, parts of speech</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social relations; seats of government; system of representation and justice; commerce and exchange of products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Factors, measures, and multiples; easy application of square and cubic measures; daily practice to secure accuracy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Bible and the Plough**

History has favourably conjured images of Christian missions in North America as centres of agricultural technology, medical miracles, and spiritual refuge for newcomers. Individual missionaries are lionized as pioneering heroes, saving lost souls
and imparting Christian ethics while charitably sharing literacy skills and rituals of
domesticity with the local Native population. Missionary educational policy with its
religious theoretical underpinning (although viewed as disciplined) was essential to the
success of Canada’s Indian residential schools, promising to produce hardworking, loyal
subjects (Scott 1997). However, today’s social and political climate has conceived
numerous counter images of missions and missionaries as hypocritical, destructive, and
abusive, particularly in the residential school system. Indeed, the 20th century turned the
narrative of the missionaries’ divine struggle to one of complicity in advancing European
imperialism.

Deliberate evangelism, and its triumphalist worldview, made converting
Aboriginal people a keystone to Christian mission, begun in the 15th century, when
religious orders were established to complement colonization and conquest. Their role as
explorers, ethnographers, policy makers, and enforcers was a central role in 16th century
Christian reform that saw an exponential growth in missionary activity and influence
across North America and other colonies (Wade 2008). Nineteenth century mission
societies grew out of the revivalist era of the 17th and 18th century that called for
proselytizing across the world and promoting Christianity in the Americas. Revivalism
infiltrated, and was pervasive in, British thinking throughout the 19th century, leaving its
theological indentation on colonial Canada through the establishment of churches,
hospitals, and schools (Middleton 2010). Consequently, missions are significant places in
Aboriginal history as they represent key sites of engagement and transformation during
the colonial encounter and are particularly meaningful in revealing the dynamics of
power relations between settler and Aboriginal societies.
The early 1800s brought a small contingent of intrepid missionaries to the northern Plains. Traveling with fur traders and explorers, they brought Christian beliefs and instruction into the western frontier, thus laying the foundation for missions that would mediate a new relationship between peoples in the region. British colonial dominance in the Northwest Territories of the 1870s and 1880s advanced an agenda for the Church of England. Anglican, Methodist, and United Church missionaries established their settlements adjacent to the agencies, while the missions of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate brought Roman Catholicism to reserves. Regardless of their denomination, attempts to destroy the traditional way of life motivated mission work because it required the total transformation of the Indians (Fisher 1977:144 cited in Smith 2001). With men of God in the vanguard travelling farther afield, missionizing was deemed the most effective way to ensure rapid cultural change. Their practices of breaking up families, separating males from females and children from families, undermined the influence of local leaders and Native spiritual practitioners (Wade 2008:16). Disseminating civilization and Christianity brought together the strange bedfellows when the federal government decided the Indian residential school system would be a pillar in its Indian policy.

Missionaries sought transformation of the Aboriginal populations through spatial and material practices, creating an idealized landscape intended to inculcate in students the superiority of Christian values, civilized morals and proper behaviour (Lydon and Burns 2010). However, hunter-gatherer populations posed particular problems for missionaries and mission work. Their mobile lifestyles, work habits, the paucity of arable lands, and often the lack of sedentary agricultural practises did not fit with the
missionaries’ concepts of labour and ownership. In addition, fluid decision-making by these groups, coupled with a worldview steeped in their own cosmology that conflated natural and supernatural landscapes, challenged the organizational structure and hierarchical nature of Christian religions (Lydon and Burns 2010). But, missionary zeal was often undaunted. During the summer months on the Plains, missionaries often pitched tents among the Indian camps that were set-up in preparation for the Sun Dance (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], Annual Report 1889).

With the onset of mass produced domestic goods during the late 18th century, items such as ceramics and tablewares were used to articulate status in society and to differentiate between social classes. A lack of material goods and comforts was seen as symptomatic of moral degradation and uncultured behaviour. The material culture of missions played an important role in creating subjectivity and mediating between individual and group identity (Lydon 2009). Further, respectability was modelled through demeanour, manners, clothing, personal possession, and household goods. Women missionaries in particular acted as role models for Native women, teaching a good “Christian home life” and imploring on Native women to raise their children “to some extent in the fear of the Lord” (Rutherdale 1994:22). Within the mission, the culturally specific ideals of western civilization drew upon a range of everyday goods and practices, thereby “embedding mission theory within habitus in the missionaries’ attempts to transform their charges” (Lydon 2009: 12). While the most important duties of the missionaries was to manufacture evangelical converts, mission work required a reliable and sustainable food supply that was fundamental to encouraging Indigenous people to
reduce or abandon their mobile lifestyle and to adopt sedentary life through, predominantly, pastoral or farming practices.

The initial establishment of Christian missions on the Blackfoot landscape met with a form of tolerance that accepted the new concepts but did not abandon traditional beliefs and replace them with an alternate philosophy (Lancaster 1966). Chiefs and elders, respectful of the missionaries, did not heed the call for conversion among the Blackfoot people, however while some individuals converted to Christianity as a way to affect relationships, to obtain food and aid, or for medical or spiritual reasons, traditional beliefs and worldviews co-existed (McCray 2001:325). This reasoning has continued. A noted Piikani ceremonialist, Weasel Tail (Joe Crowshoe, Sr.), articulated this relativist spiritual view to his interviewer by saying “we are all one people under God; we’re all the same” (Ross 2008:35). Although he became an Anglican lay minister in the 1950s, Weasel Tail did not give up his customary beliefs.

Establishing Roman Catholic and Church of England missions in two distinct areas of the reserve created a split among the Piikani people, dividing the reserve into Catholic and Anglican factions. Competition for recruits and resources pitted families against each other (Treaty 7 Elders 1996:156). This was particularly significant when these religious bodies established schools on the reserve as “no Protestant child is to be placed or retained in a Roman Catholic school, nor is a Roman Catholic child in a Protestant school” (DIA, RG10 Files, Reel C 14258 vol 1429, letter from Indian Commissioner to Peigan Indian Agent, 1898).

Individual missionaries within this tempest of religious rivalry played seminal roles in shifting native worldviews. Working in tandem with colonial rules and
legislation, missionaries regarded Native people as infantile at best or savage at worst, always in need of direction and, inevitably, an exploitable resource as labourers. Although some missionaries realized that promoting the acceptance of Christianity in the lives of Aboriginal people also made them targets for dishonest government officials, missionary work was insidious in weaving together daily economic and subsistence practices with religious activities (Wade 2008).

The Missionaries

Missionaries, both men and women, contributed their reverent efforts among Aboriginal peoples. However, history has been negligent of women and little has been collected and recorded about individual missionary women. Archival searches reveal a limited quantity of journals and written reports of missionary women. As such, scholars have most often written about women’s roles in the aggregate, historically sidelining them in favour of the professional status of their male counterparts. Although at various times in history female missionaries outnumbered men and dispensed more ecclesiastical products than their male colleagues, they have not been recognized as main characters in the written histories and their work has often been marginalized (Burnett 2007; DeLeeuw 2007; Rutherford 2005). There is, however, a growing field of scholarship that is interested in exploring the feminine attributes of colonialism and, in particular, the role of individual women missionaries beyond the rhetoric of domesticity, health, and teaching.

For the purposes of this study, I have provided brief biographical information about key male missionaries – men who aligned with the politics of the time and were most influential in establishing residential schools on reserves in the Treaty 7 region.
The Catholic World

During the 19th century, Roman Catholics, presided over by the pope and a hierarchy of priests, subscribed to the ideology that their church was the “one true moral and spiritual authority on earth” (Peterson 1993:27). Catholic missionaries heeded the call for deep commitment, strict discipline, and mobilizing religion across the globe.

In 1842, Father J.B. Thibault traversed the prairies, eventually arriving at Fort Edmonton where Roman Catholic priests established a Christian mission among the fur traders and Blackfoot people who lived in the region. With the help of a Metis/Blackfoot guide and interpreter, Thibault zealously journeyed throughout Blackfoot, Blood and Peigan territory baptizing Indian children in the Catholic faith. The Blackfoot, contrary to their reputation as ruthless warriors, tolerated Father Thibault’s ministrations because he was perceived as a holy man, but were not particularly interested in adopting the Catholic religion (Father Doucet’s Missionary Journal [FDMJ], 1868-1920, Oblate Archives). Nonetheless, the Roman Catholic presence on the Blackfoot landscape was established.

Father Albert Lacombe followed the footsteps of Thibault in 1852, eager to carry on and expand his work. Aware of the indifference of the Blackfoot people to ecclesiastical teaching, Lacombe nevertheless travelled the northern plains in an “unending round of visits to Indian camps”, spreading the Catholic message (Carr-Stewart 2001:112). He learned to speak Blackfoot and often acted as intermediary between the federal government, the Canadian Pacific Railway and various Blackfoot speaking tribes. Lacombe strongly advocated for vocational instruction for Plains Indian children, and on the authority of Bishop Grandin lobbied the government for industrial schooling under Catholic supervision. He established St. Joseph’s Industrial School at
Dunbow, just south of Calgary, Alberta, and served as its first principal from 1884 until 1885. Although praise has often been attributed to Lacombe for his ability to garner support from the Blackfoot to encroaching development and settlements, he righteously opposed both holidays and visits from parents to the residential schools, maintaining that keeping parents and children separated was essential for achieving assimilation (Milloy 1999).

Father Leon Doucet arrived in Blackfoot country in 1868. He, too, saw advantages in learning the Blackfoot language and together with other clerics established Catholic missions in their customary homeland. Doucet’s ministerial assignments brought him to all parts of Blackfoot territory and in 1883 he wrote in his journal “[v]ery early, I realized the necessity of visiting the Blackfoot people in their various villages” and in 1891 added,

“these Indian people are very hospitable. They love to be visited. Even the worst ones would never think of breaking any of the rules of Indian hospitality. That provides a good opportunity for the priest to get to know them, to give some instructions to those who are sympathetic and willing, to care for the sick, to baptize the new born babies, and even to instruct some of the children that do not come to our school. These home visits are the best way to gain a foothold and to be accepted as one of these people (FDMJ 1868-1920).

Although eager to spread the “good news” among the Blackfoot peoples, Doucet was also keenly aware of the lack of enthusiasm for religious conversion. His hope was, however, that denominational education of the young Indian children would eventually bring adults closer to the Catholic flock. In 1883, Doucet operated a small day school for Blackfoot children, but lamented that if he did not give them tea and cookies the children would leave. On December 27, 1886, Doucet announced the opening of a school on the
Peigan reserve. Thirty-eight students initially attended the school, which offered a bowl of soup, a cup of tea, and a biscuit for those who attended. Again, however, without the enticement of a meal, children did not eagerly return. While working at the Peigan mission Fathers Doucet, Lacombe, and Legal translated prayers and a catechism into the Blackfoot language.

**The Anglicans**

The Church Missionary Society and the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada provided the main financial support to the Anglican missions and missionaries in the Treaty 7 region. The associated Women’s Auxiliary Societies were particularly interested in missionary work among the Blackfoot, Blood, and Piikani, sending young missionary women to act as teachers in Indian day schools (Rutherdale 1994). Missionary work was supplemented by federal support for schools, and by 1892 the Anglican Church maintained nine day schools throughout the reserves.

In 1820, the Reverend John West arrived from England, supported by the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Missionary Society for the Church of England, to mobilize Anglican missionary efforts on the western frontier. He quickly moved through Rupert’s Land to create an Anglican foothold and set the pace for the missionaries who followed.

Rev. Robert T. Rundle was the first clergyman to establish a mission station among the Blackfoot, engaging interpreters for religious services and teaching adults and children the rudiments of English reading and writing. During the early 1840s, he spent time travelling among Blackfoot campsites, occupying his time with preaching,
encouraging the singing of Christian hymns, and teaching reading and writing to those who were interested. Rundle subscribed to the dictum, “Christianity first, then civilization” and opted for Indian camp meetings rather than establishing mission posts. His sponsors, the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society, however, pressured Rundle to establish an Indian school and agricultural training centre that was eventually opened in 1847 at Pigeon Lake near Fort Edmonton. Rundle, himself, never undertook work there. Like other early missionaries, Rundle attempted to learn the Blackfoot language and towards the end of his eight year sojourn he translated the Lord’s Prayer into Blackfoot using syllabics (GMA, Robert Terrill Rundle Fonds, M1080–83).

In 1878, Rev. George McKay arrived at Fort McLeod as a scout, interpreter and chaplain for the N.W.M.P. He quickly established St. Peter’s Mission on the Piikani Reserve in 1879. The following year, a mission day school opened, but was replaced by a boarding school in 1890 (Carr-Stewart 2001:115). Appointed as Archdeacon for the Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan, and with a vast territory requiring Christian ordinance, McKay did not remain in one place too long. The following years saw a succession of mission posts established on Blackfoot reserves.

One of the most aggressive missionaries in the Treaty 7 region in the late 19th century, was the Rev. John W. Tims. Sent from England to Blackfoot Crossing in 1883 by the Church Missionary Society, Tims was also called upon by other missionaries to assist in the work of ministering to white settlers and the newly established police force. He was also the main cheerleader providing encouragement and support to struggling missionaries working amongst the various groups of Blackfoot people. In a letter of
instructions from Church Missionary Society, dated June 5, 1883, Tims is encouraged to embrace his “divine appointment” in the new territory:

“The Indians will be prepared to welcome you as a friend. Judging from experience of work among cognate and neighbouring tribes, there is every reason to expect that they will listen to Scriptural instruction. The wise and humane treatment they have met with from the Canadian Government, and the obvious superiority to themselves of the white man in all the arts and comforts of life will dispose them to believe in the sincerity of your friendship and the truth and utility of your teaching…Certain it is that there are no missions, the accounts of which are more touchingly simple, more deeply interesting, more indicative of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, than those among the Red Indians of North America” (GMA, Tims Family Fonds [TFF], Letters of Instruction, M1233-1).

Tims was instructed to erect his mission about “twelve miles from the Crossing, where he would be surrounded by nine hundred of the Indians, all heathens” (The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record, February 1884). Only a short year later in 1885, Tims had secured a commitment of $450 to build three schools in the area, and was celebrated for his enthusiasm and dedication in bringing education to the Blackfoot (see Figure 2). In an official letter of praise, Bishop Cyprian Pinkham stated that, “I wish you and you only to represent the C.M.S. work in Alberta” (emphasis in original) (GMA, TFF, letter, M1233-1). He also produced the first Blackfoot-English dictionary.

During nearly 50 years among the Siksika and Tsuu T’ina, Tims maintained the rigid attitude that a heavy dose of Christianity was needed in educating the Indians. He actively advocated for boarding schools and segregating children from their families as the only means for achieving conversion. Rev. Tims disliked the idea of day schools that allowed children to leave because many did not return. He opted instead to have children remain at the school even during times of illness, only sending them home if they were likely to die. In opposition to, or perhaps because of, his self-appointed divine power,
Tims refused to accept responsibility for decisions that devastated the Indian population, blaming the government, the Indian Agents, other church organizations, and even the Devil for problems between the church and the Blackfoot people (Milloy 1999). Tims, who was eventually appointed as the Archdeacon for the Anglican Church responsible for all missions in Southern Alberta, was considered a great pioneer in Alberta history (Dempsey 1994).

Canon William Robinson Haynes (b1865-1937) arrived in Canada in 1885. He was immediately dispatched to Alberta where he spent his first few years traveling between the Blackfoot reserve and the Piikani reserve, evangelizing and learning their language. Haynes spent nearly his entire life among the Blackfoot, always expressing a keen interest in their culture and language. His ability to translate Blackfoot and English, was considered invaluable and according to an interview with elder Jack Crow in 1973, Haynes was often called upon to write “poor man’s letters” to assist Piikani people who were unable to work or hunt because of old age or disability (Canadian Plains Research Centre, [CPRC] TARR 1973). In 1897, Haynes moved his family to the Piikani reserve to oversee the Anglican mission and the new Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children where he served as missionary, principal, and occasional teacher until 1910 (see Figure 3).

Around 1912, with the assistance of Bull Plume, a ceremonialist and minor chief of the Piikani, Haynes began to reproduce and interpret the Blackfoot Winter Count, a pictographic history originally recorded on buffalo hide that told of significant events occurring in the lives of individual Piikani recorders as well as the Blackfoot as a whole, from c1764 to 1924 (Raczka 1979). A copy of Haynes’ journal depicting the images and
translations is archived at the Glenbow Museum and Archives in Calgary. Canon Haynes continued ministering to the Piikani until his death in 1937, but his influence continued through the legacy of his family who later became influential teachers and farm instructors on the Piikani and Blood reserves.

Figure 2. Rev. Tims (left) and Rev. Haynes with children at Blackfoot boarding school, c1890
(Glenbow Archives NA-1020-3)

Figure 3. Rev. Haynes with wife and child, c1892, at Peigan Mission
(Glenbow Archives NA-668-68)
Other clergy were also involved in missionary work throughout the Blackfoot reserves, teaching Christian liturgy and translating prayers, hymns, and bible passages into a syllabic system still in use among many of the Blackfoot nations.

**Treaty 7 Education**

“Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their Reserves and shall desire Teachers” (Treaty 7 1877)

Education and schooling were negotiated in all treaties signed after Confederation and was promised as a condition of the numbered treaties negotiated through the 1870s. On September 22, 1877, the Blackfoot Confederacy met at the historic campsite of Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow River. David Laird, Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories and Lieutenant Colonel James F. Macleod, Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police, along with nearly a hundred NWMP officers and various Indian Agents, interpreters, horse traders and other entrepreneurs, as well as missionaries, and the wives and families of government officials attended the treaty negotiations. Eye witness accounts estimate that at least a thousand Indian tipis, housing nearly 4,500 individuals and all the accoutrements of mobile people, were pitched along the valley on both sides of the river (Carr-Stewart 2001).

For the Canadian government, Treaty 7 was essential. Having brought British Columbia into Confederation in 1871, making good on the promise of a transcontinental railway that would link the new province to the country and encourage immigration westward was a priority. Building the railway required securing large tracts of land still nominally in the control of various Indian nations (Burnett 2007; Carr-Stewart 2001).
However, under the articles of the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*, removing the burden of Native title and transferring it to government authority was a necessary first step. A treaty would uphold the reputation of the Crown and gain unfettered use of lands up to the Rocky Mountains. In particular, land adjacent to and through the Crowsnest Pass into British Columbia was valued as prime real estate for the railway.

In addition to enabling the Crown’s objective of white settlement in the territory inhabited by the Indians, Treaty 7 set forth a new relationship between the government and the Blackfoot that contained allusions to economic and social services, with education being included therein.

One hundred and thirty-five years after the fact, Treaty 7 is still the subject of lively debate. The Blackfoot wonder about the conditions under which it was negotiated, and the execution of its terms (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council 1996). By insisting on education as a term, the signatory chiefs of Treaty 7 recognized that the white man’s education would be essential for the survival and continuation of their communities. They were aware of earlier treaty negotiations and settlements, and knew that discussions had made reference to education and resulted in the commitment of the crown to provide schools and teachers (Treaty 7 Elders 1996:24). However, the vague wording of the educational clause, errors in translation and differing understandings of the nature of the treaty, left the implementation of schooling completely under government control.

While Piikani chiefs selected land on the Oldman River, the boundaries for their reserves were only surveyed in 1879. Once established, however, the Piikani requested that treaty promises – food and supplies, cattle and tools (items identified in the treaty), education – be provided in exchange for settling on the reserves. Although by 1881,
farming instructors were hired, there was still no presence of teachers or the government funded schools. Faced with requests from Aboriginal leaders and pleas from missionaries operating small mission schools, the government promised day schools while investigating the options for the preferred residential schooling system.

In 1887, the Catholic church operated a school house on the Piikani reserve that was attended on average by 29 children daily. That same year, the Church of England announced its intention of opening a boarding school and requested government support for supplies and funding for teachers (DIA, Annual Report 1887). William Pocklington⁴, Indian Agent, welcomed the application as it would prove a diversion from the numerous requests he was receiving from the principal to send Piikani and Blood children to St. Joseph’s Industrial school near Calgary; a feat that met with significant resistance from parents. Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner, stated that the industrial schools continued to fail in attracting children from the Blackfoot reserves and that boarding schools in the territory would provide far superior benefits and,

“such advantages as result from separation from the retarding influences of the daily return to the home, the increased regularity of attendance often seriously affected by cold weather, sun dances, and long distances to travel” (DIA, Annual Report 1887).

Without adequate schooling on the reserve, children were frequently sent great distances to schools described as being convenient to those operating them, but sufficiently removed from the reserves and family influences. In an 1893 report, Thomas M. Daly, then Minister of the Interior, noted that “Blackfoot, Piegan, and Bloods have

⁴ Pocklington was later fired as Indian Agent because he was highly disliked by Native leaders and others. According to the Fort McLeod Gazette, May 21, 1897, his firing was considered a “rank injustice”.
been removed about eight hundred miles from the influence of their parents and their early surroundings” (DIA, Annual Report 1893).

By the end of 1887, the number of day schools throughout the territory had grown but attendance was sporadic and often appeared to be contingent on the children receiving a meal. Attendance at all schools throughout the Treaty 7 region was consistently poor. Both Catholic and Anglican school reports lament the dearth of children regularly attending their day schools, which the Indian Agents’ pleas for boarding schools seemed to echo.

In 1901, the Duke and Duchess of York visited southern Alberta, and the DIA staged a number of events for their benefit. In a speech prepared by the Indian Agent, Running Wolf, a Piikani Chief, stated that the “Peigan loved the land and would never get tired of living on the earth, but that they looked to the agent for guidance and the agent helped keep the Peigans straight”. In a response address, the Duke’s speech reiterates that the Indians love their “Great Mother” and their “attachment to her will never be forgotten”. Throughout the Duke’s speech, statements are made that the “Indians were wise to ask the Queen for education for their children as it is increasing their happiness at civilization”. Children from various boarding schools in the Treaty 7 region were in attendance, and the difference between the neatly dressed school children and the old people wearing “old-time trappings” made the point that the Canadian government was being successful in raising the next generation of Indians (DIA, Annual Report 1901).

Although uncertainty clouds their understanding about the sort of education the government would provide to the Blackfoot peoples, Treaty 7 elders recall that it was promised, and included the building of schools and teaching the English language.
However, they also expressed the desire that traditional and customary Indian education, religious and spiritual teachings, and their history not be lost (CPWC, TARR 197x). Over a hundred years after Treaty 7, education was finally brought home in 1978 when title to property and the school buildings of St. Paul’s residential school on the Blood reserve (opened in 1894) were transferred to the Kainai, making it the first school in Alberta to be under native control. Since the 1980s, Treaty 7 Indians have assumed administrative control of their schools.

The Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children (1897-1926)

One of the most unusual, and yet defining, characteristics of residential school record keeping practices, was the tendency to misname, alter names, or link school names within geographic and religious boundaries. This is likely due, in part, to the tendency for the liturgical denominations to name institutions for venerated saints resulting in multiple schools with the same name, some of which also crossed faiths. As well, schools were erected, dismantled, and recycled into new schools at a frenzied pace. The general apathy in which the Indian Agents (the primary report writers) and other officials recorded school activities cannot be ignored either. Consequently, narrating the story of one school in a region often necessitates investigating the history of its predecessor to reveal a more complete, complex and interesting history of the school that both complements and contradicts the previously recorded histories by correcting misapprehensions and substituting a dynamic history connected to the community. Such is the case of the Victoria Jubilee Home.
St. Peter’s Mission – Boarding School

On April 19, 1890, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) opened the first Anglican residential boarding school on the Piikani reserve. It was located at the mouth of Olsen Creek about one mile east of the agency buildings. The school had the capacity to house a dozen boarders and its first recruits were local Piikani children whose parents agreed to send their children in exchange for government supplied beef and flour rations. Initial attendance at the school was low as the children left when family encampments moved, and parents, unwilling to leave their children behind, reclaimed them. Additionally, older boys were often sent to industrial schools located several miles from the reserve.

Frustrated by the seeming indifference to education by Piikani parents, the missionary and teacher, Rev. Mr. Bourne, left the school to solicit funding and equipment to improve conditions at the boarding school (DIA, Annual Report 1890). By 1892, only fifteen girls were resident at St. Peter’s Home (see Figure 4). The Rev. J. Hinchcliffe, Mrs. Hinchcliffe, and Miss Brown, the matron, were the first teachers and remained at the school until it closed in 1897 (Diocese of Calgary 1892).

The CMS established the Calgary Indian Missions (CIM) in 1892, an agency responsible for coordinating funding and support activities at St. Peter’s boarding school and other Anglican residential schools throughout the Treaty 7 region (Anglican Church of Canada 2008). Appeals to the CIM resulted in cash donations, clothing, bedding, crockery, and other domestic items, and in 1893, St. Peter’s Boarding School was

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5 The boarding school at St. Peter’s Mission was known as St. Peter’s Home, St. Peter’s Home for Indian Girls, St. Peter’s Boarding School, Piegan Boarding School.

6 The matron was the woman (usually a mature woman) in charge of the domestic affairs of the institution.
expanded to hold thirty-six students (see Figure 5). The new additions included a new boys’ wing to accommodate twenty-four boys, a day room for school activities, a dining hall for boys and girls, and a bedroom for the newly appointed master, Mr. John Alfred Mason. An assistant matron, Miss Mason, was also hired to assist with the increased domestic responsibilities (Diocese of Calgary 1894).

Staffing at the boarding school was not adequate to accomplish the goals of the mission or provide sustainable teaching. In its 1893-1894 Report on Indian Missions, the Diocese of Calgary noted that, “our missionaries, whose chief and most important duties are the work of evangelization…have taken up the responsibility of the Homes” (Diocese of Calgary 1894:7). The Indian Agent, H. Nash, also reported that Rev. Hinchcliffe continued to train children at carpentry, housework, baking, and other skills, while A. McGibbons, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves, noted that though Hinchcliffe and Mason were making satisfactory progress, more efforts were needed to improve regular attendance (DIA, Annual Report 1895). In order to free the missionary to carry out his purpose, between 1894 and 1896 additional staff were hired for the boarding school: Miss E. Palmer (kitchen maid), Mr. F. Brighton (carpenter), and Mrs. Brighton (seamstress) (Diocese of Calgary 1895; 1896).

From 1894 to 1896 attendance at the school fluctuated, never reaching more than twenty-two students. Additionally, the building itself suffered structural problems and sanitary conditions were poor. The wooden structure had major architectural flaws causing crowded space for the inmates, poor ventilation and air circulation, and multiple insect infestations. Funding for maintaining the building was hard to come by. The land

7 The master refers to the “schoolmaster”, a man who runs and teaches at the boarding school.
surrounding the school was inhospitable for agriculture and irrigation was too costly thereby curtailing the amount of food the school could produce. In 1895, an appeal was sent for “friends to undertake the support of individual children” to alleviate housing and maintenance costs for them (Diocese of Calgary 1895). The children, expected to remove garbage and refuse from the school, were unable to carry buckets great distances and debris was discarded near the residence. Similarly, young girls who were learning cooking, washing, sewing and knitting, were expected to help in the domestic chores of the school, but as Hinchcliffe reported, “the boys help out as the girls are not strong enough to wash and clean for the whole school” (DIA, Annual Report 1896).
Figure 5. Boarding School at St. Peter’s Mission, 1893, Peigan Reserve  
(Note: Archival title of photograph erroneously identifies the school as the Victoria Jubilee Home, which was built in 1896-1897. Accompanying textual documents identify the school at St. Peter’s Mission.  
(Glenbow Archives NA-668-60; R.N. Wilson fonds)

Adding to the deteriorating conditions at the school was the serious outbreak of disease among the Piikani during the 1890s. Sam B. Steel, Superintendent of the N.W.M.P. at Macleod, reported that an outbreak of measles hit both the Blood and Peigan reserves, resulting in the deaths of at least twenty-five children. He further reported that investigations of a smallpox outbreak at the Church of England boarding school proved to be “merely” chickenpox and no deaths were reported (Canada, Sessional Papers No. 15, 1895:18-47). However, in 1895, five children died\(^8\) at St. Peter’s boarding school and in 1896, the death of one girl was reported and several children were sent away due to illness and were not expected to return (Diocese of Calgary 1895; 1896; DIA, Annual Report 1896). Recruitment of new students was rapidly diminishing as Indian parents became leery of the dismal conditions at the boarding school. According to Hinchcliffe, parents were particularly reluctant to send their daughters. He reasoned that this was due

\(^8\) Archival documents do not indicate how, or if, the parents were notified, nor do they record where the children were interred.
to the small number of girls on the reserve at the time, so the Catholic schools were able to devote more attention and energy to female students. He also opined that since so many girls had died at the schools, the Indians were afraid to send more (Diocese of Calgary 1896).

A new boarding school was needed because the home for Indian children was too small to fulfil the ambitious agenda of the Canadian government and Anglican church. Where it stood was less than ideal and its cramped quarters and substandard construction prompted the CMS and DIA to build a new residential school. Situated approximately ten miles (16 kms.) upstream from St. Peter’s, construction began in 1896 on a portion of freehold land donated by the government (Diocese of Calgary 1897). The new location, west of the Brocket train station on the banks of Pincher Creek, would be the new home for the St. Peter’s Mission, but the school would be called the Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children.

**Victoria Jubilee Home**

In the fall of 1896, with the aid of a $1,100 grant from DIA, the Church of England Missionary Society began work on the Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children (Victoria Jubilee Home) (R.N. Wilson report, September 22, 1898, IAC, Ottawa, RG 10, Reel C14259, Vol. 1431). In addition to government funds, local rancher, F.W. Godsal, donated $500 and collected another $1,000 from other local settlers for the school. In his eagerness for the new school, Godsal, an active lay member of the executive committee for the CMS loaned an additional $1,200 to the school for building materials and supplies (Diocese of Calgary 1897).
Extolled as a monument to Queen Victoria’s golden jubilee, the Victoria Jubilee Home officially opened in September 1897 during a visit by the Governor General of Canada and Lady Aberdeen. The CMS declared it the “best home in the Diocese; clean, tidy and well ventilated with excellent sanitary conditions”, while the DIA noted that, “as an Indian home, this institution is nearly perfect” (Diocese of Calgary 1898; DIA Annual Report 1900). For the white settlers in the area, it signalled industrial expansion and westward economic progress, and heralded the promotion of settlement and a sense of imperial rule between the Great Mother, Queen Victoria, and her “red children” (Carter 2005:35). For the Piikani, it was a reminder of treaty commitments and obligations for education, serving as tangible recognition of the rights entered into between the Crown and the Blackfoot.

In addition to recycling lumber from the old school building, wood for the new school was obtained locally from the Piikani Timber Limit (IR 147B) at the Porcupine Hills. The frame wooden structure cost a total of $4,133, and boasted a west dormitory for twenty-four boys, a separate east dormitory for sixteen girls, a dining room, a boys’ day room and a girls’ day room (which served as classrooms), two lavatories on the main floor, storeroom, kitchen, cellar, pantry, sewing room, and office. A dining room and five bedrooms were available as staff quarters. The children slept on iron-frame beds with a pillow and a quilt. Homemade pine desks and wooden benches without backs were used in the classrooms. Two furnaces in the basement provided limited heating, while a drive well in the kitchen supplied the school with water. Some of the old buildings from the original boarding school were relocated to the site, including log stables, a carpenter’s workshop, and blacksmith shop. Although the government donated forty acres for the
new mission and school site, the church purchased the balance of the quarter section for a total of 160 acres available for mission and agricultural development. Four and a half acres were fenced for vegetables, primarily root crops such as turnips and potatoes, and a small fenced garden was planted in front of the school (see Figure 6). Two children’s playgrounds were to be fenced at a later time (Diocese of Calgary 1898).

The Rev. Mr. Hinchcliffe remained as principal for the school’s inaugural year. After his resignation in 1898, Canon W.R. Haynes took over responsibility for the school. Between 1898 and 1926, staff turnover was consistent as financial struggles plagued the Indian residential school system throughout Canada. Additionally, many of those who came as teachers to the school were not certified and the demands of instructing young Indian children in the rudiments of an English education proved too daunting a task. Therefore, the principal often served double duty to conduct classroom work. (See Appendix B: Victoria Jubilee Home Staff, for a list of school staff compiled from DIA and Diocese of Calgary records.)
The curriculum followed the general specifications outlined by the DIA for Indian schools, providing basic reading, writing and numeracy skills. However, the brunt of education was industrious activities such as bread making and housekeeping, and teaching the boys animal husbandry and farming skills. The latter was considered such an important undertaking, that Haynes went so far as to discard the regular reading books and replace them with *Campbell’s Soil Culture Manual* (1907), a 320 page book about soil and crop growing (see Figure 7) (DIA Annual Report 1910). Boarding school education for the young girls focused almost entirely on the domestic sphere, with sewing, knitting, and household work as the primary skill training.

**Figure 6. Piikani Children picking potatoes at Anglican Mission, c 1901 (Glenbow Archives NA-1020-25)**
Children at the Victoria Jubilee Home ranged in age from six to twelve, and, on average, twenty-one students attended on a regular basis. In 1901, Haynes reported that attendance at the school was low because Hinchcliffe, on his resignation, transferred fourteen of the older boys to St. Dunstan’s Industrial School near Calgary (DIA, Annual Report 1901). They were supposed to be prepared for citizenship, but the staff feared that boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen had outgrown the mission schools, could not find employment, and, with few skills, would drift back to reserve life. With a sense of despair, Piikani boys sought distraction in Fort Macleod or Pincher Creek, prompting the N.W.M.P. to report that “an increased number of boys who look like half breeds are being turned out from the schools…they can then purchase liquor by passing themselves off as half breeds” (Canada, NWMP Annual Report 1903). The Indian Agent also chided
the schools, blaming them for turning out English speaking boys who could obtain and therefore increase the use of alcohol on the reserve. These “lost boys” had endured isolation, separation from family and traditional values, and a disparaged Native identity, so their ennui did have a solid foundation.

Living at the school, separated from siblings, wondering about family, eating strange food, and engaging in activities far removed from customary enterprises, undoubtedly inspired tremendous fear and anxiety among the children. Government policy was designed so that children at the residential schools could not go home except during designated school breaks, about two to four weeks in June. Although parents visited the school on the weekends, it was small comfort for youngsters when, in the early morning hours of April 29, 1903, the northern face of Turtle Mountain slid into the valley burying the town of Frank (Frank’s Slide) approximately 50 kilometres west of the school. Eric North Peigan (personal communication 2009) recalled that his grandfather, Victor North Peigan, who was a student at the school at that time, spoke of the event, recalling that the children could feel the rumbling as they lay in their beds.

Mission work was also undertaken at the school, and was occasionally entwined with Piikani celebrations. Baptisms and weddings held at the mission were followed by a “pow wow” at the Victoria Jubilee Home. Head Chief Butcher, who was not baptized in the Anglican faith, nonetheless stated that, “in this school the children are brought up, fed, taken care of and well looked after, as well as taught the word of god. I am quite willing to do all I can to help send children to school here” (Diocese of Calgary 1905:7). These positive recollections however faded over time, as the reality of the conditions at
the school and the insidious nature of Indian education was realized by parents who could no longer interact with their children.

By 1912, the DIA resolved that a closer and more direct connection between boarding school life and a future as a farm operator on the reserve would be of greater benefit to the students. Consequently, boys remained at the school until they were discharged between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. This would ensure that the gap between leaving school and going directly to farming would improve the prospect of successful homesteading by ex-pupils. Grants for horse teams, ploughs, working outfits consisting of a harness and wagon, seeds, building materials and household furnishings were made to former pupils of the school once they practically demonstrated their intention to settle. Although promised within the terms of Treaty 7 negotiations, the tools, supplies, and farming equipment were given on a conditional loan, that was payable in five yearly instalments. In 1912, Herbert White Owl, Tom Little Plume, and Hartwell Big Bull, former students at the Victoria Jubilee Home, were each granted forty acres and free seed, along with a working outfit. In 1914, an exception was made for Victor North Peigan to provide $125 to assist him in building a home and starting a farm. Although technically not entitled to the grant because he had been out of the Victoria Jubilee Home for more than two years, North Peigan married a boarding school graduate, Nora One Owl, elevating his potential citizenship status to the Indian Agent (DIA, Annual Report 1912; letter to Indian Agent Peigan Reserve, August 10, 1914, IAC, Ottawa, RG 10, Reel 14255, vol.1416).

Cottage hospitals and small infirmaries crept into the story of the residential schools as they often accompanied the building of the school. Deaths of children were
poorly reported, garnering a brief mention in DIA, N.W.M.P. and school reports. Indeed, on January 7, 1899 two boys from the Victoria Jubilee Home were killed when they were buried in a snow slide, however the coroner did not consider an inquiry necessary and the matter was dropped by the N.W.M.P. (Canada, Sessional Paper No. 15, 1899:15). But, tuberculosis and scrofula devastated the young students in the residential schools. Treatment was limited to open-air dormitories, physical exercise and hard labour, and between 1908 and 1909, students, led by Hartwell Big Bull, added fresh air dormitories to the east and west wings of the Victoria Jubilee Home. In 1911, the Anglican missionary refitted the principal’s residence as a small cottage hospital – the Victoria Home Hospital – close to the Victoria Jubilee school (DIA Annual Report 1912). The Victoria Home Hospital was intended as a school infirmary and was used primarily to prevent sick children being sent home to their families. According to reports from the hospital, most of the students were treated for tuberculosis and once their health improved returned to the school. Of the 18 students enrolled at the school in 1913, seven were in the hospital and several more were to be admitted once room could be made for them. One practical nurse was in charge of the hospital, and Dr. Mead from Pincher Creek made occasional visits when needed. This hospital closed in February 1919 due to a lack of financial support (Burnett 2007:27). The health of the students at the school once again suffered and absenteeism rose. Conditions at the school, generally, were deteriorating and the school inspector stated that he “was not favourably impressed with the condition of this school” and improvements to the buildings were required (DIA, Annual Report 1912). That same year, Canon Haynes retired.
In the following years, conditions at the Victoria Jubilee Home rapidly declined. Requests from Mr. Collins, the principal, to add another water closet and to repair the foundation of the school to support a larger, 150 gallon water tank were denied. Since the contract for the school did not require these changes, the Synod Office replied that “no further construction” was to be carried out (Anglican Archives, letter dated January 27, 1912 to Mr. Collins). Teachers and staff resigned, land prepared for farming failed to yield sufficient crops, students increasingly ran away from the school, and mission outreach activities generally dwindled. Truancy reports from the N.W.M.P. regularly chronicled the increase in “deserters” from the industrial and boarding schools as children attempted to make their way home. In 1912, faced with adverse reports from the Indian Agents and school inspectors, the government gave notice to the CMS that the school contract would be cancelled. To prevent the closure, Canon Haynes took over the school once again and the government, impressed by his work among the Piikani, rescinded the
order. A first class certified teacher, Miss Ball, was hired and Haynes reinvigorated mission outreach to the Piikani community, hosting family suppers and inviting the parents of the school children to Sunday services conducted in Blackfoot. In 1915, Haynes purchased an old building for $60 from “an old Indian who, in a fit of drunkenness, shot himself so that no Indian would live in it”. Former students at the Victoria Jubilee Home pulled down and rebuilt the house as a new parish hall next to the school (Diocese of Calgary 1915). With activities at the mission and school ramping up, Haynes again retired and the Missionary Services of the Church of Canada took over the school until December 31, 1919.

In 1920, Rev. Canon Haynes once again took over the Victoria Jubilee Home, where he would remain as missionary until 1926. This was a particularly difficult time for the school, and signaled the inevitable closure of the institution. Financial issues were at the core of the problem, and correspondence to the government repeatedly asked for an increase in per capita amounts to support the school. Although it was originally designed as class A (church owned building that met specified modern conditions), through neglect it had been downgraded to class C (church owned building that did not meet specified modern conditions). Without additional funds to repair or upgrade buildings, the school’s fate was sealed. Adding to this, the death of a teacher in 1922, reinforced the inadequate environment and decaying conditions at the school.

As if to make matters worse for the Victoria Jubilee Home, the Oldman River flooded its banks in 1923, washing out the bridge used to bring food and supplies across the river from the Indian agency to the school. Throughout the life of the school, water damage was prevalent, as Pincher Creek also flooded at various times causing damage
and erosion to the foundation of the school. Further, the Red Route Association of Alberta lobbied the government for an east-west highway through the Crowsnest Pass, and the most direct route would be to use the access road that passed by the school (Bustard 2005). Finally, in March 1926, *The Lethbridge Daily Herald*, reported that the “Government Will Build Two Residential Schools on the Peigan Reserve”:

> The sites have not been definitely fixed, but we understand they will be located near the main reserve, some five or six miles east of Brocket and the buildings will likely be after the style of those built on the Blood reserve last year (*Lethbridge Daily Herald* 1926:5).

Local rumour circulating still, suggested that the school burned to the ground. However, the inferno actually engulfed the principal’s home. In a letter dated November 19, 1925, Mr. W. Barlow, principal of the Victoria Jubilee Home, requested help for himself and his family from the CMS and the Anglican Bishop in Calgary.

> I arrived home this morning and find that our home has been destroyed by fire, and we have lost everything but what we stand up in. Mrs. Barlow was working in the school at the time and my daughter was in the class room. Mrs. Barlow’s clothes, silverware, and bedding has all gone. We are at present living in the school (Diocese of Calgary Archives, letters from W.R. Barlow, Victoria Home, Brocket, Alta. 1925).

The Victoria Jubilee Home closed in 1926 (see Figure 9). Students, furnishings, and equipment were moved to the new school, St. Cyprian Indian Residential School, which officially opened in 1927. The Victoria Jubilee Home and surrounding buildings were slowly dismantled and useable items were recycled into the new school or given to local contractors to help offset costs. The main school building remained standing until 1928, and Rev. Haynes reported that former pupils wanted to visit the school but were not allowed (Diocese of Calgary 1927). Joe Crowshoe, Sr. was however allowed to stay and look after the school and animals. He recalled that, “a lot of mysterious things happened
to me. I felt a presence in this big old house…I heard rattles. I saw ghosts. That was the old school and there were a lot of people that passed on there and probably came back and visited it the time I was there. I finally went to the new school…to work around doing farming, gardening” (Ross 2008:75). The mission church, St. Peter’s Church, was cut in half, tie bars were used to keep the walls upright, and horses dragged the building to Brocket (Diocese of Calgary 1927).

Work began on the new east-west highway and drainage ditches in 1929, resulting in the clearing and disturbance of the land around the school site. Eventually, no surficial evidence of the school remained. In the early 1950s, the hospital cottage was sold to Joe Crowshoe and removed. The mission site was surveyed in 1959 (see Appendix C: Survey Plan of Victoria Mission Historic Site (1959)) prior to the paving of the new Highway No. 3, and a memorial cairn was erected by the Alberta government, thus ending this chapter in the history of the Victoria Jubilee Home.
Summary

The Indian residential school system was one cog in the wheel of development of an independent Canada. It ripped the children, the most vulnerable and impressionable members of Native societies, away from their culture, language, histories and spiritual connections with the land and environment, and removed them as the future holders of sacred and traditional knowledge. To amass large tracts of land, to attract settlement and to “tame the wild west”, the mission run residential schools were charged with producing proper citizens. Capping the residential schools are the memories and recollections of the students and their families that bring to life the history of individual schools.
Chapter 4: Bearing Witness: Gathering Memories, Sampling Data

Introduction

The Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children (the “Victoria Jubilee Home”) and the Indian Residential School System (“IRSS”) that advocated its inception, continue to occupy a place in the memories of the Piikani people. Therefore any research program would necessarily employ methodologies that integrate cultural protocols, values and behaviours into mainstream archaeological data collection (Smith 1999; Rubertone 2008). This project embedded collaboration and interaction with the descendant Piikani community in its approach. All field work and archival research related to the Victoria Jubilee Home received the permission of the Piikani Chief and Council. While our interest begins with the material remains and artifacts associated with the school, we must also acknowledge the broader milieu that is crowded with people and their memories. As a case study for archaeological investigations at Indian residential school sites in Canada, I expected that this research will contribute to the unfolding narrative flowing from the establishment of external institutions at places such as the Piikani First Nation.

This chapter describes the research methodology employed in addressing the central research questions arising from the influence of the Victoria Jubilee Home during the early reserve period. Multiple lines of investigation and varied data sources revealed
the interconnected themes of social concern, position and interest of the Piikani people as related to this project.

**Digging the Rez in Residential School**

Excavating at the schoolgrounds made me cognizant of the dual concerns from the community and academe in ensuring that formal investigations reflect professional standards. Research within Indigenous communities often integrates cultural protocols, behaviours and values that might require amendments to the existing methods of archaeology. Prior to field work and the commencement of archaeological excavations, we sought and received guidance from community elders. During a visit to the site, Joe and Barb Yellow Horn ritually cleansed our field equipment and led the field members in a smudging ceremony to offset any negative elements that might encroach on our work. Joe Yellow Horn also taught the field crew to be aware of, and respectful to, the ancestors who attended this school and may still be lingering in the ethereal afterlife.

My research responds to the mandate of Simon Fraser University’s Office of Research Ethics (“ORE”), which is charged with ensuring that research projects meet appropriate ethical standards. My application sought approval to conduct interviews with adult members of the Piikani community. Since my methodology includes both formal interviews and more casual, on-the-ground conversations with Piikani community members, I obtained either a written signature or verbal consent from the participants to use information provided in this study. Since I recruited participants from this community, I provided them with the details of the project and its goals, and I advised them that they could decline continued involvement at any time. Contact information for Simon Fraser University’s ORE and for myself was given to the consultants in the event...
of any future concerns or questions regarding the use of the information provided or the nature of the study itself.

**Site Location**

The northern plains consists of undulating topography cut by deep coulees and river valleys. This semi-arid ecological zone has the lowest annual precipitation anywhere in the province of Alberta, resulting in a landscape of mixed grasses, such as Blue Gramma (*Bouteloua gracilis*), growing amid shrubs, such as sagebrush (*Artemisia cana*) and scattered stands of aspen, poplar, and upland willow. Birch stands signal the transition to the boreal forest in the north, whereas lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*) is more common closer to the mountains. Strong winds, dramatic thunderstorms, dry hot summers and cold winters punctuate the climate of the northern plains (Johnston 1987; McMillan & Yellowhorn 2004:129). The Piikani Reserve (IR 147) is situated along the Oldman River on prairie grasslands immediately adjacent to the Rocky Mountains. It covers approximately 43,000 hectares in southwestern Alberta, with an additional 3,000 hectares reserved as a timber limit in the Porcupine Hills (see Figure 10).

The site of the Victoria Jubilee Home (DjPk-148) is located on the floodplain of Pincher Creek, on a valley terrace on a section of the Piikani Reserve approximately five kilometres west of Brocket, Alberta. Legally described as LSD 9, Section NE12, Township 7, Range 29, West of the 4th Meridian, this tract of land is separated from the rest of the Reserve by privately held ranch lands which were purchased as a result of a controversial land surrender in 1909. The site extends from the Crowsnest Highway (Highway 3) right-of-way on the south, along a steep rising embankment on the west, a treed abandoned river channel on the east, and north to a fence surrounding an existing
house and yard. Pincher Creek, a meandering foothills stream, flows northeast of the site and eventually spills into the Oldman River nearby. The creek has an average slope of ±2% and the site lies in the flood plain and is subject to periodic flooding (Bustard 2005). A provincial cairn marks the approximate location of the school building. While the original mission and school site occupied 40 acres of this parcel, I focused my excavations within a 40 x 60 metre area that yielded a sufficient sample of archaeological remains (such as building debris, glass, nails, etc.) associated with the school.

Figure 10. Map of Piikani Reserves and Site Location – DjPk-148

(map by Simon Solomon 2011, used with permission)
Figure 11. View of School Site facing Southeast towards Highway 3
*Photo credit: Eldon Yellowhorn*

Figure 12. View of School Site facing North towards Potts’ House
*Government cairn on right* Photo credit: Eldon Yellowhorn
Recent Historical Archaeology on the Piikani Reserve

Previous archaeological investigations on the Piikani Reserve focused on the paleo-indian era or early fur trade sites (see Brink 1978; Kehoe 1993; McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004; Pyszczyk 1997; Wormington and Forbis 1965; Yellowhorn 1993). For example, the Kenney site (DjPk-1), a stratified winter campsite dating from 500 to 1650 years ago (AD 1545±60 to AD 350±115), and located immediately south of this excavation, also contained numerous historic items when it was excavated. Most of the artifacts dated to the late 1890s and early 1900s and were associated with the CPR railroad trestle bridge over the site that was built between 1897 and 1910 (Reeves 1971). The Kenney site, while not within the current boundary of the Piikani Reserve, is located approximately 185 metres south of the Victoria Jubilee Home site adjacent to the right of way of Highway 3.

In 2007, Alberta Western Heritage Inc. conducted a geophysical assessment of the remains at the residential school site at the request of Eldon Yellowhorn. A 40 x 60 metre open area surrounding the concrete cairn was delineated for a near-surface geophysical survey. Using an FM256 gradiometer, which measures subtle magnetic changes in the matrix, subsurface magnetic data were collected within six survey grids measuring 20 x 20 metres. The readings were then statistically analyzed and mapped (Gibson 2007). The final analysis offered a number of “hot spots” indicating significant magnetic anomalies suggestive of undetermined archaeological remains, particularly on the northwest portion of the survey grid (see Appendix E: Geophysical Survey Results). Consequently, ground truthing and test pit sampling became the strategies for the survey that followed.
2008 Field Season – Ground Truthing

According to the geophysical survey mentioned above, the two “quietest areas” appeared to be on the “south side and on the east side of the combined grid” (Gibson 2007:12). In June 2008, we excavated 40 evaluative test pits in the south half of the site. The 50 x 50 cm test pits were dug at five metre intervals along the east-west gradiometric survey transects. Each unit was excavated by trowel to a depth of 15-20 cm to confirm the presence of historical material culture. We sifted the matrix through a 1/8 inch screen as we removed it, always being mindful of small historical artifacts and other detritus we unearthed. The composition was recorded in our field notes. We also included observations about organic composition, discarded charcoal, soil type, bioturbation, and other pertinent details. Artifacts collected for analysis were stored in paper bags and labelled with the test pit number, artifact type, and date collected.

2009 Field Season

Our work during the 2009 field season entailed excavating at the Victoria Jubilee Home to detect and describe the archaeological signature of activities relating to the residential school and the Piikani experience with institutional space and place. Our excavation units were deliberately placed within the survey area to examine the material culture left in its wake. In addition to areal excavations in June 2009, a Nikon DTM-300 total station was used to record measurements. From the data collected, a survey map of the site was produced (see Figure 13).
Based on insight and guidance provided by a community elder, Joe Yellow Horn, four contiguous 1 x 1 metre excavation units were placed on the northwest side of the site. Additional 1 x 1 metre units were excavated in areas of high potential as shown in the geophysical survey results. In total, we dug 11 units to depths between 10-30 cm below surface, and we sifted the matrix through a 1/8 inch screen. Material taken for analysis were placed in artifact bags and appropriately labelled with collection details. Field notes include the excavation depths and the nature of deposits, as well as provenience of in situ artifacts. Objects recovered during both the 2008 and 2009 field seasons were analysed in the archaeology lab at Simon Fraser University, with the exception of window glass.
Window glass is ubiquitous at the site. My effort to learn more about it, led me to Mr. Gerry Eversole, artist and owner of Stained Glass Restorations of Fort MacLeod, Alberta. Mr. Eversole noted that the glass was consistent with that used for windows during the early 1900s and provided a modern sample of flat window glass for comparison.

To minimize our footprint at this archaeological site, all excavated units were back filled with the screened soil and covered with wild prairie grass seeds to promote regrowth of disturbed vegetation.

Laboratory Methods

Artifacts collected from test pits and larger excavation units were cleaned, catalogued, and analysed at Simon Fraser University. Photographs were taken of individual objects or groups of objects representing the total assemblage. Physical details, colour, condition of the object and information about the provenience of each item was recorded on an Excel spreadsheet for tallying and categorizing (see Appendix A: Artifact Inventory). Although standard measurements (i.e. length, width, weight, thickness) were taken when appropriate, I am not making statistical inferences about the Piikani people based on artifact findings. However, unique characteristics were useful when comparing the site artifacts with Simon Fraser University’s historical material culture collection and other comparative samples. While some items collected were too fragmented to accurately date and, in some instances, were simply unidentifiable, the implication of these small finds was considered in the overall analysis and is discussed later. The fragmented faunal remains were generally identifiable as large domesticated ungulates,
specifically cattle, based on comparison with Simon Fraser University’s zooarchaeological specimens.

Archival Resources

The archival materials that I examined focused on structural elements of the Victoria Jubilee Home (building, renovating, and dismantling), daily life and the material culture within the school, and documents relating to education within the Treaty 7 region. To help establish a chronology of events relating to the building of the Victoria Jubilee Home, I reviewed a selection of historical documents relevant to the institution of Indian residential schooling in Canada between 1880-1930. Moreover, I surveyed archival data relating to the social and political climate of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in western Canada, specifically as relations between Indians and their new white neighbours developed.

Fortunately, more and more archives are turning to digitization and electronic reproduction of historic documents, so some documents pertaining to my research were easily accessible via the internet. Thus, I was able to uncover a number of historical sources that included data chronicling cultural and personal ideals, as well as reality. The extent of my research however was not limited by on-line archives, and I spent time in the local area museums and libraries that hold relevant historic information not available in larger institutions. Bundled together, they reflect on the sense of adventure and discovery in a new frontier while providing valuable insights into the relationship between the Indigenous peoples and settler groups. These community oriented archives proved to be essential repositories of data specifically relating to the Treaty 7 region and the external forces influencing events in Piikani country.
Historical archaeology benefits from the use of primary sources that reflect many perspectives. Letters, journals, church newsletters, and mission reports add to the discourse of Indian residential schooling by providing context for the church’s interaction with their parishioners. Often, these documents describe the intentions of the church missionary as a whole or of a particular individual within the regime, yet they seldom discuss the implications of their actions. Nonetheless, acquiring access to the Anglican Church archives was paramount in applying a critical approach to the research.

Finally, I must comment on the conspicuous absence of archived documents written by Indigenous people about the residential school system and their experience with this institution. As a consequence, I could only consider contemporary writings that reflect on how Indigenous people and their cognitive landscapes preserve memories of their communities that juxtapose the past and the present.

**Anglican Church of Canada Diocese of Calgary Archives, University of Calgary**

The Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of Calgary is a large synod that extends from the British Columbia border on the west, to the Saskatchewan border on the east and extends south from central Alberta to the U.S. border. The Diocese archives are held at the Archives and Special Collections department of the University of Calgary Libraries and Cultural Resources in Calgary, Alberta. The fonds consist of partial records (c. 96 m of textual records and other material) including documents of church history and activities in various southern Alberta Anglican Church parishes dating c. 1880 – 2003.

These records are closed to the public, but I obtained special permission to view the fonds related to the Piikani Nation and the Victoria Jubilee Home from Mrs. Bernice
Pilling, Interim Archivist, Anglican Church of Canada, Calgary Diocese. In email correspondence with her, I was requested to outline the type of information I wanted to collect so that she could retrieve the documents for my perusal on a mutually agreed upon day.

In December 2009, Mrs. Pilling and I met at the archives and she provided me with a list of files that I could view in relation to this research. Unfortunately, she advised me that specific school records were not available because they were being used in residential school abuse claims. Another challenge was that copies of some of the school and parish registers for the Piikani were stored in her home (as a temporary archive). Due to personal circumstances, Mrs. Pilling was unable to provide me with these copies. In accordance with the University of Calgary Archives and Special Collections research protocol, I completed an Application for the Examination of Manuscripts and Records. As I was not permitted to take my own photocopies of archived documents, I relied on archive staff to make the necessary copies. Such machinations did lead to valuable information about the school.

Glenbow Museum, Library and Archives

The Glenbow Museum and Archives (the “Glenbow”) in Calgary, Alberta, curate a large collection of historic documents, ethnographic data, photographs, and material culture pertaining to western Canada and the Blackfoot peoples. I initially conducted research at the archives in July 2009, and identified seven fonds, four of which were available on-line through the Glenbow. I reviewed the scope and content of the fonds not available on-line in order to narrow my search parameters to data relevant to the Piikani Nation spanning from c1880 – 1930s. This reduced the number of actual documents to
sift through to less than 0.5m of textual files. I photocopied documents specifically pertaining to the Victoria Jubilee Home whenever they were present in the files. I also made copies of documents that preserve references of reserve life, such as a provision certificate issued by the Indian Agent and a reserve absence pass. During my visit, I viewed only those documents from the remaining fonds that I could not access via the on-line archive catalogue.

**The Fort - Museum of the North West Mounted Police**

Located in Fort Macleod, Alberta, “The Fort”, is a replica outpost that puts the spotlight on North West Mounted Police (NWMP) history through its displays and archives. While primarily limited to the activities of the NWMP and their role in the development of western Canada, this recreated fort museum also houses the obligatory interpretive display featuring artifacts representative of traditional Blackfoot material culture.

I had originally visited The Fort in 2008 where I noticed a painting on the chapel wall labelled Victoria Indian Home. With permission from the museum staff, I took a picture of the painting for future reference. During the 2009 field season, I met with Ms. Dawn Lauder, the former Site Manager at The Fort and was given access to the museum’s storage and archives. At that time, The Fort museum was undergoing changes in their cataloguing and archival systems resulting in limited success in uncovering data specifically relating to the school. However, in April 2010 I received email correspondence from Ms. Gerri Favreau, Administrative Assistant at The Fort, stating that she had identified the school picture and provided me with the available information (see Figure 14).
Although this archive revealed only a limited set of data related to the Victoria Jubilee Home, it did lead me to the Fort Macleod Gazette, the local town newspaper, which holds microfilm copies of the newspaper since its inception in 1882. As I was unable to make copies, I made handwritten notes that I later transcribed for content analysis.

Figure 14. Watercolour of Victoria Home, Anglican Residential School, n.d.
(Painting by Florence White, granddaughter of Canon W.R. Haynes, of an original painting by Miss Stennings, Teacher. Used with permission of Fort Museum of NWMP)

Kootenai Brown Pioneer Village

The Kootenai Brown Pioneer Village is operated by the Pincher Creek and District Historical Society and, at the time of my visit in July 2009, Mr. Farley S. Wuth was curator and archivist. Of particular interest were manuscripts of recollections and memories of the early pioneers in the area and their interaction with the Aboriginal
population. Many of these documents highlight the political, social, and educational developments around Pincher Creek as settlers established their residences. As well, this archive houses published materials of local folklore related to prairie living in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Mr. Wuth was particularly helpful in identifying and recommending sources germane to my research. As photocopying documents was not possible, I took extensive notes and recorded the source details.

**Digital Archives**

Using the Library and Archives Canada on-line archives, I accessed the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Annual Reports relating to the Piikani Nation. I perused the Annual Reports from 1880 – 1930 using search words and phrases such as Victoria Jubilee Home, Peigan Agency, or Blackfoot. I retrieved 16 reports written between 1887-1915 that met these criteria. Although the Victoria Jubilee Home did not officially close until 1926, references to the school disappear after 1915. I summarized the details of each of the reports for further interrogation and to identify themes relating to the daily routine of the school, the physical components of the school, and the perspective of the government officials who wrote the reports.

I was also able to use the on-line Library and Archives Canada database to search files in the RG10 Black Series specifically relating to the Piikani Nation. This series contains the administrative records for the western regional and field offices of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada dating from c.1872. However, as part of the broader project undertaken by Eldon Yellowhorn, I had access to photocopies of documents from the National Archives that were not available on-line. The letters, memos and reports covered a wide range of themes pertaining to the administration of the
Piikani reserve, but I focused on documents that report on schools, education, missionary work, and social institutions.

**Oral Historical Knowledge**

The Victoria Jubilee Home closed in 1926 when a new Anglican residential school, St. Cyprian’s, was built. I therefore assumed that there would be few, if any, living survivors in the Piikani First Nation with whom I could discuss the project. Thus, oral knowledge about residential schools, reserve history, and activities relating to the Victoria Jubilee Home were obtained from descendants of former students and the community at-large. Most of these interactions were informal and unstructured dialogues, and the participants were often those who came to the school site during the archaeological excavations or whom we met in the course of our interactions with the Piikani community. With the permission of the individual, I made notes about our conversations.

I conducted a more formal interview with Mr. Eric North Peigan at his home, which he permitted me to digitally record and videotape. Along with notes taken during my conversations with him, I transcribed the interview for future reference.

**Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s (“TRC”) mandate is to create an historical record of the policies and operations of the former residential schools. In order to accomplish this mission, the TRC supports community and national events across Canada to facilitate information gathering and to promote awareness and public education about the residential school legacy and its impact.
In January 2010, I attended such a community event at the Leq'a: mel First Nation near Deroche, British Columbia. During this *Journey of Heroes* three-day event, I was given the opportunity to participate in “open circle” statement gathering from former residential school students, their families and community members who shared their residential school experiences in a safe, respectful and culturally sensitive way. While often highly charged with emotion, this exceptional and humbling experience gave me a unique Aboriginal perspective into the lived experiences of residential school students, including a better understanding of the material aspects of confinement to these institutions. Over the course of this gathering, I met with TRC officials and gave a copy of my research poster to the Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair, Chair of the Commission.

In addition to statement gathering and documenting the history of residential schools in Canada, the TRC is expected to establish a National Research Centre that will be a permanent resource about the residential school system. In March 2011, a National Forum took place in Vancouver, British Columbia that included an international spectrum of knowledge and experience in archiving and preserving oral histories and materials relating to sites of negative memory. I attended the forum as an observer, but left with the message that we all need to work together if progress is to be made in understanding and documenting the legacy of residential schools.

**Summary**

Combining different lines of evidence to contribute to the narrative about residential schools highlights the impact of these external institutions on Aboriginal people. Interviews and dialogues with the community added volumes to my
understanding of residential schools and underscored the importance of archaeological investigation in adding to the full complement of research pertaining to these sites. In summary, telling an accurate and comprehensive story based on holistic research methods honours the history of Aboriginal people more than an assortment of fragmented artifacts showing age and wear.
Chapter 5: DjPk-148: The Victoria Jubilee Home

Results of 2008 Test Pit Excavations

I began a test pit sampling strategy in which I excavated 40 evaluative test pits in the south half of the site along east-west survey transects. Shovel testing in the southeast quadrant adjacent to the drainage gully produced few artifacts as suggested by the original gradiometric survey. Most of these artifacts were recovered in the intense root mats of the prairie grasses and brush. In contrast, test pits located in the west half of the survey grid produced more frequent occurrences of artifacts which were easily detectable in the dry alluvial soil. Although no clear stratigraphic distinctions could be defined, most of the objects were recovered within 10-15 cm below surface.

I unearthed artifacts that included glass, metals, nails and fencing staples, building or architectural materials, small clothing items, as well as slate board and chalk fragments, and a broken scissor loop. I also found charred wood pieces and charcoal, which I recorded and discarded at the site. No single test pit produced an abundance of historical artifacts and the objects found were distributed quite evenly along the survey transects. Localized disturbances may have resulted from house building by the current occupant, Mr. Bruce Potts, and the sporadic digging by his children.
Results of 2009 Excavated Units

Prior to commencing excavations, an east-west baseline was established. The datum for measurements was the northeast corner of the concrete monument located midpoint in the survey zone.

Unit 09-01

Unit 1 was initially laid out along the baseline as suggested by the geophysical assessment conducted by Alberta Western Heritage Inc. However, following subsequent discussions with Joe Yellow Horn, an elder and ceremonialist, it was not excavated during the 2009 field season. Mr. Yellow Horn did indicate an area that held significance based on his role as intermediary between Piikani ancestors and the present.

Units 2-5, located in the western section of the survey grid along the east-west baseline, were placed adjacent to Unit 1 and were excavated as contiguous units representing a larger trench area as suggested by Mr. Yellow Horn. Each unit was excavated as a 1 x 1 metre square and divided into four quadrants.

Unit 09-02

This 1 x 1 metre square unit was divided into 50 cm quadrants and excavated to a depth of 20 cm below datum. A 20 x 40 cm portion of the northeast quadrant had previously been excavated as part of a test pit during the 2008 field season and was therefore excluded. Artifacts present in the unit included 78 flat glass shards (ranging from <1 – 6 cm), split or broken flat wire cut nails, metal screws and wire, and other miscellaneous metal pieces. Small pieces of charcoal and broken wood were observed throughout the unit. The soil in this unit was dry and compact, and both the surface and
matrix were infused with small pebbles and organic materials. The preponderance of gravel is consistent with alluvial deposits.

**Unit 09-03**

Unit 09-03, adjacent to the east side of Unit 09-02, was dominated by a concentration of 208 shards of flat glass in the southeast quadrant. In addition, artifacts present were several wire cut nails, small finishing nails, roofing tacks, as well as other building remnants such as plaster and brick flakes. Of particular interest, however, were several small pieces of slate uncovered at 13 cm below surface in the southwest quadrant. These were initially considered to be from roofing shingles, but following study of the archival documents pertaining to the school and comparison with artifacts from schoolhouse archaeology, they are remains from slate boards used by students and staff at the school. Slate boards (and the larger black boards) have been found in school sites dating from 1801, and were commonly used in schools by the mid-1800s (Beisaw and Gibb 2004). This unit was excavated to sterile soil at 30 cm.

**Unit 09-04**

A broader variation in artifacts was uncovered in Unit 09-04. Artifacts present included the ubiquitous window glass and a variety of complete and broken nails. It also contained small pieces of hard dried rubber and the neck and rim of an amber coloured glass bottle. Several small slate pieces were unearthed between 10-20 cm below surface along with small fragments of soft chalk. I found two small ceramic fragments, and the tines from a tortoise shell coloured hair comb. Faunal remains were discovered in the southeast quadrant at 6 cm below surface. Caulking, charcoal and burnt wood fragments,
as well as carbonized floral remains were observed throughout the unit and were recorded but discarded at the site.

**Unit 09-05**

Unit 09-05 was the farthest east excavation unit in the trench series. As with the previous units, an abundance of flat glass and nails were recovered. Other building materials such as fencing staples and metal glazier points were present. This unit also produced one complete and one broken railroad spike, presumably from the train tracks located less than 200 metres from the site. Clothing items such as buttons and faunal remains were found within the top 5 cm of the unit. One particular item, a suspender guide, was embossed with “Ch.Guyot”, a brand of suspenders made in France and exported worldwide between 1850 and 1907.

**Unit 09-06**

A small mound was evident on the northwest corner of the grid approximately 13 metres north of the baseline and 5 metres south of the existing chain link fence. Assuming that this gravel covered mound held artifacts pertinent to this study, a 1 x 1 metre unit was placed directly in the centre. The first 5 cm below surface were composed of many fine to medium pebbles, small pieces of concrete, orange brick fragments, several wood pieces, and a wooden fence post. Four ceramic fragments were present in Unit 09-06. Given the propensity of pebbles and larger cobbles, it was determined that this was not a viable unit for this study and was subsequently closed at 10 cm below surface.
Unit 09-07

Unit 09-07 is a 1 x 1 metre unit located approximately 15 metres north of the east-west baseline. This location was selected because of its accessibility and relatively level surface. It was gauged to contribute to the overall assemblage given the results of the geophysical survey which suggested that this was an area of significant subsurface anomaly. Grass and sage were abundant with root systems reaching only 2-3 cm below surface, but with a minimal amount of pebbles and rocks on the surface allowing for easier access to the sandy loam matrix. Excavated to a depth of 20 cm below the surface, this unit produced the largest variation in objects and only 17 shards of flat glass. Other artifacts included wire nails, whitewashed sandstone, amber and green coloured glass, ceramic fragments, buttons, faunal remains, and a number of small metal objects. Large clumps of iron ore refuse were found and are likely the debris from blacksmithing activities at the site, although the location of the smithy is currently unknown. Charcoal was also observed in this unit, as well as several wooden fence pieces (some with evidence of charring).

Unit 09-08

This unit was placed where I noticed a small depression 13 metres north and 5 metres west of the concrete monument. Two small fragments of flat glass (<1 cm) and a fragment of blue glass were intermingled in the surface organics and were recovered in the screen. Additional artifacts such as heavily corroded square cuts nails, orange brick remnants, a metal handle (such as found on a small pail), foil, and glass shards were concentrated between 5-10 cm below surface in the southwest quadrant of Unit 09-08. Pieces of slate were also present and bagged for analysis. A large wire protruded from the
east wall of the unit at 47cm north at a depth of 7 cm. An attempt was made to extract the wire by extending the east wall of the unit in 5 cm increments, but it soon became apparent that the wire could not be removed. The length and extent of the wire is unknown. Charcoal, burnt wood pieces and small pebbles were evident until I reached the sterile layer.

**Unit 09-09, Unit 09-10 and Unit 09-11**

Units 09-09, 09-10 and 09-11 were excavated as a stepped trench on the eastern boundary of the site grid near the edge of the drainage gully. Each unit was individually placed as a 1 x 1 metre square to delineate subsequent excavation units and to record artifacts and observations about the area. This area was selected as it seemed likely that this would reveal the midden for the school site.

Unit 09-09 yielded 4 small flat glass shards and a large nut and bolt fastener. It was excavated to 10 cm below surface as no further cultural remains were found.

The west wall of Unit 09-10 conjoined with the east wall of Unit 09-09, however this unit was excavated to 20 cm below surface before the sterile layer was encountered. Besides 179 glass fragments (ranging from <1-2.92 cm), a small piece of amber coloured glass and a portion of a ceramic dish were unearthed. Four heavily corroded round nails and a metal fencing staple with a broken tine were also present. A small metal grommet was recovered in the screen.

The final excavation unit in this series revealed only one 5 cm long nail within the first 10 cm below surface. Although excavated to 20 cm, Unit 09-11 was considered to be unproductive in terms of artifacts relevant to the study and closed.
Unit 09-12

Unit 09-12 was laid out adjacent to Unit 09-09 with the north wall of Unit 09-12 sharing the south wall of Unit 09-09. Artifacts present were flat glass, 4 fragments of purple glass, metal, and a plastic button. It was excavated to 10 cm below surface, but produced no artifacts to warrant more study.

Child’s Play

Children’s playtime at campsites, vacant lots, building construction sites, and archaeological sites can contribute to significant redistribution or modification of any pre-existing artifact deposits. This is particularly the case where deposited artifacts are used as play materials before returning them to a modified “archaeological” context (Schiffer 1976 in Hammond & Hammond 1981:635). Because the site of the Victoria Jubilee Home is directly adjacent to an existing home where children reside, it presented opportunities for inquisitive play by the young residents. Indeed, recent play activity by children of the Potts’ household resulted in a number of unprovenienced objects from an “excavated tunnel”. This included several nails and other metal building artifacts, a highly corroded metal spoon and knife blade, a metal lid, and a graniteware plate.

Artifact Analysis

A number of site redevelopment events ensuing since the late 1920s has significantly disturbed the site of the Victoria Jubilee Home (DjPk-148). Additionally, the nature of the site is such that there is a lack of clearly defined stratigraphic layers and artifacts recovered were from shallow deposits, many showing signs of disturbance from plowing or bioturbation. As such, artifacts from both the test pits and the 1 x 1 metre
units were treated as a single assemblage representing the entire occupation period of the school and were categorized and analysed in the aggregate. According to Beisaw (2003), there is often an inability to differentiate one generation from the next at school sites. Further, the fragmentary quality of many of the objects confounded the ability to analyse individual pieces and was not practical given the lack of diagnostic value of these small items. Therefore, similar fragmented objects from a distinct provenience were counted as one artifact. For example, several small faunal bone fragments uncovered in the southeast corner of excavation Unit 09-04 at 5 cm below surface were counted as one artifact. However, this does not imply a minimum number of individuals (MNI) or one that is unique to this unit.

The final artifact inventory amounts to 1187 catalogued objects, either as individual artifacts or, as in the case of flat glass, a category on their own. Artifacts were initially sorted and categorized based on material type (see Table 2 below) and then further sorted into general functional categories. Some of the objects necessarily fit into more than one functional group, and, as such, there is some overlap in distributions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of Artifacts</th>
<th>Percent of Assemblage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>1009</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone and Wood</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1187</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Artifact Functions and Themes

Indian residential schools, as with other institutions, were places of regulated, structured or specialized activities that tend to limit artifact variability. These institutions often dictate how, when, and where things are disposed or determine the reuse of materials for other institutional purposes. The most common artifacts recovered from school sites, other than architectural materials, are slate fragments used for slate boards, slate pencils, chalk, and a combination of domestic and personal artifacts represented by buttons, dishware or cutlery (Beisaw and Gibb 2004). Given the abundance of glass and building materials, further delineation of the assemblage by function presents a better understanding of the distribution of objects collected, despite being not without its challenges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Percent of Assemblage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architecture/Building</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing/Personal Adornment</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/School</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Artifacts by Function
(Exceeds 100% due to objects overlapping in different categories)

Architecture and Building Artifacts

This is, by far, the largest category by function. This is not surprising in terms of institutional site formation processes, particularly at sites involving multiple-use components such as those occurring in the overall life history of the Victoria Jubilee school and the variety of buildings at the site (Beisaw 2004, 2009; Rotman 2009). Orange
coloured brick pieces, whitewashed concrete fragments, and sandstone building flakes are categorized as architectural remains, whereas building materials include all window glass and glaziers, window putty, nails, screws, and other hardware. Wooden fence posts remnants, fencing staples and barbed wire fencing are also included in this category.

As mentioned earlier, Gerry Eversole of Fort Macleod confirmed that the window glass was representative of flat glass used at the time of the school’s operation. He further observed that the scumming or devitrification evident was a result of being covered by soil or dirt for a long period of time. Striation lines visible on the larger pieces were indicative of cracking or shattering from impact as opposed to fire or heat exposure (Eversole, personal communication 2009).

Nails are frequently used by historical archaeologists to establish the time period in which a structure was built. Handmade nails suggest a building built before 1800. Cut nails suggest a structure built between 1800 and the early 1900s, whereas wire nails became, and remain, standard construction materials in the early 1900s. As expected, there were no handcut nails in the school assemblage. However, the 55 complete nails unearthed are representative of machine cut nails commonly in use during the life of the school. The Victoria Jubilee Home was operational between 1897 and 1926, during which time it underwent a series of changes through renovations, add-ons, wood decay, and building repair that often required re-use of structural objects, particularly nails.

Archival receipts from the files of the Department of Indian Affairs indicate that building materials and services were sourced locally in Fort MacLeod and Pincher Creek. A receipt from the Hudson’s Bay Company dated February 1898 shows that the Peigan Agency paid more than $225 for a variety of nails, screws, putty, hinges, paints, and other
assorted architectural materials for use in completing the boarding school between September 1897 and February 1898. During renovations at the school in the early 1900s, Wm. Berry & Son, hardware and furniture dealers in Pincher Creek, supplied paints and paint brushes while a local contractor, Mr. T. Smart, was hired to build a laundry facility and fencing at the school. Scott Bros. Furniture and Undertaking, of Fort MacLeod, provided the school with shiplap (an inexpensive wood often used to build barns or sheds or other outbuildings) (GMA, Peigan Indian Agency Fonds, M1832, receipts and vouchers 1890-1914).

**Clothing and Personal Adornment Items**

Metal, mother of pearl, glass, and plastic buttons, shoelace aglets or grommets, and metal snaps are among the clothing items recovered from the school site. The variety of fasteners and the range of materials used are typical of an historical site from the turn of the 20th century. Until World War II when zippers became fashionable, buttons were the primary form of fastening clothing or shoes, while metal hook and eye fasteners or snaps were also in use but primarily in women’s clothing (Lindbergh 1999).

Despite the presence of buttons and other fasteners in the archaeological record, their degraded condition precludes accurate dates of manufacture, and chronology is therefore, not easily ascertained from the disturbed assemblage of the school site (see

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9 During the early 1900s furniture businesses commonly provided undertaking services particularly in small towns. In addition to providing household furnishings to the local community, access to milled woods and carpentry skills made furniture businesses ideal for providing coffins. Many of these proprietors eventually left the furniture business to become fully operating funeral homes (Webster 1974).

10 Mother-of-pearl is a generic term used to describe buttons initially handmade from shell but then mass produced mechanically from the mid 19th century (Lindbergh 1999:51).

11 Celluloid plastic buttons were common from the 1870s through to the 1930s, and are thinner and more brittle than the harder synthetic plastics common after 1930 resulting in faster deterioration particularly after contact with metals (Beaudry 2006:176).
Additionally, the exact function of each of the buttons recovered is problematic. The most common form of fastener recovered was the two or four hole sew-through type button. These buttons are often kept once clothing are discarded, thus providing a replacement or re-use supply. From the mid 1800s to the early 1900s, men were the major procurers of buttons, including the more delicate or ornate buttons assumed to be related to female attire. Mother-of-pearl or plain white buttons were also used on underclothing of men, women, and children, or dress shirts worn primarily by men of any social status (Beaudry 2006:2). Press-molded metal buttons attached by a split pin through a metal shank are typical of military style coat or jacket uniform buttons (Lindbergh 1999:53). In January 1898, a supply of coats and trousers was sent to the Peigan Agency from the “condemned stores” of the Militia Stores Office in Montreal on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs for distribution at the mission and schools (GMA, Peigan Indian Agency fonds, M1832). According to various historical documents, when the school’s annual clothing budget allocated by Indian Affairs was needed for other supplies, local settlers often donated clothing and linens to the school.

Among the clothing and personal adornment items was part of a plastic hair comb. From such a small piece, no clues betrayed its manufacturing age or specific function. However, in terms of general material functionality, combs have been used for centuries for grooming and adornment. Tortoise shell coloured hair combs first became popular during the Victorian era (c1830-1901), and have remained popular into the 21st century.

One intriguing item was a suspender clasp or guide stamped with “Ch.Guyot” found in Unit 09-05. An advertisement in Harper’s Magazine 1907, states that every
A genuine pair of Guyot suspenders is embossed with “Ch.Guyot”, and other print ads from this time hail this accessory as *de rigueur* for style conscious men in the early 1900s. Given the high-end quality of this brand, it may have been a donation by the original owner, or part of the missionary’s wardrobe.

While 7% of the total artifacts fall into the clothing and personal adornment category, the overall emphasis in this collection however is on utilitarian buttons, which characterizes the working nature of the clothing worn at the residential school.

*Domestic Objects*

Domestic artifacts from schoolhouses have utility in telling the story of a school site’s past use – not just its history as an educational institution (Rotman 2009:73). Schools are often the central focus of rural communities and, as such, are places for social gatherings and other community events. Because of this phenomenon, domestic artifacts deposit in schoolyards differently than in a strictly home base context (Rotman 2009). Regardless of deposition patterns, institutions that teach domesticity have assemblages similar to domestic or household sites (Beisaw 2009:64). The domestic object category includes all vessel glass, ceramics, and bone.

Vessel glass consists of small fragments of clear, amber, pale blue, and green coloured glass too small to provide any clear diagnostic markings or indicators that determine content or function (see Figure 16). According to Lindsey (2010), glass fragment identification is nearly an impossible task given the diversity of bottles and the complexity of the subject. Although not impossible, identifying glass fragments requires pieces that exhibit some distinct diagnostic features (e.g., seams, manufacturing marks,
unique shapes, embossing) and that the observer is proficient in glass identification (Lindsey 2010). Only one complete amber bottle neck and lip were uncovered. The seam lines on each side of the neck, no clear cap guide ridges, the seam line between the lip and the neck, and the flared finish are consistent with bottles produced between 1870 and 1910 (Lindsey 2010). Consequently, identifying the function of vessel glass associated with the school site is limited to a reasonable assumption that they contained food, beverages, medicines and tonics, but little more than that.

Ceramics account for only 1% (n=11) of the entire assemblage. This includes three opaque white sherds, typical of milk glass manufactured from the 1870s to the mid-20th century. Cosmetics, ointments or toiletries were commonly stored in milk glass bottles or jars. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, milk glass was also used for other goods (such as preserves or other food) albeit less frequently (Lindsey 2010). The remaining sherds, although quite small, appear to be the remains of tableware.

The largest of the remaining fragments are two plain white fragments of stoneware from one object. Based on the diameter of the fragment’s base (7.5 cm) it is similar to a small saucer such as used in a tea service. However, no manufacturing or maker’s mark was visible, and while the lack of any decoration is typical of institutional tablewares, one study of 19th century Metis argued that tea and its associated teaware, was tied to social interaction and integration (Burley 1989). The Victoria Mission church, located next to the Victoria Jubilee Home was a place of articulation between the Piikani community and the white settlers. Competition between the various religious orders on the reserve to secure students prompted missionaries to entice the Indians with tea,
biscuits and other foods, a practice highly discouraged by the Indian Commissioner (letter to Indian Agent Peigan Reserve, March 29, 1898, IAC, Ottawa, RG 10, Reel T1465, vol. 1142). This was particularly effective when food rations were scarce.

One of the remaining fragments reveals the blue cross-hatching often found on plateware with the “Willow Pattern”, the most common pattern used on ceramics produced and imported from the United Kingdom since 1883. In addition, the artifacts include two small fragments of banded annular ware, a low cost mass-produced ceramic manufactured in the 18th and 19th centuries, and commonly used in missions until the 1840s (Deetz 1996; Hume 1972; O’Hara 1993). Accordingly, English ceramics are among the most prevalent archaeological indicators of the developing global economic system, and by the mid 19th century, English ceramics were in use across much of North America.

The Victoria Jubilee Home functioned as an integrated domestic, education, and religious institution on a daily basis. However, it also functioned as a community gathering place. A monthly supper hosted by the boarding school was held in an effort to produce “friendliness with the Indians” (DIA, Annual Report, 1897), and the Report on Indian Missions produced by the Anglican Diocese of Calgary, noted that between 1901 and 1905 the school was regularly used after baptisms and weddings to hold “pow wows” because of the lack of space in the adjacent church. These social events inevitably contributed to the variety of dishes, ceramics, glass, and cutlery found at the site, however, many of these objects (unless broken or damaged) were taken away after the event. Anecdotal evidence from Aboriginal people who attended residential schools also
suggests that there was a clear differentiation between the quality of dishware used by the staff and teachers and those used by the students (Bezeau 2007; Ross 2008; Haig-Brown 1988; Jack 2006).

In the interest of inclusivity, I also assigned the graniteware plate and cutlery uncovered by the Potts children during their play to this category. Graniteware (also referred to as enamelware) is a composite material made of a base metal of steel, tin, or aluminium and has been mass produced for kitchen utensils in North America since at least 1874 (Beaudry 2006). The plate in this assemblage is typical of an enamel baking pie plate (24.13cm dia.), however there is a puncture hole in the centre of the dish. The cutlery, consisting of a metal teaspoon and knife blade, are highly corroded and unfortunately do not have any visible identifiable markers to indicate manufacturing (see Figure 17). Cutlery made in Sheffield, England was exported in large numbers to British colonies around the world, including North America, throughout the 19th century. North American cutlery firms began producing fine knives, shears and scissors in the early 1800s and eventually replaced the imported British wares (Beaudry 2006:119). The teaspoon resembles the oar or fiddle pattern for cutlery, the most commonly found pattern dating from the late 19th century. The knife blade is broken, thus determining if this was a composite of metal and another material is a challenge.

Finally, fragmented bones (n=11), including a portion of a rib and the right scapula of a common domestic cow (Bos taurus) were found during excavation (see Figure 19). The bones show evidence of cut marks, such as those made in butchering and processing with a saw. In the first three years that the Victoria Jubilee Home operated, the
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge\(^{12}\) (S.P.C.K.) granted £100 per year for beef and flour that was obtained locally at contract rates (Diocese of Calgary Report 1897-1898). The Edgewood Ranch located near Pincher Creek, operated as a government-managed ranch and provided beef rations to the Piikani reserve (Bustard 2005:29). The boarding school also operated as a farm raising a few head of cattle, pigs and poultry, in addition to growing a few root crops (mostly potatoes and turnips). Food, itself, has a much deeper meaning in the residential school context and will be discussed later.

*Education and Schooling Artifacts*

Activities that directly relate to the educational function of schools produce the smallest amount of objects, while activities that have little relevance to its educational function produce the more significant amount of deposition (Beisaw 2003). At schoolhouse sites this is a result of removal or curation of reusable portable school items, and that most activity areas are cleaned regularly and refuse discarded elsewhere (Beisaw 2004) As expected, only 2% of the artifacts match items related to typical schoolhouse activities. The assumption made here is that reusable education items were taken to the new school, St. Cyprian’s Residential School, which replaced the Victoria Jubilee Home in 1926. The latter was equipped with a small blackboard attached to one wall, and students wrote on slate boards (DIA, Sessional Paper No. 27, 1901). According to archival documents, school supplies distributed by the Peigan Indian Agent to the residential schools were obtained through the Pincher Creek School District, which purchased the supplies from Christie School Supply Limited, Brandon, Manitoba.

\(^{12}\) The S.P.C.K. originated in 1678 and founded church schools for girls and boys in the 18\(^{th}\) century. It later funded schools globally and provided Christian educational literature at the request of the Church of England. Archives for S.P.C.K. are held at Cambridge University (http://www.spck.org.uk/index.php).
Small pieces of chalk, slate board, and slate pencils were the only items in this category.

There is one object however, that deserves additional consideration. The loop or finger bow from a scissor handle found during the 2008 field season is included in this category, although it could equally be situated among objects with a domestic function (see Figure 18). Beaudry (2006) cautions about assigning a specific function to scissors, as they often had/have many functions and were important tools in domestic, labour, and educational contexts. During the mid 1880s, both girls and boys were taught sewing instruction as part of the missionary zeal aimed at Christianizing children. Sewing, in particular, was seen as an activity that would help mould the character of Indian children by imparting useful skills necessary for middle or working class values, cleanliness, and care in dress. The most common type of scissor found at sites with a domestic context are general-purpose or all purpose “domestic utility” scissors that lack ornamentation (Beaudry 2006: 176-177). In the context of the residential school, scissors were used as a tool in educating children – not only in sewing, but also as weapon of conformity or punishment. Student accounts from the residential schools indicate that scissors were initially used to cut the hair of Aboriginal students (a practice often reserved for ceremonial or mourning purposes in Piikani culture). Anecdotes from residential school survivors tell how students were punished by having to use scissors to cut the grass around the schools.

**Unknown Function**

Six percent of the artifacts from the school are unidentifiable, particularly with regard to potential function. This includes several metal pieces, dried rubber flakes
(possibly erasers), and a small piece of crinkled foil. There were also two drawer or bail pulls such as used on cupboard doors or other furniture (see Figure 20). Both are metal, highly corroded, and without any ornamentation or decoration that distinguishes them.

One complete and one broken railroad spike are included in this category. Since railroad spikes are used in the construction of railways, their appearance in the residential school assemblage is unusual and their purpose unknown. A railway trestle bridge is located less than 200 metres south of the school, which is the only likely source for these spikes. The railway itself, was a source of curiosity among the Piikani and its proximity to the school no doubt tempted the children to explore the changes to the landscape (Joe Yellow Horn, personal communication, 2009). Indeed, the Annual Report of North West Mounted Police states that in June of 1900 an unspecified number of “Indian children placed an iron brake shoe from a cart on the rail tracks” and were later arrested and returned to the Anglican boarding school (Government of Canada, Session Paper No. 28, Annual Report of Superintendent R. Burton Deane, North West Mounted Police, 1900). Wallace Yellowface (personal communication, 2009), whose father attended the Victoria Jubilee Home, confirmed that his father along with other boys from the school often ran away to the train tracks, only to be retrieved by the NWMP and returned to the school. Joe Crowshoe, Sr. related how children from the school went to the railway bridge to cut Christmas trees for the dining room and classroom (Ross 2008). The railway also brought representatives of British royalty to the vicinity. As Eric North Peigan (personal communication 2009) recalled, “my grandfather told us that the Duke of Connaught from England came and they stopped the train right at that train bridge there, just a bit south of
the school”. Staff and children from the school greeted the Duke and family during a visit in the early 1900s13.

**What’s Missing?**

The perceptible gap in the types of artifacts present in this residential school assemblage bears mentioning. This school was administered by and focused on a Christian, specifically Anglican, dogma, and religious instruction was part of the daily routine of the institution. However, there is a significant lack of representation of religious artifacts and paraphernalia. Religious activities at schoolhouses are hard to place because associated artifacts are rarely found. During the late 19th century, many of the Anglicans tended to downplay overt displays of religious iconography unlike their Roman Catholic counterparts. Consequently, personal sacred objects were curated and removed with the individual (Rotman 2009). Institutional objects such as crucifixes, remain with the religious body, and when the school was dismantled in the 1920s any such objects were likely taken to the new location.

A further conundrum in the school’s material culture is the lack of direct evidence of children and children’s play activities. Archaeologists often resort to looking for “specific traces” of children, but identifying them should not be limited to child specific categories of material culture (Baxter 2005:22). The identification or function of an object as a toy may not be related to current social significance or meaning (Derevenski 2000). Although the dearth of childrens’ culture implies a bleak condition where ordinary

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items, such as buttons, may well represent children’s play activities, archival documents state that toys and play activities took place at the school. The local merchants in Fort MacLeod and Pincher Creek donated toys to the school for Christmas (Diocese of Calgary Report 1897-1898). Joe Crowshoe recalled that when he attended the Victoria Jubilee Home as a child, the boys received skates and hockey sticks, while the girls received dolls and doll clothes (Ross 2008). Additionally, the school boasted two playgrounds where the children could play supervised games such as football, cricket or hockey (DIA, Annual Report of W.R. Haynes, Principle, Church of England Boarding School, 1900).

Children’s interaction with toys or play items is unpredictable. Objects are lost, stashed in secret locations, randomly traded or given away, and carried with the child during non-play activities. Within the residential school context, toys were also taken from the children as control or punishment. Therefore, while somewhat unusual that there are no traces of childrens’ toys representing the occupational period of the residential school, an institution specifically housing children, play of any kind is hard to gauge in the archaeological record of the Victoria Jubilee Home.
Figure 15. Glass and Ceramic fragments

Figure 16. Buttons and Suspender Clasp
Figure 17. Slate pencil tip; slate board fragments, scissor loop

Figure 18. Spoon and knife blade
Figure 19. Drawer pulls.

Figure 20. Bone Fragments (domestic cow (Bos taurus))
Summary

The material culture of the Victoria Jubilee Home fits broadly into functional categories that are useful for archaeologists in determining the extent to which various activities occurred at the site. But, they are not entirely representative of the residential school experience because material culture has always functioned based on modern standards that include our own cultural experiences (Deetz 1996:254). The artifact assemblage of institutions plays an explicit and implicit role in accomplishing the institution’s goals or purposes. Consequently, categorizing artifacts into practical functional categories does not reflect the full range of meaning and significance of objects to users (De Cunzo 2009; Wilkie 2000). Viewed in a holistic way therefore, there is only one functional category – the residential school itself.
Chapter 6: School’s Out

Introduction

The Queen Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children operated from 1897-1926 as part of the larger Indian Residential School system in Canada. Like other schools, it operated as a joint venture between government and religion to integrate Aboriginal people into Canadian society. And, like other residential schools that scoured Indian Country, it left a tragic legacy in its wake. By the mid-1970s, most of these institutions closed, leaving the last to close in 1996. Still, over a decade later, only 36% of non-Aboriginal Canadians know little, if anything, about the residential schools and their impact on Native communities across the country. On the other hand, and not surprising, more than 80% of Aboriginal people have direct knowledge or familiarity with the residential schools (Environics 2008). Bringing awareness of the full impact of the residential school system is daunting and requires multiple perspectives. The methods of archaeology offer another opportunity to get at the roots of its dysfunction.

The material culture of residential schools is an untapped resource in the study of Aboriginal education. Archaeological investigation unearths the tangible evidence of school life, revealing a more nuanced understanding of daily activities in a regulated environment. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the aim of this project was to recount the history of the Victoria Jubilee Home through the lens of historical archaeology, combining multiple sources of data to understand what daily life was like in the
residential school and the role of this institution during the early reserve era of the Piikani Nation.

In this final chapter, I apply what I learned from historical documents, oral narratives, and the archaeology of the Victoria Jubilee Home to contribute to the ongoing narrative of Aboriginal education within the context of the residential school.

**The Learning Curve**

The concept of “total institutions” as defined by Goffman (1961) provides one perspective for understanding Indian residential schools. All institutions are social establishments that, to various degrees, provide a micro-world for their constituents. All aspects of life are monitored, supervised, under surveillance, timed or scheduled with the aim of furthering the mandate of the institution. They are symbolized by their limited access to the outside world, often evident by the architecture and other physical barriers such as cliffs, waterways, or isolation (Goffman 1961:124). The world within the institution of residential schools was incompatible with Aboriginal conceptions of the world, home, family, and individual.

The discourse of residential schools promotes the totalitarian and assimilative effect of Canada’s Indian policy in undermining the will and identity of Aboriginal people. While there is no doubt that these institutions were intended to promote civilization and Christianity, conventional thinking that they exerted complete control over entire Aboriginal communities is far from reality (Miller 1990). Indeed, many Aboriginal children found ways to escape the cruelty of residential school through resistance and secretly maintaining a connection to their distinctive way of life (Lindauer
1996). In some schools, such as the Victoria Jubilee Home, amidst the oppressive routine, children had brief interactions with their families - though often within the context of church organized and supervised events. Nevertheless, these momentary encounters provided enduring ties to family and community.

Residential schools sought the assimilation of Aboriginal people for their own good; a goal predicated on the belief that Aboriginal people were trapped in the past without the capability or desire to change without intervention from white society. In part, material culture and property ownership signalled the hallmark of civilized life and residential schools served to create those conditions. Material culture and physical space were used to shape experience, memories and lives. They were a factor in how social systems and practises change, and the introduction of new items created the need for new complex relations and actions that often separated and differentiated people (Deetz 1996).

Privileging written sources over material culture or oral testimony in telling this story continues to bind Aboriginal people to someone else’s history. Missionaries, teachers, and Indian agents often focused their reports on their own personal needs and difficulties, and were critical of Aboriginal people and reserve life. Historical documents regularly reported the push by school and government officials to reform the Piikani in their use of consumer goods. School memoires and oral narratives, on the other hand, reveal that while some new items were introduced through the schools, it was their different uses or meanings that had the most significant impact. Although colonial administrators were charged with shaping meaning and function associated with objects and spaces, they could not predict the ambiguity that they held or the opportunities they provided for students to live through difficult circumstances (Silliman 2010). Examining
the material remains featured in residential schools therefore, has the potential to lead to
an integrated understanding of the role of objects in attempting to refashion Aboriginal
societies.

Archaeologists face difficulties when attempting to separate the behaviour and
activities associated with material remains in places shared between Aboriginal people
and others (Silliman 2010:29). Consequently, we need to proceed cautiously when
applying function and meaning to the material culture of residential schools. For
example, nails, which are largely represented and function as architectural materials,
might also be understood within the context of tools used for training students in
industrial skills. Additionally, artifacts that represent domesticity are not easily
distinguishable from artifacts that relate to social order, courtesy, health and appearance,
discipline, ownership or consumerism.

The assemblage of the Victoria Jubilee Home was created by a number of
individuals, adults and children, whose daily life was defined by participation at the
mission and the school. Difficulty in abstracting function and intent is complicated by the
multiple uses at the site and arises because there is a lack of available comparative
evidence from other sites. Archaeological investigation of residential schools has not
been undertaken in Canada, and studies in the U.S. of Native American boarding schools
is limited to known trash disposal sites or surface remains. There is no definitive
identifiable residential school artifact pattern, yet the Victoria Jubilee Home provides a
glimpse at the potential for further learning through archaeological examination and
comparison of these institutions in Canada.
Built for Education: Designed for Life

Archaeological investigations at school sites yield complex stories for communities and offer models for community growth and identity based on the history of these institutions (Beisaw and Gibb 2003). For example, buttons and personal items reflect not only changes in appearance, but also remind residential school students of discipline, ritual, and identity. Similarly, ceramics and dishware functioned to redefine the organization of traditional family meals, social order and courtesy, while school items functioned to transform relationships (Lindauer 2009). Viewing the artifacts in the greater context of the goals and objectives of the institutions, the relationships between students and staff, the relationships among students, and the impact on the Piikani community is better suited to addressing these and other themes.

Identifying and classifying objects to represent resistance, resilience, renewal, and reconciliation, and changes at the body, spiritual, and personal identity levels is not limited to the archaeology. The oral testimonies and narratives of residential school attendees have shown that the “small things forgotten, like buttons, that were part of the ritual to civilize and integrate” Aboriginal people, instead, led to resistance and determination to survive the identity crisis imposed through regimentation (De Cunzo 2009:213). Others recalled that blackboards, slate boards and other educational tools used to teach the English language symbolized the stealing of Native languages, while food items created social bonds between children as they learned how to steal food and create their own private caches (Bezeau 2007; Haig-Brown 1988; Jack 2006). During the Truth and Reconciliation statement gathering circle at Leq'a: mel First Nation in January 2010, former residential school students spoke of “food as a trigger”, testifying that food was
often scarce and the quality and nutritional value poor. Many of the older students commented that the highly processed food eaten at school was a contributing factor to later health problems\textsuperscript{14}. Consequently, assigning function to the artifacts of residential schools requires expanding their use and understanding to include the metaphysical notions by which former students made sense of the changes around them (see Table 4).

\textbf{Table 4. Re-Assigning Artifact Function}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archaeological Classification</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
<th>Residential School Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architectural/Building</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>Glass/Nails/Building debris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Memories of residential school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing/Personal Adornment</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>Clothing/Buttons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Discipline, ritual, identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic/Household</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>Domestic/Ceramics/Dishes/Cutlery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Redefined family meals, social order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/School</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>Education/Slate boards/Scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stealing Aboriginal languages; conformity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Identity, consumerism, ownership</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The archaeology of the residential school tells us that a distinct lifestyle emerged from the imposition of manufactured mass produced commodities, and that regulated activity was being created. The surviving artifacts however are not necessarily

\textsuperscript{14} The rate of Type 2 (adult onset) diabetes for Aboriginal people is three to five times higher than the average Canadian (Health Canada 2011 website http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca).
representative of the lived experiences of the young students. The lack of distinguishable children’s toys, even broken or discarded toys, is remarkable at a site that was the home and school for children for thirty years. In a lengthy unsigned draft report obtained from the Anglican Archives, the author writes:

I cannot believe that there exist children so crushed in spirit that they have no desire to play; yet the principal of a residential school recently made the statement that, as far as his pupils are concerned, play time and sports equipment were of no use because the children did not wish to play (Anglican Archives, 1900, Report to My Lord and Gentlemen).

The physical environment of the Victoria Jubilee Home may have been built for education, but it was designed for life. Therefore, what survives and is found, leads to important questions about the role of material culture in enforcing changes through the residential school system.

**Everything I know about Residential Schools, I learned on the Rez**

The Indian Residential School system failed. The government of Canada admitted this in its 2008 *Statement of Apology*. For many First Nations it is the beginning of understanding and negotiating the current challenges stemming from colonial forces.

The site of the Victoria Jubilee Home for Indian Children lies bare, sanitized by bulldozers and backhoes. There are no buildings remaining from the original mission, and a modern home sits on top of what was once the scene of a growing nation. The only evidence of the school’s existence is a government cairn that marks the site as part of Alberta heritage and draws the occasional tourist guided by “points of interest” road travel brochures.
I believe that the Piikani have a deep connection to the site of the school but were not given the opportunity to decide how the site would be commemorated, remembered or forgotten. Piikani band officials supported this project because archaeology on their heritage sites contributes to their long history, and exposes how external institutions influenced life during the early reserve era. We met with Maria Crowshoe, then Manager of the Traditional Use Study Office, and other community members at the Piikani Nation Band Office to share an informed understanding about the project. Throughout our time on the Piikani Reserve, we observed cultural protocols, attended and participated in activities, and answered questions about the project. In an effort to include as many Piikani people as possible, we held an information table at the community centre and displayed research posters and historical artifacts from recent excavations. Students of the Piikani cultural monitoring program visited the site to witness our progress and to observe our methods as part of their training program. Interest by the community was certainly aroused, gauged by the number of people who regularly visited the archaeological site to share memories and stories about their ancestors, residential schools, and the Victoria Jubilee Home.

There is no doubt that racism has historically dominated Aboriginal people, and continues to prevail in present society. This is particularly evident in how education was used to effectively raise a barrier to keep Aboriginal people at the very margins of society. As a society, we must deal with the modern consequences and the social conditions that have adversely affected Native communities as a result of residential schooling and substandard education. The Piikani First Nation took control of its own school in 1986, and the curriculum is designed to provide an education that incorporates
language, cultural traditions, and reflects the perspectives and foundations of traditional knowledge and worldviews. It is a trend that has been taken up in more than 500 on-reserve schools in Canada in efforts to provide quality, culturally relevant teaching and learning opportunities (AFN 2010).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada is nearing completion of its mandate to pull together a detailed record revealing the complete history of the residential schools. Regardless of the limitations in artifact variety and abundance, archaeology of the Victoria Jubilee Home reveals that there are many opportunities to engage in further research and to address multiple complex questions regarding Indian residential schools, and First Nation education as a whole. Teaching a school to talk relies on combining data sources that enrich the story told. It relies on interpreting history in light of its entire context, which includes the multiple factors and forces that operated within the community as well as those that were imposed. It is within the multiple perspectives of historical archaeology that we can add to the growing understanding of Indian residential schools in Canada.
## Appendices

### Appendix A: Artifact Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact No.</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0001</td>
<td>tp1-2</td>
<td>glass, clear, devitrification, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0002</td>
<td>tp1-7</td>
<td>glass, amber, bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0003</td>
<td>tp1-8</td>
<td>ceramic, white, curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0004</td>
<td>tp1-9</td>
<td>metal, split, round end - toy leg (?) – iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0005</td>
<td>tp2-5</td>
<td>nail, bent, round head, square cut end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0006</td>
<td>tp2-7</td>
<td>glass, clear, devitrification, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0007</td>
<td>tp2-8</td>
<td>glass, clear, devitrification, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0008</td>
<td>tp3-1</td>
<td>glass, clear, devitrification, small &lt;1 cm, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0009</td>
<td>tp3-1</td>
<td>metal, ring, scissor handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0010</td>
<td>tp3-1</td>
<td>glass, clear, curved, bottle glass?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0011</td>
<td>tp3-2</td>
<td>nail, bent, round head, square cut end, thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0012</td>
<td>tp3-2</td>
<td>nail, round head, thick, chisel end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0013</td>
<td>tp3-2</td>
<td>glass, amber, devitrified, curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0014</td>
<td>tp3-2</td>
<td>glass, clear, divitrified, 6 sherds, small &lt;1.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0015</td>
<td>tp3-2</td>
<td>putty, window, hard, white, small &lt;1 cm, 4 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0016</td>
<td>tp3-3</td>
<td>nail, round head, thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0017</td>
<td>tp3-4</td>
<td>glass, 2 sherds, small, &lt;1 cm, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0018</td>
<td>tp3-4</td>
<td>metal, small rectangle w/cut hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0019</td>
<td>tp3-4</td>
<td>glass, 3 sherds, small, &lt;1 cm, flat, clear, devitrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0020</td>
<td>tp3-5</td>
<td>glass, 5 sherds, small, &lt;1.5 cm, flat, clear, devitrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0021</td>
<td>tp3-5</td>
<td>glass, 5 sherds, &lt; 1 cm, flat, clear, devitrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0022</td>
<td>tp3-5</td>
<td>metal, rectangle piece, highly eroded one end, hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0023</td>
<td>tp3-5</td>
<td>button, opaque white, 4 holes-broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0024</td>
<td>tp3-6</td>
<td>glass, clear, no devitrification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0025</td>
<td>tp3-7</td>
<td>glass, clear, &lt;.5 cm, flat, no devitrification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0026</td>
<td>tp3-2</td>
<td>metal, curved rectangular with lip, mottled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0027</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>glass, clear, mostly devitrified window glass, ranging &lt;.5 cm - &lt;3.5 cm</td>
</tr>
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<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>glass, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0029</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>glass, clear, thick, very small piece</td>
</tr>
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<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>glass, mason, curved, thick, grooved, electrical cover (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0031</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>slate, several small pieces, Slate-board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0032</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>nail, round head, chisel end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0033</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>nail, round head, very little lip, chisel end, thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0034</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>nail, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0035</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>tack, round head, square body, broken tip (possible nail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0036</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>nail, square head, square cut, broken tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0037</td>
<td>tp5-1</td>
<td>nail, square head, square cut, bent, flat, square tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact No.</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0038</td>
<td>tp5-2</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, devitrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0039</td>
<td>tp5-2</td>
<td>glass, slight curve, devitrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0040</td>
<td>tp5-2</td>
<td>glass, green, slightly curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0041</td>
<td>tp5-2</td>
<td>nail, flat off-centre head, wire nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0042</td>
<td>tp5-2</td>
<td>nail, bent, wire nail, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0043</td>
<td>tp5-2</td>
<td>staple, fencing?, one end broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0044</td>
<td>tp5-3</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, devitrified, 8 sherds, ranging 11.35mm - 21.33mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0045</td>
<td>tp5-3</td>
<td>brick flakes, orange-red, flooring? Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0046</td>
<td>tp5-3</td>
<td>nail, round head, chisel end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0047</td>
<td>tp5-4</td>
<td>bar, from barbed wire fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0048</td>
<td>tp5-5</td>
<td>screw, rusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0049</td>
<td>tp5-5</td>
<td>glass, flat, window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0050</td>
<td>tp5-6</td>
<td>glass, flat, window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0051</td>
<td>tp5-6</td>
<td>metal scrap, very rusted, flakey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0052</td>
<td>tp5-6</td>
<td>nail, bent, rusted, round head, off centre, wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0053</td>
<td>tp4-1</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, very small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0054</td>
<td>tp4-1</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, 2 pieces &lt;3 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0055</td>
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<td>brick fragment, orange-red, flooring? Foundation</td>
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<td>glass, flat, window, small &lt; 2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0057</td>
<td>tp4-3</td>
<td>wood piece, small, fence post? Window frame? Unpainted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0058</td>
<td>tp4-3</td>
<td>small wire, filament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0059</td>
<td>tp4-4</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, very small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0060</td>
<td>tp4-4</td>
<td>glass, curved, clear w/hint of blue or green, embossed on posterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0061</td>
<td>tp4-4</td>
<td>nail, off-centre rounded head, irregular sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0062</td>
<td>tp4-4</td>
<td>staple, fencing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0063</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>metal, round, button back with loop, may have held a decoration, women’s?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0064</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, 3 pieces &lt;2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0065</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, several tiny pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0066</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>glass, curved, clear, has an almost right angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0067</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>glass, amber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0068</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>ceramic fragment, white, curved, not porcelain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0069</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>metal, round, 2 holed, button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH08-0070</td>
<td>tp4-6</td>
<td>glass, curved, clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0071</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>nail or fence staple, rusted, very corroded, broken piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0072</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, 17 tiny pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0073</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>staple, fencing? Stockade?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0074</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>nail, heavily corroded, chiseled end, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0075</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>nail, round, narrow, thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0076</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>suspender, Ch.Guyot, c. 1850-1907, made in France, genuine, 40-60 cents/pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0077</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>small, triangular shaped flat metal cut piece, window fixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0078</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, flat, window, 36 pieces, ranging &lt;1cm - 4cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0079</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, amber, small &lt;1 cm, glass, flat, parallel scratches, 121 pieces, ranging &lt;1cm - 4cm, largest piece has circular compression marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0080</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>glass, flat, 20 pieces, ranging &lt;1cm - 2.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact No.</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0084</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>glass, flat, 38 pieces, ranging &lt;1cm - 2.92 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0085</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>metal, grommet - from shoes (shoe lace pull through)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0086</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>nail, wire, heavily corroded, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0087</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>nail, chiseled end, corroded, round head off centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0088</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>nail, thin, narrow, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0089</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>nail, thin, narrow, round head, fine point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0090</td>
<td>u10</td>
<td>metal, fencing staple tyne - broken, or broken nail?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0091</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>slate pencil, broken piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0092</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>metal fragments, rusty flakes, very thin, pliable, 9 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0093</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, small roof tack?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0094</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, flat, small fragment &lt;1 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0095</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>metal, whatzit, thin narrow bar was attached to prongs, broke when removed from sample bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0096</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass button, fancy, black, back loop missing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0097</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>metal, whatzit, with teeth-like grooves on one side, lead?, broken ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0098</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>metal, chunk, right angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0099</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, flat, 2 small fragments, &lt;1 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0100</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, small, heavily corroded, cut nail (brad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0101</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0102</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, round head, heavily corroded, cut nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0103</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, round head, heavily corroded, wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0104</td>
<td>u11</td>
<td>nail, off-centre rounded head, irregular sides, cut nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0105</td>
<td>u9</td>
<td>large nut and bolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0106</td>
<td>u9</td>
<td>glass, flat, small fragments, 4 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0107</td>
<td>u12</td>
<td>glass, flat, small fragments, 64 pieces</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0108</td>
<td>u12</td>
<td>glass, small curved fragments, 4 pieces, slight purple colour</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0109</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>wood piece, fence post?,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0110</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, small fragments, 21 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0111</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, small fragments, 19 pieces, ranging &lt;1 cm - 59.62 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0112</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, broken, no top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0113</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, roofing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0114</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>stone block piece, possibly sandstone?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0115</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>small stone pieces with white wash, 8 pieces, sandstone?</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0116</td>
<td>u6</td>
<td>glass, flat, ranging from &lt;1cm - 6 cm, 47 pieces</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0117</td>
<td>u6</td>
<td>ceramic fragments (4 pieces), white, curved, partial curved design on one piece</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0118</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>very tiny ceramic fragment w/blue pattern - poss maker's mark?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0119</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, flat, 7 pieces, ranging from 1cm-1.65 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0120</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>button, broken, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0121</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail, off centre round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0122</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail end, broken off head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0123</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, flat, 27 pieces, ranging from &lt;1cm - 3.5 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0124</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>rubber fragments, dried, hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0125</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>tiny ceramic fragment w/green pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0126</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail, slight curve, chiseled end, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0127</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail, off centre round head, chisel end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0128</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>metal tyne, from staple or nail, broken, very corroded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact No.</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0130</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>small wood fragments, possibly from fencing, no evidence of burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0131</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, flat, 40 pieces, ranging from &lt;1cm - 4.5 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0132</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>chalk, small fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0133</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>rim sherd, white with green stripe on rim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0134</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>small wood fragments, possibly from fencing, no evidence of burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0135</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>staple, fencing, stockade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0136</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, flat, 22 pieces, ranging from &lt;1cm - 3.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0137</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>small wood fragments, possibly from fencing, no evidence of burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0138</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>slate board pieces, several small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0139</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>rubber fragments, dried, hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0140</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>metal button, snap type (like on overalls, work clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0141</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, 20 pieces, ranging &lt;1cm - 2.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0142</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>thin, gold coloured, snap base?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0143</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>slate board pieces, several small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0144</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, 30 pieces, ranging from &lt;1cm - 3.6 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0145</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>small piece of wood, possibly fencing, no evidence of burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0146</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, vessel glass of some type, slight green/blue tinge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0147</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, off centre head, very corroded, flat sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0148</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>small, triangular shaped flat metal cut piece, window fixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0149</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, off centre head, very corroded, flat sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0150</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>square, with circular indentation - concave on surface,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0151</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, 42 pieces, ranging from &lt;1 cm - 3.45 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0152</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, large, round head, chiseled end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0153</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, small, finishing nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0154</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>small brick flake, orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0155</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, 25 pieces, ranging from &lt;1 cm - 5.24 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0156</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>glass, flat, 8 pieces, ranging from &lt;1 cm - 2.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0157</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, small, roofing tack?, split end, round centred head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0158</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>wire piece, curved, very bent, cut/broken ends, handle piece?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0159</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>nail, small, heavily corroded, cut nail,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0160</td>
<td>u3</td>
<td>large, square cut nail, square tip, heavily corroded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0161</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>3 small bone fragments, mammal - unidentified species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0162</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, cut nail, chiseled end, roundish head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0163</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, broken head, corroded, uneven sides</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0164</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, flat, 5 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0165</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>button, broken in half, flat, 2 hole, white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0166</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>small ceramic fragment with blue and white pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0167</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>small round washer with small centre hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0168</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>small round, green glass, flat on one surface - decoration from button?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0169</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>small fragment of blue tint glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0170</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>small fragments, 2 pieces, flat glass &lt;1 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0171</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>nail, square cut, heavy corrosion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0172</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>nail, s-curved bent, round head, chiseled end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0173</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>small piece of orange brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0174</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>glass, flat, irregular thickness due to fragmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0175</td>
<td>u12</td>
<td>nail, bent, round head - off centre, heavy corrosion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact No.</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0176</td>
<td>u12</td>
<td>rust flake, very thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0177</td>
<td>u12</td>
<td>button, 4 hole, white, hatch mark pattern on one side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0178</td>
<td>u6</td>
<td>brick piece, circular, orange, decoration?</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0179</td>
<td>u6</td>
<td>nail, corroded, round head, chiseled end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0180</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>two small bone fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0181</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, flat, 9 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0182</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, amber coloured, 2 pieces &lt; 1.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0183</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, bent, square head, very corroded, square body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0184</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, bent end, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0185</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>nail, square body, square head, heavily corroded, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0186</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, green coloured, 1 small fragment, &lt; .5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0187</td>
<td>u7</td>
<td>glass, 1 piece of flat glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0188</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>screw, rusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0189</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>screw, rusted, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0190</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>screw with square nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0191</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>nail, small square head, chisel point head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0192</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>metal wire with loop end, possibly mason jar fastener, bent, broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0193</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, 29 pieces, flat glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0194</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>triangle shaped piece of metal, window frame?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0195</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, 5 pieces, flat glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0196</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail, long, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0197</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail, short, off centre oval head, heavily corroded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0198</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, 39 pieces, flat glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0199</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>comb tooth? Tiger-eye colour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0200</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>small piece of curved, opalescent glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0201</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>fragment of amber coloured glass with lip, bottle top?, small inner circumference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0202</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>metal handle, drawer pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0203</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>glass, 3 sherds, small, &lt;1cm, flat, clear, flat, devitrified</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0204</td>
<td>u8</td>
<td>small piece of crinkled foil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0205</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, 16 sherds, flat, clear, devitrified, window glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0206</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, 14 sherds, flat, clear, devitrified, window glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0207</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, curved, amber coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0208</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>triangle shaped piece of metal, window frame?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0209</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>broken nail - no head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0210</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>glass, 37 sherds, flat, clear, devitrified, window glass</td>
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<tr>
<td>VJH09-0211</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>small tack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0212</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>wood piece, fence post?,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0213</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>glass, 7 sherds, &lt;1 - 6 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0214</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>metal fencing staple, small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0215</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>broken nail - head only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0216</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>screw, short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0217</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>glass, 21 sherds, flat clear, devitrified, window glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0218</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>metal wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0219</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>glass, 4 sherds, flat clear, devitrified, window glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0220</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>nail, square, flat, cut nail?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0221</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>nail, very corroded, head broken in half, body square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact No.</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0222</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>nail, split from head to almost end, square/oval head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0223</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>glass, 2 sherds, small, &lt;1 cm, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0224</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>very tiny small metal ring, possible grommet?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0225</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>crumped lead?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0226</td>
<td>u2</td>
<td>glass, 9 sherds, clear flat glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0227</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>bone fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0228</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>screw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0229</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>nail, long, round head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0230</td>
<td>u4</td>
<td>glass, 28 sherds, clear, flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0231</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>1 complete railroad spike, 1 broken spike (head missing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0232</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, 30 sherds, clear, flat glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0233</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>flat bone fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0234</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>button, 2 holes, thin, very light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJH09-0235</td>
<td>u5</td>
<td>glass, 18 sherds, clear, flat glass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

child's play enamelware plate
child's play spoon
child's play knife blade
child's play various nails and building materials
## Appendix B: Victoria Jubilee Home Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Recorded</th>
<th>School Staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1898          | Rev. J. Hinchcliffe (Principal-retired)  
               | Mrs. Hinchcliffe  
               | Mr. Hillier (resigned)  
               | Mrs. Hillier (resigned)  
               | Rev. W.R. Haynes (Principal)  
               | Mrs. Haynes  
               | Miss Brown (Matron)  
               | Mr. J.A. Mason (Teacher)  
               | Miss Garlick  
               | Miss Tait |
| 1900          | Rev. W.R. Haynes (Principal)  
               | Mrs. Haynes (Matron)  
               | Mr. J.A. Mason (Teacher)  
               | Miss A. Jamieson (Assistant Matron)  
               | Miss A.G. Cummings (Cook) |
| 1901          | Rev. W.R. Haynes (Principal)  
               | Mrs. Haynes (Matron)  
               | Miss M. Allworth (Girl’s Matron)  
               | Mr. C.H. Collinson (Teacher) |
| 1910          | Rev. W.R. Haynes (Principal)  
               | Miss Longworth (Staff Matron)  
               | Miss Brown (Assistant Matron)  
               | Mr. C. Tatham (Assistant General)  
               | Miss Howell (Teacher-resigned) |
| 1912          | Rev. W.R. Haynes  
               | Mr. A.R. Collins (Principal-resigned)  
               | Captain C.E. Fisher (Principal)  
               | Mr. A. Bonehill (Assistant Principal)  
               | Miss Henderson (Matron)  
               | Mrs. Simons (Assistant Matron)  
               | Teaching position vacant  
               | Miss Stenning (Teacher, November 1912) |
| 1913          | Captain C.E. Fisher (Principal)  
               | Miss Jones (Teacher) |
| 1914          | Miss Ball (First Class Certified Teacher) |
| 1920          | Rev. W.R. Haynes (Principal, until May)  
               | Rev. Middleton (Principal, Blood & Peigan Schools) |
| 1922          | Mr. G? (Teacher-died at the school) |
| 1925          | Mr. W. Barlow (Teacher) |
| 1927          | Rev. V.S. Lord |
Appendix C: Survey Plan of Victoria Mission Historic Site (1959)
## Appendix D: DjPk-148 Alberta Heritage Inventory Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borden Number:</th>
<th>DjPk-148</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Number:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permit Number:</td>
<td>Victoria Jubilee 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| UTM NAD83:     | Zone: 12  
|                | Easting: 297647  
|                | Northing: 5492017 |
| NTS 1:50K:     | 82H/12 |
| ATS:           | W4 R29 T007 S12 L09 |
| Site Type:     | school |
| Feature:       |         |
Appendix E: Geophysical Survey Results

The finalized plot result shows values that represent only a 0.1% chance of being random noise (Alberta Western Heritage 2007:13-14).

*Figure 8. De-spiked and linearly filtered magnetic data, showing significant anomalies appearing in the VJ School combined survey grids.*

*Figure 9. Colour map illustrating fully processed magnetic data for the VJ School combined survey grids.*
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