

OJIBWA PARTICIPATION IN METHODIST RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN UPPER CANADA, 1828-1860

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Abstract / Résumé

Ojibwa leaders of Upper Canada participated enthusiastically in the formation of two pre-Confederation Methodist residential schools, Alnwick (at Alderville) and Mount Elgin (at Munceytown). Ojibwa, such as Kahkewaquonaby (Peter Jones) and Shahwundais (John Sunday), lobbied for, and even funded the first schools through their annuities. This article examines why the Ojibwa supported residential schooling and what went wrong. I question the assumption that government and missionaries were the main advocates of residential schooling, and show that, by 1860, government and Methodists concluded that residential schooling was destined to fail. I ask why such an unsatisfactory system continued after Confederation.

Les chefs Ojibwa du Haut-Canada promouvaient avec enthousiasme et contribuaient leurs fonds à deux écoles résidentielles Methodistes, Alnwick à Alderville et Mount Elgin à Munceytown. Les chefs tels que Kahkewaquonaby (Peter Jones) et Shahwundais (John Sunday) étaient importantes. Cet article examine pourquoi les Ojibwa appuyaient aux écoles résidentielles, et les problèmes qui se manifestaient. J'enquête si le gouvernement et les missionnaires étaient les promoteurs principales des écoles résidentielles avant 1860. Je démontre que le gouvernement et les missionnaires ont conclus que le système étaient défectueux. Je demande pourquoi cet système continuaient après cette conclusion.

Introduction

In Canada, residential schools have been identified as a source of serious personal and cultural abuse to Aboriginal people. But did Aboriginal people always see residential schools as negative? In fact, the situation was quite different for one early residential school system in Canada—the schools run by the Methodist¹ missionaries for the Ojibwa of Upper Canada from the late 1820s until the 1850s.

Ojibwa leaders initially approved of the school's goals, raised money to build the schools, and contributed operating funds from their own annuities. Two Ojibwa leaders—Kahkewaquonaby (Rev. Peter Jones) and Shahwundais (Rev. John Sunday)—were principal advocates for residential schooling, and lobbied a resistant Imperial government for funds to start the schools. The Ojibwa expected to have at least one school directed by an Aboriginal person from their community, and eventually to be running their own independent school system, staffed by Ojibwa. They also expected that the schools would provide both practical manual skills and an advanced education, in preparation for professional training as doctors, lawyers and teachers.

If the schools had been set up and run as the Ojibwa leaders first expected, the history of residential schooling in Canada might have been quite different. Unfortunately, the way the schools were implemented seems to have disappointed the Ojibwa's expectations, and led them to withdraw their support. This article is an historical case history of what might have been, and what went wrong.

I will describe the origins and early operations of the Methodist Ojibwa residential schools, called Manual Labour Schools. The residential schools had a slow and somewhat experimental start during the late 1820s and 1830s, but became a focus of activity during the late 1830s and 1840s. By 1850, two major institutions were built and operating—Alnwick at Alderville and Mount Elgin at Munceytown.

I conclude this case study in 1860, when jurisdiction over Indian affairs was transferred from the British Imperial government in London to Canada (Canada, Public Archives 1975:1-2). This introduced a new set of actors into Indian administration, and led to a made-in-Canada Indian policy after Confederation. Therefore I have ended in 1860, by which time the expanded schools had been operating for ten years, and all parties had had a chance to evaluate the results.

The problems with residential schooling quickly became apparent, and were identified by all participants including an official government inquiry. By 1860, all parties concerned—Ojibwa, government, and Methodist missionaries—considered the schools unsuccessful. Despite this pessimistic assessment, the model of residential schooling established

in Upper Canada before Confederation was exported to western Canada over the next hundred years.

In this context, it is useful to ask what the Ojibwa leaders' initial hopes were for the residential schools? Why did they support the schools, and what happened to disappoint them? What roles did government and Methodists play?

The history of Methodist residential schools is scattered in bits and pieces in published and unpublished material. An important source is the correspondence and writings of two key advocates—Peter Jones (Letterbook n.d.; 1860, 1861), and William Case (Carroll 1871). Letters and reports about the schools appear in the Methodist newspapers, *The Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York) and, after 1829, *The Christian Guardian* (Toronto). The unpublished correspondence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (Britain) contains much backroom political information, as well as two detailed reports on the schools. The Methodist Missionary Society's annual reports publish yearly statistics, as well as the Society's official version of what was happening. The administrators were often quite forthright about the developing problems and their growing disillusionment with the schools. The Ojibwa leaders' views are contained in letters and petitions to the government. An invaluable source is the report of a conference of Ojibwa leaders at Orillia in 1846 (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men 1846), where the Ojibwa debated their hopes for residential schools. The government point of view is found in published correspondence (Sanderson 1957; Doughty 1937) and in official reports (Canada, Legislative Assembly 1844-1845; 1847; 1858; Great Britain, Parliament 1856). The unpublished correspondence of Samuel Peters Jarvis (Papers) and later of Thomas Anderson (Papers), successive heads of the Indian Department, illuminate the official version presented in published reports. A fuller description of Methodist schools for the Ojibwa up to 1860 is in MacLean (1978).

The Background: Methodist and Ojibwa in Upper Canada

When the British conquered Canada in 1763, the Ojibwa were the main Aboriginal Nation living in Upper Canada (now the part of Ontario south of Georgian Bay). A small group of Huron or Wyandot still lived in the southwest near Amherstburgh. Several other Aboriginal Nations moved to Upper Canada after 1763, including the Mohawk and other Six Nations, the Algonkian-speaking Muncey or Lenni Lenape of Muncetown, and the related Delaware of Moraviantown (Graham 1973:1-16; Smith 1987:86-87).²

European settlers soon moved in, clearing the land and killing the game. By the 1820s, the Ojibwa population was dwindling rapidly. At

this crucial time, the Ojibwa began to convert to the Methodist version of Christianity. (See MacLean (1978:14-31; 2002), for a description of the remarkable mass conversion of the Ojibwa, and some Ojibwa reasons for it.)

One of the Methodist's first and most important converts was Kahkewaquonaby or "Sacred Waving Feathers," known in English as Peter Jones, a young man whose mother was a Mississauga Ojibwa from the Credit River Band and whose father was a Welsh land-surveyor. Jones converted at a camp meeting in 1823, and soon persuaded his relatives from the Credit River Band to convert as well (Jones 1860:1-15). Over the next few years, Jones and other Ojibwa converts helped the Methodists to convert most of the Ojibwa in Upper Canada.³

Another important convert was Shawundais or "Sultry Heat," known in English as John Sunday. He was from a Mississauga Ojibwa Band who lived around the Bay of Quinte, and was already a mature warrior and veteran of the War of 1812 when he converted to Methodism (Smith 1987:92-3). Sunday was a magnificent orator in Ojibwa, and even in English, his speeches are remarkable for beautiful imagery.⁴ Sunday became one of the most influential Methodist missionaries, leading long missionary tours to the Ojibwa and other Aboriginal Nations living around Lakes Superior and Huron.

Peter Jones and John Sunday were supported by William Case, the President of the Upper Canadian Methodists in the 1820s. Case mentored both Jones and Sunday, and raised funds to support their work. Case developed a passionate interest in Ojibwa missions, and spent much of his later career working on Ojibwa schooling.

A fourth influential figure was Egerton Ryerson. The young Ryerson (1883:58-60) was the first missionary to the Credit River Ojibwa in 1826. He formed a close friendship and lasting political alliance with Peter Jones. Ryerson was a brilliant politician, who soon embarked on a career that eventually made him one of the most influential figures in Upper Canada. By 1829, he was the first editor of the *Christian Guardian*, and consistently featured letters and editorials on Aboriginal issues. In the 1840s, Ryerson became the Superintendent of Schools for the province, and was given the task of total reform of the education system (Wilson 1970b).

These four individuals were to play important roles in the development of residential schools.

Methodist Schooling Programs

The period from 1825 to 1835 was a time of unique influence for Aboriginal people in the Methodist Church. By 1830, the Methodists

counted over 1,000 adult Aboriginal converts (Miss Soc Rep 1831:9), out of a total adult Ojibwa population in Upper Canada of about 1,382. (For a census of Native people in 1830, see Superintendent Clench, 1830, Jarvis Papers B56:173; MacLean 2002). Some converts in this number may have been from other nations. About forty Aboriginal men (mostly Ojibwa) became active missionaries or teachers—a remarkable 7% of the adult male Ojibwa population. Even more became local church officials, called class-leaders and exhorters (MacLean 2002). By 1830, the Methodists maintained nine mission stations and eleven day schools for their Native converts (Miss Soc Rep 1831:9).

Protestant theology required a knowledge of the Bible, rather than simply a statement of belief (Berkhofer 1965:2-4). Therefore the Methodists immediately set up day schools to teach their converts to read. Case commissioned Peter Jones, and his brother Tyentennegen (John Jones), to translate the Scriptures into Ojibwa (Miss Soc Rep 1829:5-6). The day schools were remarkable for such practices as use of Ojibwa teachers, bilingual education, use of Ojibwa language texts, and adoption of the Infant School or Pestalozzi system, a teaching method chosen to suit Native learning styles. The schools were regarded as training grounds for Ojibwa teachers and missionaries, with the most academically talented students sent on to advanced education in Methodist colleges. The Methodist Ojibwa schools actually offered better schooling than most European settlers received in the public schools, called Common Schools. The Ojibwa gave whole-hearted support to their school system, and enrolled most of their children. (For a detailed description of the day schools, see MacLean 1978:14-65 and 2002.)

In addition to day schools, the Methodists also experimented with a second type of schooling for adults, which I have called "Reserve communities" (MacLean 1978:66-111). As the Ojibwa began to settle onto Reserves, the Methodists began to teach them farming and trades, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, and useful crafts. The Methodists were not the only group doing this. They competed fiercely with the Indian Department and the Church of England, who offered similar programs on some Reserves.

Residential schools were the third major type of schooling, and actually began shortly after the first day schools. In 1828, William Case started a very small residential school at Grape Island, an Ojibwa settlement in the Bay of Quinte. Case and the female teachers (one later became his wife⁵) took four girls, ages 10-14, into the mission family as boarders. The girls learned English, scripture, sewing, knitting and domestic arts. The goal was to send them as teachers to other Reserves (CA&J 5 December 1828:54).

The early schooling programs were above all the work of William Case and Peter Jones, who both felt that schooling was central to the Ojibwa's future. Both men soon focussed on how to improve the schools. During the late 1820s, Case and Jones went to the United States to raise funds for the missions from the American Methodists. (The Canadian Methodists had become politically independent of the American Methodists in 1828, but continued to rely on them for funding until 1833.) There they learned about new ideas in schooling, such as the Pestalozzi System, called Infant Schools (CA&J 3 Oct 1828:17; Hodgins 1894, v.2:123).

Case and Jones were also influenced by the remarkable achievements of the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations. Both Nations contained a number of converts to Methodism. According to Smith (1987:114-5), in 1829, the American Methodists recorded 2,500 Native converts, of which 1,000 were Upper Canadian (mostly Ojibwa), 600 were Choctaw, and 800 Cherokee. Jones was impressed by the Cherokee's accomplishments, which included the invention of a Cherokee alphabet, publication of Cherokee language books and a newspaper, their own school system, constitution, and government, as well as a stable economic system based on plantations, mills and stores.

Jones was clearly inspired by the Cherokee as a model for what he wanted to help the Ojibwa to achieve (Smith 1987:115), and worked tirelessly with both Methodist allies and Ojibwa leaders to achieve this vision. The Methodist day schools and the goal of a well-educated Ojibwa leadership were all part of this plan. So was Jones' work on Ojibwa translations of the Scriptures (Smith 1987:153). Jones and other Methodists debated a system for writing Ojibwa, and prepared a vocabulary and dictionary, and a grammar of Ojibwa. By 1833 Jones' band at the Credit River were running businesses such as two sawmills, producing 5,000 feet of boards a day, and a boat which transported the lumber to sell in York (Toronto); they were planning to develop a harbour (Christian Guardian, hereafter cited as CG, 29 May 1833:115).

Jones saw Manual Labour Schools as fitting into this overall program. He thought they would supplement the work of the day schools, which did not give enough practical instruction in trades and agriculture. In a letter to Joseph Sawyer and the Credit River Ojibwa, Peter Jones urged:

I feel very anxious to see an institution of this kind [Manual Labour School] established among us, for I am fully persuaded that our children will never be what they ought to be until they are taught to work and learn useful Trades, as well as to learn to read and write. (CG 18 July 1838, 146)

Jones wanted to see the Ojibwa fully capable of political and financial independence (Smith 1987:193). Increasingly he saw Manual Labour Schools as the way this could be achieved.

Political Crisis

By the mid-1830s, Peter Jones must have felt proud of all that the Methodists and Ojibwa had accomplished in just ten years. The Ojibwa were making a transition to a more secure economic footing. Most bands were settling on their Reserves, and learning how to farm. There were day schools on every Reserve. The last unconverted Ojibwa—the large band around Sarnia—finally agreed to accept Methodism in 1835 (CG 18 March 1835:74).

Nevertheless ominous events alarmed Jones and the Ojibwa. Despite the Cherokee's accomplishments, they were fighting a desperate legal battle to avoid deportation to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. In 1838, the Cherokee were forced to walk the Trail of Tears, in which a quarter of the nation died (Wright 1992:220-221). The Ojibwa feared they would suffer the same fate. The Ojibwa had no secure title to their Reserves, and constantly petitioned the government for legal titles.

In 1836, Wawanosh, the Head Chief of the Ojibwa, published a letter in the *Christian Guardian*. He recommended that all the Ojibwa in Upper Canada move to the Saugeen tract, a large unsurrendered area which included all of the Bruce Peninsula and more land to the south. There the settlers would only be on one side, and would not need roads through the Reserve. The Ojibwa could transform their economy, and "have our own schools, stores, mills, and other requisites in a settlement, all under our own management" (CG 20 July 1836:146). Wawanosh's proposal suggests a vision of an independent Ojibwa homeland, like the Cherokee nation's, where the Ojibwa could manage their own affairs.

Peter Jones was a strong advocate of this proposal. This suggests that Jones was actually aligned more with the Chiefs' desire to maintain separation between Ojibwa and settlers, rather than with the Methodist desire for assimilation.

Yet within the next year, much of what the Ojibwa and the Methodists had worked for was almost destroyed. In 1836 Sir Francis Bond Head was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. He was a foolish and precipitate politician. However he managed to convince the Imperial authorities, especially Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, that he had the best interests of Native people at heart. In 1836 Head forced a number of bands in the province to surrender much of their remaining land, including three-quarters of a million acres of the Saugeen tract (MacLean 1978:119-121).

Head justified his actions by arguing that the Native people were dying out, and therefore would not need the land. Instead he proposed to move the remnants of the Native population to Manitoulin Island. The release of large tracts of Native land for settlers undoubtedly helped Head to win an election in 1836, but his mismanagement of provincial affairs led to a rebellion. Head resigned shortly after.

For years after, Natives and non-Natives argued that the surrenders were fraudulent. The Methodists waged a vigorous lobby campaign in Britain in defence of Native rights. Egerton Ryerson and Peter Jones went to London (John Sunday had already been there⁶) to lobby the Colonial Secretary and Queen Victoria, and to plead for the surrenders to be reversed. The Methodists mobilized the support of the powerful Aborigines' Protection Society and the Society of Friends (Quakers). Both Societies published books on the situation in Upper Canada, in which they were clearly using information fed to them by the Methodists (Aborigines Protection Society 1839; Society of Friends 1839). Sections of these books are lifted almost verbatim from correspondence from Methodists. There is considerable correspondence between the Methodists, officials of the two Societies and Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, which highlights the personal interactions behind the scenes (CG May 9 1838:105). For example, Glenelg passed confidential copies of Bond Head's correspondence to Augustus d'Este, head of the Aborigines' Protection Society and a cousin of Queen Victoria. D'Este then confidentially passed the information to John Beecham of the Methodist Missionary Society (Augustus d'Este to John Beecham, 10 July 1837, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Missionary Correspondence, hereafter cited as Miss Corr, Roll 22). Peter Jones became friends with d'Este, and through him, had access to the Queen.

The Colonial Office eventually conceded that Bond Head's policies were misguided, but the land was never given back. (For a discussion of this period, see MacLean 1978:123-126; Smith 1987:163-171).

This episode affected the Methodist schools in several ways. First, Head charged that the Methodist's day schools had not succeeded in teaching the Ojibwa either academic or vocational skills. This was part of Head's broad argument that the Native people were not adapting to settlement, and should simply be moved as far away as possible. In order to refute Head's assertions, the Methodists had to examine the effect of schooling on the Ojibwa and to admit that few of the Ojibwa had been thoroughly Europeanized. Replying to Head's charges, James Evans wrote to the *Christian Guardian*:

It is true, some of the Indians make little progress in habits of agriculture, but many of them have made satisfactory

improvement; and no candid person, who reflects on the difficulties necessarily attendant upon an attempt to change the entire habits of a people, who for ages have lived by the chase, will feel himself fully prepared, after but a few years trial (not in any instance much exceeding ten years) to come to the hasty conclusion that the "Red men" will never make farmers. (CG 25 April 1838:98)

It takes an effort today to imagine the lack of knowledge about culture which Europeans had in the early 1800s. The discipline of anthropology was in its infancy, and the Methodists and colonial officials usually referred to what is now called "culture" as character and habits, or as "human nature" (Berkhofer 1965:14). To Europeans, it seemed possible that a people's culture could be changed within a few years, simply by providing new information about practices such as means of subsistence, religion, clothes, or housing. They had little conception of how culture might be deeply rooted and difficult to change, despite superficial changes in outward appearances or technology. Hence the Methodist's somewhat plaintive efforts to justify why they had not managed to eradicate Ojibwa culture within ten years. In fact, they had probably done a remarkable job in helping the Ojibwa to learn new skills and adapt to settlement.

Head also destroyed progress in the Methodist day schools and Reserve communities. Head had forced the bands at Coldwater, Lake Simcoe, Amherstburgh and Moraviantown to surrender the farms they had cleared and the houses they had built with their own annuity money. Those bands were obliged to begin again on uncleared land. The band at Saugeen were unsure whether they would lose their houses and farms or not, because the boundaries of the surrenders were not clearly specified. The bands at St. Clair and Munceytown feared they might yet lose their land. All those bands who had lost land and those who felt their land title in jeopardy refused, or were simply unable, to farm. Many returned to hunting or travelled around the settler communities selling baskets and other crafts. Therefore they had to take their children out of the day schools. Only at the Methodists' three showplace stations—Grape Island, River Credit, and Rice Lake—did the Ojibwa feel secure enough to continue farming and keep their children in school.

Residential schools were one way of dealing with the now urgent problem of helping the children to stay in school. Peter Jones wrote from Munceytown:

I cannot say much with regard to the prosperity of our Mission [day] School...the children are very backward in their attendance. I am more and more convinced that, in order to

effect the desired civilization of the Indian Tribes, the children must be taken for a season from their parents, and put to well-regulated Manual Labour Schools. (CG 29 September 1841:194)

The solution to the twin problems of erratic attendance and slow cultural change was to be residential schools. There the Aboriginal children could be separated from their parents and brought totally under the control of the missionaries. "By such an arrangement, the children of the Indians would be removed from their imperfectly civilized parents, and placed under the exclusive direction of their religious and secular Instructors" (Robert Alder to Lord Glenelg, December 1837, Miss Corr, Roll 22). The schools were to give intensive instruction in trades and agriculture. Because of the land losses, the Reserve communities were now not able to do this, and the day schools did not give enough practical instruction in skills.

First Residential Schools

By 1837 the Methodists decided to support Jones' and Case's proposals for residential schooling. The Canadian Methodist Conference passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a residential school, "more especially since the Indians themselves desire it" (Hodgins 1894, v.4:126). However the Methodists were either not willing or not able to fund it. Instead they appealed to the Colonial Secretary for government support of the plan (Robert Alder to Lord Glenelg, December 1837, Miss Corr, Roll 22).

Meanwhile in the same year, the band at Grape Island, where Case operated his first boarding school for girls, moved to Alderville (Torry 1864:311). In 1838 Case demonstrated his commitment to residential schooling, by starting a small school at Alderville on his own initiative without any funding. The enrolment was limited to young women. The school was intended to be self-supporting through the sale of butter and cheese made by the students (Carroll 1871, v. 4: 208-209).

Over the next few years, the Canadian Methodists continued to give political support for residential schools, but no funding. They made proposals to government officials and to the British Methodists. While Lieutenant-Governor Arthur vaguely endorsed the principle of large Central Schools (Sir George Arthur to Robert Alder, 26 September 1839, Sanderson 1957, v. 2: 269-270), Arthur only referred the proposal to a Board of Inquiry, and did nothing more about it (Smith 1987:177). The British Methodists also pleaded a lack of funds (CG 14 November 1838:5).

Meanwhile political disputes were boiling over between the Canadian and the British Methodists. In 1833 the British-based Wesleyan

Methodists had amalgamated with the Canadian Methodists. The government supported the merger, because it feared the influence which American-linked Canadians had over the Ojibwa, who were still considered important military allies against the United States. However the merger had been an uneasy alliance. Finally, in 1840 the Canadian Methodists split into two separate organizations, one controlled by the British Methodists and the other by Canadians. Responsibility for the Indian missions was divided between the two groups (Encyclopedia of World Methodism 1974).

The British Methodists and William Case

The British took charge of the missions at Alderville, St. Clair, and Rice Lake. William Case joined the British, and stayed at his beloved Alderville.⁷ After the division, the British Missionary Society began to fund Case's residential school at Alderville, and supported twelve of the seventeen boarders (William Case to Robert Alder, February 1843, Miss. Corr., Roll 23). By 1845 the school had thirty students.

In 1845 the Alderville Band agreed to give £100 of their annuity money to support the school (Matthew Richey to [unknown], March 1845, Miss Corr., Roll 23). Annuities were payments due to particular bands, under the terms of individual treaties for land surrenders. The Indian Department administered the annuities, but the bands had the power to give or refuse permission for their annuities to be used for a particular purpose. *This appears to be the first case of a First Nation actually funding a residential school.*

The funding was arranged by John Sunday, who was a chief at Alderville. According to Richey, the Methodists had urged the Native people to contribute more to the missions which served them. Sunday asked the band council for approval, then approached Samuel Peters Jarvis, Superintendent of the Indian Department, and through him, Governor-General Metcalfe, to seek permission for the grant. The Governor-General agreed immediately, and Richey commented that this was the first significant cooperation which the Methodists had received from the government in a long time.

It is worth pointing out that I found no complaints in the literature about Case's (and his wives') residential school, from its beginning in 1828 until the early 1850s. The Cases appear to have operated a small but successful school which had ongoing Ojibwa support for over twenty years.

The Canadian Methodists and Peter Jones

After the Methodists separated, the Canadian Methodists took

charge of the other Ojibwa missions. Peter Jones remained with the Canadian Conference and prodded them to pursue funding for a second Manual Labour School (CG 29 September 1841:194). One reason was that most Ojibwa missions now had no access to the only existing residential school at Alderville (Carroll 1871, v.4:361). The Methodists in turn tried to interest the government in the project.

Jurisdiction over Indian Affairs had been transferred to the Governor-General's office, and Jones approached a succession of Governors-General. He met with newly-appointed Governor-General Charles Poulett Thomson (later Lord Sydenham) in 1839, but Sydenham refused to meet him again (Smith 1987:175,182-3). The next Governor-General, Sir Charles Bagot, was more responsive to Native concerns. In 1842 he appointed a Commission of Enquiry into Indian Affairs (called the Bagot Commission). Jones made four major recommendations to the Commission, one of which was the formation of residential schools (Smith 1987:183-4).

In 1842 the Methodists referred the matter to a committee, which included Jones. The committee was to ask the Ojibwa to subscribe enough of their annuities to support a school, and to approach Parliament for an Act of Incorporation (CG 13 July 1842:150). Little seems to have come of these ventures. As late as 1845, the Canadians were still discussing whether a school should be supported, and decided instead to send Native students to an existing Ladies Seminary (Carroll 1873, v.4:445).

The lack of government action was not surprising. Jones was blocked by Samuel Peters Jarvis, head of the Indian Department from 1837 until he was dismissed in 1845 (Smith 1987:194). Jarvis had been appointed by Bond Head for leading militia in support of Bond Head during the rebellion (Jackman 1958:105). Jarvis was from a wealthy "Family Compact" family, but was accused of embezzling Indian funds administered by the Indian Department. Peter Jones, the Ojibwa leaders, and their Methodist allies, were in the forefront of accusations against Jarvis (Smith 1987:177-178,194). A government commission of enquiry tried to find out what had happened to the missing money, but Jarvis never repaid it (Leighton 1976; Canada, Legislative Assembly 1844-45, 1847).

By 1844 Jones had waited long enough. He decided to go to England himself to raise money for a school and mobilized the support of the Ojibwa leaders. In 1845 the Ojibwa Nation held a General Council at Saugeen and petitioned the government for assistance in establishing a residential school (Copway 1847:189⁸). The chiefs of Munceytown and the Credit drew up a petition authorizing Peter Jones to collect money for a residential school on behalf of the Ojibwa (Miss Soc Rep 1846: viii). The Ojibwa leaders appear to have supported the Manual Labour Schools

quite enthusiastically, as may be seen in their petitions and in the granting of annuity funds at Alderville.

Meanwhile the Bagot Commission reported in January 1844 and endorsed only one of Jones' recommendations, the residential school plan (Smith 1987:183-4,192-193). The Commission concluded, on the basis of strong recommendations from several missionary groups that Manual Labour Schools should have government support (Canada, Legislative Assembly 1847:n.p.). Bagot himself had been replaced as Governor-General by Sir Charles Metcalfe. On his way to England, Peter Jones, accompanied by Native missionary George Copway and Chief Joseph Sawyer, met with Metcalfe in Montreal. Metcalfe was enthusiastic about the residential school and gave a donation himself. Metcalfe may have cleared the way for future government action on the project, but he was already seriously ill and left Canada in December 1845. Before leaving, Metcalfe dismissed Jarvis (Smith 1987:193-6), and most of the officers of the Indian Department (CG 17 September 1845:190).

In England Peter Jones met with the Colonial Secretary in Britain to plead for funding for the schools, but said he was not sure how much assistance the government would give the project (CG 19 February 1845:70). Jones personally managed to raise over £1,000 (Miss Soc Rep 1846:vi) by giving lectures and exhibiting himself—a process which he hated.⁹ His commitment to the project can be seen in his strenuous efforts to raise funds, despite concern about his poor health and a weak heart (Letterbook. March 7 1846). When he returned home in April 1846, he had enough money for the Missionary Society to make plans to build a school (Smith 1987:203; Miss Soc Rep 1846:v-x).

Conference on Residential Schools, 1846

In July 1846, the government decided to move in favour of the Manual Labour Schools. This was probably a response to the Methodist and Ojibwa's petitions, and the endorsement of residential schools in the Bagot Commission report. Thomas Anderson, a long-serving Indian agent newly promoted to head the Indian Department, met with a conference of chiefs at Orillia to discuss the project. According to the Missionary Society Report (1846:x), a similar conference was held at Munceytown.

The Orillia conference included most of the Ojibwa leaders from the northern and eastern part of Upper Canada. The published report is a set of minutes, summarizing the speeches of participants and the gist of discussion. While printed by the government, it does present arguments contrary to the government position. The document gives a fascinating insight into the Ojibwa leaders' thoughts on residential schools.

Most of the leaders supported the schools. Their reasons were sum-

marized in the conference report. Some leaders said that they looked to the future and agreed that conditions had changed. Hunting as a basis for subsistence was no longer possible and the British were in Canada to stay. The Ojibwa were living in poverty. If they were to survive, they must make an effort to adapt. In a speech to the other chiefs, John Sunday compared the farms of the European settlers to those of his people at Alderville:

In the white man's areas both sides of the road are filled with crops of articles of food...but when I come to the Indian settlement, everything is different. I see no such houses; no such beautiful fields; no such flocks; no such rich crops—nothing but poverty. (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:17-18)

Joseph Sawyer of the Credit reminded the chiefs that in order to reach a state of equality with the settlers, the Ojibwa would be obliged to adopt some of the methods employed by the Europeans. The leaders agreed that they did not know how to teach their children these skills nor to maintain the necessary discipline. They hoped that the schools could do so for them:

[The Manual Labour School] seems to us very necessary for most of our young people are both ignorant and indolent, and they must be taught and accustomed to work when young, or they will never learn it, nor like it after they have been taught. (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:12)

Some leaders, such as Joseph Sawyer and John Sunday, supported the schools because they were optimistic and confident that the Ojibwa could adapt to European settlement if they had the right type of schooling. Nonetheless, despite the fact that they advocated adopting some of the methods used by the Europeans to make their living, these leaders had no desire to assimilate. In his speech Joseph Sawyer went on to say that his people at the Credit were "much annoyed" by the settlers and wanted to move as far away from them as possible.

Among other leaders there was an undercurrent of fear, reflected in messages from the Mohawks:

Brothers. We have been too long children.... We must all join hands in the great cause of Indian improvement: this is our only hope to prevent our race from perishing. (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:11-12)

If we don't take the Government's offer we will be driven back to the Rockies and into the ocean. (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:13)

The Ojibwa leaders were willing to support the schools, not as a means of erasing their separate identity, but rather as a tactic in the battle to survive. Their continued commitment to the separation of Ojibwa and Europeans remained unshaken.

The leaders agreed to give one-quarter of their annuities for twenty-five years to support the schools. This was a massive sum, especially since many bands did not expect to send more than a few children a year to the residential schools. The bands also needed the annuities to fund day schools, medical care, buildings, farms, livestock, and emergency food rations.

As an inducement the leaders were promised a high level of instruction for their children. William Case told the chiefs:

We know not why your young men should not be so educated as to be able to transact your affairs...you may, indeed, live to see some of your sons doctors, attorneys and magistrates. This is a thing not at all improbable. You have already lived to see your warriors become Ministers of the Gospel, Interpreters and Teachers of your Schools. (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:10)

This promise would not have seemed unreasonable. At that time, an Ojibwa named Wahbunoo (known in English as Francis Wilson, a half-brother of Peter Jones), was studying to become a doctor in Toronto. Unfortunately he died of smallpox shortly after (Smith 1987:209). The Methodists had already sponsored a number of young men to attend Methodist seminaries and colleges. Moreover Case and Jones knew they had a powerful ally in Egerton Ryerson, who might help unlock advanced academic training for the Ojibwa. For example the Methodists had recently transformed their Upper Canada Academy in Cobourg into Victoria College, one of the province's first universities, with Ryerson as its first principal (Wilson 1970a:207; 1970b:217).

Anderson of the Indian Department encouraged the chiefs to envision Ojibwa-run residential schools, staffed by Ojibwa teachers trained in the residential schools. He proposed that the Ojibwa might be able to carry on themselves an independent system of schooling within the next twenty-five years:

It is to be hoped in that time, some of your youth will be sufficiently enlightened to carry on a system of instruction among yourselves, and this proportion of your funds will no longer be required (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846 23).¹⁰

The residential schools proposed at this conference were an attractive proposition. The Ojibwa expected schools that would train their

young people to be professionals. They were offered a high level of academic instruction, as well as preparation in trades and skills which would allow them to make a living in an increasingly Europeanized world. They expected to participate in the operation of the schools and work towards an independent Ojibwa-run school system. In return the Ojibwa were to be major funders of the system.

If the residential schools had actually been implemented as promised, the schools might have had the wholehearted support of the chiefs. However during the conference it became apparent that Anderson had an ulterior purpose in advocating the schools. This purpose aroused the chiefs' hostility and made certain that they could not and would not give the schools their full support.

Anderson attempted to use the schools as a lever to force the Ojibwa to give up their Reserves throughout Upper Canada. He proposed that the Ojibwa should "abandon their present detached little villages...and unite in large settlements" at the three locations where schools were planned—at Newash (Owen Sound), Munceytown, and Alderville. Somewhat ironically (in light of the Bond Head's illegal land surrenders ten years earlier), he assured the leaders that their title would be secure forever in the three locations and that they could keep secure title to any lands they left behind. He threatened that the adults could choose to move or not, but the children would be obliged to attend the schools. If the Ojibwa wanted to be near their children, they would have to move (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:5-8).

John Sunday of Alderville and Waubatik of Owen Sound, the leaders of bands who would not have to move, consented to the plan. Joseph Sawyer of the Credit also agreed, perhaps because the Credit Ojibwa were already planning to move either to Munceytown or Owen Sound.¹¹ However the chiefs of the Reserves to be abandoned were incensed. Paulus Claus of Tyendinaga argued that his people were not willing to move after sixty years of settlement. Jacob Crane of Lake Scugog said that his people liked the tract they had. Joseph Snake of Snake Island suggested that a school be established instead at Lake Simcoe where it would be safer in case of disturbance among the settlers. Some chiefs tried to stall. Peter Noogie of Mud Lake said that he could not give an answer because their land was held by the New England Company. Paudash of Rice Lake said that their deed was in the hands of the minister and was missing. Yellowhead of Rama said that his people were not willing to move a third time. John Aisance, whose band had moved several times already, pointed out that promises had often been rescinded in the past. Both Yellowhead and Aisance flatly refused to support the schools (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, General Council 1846:19-22).

In the end, the leaders did agree to give the money to support the schools but did not agree to the proposal that they move. Indeed it was a measure of their desire to have the schools that they agreed to the proposal at all under the circumstances. Despite their apparent consent at the conference, the bands of Mud Lake, Scugog Lake, and the Ojibwa of "Lakes Huron and Simcoe" (Miss Soc Rep 1848:xvi, xxiii) refused to send their children to Alderville and withheld their annuity monies for several years after the conference. The bands finally began to send their children in 1849 (William Case to Robert Alder, 12 April 1849, Miss Corr, Roll 23).

The Missionary Society urged the Ojibwa to concentrate around the schools. The Methodists liked the plan because it would have allowed them to reduce the cost of serving a number of isolated Ojibwa missions (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 10 December 1850, Miss Corr, Roll 23). In 1851 the Missionary Society reported that little progress had been made on the removal plan, although the Society intended to keep trying (Miss Soc Rep 1851:ix). After 1851 there was no further reference to the removal plan in the missionary reports.

Meanwhile Anderson also used the schools to control the Methodists. The schools were much more costly than other missions, and the Methodists needed assured government support (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 21 December 1847, Miss Corr, Roll 23). Wood estimated that it would cost £1,000 annually to run the two schools. Anderson used control of the funding to impose a number of conditions on the operation of the schools. The Methodists objected that these conditions virtually allowed the Indian Department to have full control (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 19 March 1848, Miss Corr, Roll 23).

The government also used its financial leverage to restrict Methodist missionary work among the Aboriginal people. John Sunday had recently preached at Manitoulin Island and had been invited to live there. However Manitoulin Island was a government station served by the Church of England. If Sunday had moved there, it would have allowed the Methodists a foothold among Aboriginal people with whom they had previously had little influence. The Methodists reluctantly concluded that the Society should give up the opportunity lest it should lose the government school grant (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 19 October 1849, Miss Corr, Roll 23).

The residential school proposal had started simply as a way to ensure the unbroken attendance of the Indian children and to combine academic and practical instruction. By the late 1840s, the residential schools had developed much more contentious implications. To the Methodists the schools had become a way of separating the children

from their parents and compelling socialization in European behaviour. To the Indian Department the schools had become a way of controlling the Methodists and forcing the Ojibwa to give up more land. Both the government and the Methodists hoped that the schools would provide a final solution to the problem of persuading the Ojibwa to assimilate.

The Ojibwa leaders hoped for a way of dealing with a rapidly changing world. Clearly the chiefs had high hopes for the schools at first. If residential schooling could help to provide solutions for their people, the chiefs were prepared to support them. But the chiefs' overall objective was to maintain their Reserve land-base and their separation from the European settlers. When the residential schools conflicted with this desire, the leaders' support for the schools was reduced.

Government Support for Residential Schools?

My interpretation of the government's motivations at this conference differs from some other authors. For example, Miller (1996:75-76) believes that the government had adopted residential schooling as a preferred medium of assimilation, and that it was moving step by step to carry this program to the Aboriginal people. In contrast, I believe that the government was not particularly enthusiastic about residential schooling at all.

During the 1830s and 1840s, the pressure for residential schooling came mainly from Peter Jones and William Case. Jones and Case then convinced the Methodists to buy into the plan, but not even all the Methodists were fully convinced. For example, while Case persuaded the British Missionary Society to fund some of the students in his residential school, the Canadian Methodist conference was only willing to give political support. Case and Jones persuaded the Ojibwa leaders to support the schools, and most of the momentum during the 1840s came from the actions and petitions from the Ojibwa. It was Jones who went on tour to raise funds, and it was John Sunday who persuaded the Alderville Band to grant funds for the school. It was John Sunday who approached the Governor-General directly for permission to release the funds, and Sunday may well have done this in order to bypass the Indian Department. Jones and Case had already spent almost twenty years trying to promote the idea of residential schools, by the time of the Orillia conference.

According to one Methodist official, the government had given the Methodists little concrete support before the conference. It was not until Jarvis was replaced that the Department acted at all in relation to residential schooling. Previous government statements of support for residential schooling, such as the Bagot Commission report or Arthur's

and Lord Glenelg's vague assurances (neither of which were acted upon), seem mainly to be verbal acquiescence to Methodist urgings, rather than a sign of developed policy.

Most support for residential schooling in other sources such as the reports of the Society of Friends (1839) and the Aborigines Protection Society (1839) were also due directly to the influence of Case, Jones, Sunday, and Egerton Ryerson. It was these four who lobbied the British groups after Bond Head's forced surrenders of Indian lands, and there is considerable correspondence indicating that the Methodists were feeding information to these two British groups behind the scenes. Thus the impetus for residential schooling was not part of a coordinated program by other missionary groups in cooperation with the government, but rather direct adoption of plans proposed by Peter Jones and other Methodists.

Historian Don Smith (1987:208) takes a less critical view of Anderson's removal proposition than I do. Smith sees it as building on the desire of some leaders to make the Saugeen tract a homeland for Ojibwa. However I feel that Anderson tried to force the leaders' hands during the conference, and make funding the school directly contingent on leaving their Reserves immediately. Both interpretations of Anderson's intentions are possible from his words. However the Ojibwa leaders' angry reactions and efforts to delay indicate that they did not see Anderson's proposal as honest, or simply facilitating their own pre-existing thoughts of moving.

Expansion of the Residential Schools. 1847-1850

After the Orillia conference, the Ojibwa annuities became available for building the residential schools. Methodist tensions were also eased, as the English and Canadian divisions reunited in 1847 (*Encyclopedia of World Methodism* 1974). Construction began at two locations. By 1849 two two-story buildings were added to the school at Alderville, which was named Alnwick (CG 12 December 1849:236). A second school was built at Munceytown, and named Mount Elgin in honour of the Governor-General, Lord Elgin. The buildings were completed in March of 1850 (CG 20 March 1850:288). Both schools had 200-acre farms.

Mount Elgin was to serve southwestern bands. Alnwick was to serve the northern bands from Owen Sound, Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, as well as southeastern bands such as Alderville, Rice Lake, Lake Scugog, and Mud Lake.

A third school was planned for Newash (Owen Sound) but was never built. Events surrounding this third school are obscure, and the historical record seems full of gaps. The northern bands had actually been

promised a school at Newash as early as 1845 (CG 17 September 1845:190). At the Orillia conference, there was considerable discussion of a school at Newash. In 1846 the Missionary Society reported that construction had begun (Miss Soc Rep 1846:x), but in fact it was never built. Perhaps the Methodists planned to build the school at Newash with the £1,000 that Peter Jones had collected in England. In that case the Indian Department was responsible since it refused to accept the money Jones raised (Commissioners Report 1858:95). Perhaps the government refused Jones' money because it wanted to control the schools by funding them through the Indian annuities, or perhaps Jones' funds became part of the Methodist's contribution for the schools.

Although the northern bands finally agreed to send their children to Alnwick in 1849, they continued to negotiate anxiously for a school of their own. In 1850 the bands offered to give half of their annuities for two years—the sizeable sum of £900 to £1,000—to build a school (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 10 December 1850, Miss Corr, Roll 23). This offer also came to nothing. The Indian Department agreed to provide an annual sum to support a school at Newash but stipulated that the British Wesleyans should pay a part (Enoch Wood to Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 3 November 1851, Miss Corr, Roll 25). The Methodists apparently did not do so, perhaps because of their own shortage of funds. The northern bands became impatient, and Enoch Wood, the Superintendent of missions, informed Alder that “These people are always dissatisfied that the school first promised was not yet erected (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 10 December 1850, Miss Corr, Roll 23). The failure to build a school at Newash was to prove a serious problem within a few years.

Curriculum and Operation of the Residential Schools

William Case became superintendent of Alnwick. He had twenty years of experience, and had the support of the Ojibwa community. Case planned to expand the enrolment to one hundred or more students (William Case to Robert Alder, 12 April 1849, Miss Corr, Roll 23).

Peter Jones returned to Munceytown in 1847 to oversee the building of Mount Elgin, which he expected to superintend (Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, 7 June 1846, Letterbook). If he had been able to take up his position, the history of the school might have been different. Unfortunately Jones' health failed just before the opening ceremonies and he had to be replaced (Smith 1987:213). He and his wife moved to Brantford. There he continued missionary activities when able, even undertaking long mission tours, but he does not seem to have intervened further in the operations of Mount Elgin.

A non-Native missionary named S.D. Rice directed Mount Elgin for the first year. Then another missionary, Samuel Rose, took over (Miss Soc Rep, 1850:x). Neither had much sensitivity to the Ojibwa (Smith 1987:214).

We can learn how the residential schools operated from the annual reports and correspondence of the missionaries, as well as from the reports of several government inspection teams. These indicate how well the schools were living up to initial expectations, and what problems started to develop. Descriptions of the curriculum are based, unless otherwise noted, on two long reports to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1852 (William Case, "Report of the Alderville Industrial School," [1852] and Samuel Rose, "Report of the Mt. Elgin Industrial School," 1 April 1852, Miss Corr, Roll 25).

The schools incorporated the reforms which Egerton Ryerson was making in the provincial school system. Several teachers had professional training from the new Normal School (Teacher's College) opened in Toronto in 1847, one of the first teacher-training schools in North America (CG, 22 December 1852: 42; Wilson 1970b). This was a step up from the untrained teachers previously used in the Methodist Ojibwa day schools. The schools offered both academic and practical instruction. The academic curriculum was intended to be comparable to the Common Schools of the settlers.

Case commented that many of the students at Alnwick "would do credit to any Common School in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography and Astronomy." The students studied these subjects to a comparatively advanced level. For example, arithmetic was divided into six levels, the first three "including the simple Rules, and the three last the Compound Rules—Extraction of the Cube Root being the highest." The instruction was in English, and the *National School Books* (also newly-adopted for Common Schools) were used as readers (Wilson 1970b:219). The students were expected to parse even difficult sentences. Their ability to do so was considered especially encouraging "because few of them spoke English two years before." In 1856 Mount Elgin added further subjects:

In connection with General History, as contained in the First Book of Lessons, English and Canadian History has been introduced into the schools upon the plan approved by the Normal School, Toronto. The study of Algebra and Agricultural Chemistry has also been introduced. (Miss Soc Rep, 1856:xix)

Although the school directors claimed they were offering a relatively sophisticated curriculum, it is likely that the students were actually not

very advanced. Usually the missionary reports described the students' progress in vague and optimistic words. A typical report from Mount Elgin said simply that "Their literary improvement has been very satisfactory (Miss Soc Rep, 1853:vi)." However, in 1854, Samuel Rose described the students at Mount Elgin in a rare burst of clarity:

Over 107 have been received since its commencement. . . . sixty of these have been taught reading, writing, geography and arithmetic, and 13 have made some considerable advancement in, to them, the difficult study of English grammar, while the remainder, owing to the limited amount of time spent in the Institution, have not advanced beyond the primer (Miss Soc Rep 1854:xv).

If only thirteen students of the 107 had made any real progress in English, it is unlikely that the other subjects could have been taught at a very advanced level.

In 1852 Colonel Bruce, the Superintendent of the Indian Department inspected the schools. His report tends to confirm this impression. Bruce found the students' proficiency to be good but cautioned the missionaries that, because of the students' language handicap, they should not hurry the elementary instruction to get to the higher departments (CG 22 December 1852:42).

As well as class work, the students worked on the farm and in the house to learn industrious habits and the skills of farmers or farmers' wives. A practical component was also one of Ryerson's major reforms of the Common Schools. Ryerson had decided that practical skills should accompany academic skills since most people still worked in agriculture and commerce, not classical studies (Wilson 1970b:218). The Methodists were trying to offer a state of the art program by doing both.

The amount of work the students did was considerable. It may have been quite excessive, even compared to the work a European settler performed at that time.¹² According to the daily schedule at Mount Elgin (See Table 1), the students had less than one hour a day for recreation. The rest of their time, from 5:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., was planned. It included seven and a half hours of physical work and five and a half hours of school work each day (Miss Soc Rep 1851:xi-xii).

If we compare the amount of work to the number of pupils, we can see how heavy the load was. For example, in 1853 Alnwick enrolled twenty-one boys and ten girls. The students cared for 105 farm animals. The boys worked in the fields:

With the assistance of one hired man, the boys cut 30 acres of hay, 25 acres of wheat, 7 acres of peas and oats, dug 200 bushels of potatoes, 80 bushels of turnips, and 50 bushels

of carrots, besides cutting and preparing all the wood for ten stoves and fireplaces (Miss Soc Rep 1853:xv).

The boys may also have been clearing the land. In 1849 only sixteen acres of the school farm were cleared (William Case to Robert Alder, 12 April 1849, Miss Corr, Roll 23), but by 1855 there were seventy-six cleared acres (Miss Soc Rep, 1853:xv). The ten girls performed an equal amount of work:

The girls, under the direction of the matron, spun 65 pounds of wool; knit 80 pairs of stockings, socks and mittens; made 13 bed-quilts, 70 pairs of trowsers, [sic] and coats, for the boys, besides making all their own clothing, and attending to their own domestic affairs, as washing and ironing, milking, churning, &c. (Miss Soc Rep 1853:xv)

Table 1
Daily Schedule at Mount Elgin School in 1851

5 am.	Bell rings, students rise, wash, and dress
5:30 am.	Breakfast, then prayers
6-9 am.	Boys work on farm and girls in house
9-12 am	School
12-1 pm.	Lunch and recreation
1-3:30 pm	School
3:30-6 pm.	Work on farm
6 pm.	Dinner and prayers
evening	In winter, boys in evening school, girls learn needlework
9 pm	Bedtime

Source: Miss. Soc. Rep, 1851, xi-xii. The report does not say what the students did in the evening in summer. Perhaps they did even more work on the farm.

Yet even this amount of work was not enough to satisfy the Indian Department. It wanted the schools to become entirely self-supporting or at least to reduce the per-pupil costs so that more students could be added. Colonel Bruce urged the missionaries to take more advantage of the increasing amount of land under cultivation and the "availability of the gratuitous labour of the scholars" (CG 22 December 1852:42).

The schools also concerned themselves with the moral, social, and religious behaviour of the students. The specific purpose was to eradi-

cate Ojibwa culture. Instruction in Christianity was considered a primary means of effecting change and consisted not only of daily prayers and attendance at church, but also the memorization of long passages of Scripture. In 1853 James Musgrove proudly recorded the students' prowess at Alnwick:

Thousands of verses have been recited. Henry Jones, from Owen Sound, recited between 2 and 3,000 alone. Others have approximated Henry, and done admirably, but none have been able to commit so many verses and to recite them as accurately. Considerable proficiency has also been made in Nos. 1 and 2 of our Catechisms (Miss Soc Rep, 1853:xv).

Whether the students were actually made more saintly by all their scriptural training was another matter. Musgrove concluded by saying, "Several of these children are hopefully pious."

The students were watched constantly to ensure that they did not lapse into Aboriginal behaviour, which was equated with bad moral behaviour:

They are never left alone, but are constantly under the eye of some of those engaged in this arduous work. Every effort that can possibly be made is put forth...to break up their indolent and irregular habits (Miss Soc Rep 1851:xii).

At least occasionally, corporal punishment was used. Musgrove reported that at Alnwick, "The moral conduct of the boys and girls, as a general thing, has been exemplary; we have very seldom had occasion to inflict corporal punishment (Miss Soc Rep 1856:xxii)."

It is useful to compare the schooling provided to the Ojibwa to the educational conditions and standards typical of the times. Otherwise we run the risk of imposing our current educational standards on the past. In fact the Methodists were providing a better standard of education than many settlers had. J.G. Kohl, a German traveller, records that in 1844, of 183,000 children in Upper Canada between 5-16 years old, only one-quarter had schooling. By 1853, after Ryerson's reforms, two-thirds had access to schooling, but one third still did not. Thus education was still by no means universally available to settlers. Yet the Methodists had been trying to provide universal schooling to the Ojibwa converts as early as the 1820s. The residential schools tried to make good schooling easily available to Ojibwa parents who could not keep their children in day schools. By providing room and board in addition to classroom instruction, the Methodists were giving more service than a settler received.

Burwash (1903:164) notes that in the 1840s, the Common Schools had serious weaknesses, including weak central authority, incompetent

local authorities, perfunctory inspection, and no standards for teachers. The Manual Labour Schools were probably at least as good, if not better, on each of these dimensions. They were monitored by the British and Canadian Missionary Societies, and inspected intermittently by the Indian Department. At least some teachers had up to date professional training, and the school directors were at least not incompetent.

Evaluation of the Schools

From 1850 to 1854—the first four years after expansion—the schools were regarded as highly successful by government and missionaries. In 1852 Colonel Bruce of the Indian Department visited the schools and praised them (CG 22 December 1852:42). In 1854 Oliphant, Bruce's successor, supported the previous assessment. Oliphant recommended to the Governor-General that the schools warranted an even larger outlay of the Indian funds. However it seems that he had not visited the schools, because he also recommended that "a competent person be sent to examine and report on them" (L. Oliphant to Earl of Elgin, 3 November 1854; Great Britain, Parliament 1856, vol. 44:11, hereafter cited as Indian Department 1856). The Indian Department arranged for funds to build a new wing at Mount Elgin for students from Moraviantown (Miss Soc Rep 1855:xiii).

The Missionary Society also assured its adherents that the schools were successful, and the Director at Mount Elgin repeatedly commented that he had to turn away prospective pupils because of a lack of space. (See, for example, Miss Soc Rep 1852:xi).

From 1855 to 1860 there was a complete reversal of this confidence in the schools. Over the next five years, both schools—but especially Alnwick—declined rapidly.

The schools received a major blow when William Case and Peter Jones died within a year of each other. Case died in 1855 (Carroll 1871,v.5:259-263), and Peter Jones in 1856 (CG 2 July 1856:154).

After Case's death, the directorship of Alnwick passed to Sylvester Hurlburt (Miss Soc Rep 1857:xxviii). Hurlburt¹³ was a former missionary to the Ojibwa, and spoke some Ojibwa. However he had refused a posting to the Ojibwa in Sarnia in 1847, saying that he did not want to work with Native people again unless forced to do so (Wood to Robert Alder, 9 November 1847, Miss Corr, Roll 23). Hurlburt was critical of the Ojibwa students and their parents in his reports (Miss Soc Rep 1857:xxviii; 1859:xvii;1860:xix). Such a man was not likely to win the confidence of the Ojibwa.

In 1855 Viscount Bury, Oliphant's successor at the Indian Department, inspected the schools. His assessment differed considerably from

that of Oliphant. Bury reported that, of the two schools, Mount Elgin was "infinitely the best conducted:"

The pupils are generally intelligent, clean and orderly; some young men who have completed their course of education there, are now perfectly ready and able to take their place as members of the general population.... The elder pupils all spoke English; and I was particularly struck with the aptitude all seemed to evince at figures.... Of the farm (entirely cultivated by the boys) I can speak in the highest terms.

Alnwick received quite a different evaluation:

The Alnwick school,...was not satisfactory. The children were not nearly so clean, nor were their dormitories and other apartments kept well ventilated, or in good order, as at Mount Elgin.

I was too much pressed for time to hold an examination of the children, but they appeared decidedly less intelligent; and the itch, which was very prevalent, spoke little for the cleanly habits inculcated.

The boys had, however, done work about the house neatly and well, and some of the lads who have completed their course are a credit to it,...I may add, that I purposely visited Alnwick without any warning. This was not the case at Mount Elgin. This circumstance could not, however, have caused the marked difference I saw.

In a remarkable leap of logic, Bury recommended that Alnwick be closed and the entire population of the Reserve at Alderville be moved to Munceytown (Viscount Bury to Edmund Head, 5 December 1855, Indian Department 1856:69). This extreme conclusion suggests that Bury may have shared Anderson's goal of using the schools to persuade the Ojibwa to give up their land.

However Bury's warnings about health were confirmed. In the fall of 1855, a typhus epidemic swept through Alnwick. A teacher and four students died. The school was closed and the remaining students sent home (Miss Soc Rep 1856:xxii). Alnwick re-opened in July 1856, with nine students from Alderville. During the summer, Case's widow visited the northern bands and persuaded them to send back thirty children. By the fall, there were fifty-one students, but most of them ran away. By June of 1857, there were only twenty boarders left (Miss Soc Rep 1857:xxiii). The reports from 1858 to 1860 do not give exact enrolment, but simply describe it as "poor." Most critically, the northern bands refused to send any more children or to allow their annuity monies to be used for Alnwick (Miss Soc Rep 1860:xix).

Mount Elgin also experienced difficulties, although not as severe as those of Alnwick. In 1855 the school expanded to house eighty pupils and, in 1856, enrolment increased from forty-four to fifty-eight (Miss Soc Rep 1856:xix-xx). But by 1857 the enrolment dropped to forty and continued at forty until 1860 (Miss Soc Rep 1857:xxii; 1858:xviii). The report in 1859 (Miss Soc Rep 1859:xiii) stated that some of the students were non-Native, and in 1860, disclosed that many of the students were adults (Miss Soc Rep 1860:xv).

Mount Elgin's new principal, James Musgrove, explained that he was unable to accept more pupils because of a lack of funds. It is possible that the Indian Department withdrew part of its support after Bury's negative assessment, since the Indian funds were intended to support the increased enrolment.

In 1858 the two schools suffered a further blow. The government had appointed a Commission to investigate Indian Affairs. The commissioners reported that the Manual Labour Schools had not succeeded in accomplishing their objectives. Although some "good" had resulted, the schools' general impact on the Ojibwa communities was too little to warrant the considerable expenditure of Indian funds. The commissioners recommended that the grant be discontinued in the following year, that both schools be closed, and the buildings used for other purposes. Alnwick "might be found useful by the Government for public purposes", while Mount Elgin "we should gladly see appropriated as an Indian Orphan Asylum (Canada, Legislative Assembly 1858, Appendix 21: 97-98, hereafter cited as Commissioners Report 1858)." Despite these recommendations, both schools were still operating in 1860.

It is possible that the commissioners also had a hidden agenda in making these recommendations. Canada was moving towards Confederation and self-government. The grant from the British Parliament, which supported the Indian Department, was to be withdrawn in 1860. Afterwards the Department had been ordered to become self-supporting through economical use of the Native annuity funds and profits from the sale of Native lands. The residential schools were only justifiable in the eyes of government officials if they contributed to this overall goal of reducing the expenses (H. Labouchere to Edmund Head, 21 February 1856, Indian Department 1856:39-41. See also Commissioners Report 1858:1-14). It is likely that the commissioners were trying to find ways to economize. Closing the residential schools would eliminate a major expense. Hence they may have leaned towards a negative assessment of the schools' operations.

In summary, we see a complete reversal in assessments of the schools within just ten years. In 1850 an editorial in the *Christian Guard-*

ian stated, "We know of no plan able to accomplish an amount equal to a Manual Labour School (CG 20 March 1850:288)." In 1859 Sylvester Hurlburt wrote of Alnwick "This Industrial School will eventually prove a failure (Miss Soc Rep 1859:xvii)." The Indian Department strongly supported the schools in 1846 and, as late as 1854, recommended that they should be enlarged and given more funds. Yet in 1858 another government report recommended that the schools be closed. In 1845 the Ojibwa leaders petitioned the government to build a residential School and authorized Peter Jones to collect money for a school on their behalf. In 1846 the Ojibwa leaders agreed to a large grant from their annuity funds. Yet the Indian students ran away from the schools in ever-increasing numbers and, by 1857, the northern bands withdrew their support completely.

The residential schools seemed a disappointment to all three groups concerned. One must therefore ask, what caused this abrupt turn-about in attitudes towards the schools?

Problems in Residential Schools

It is probably no accident that severe criticism of the schools began after the deaths of Case and Jones. They were perhaps the only Methodists who might have been able to deal with the problems.

The most critical problem was that some Ojibwa were unhappy with the schools. As a result, they withdrew their support. One of the clearest indicators of the Ojibwa's unhappiness was the growing number of students who ran away or refused to return. The problem seems to have begun shortly after the schools opened. Alnwick received thirty-five children from the northern Reserves in 1850. Two years later the Indian Department allowed these children to visit their families. With their parent's support, more than two-thirds of the children refused to return (Enoch Wood to Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 3 November 1851, Miss Corr, Roll 25). Alnwick had funding for fifty boarders, but after 1853 usually enrolled only half of that number (See Table 2). In 1857 Sylvester Hurlburt wrote of Alnwick:

At one time I think we had 51. But on account of the unstable character of the Indians—"unstable as water"—the number varies very much.... At present we have only about twenty children in our boarding hall. Some of them went home with permission to visit their friends, promising to return in four weeks; others ran away. Whether they will return or not is uncertain. (Miss Soc Rep 1857:xxviii)

Table 2
Enrolment of Boarders in Manual Labour Schools, By Year

Year	Alnwick	Mount Elgin
1850	54	13
1851	57	34
1852	43	36
1853	31	42
1854	25	42
1855	26	44
1856	40	58
	(none after epidemic)	
1857	51	40
	(20 by end of year)	
1858	"poor"	40
1859	"poor"	...
		(includes non-Natives)
1860	"better"	40

Source: Miss Soc Rep, 1850-60, except for Alnwick 1851 and 1852 which is taken from William Case, "Report on the Alderville Industrial School," [c. 1852], Miss. Corr., Roll 25.

It is significant that the Ojibwa still had power to decide whether their children would attend the schools. The Methodists and the Indian Department could only try to persuade them. There was no force or compulsion to attend, unlike the situation in later residential schools.

At Mount Elgin school-leaving also seems to have been a problem. Mount Elgin had funding for thirty-six to forty students (until 1856). Each student was supposed to stay for four years. Therefore by 1854, the school should have received approximately forty students in its first four years. Yet the report for 1854 stated that "over 107 have been received since its commencement (Miss Soc Rep 1854:xv)." The 1855 report documented the turn-over during a single year:

Sixty-one names have been entered on the books of the Institution during the year as boarders: and though some, who had finished their course, returned home to settle among their own people, and others left before the expiration of the time for which they had entered, there are yet 44 boarded (Miss Soc Rep 1855, xxiii).

On the basis of these statements and the figures in Table 2, it appears that the number of school-leavers reached considerable proportions.

There may have been several reasons for the Ojibwa's withdrawal of support. An initial mistrust may have been created by the Indian Department's attempt to use the schools to force the Ojibwa to abandon their Reserves. A second factor may have been the failure to build a school at Newash. The northern bands had never wanted to send their children the long distance to Alderville (Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 10 December 1850, Miss Corr, Roll 23) and were angry that they had no school nearby. A further blow came in 1854. Anderson forced the northern bands to surrender the Saugeen tract—the last large Aboriginal territory in Upper Canada—except for a few small Reserves (Earl of Elgin to Lord Grey, 18 December 1854, Indian Department 1856:3-14).¹⁴ This exposed as false his promise at the 1846 Orillia conference that the bands could keep their land if they concentrated around a Manual Labour School at Newash. After 1857 the northern bands refused to grant any more money or to send any more students to Alnwick.

Although this may explain, at least in part, the reason Alnwick had difficulty in keeping students, Mount Elgin experienced equal difficulty although it did not draw on northern students. It is likely that other factors also contributed to Ojibwa withdrawal of support. In particular, the school administrators' policies in regard to parental visits, the amount of work the children performed, and the incidence of disease should be considered.

Even in the early years, Case delayed allowing the parents to visit their children. He felt that it set back the work of the school. He wrote to Peter Jones that some of the girls from the Credit were crying and wanted to see their parents. He hoped that this would pass and that "after the first feeling of homesickness, they will be found more steady and attentive to instruction." He advised Jones that "It will not be desirable for the parents to visit their children soon, as it might awaken feelings which are now passing away" but promised that the children could write often and that the parents could visit in the fall (William Case and Eliza Case to Peter Jones and Eliza Jones, 28 July 1839; Carroll 1871, v. 4: 265-266.). This episode reflects the anxiety that both the Ojibwa parents and their children felt at being separated. Later Case became even more opposed to allowing contact between the parents and their children (William Case, "Report of the Alderville industrial School," [1852], Miss Corr, Roll 25). This may well have reduced the Ojibwa's support of the schools.

It is also possible that the Ojibwa felt that their children were overworked. They wanted their children to have academic instruction and

may have felt that too much physical work would interfere with their schooling. This view was expressed in a letter from John Southwind, an Ojibwa convert, to the missionary, James Evans. Evans had taken Southwind's daughter with him to a western mission, promising to instruct her. Southwind complained that he had heard:

That she was cooking for the scholars where she is;... We did not wished [sic] her to do so; but to be about anything that is necessary for her to learn. And also that she had not time enough to go to school, but was kept in the kitchen, and be servant for her schoolmates. (John Southwind to James Evans, 22 August 1839, Carroll 1871, v. 4: 273)

The practice of keeping the children at physical labour for seven and a half hours a day may well have aroused the parents' concern.

It is also likely that the Ojibwa were distressed by diseases contracted by the children while at school. At least four children died in the typhus epidemic at Alnwick in 1855 (Miss Soc Rep, 1856, xxii). There were other diseases at Alnwick. In their annual reports, missionaries on other Reserves sometimes spoke of children who returned from Alnwick with a "lingering sickness" of which they died (Miss Soc Rep 1852: xv; 1853:xiv; Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, Missionary Society Notices, 15 May 1857:198, hereafter cited as Miss Notices). One called the illness, "consumption" (Miss Soc Rep, 1852, xvi). Viscount Bury spoke of the "itch" being prevalent at Alnwick.

The schools may have been no more unhealthy than the Ojibwa Reserves generally during this period. For example, a quarter of the Credit band died of measles in a single year (Smith 1987:209). There were periodic outbreaks of smallpox, consumption, scrofula, and cholera on Reserves. (MacLean 1978:205-213.). Nevertheless diseases contracted while the children were at the Manual Labour Schools may have further eroded the Ojibwa parents' confidence in the schools.

The Ojibwa withdrew support in another way. The students were reluctant to implement what they learned when they returned to their communities. Nor did they become a vehicle for transferring a knowledge of farming and English culture to the others on the Reserves—a process which the Methodists had originally hoped would happen. When the students returned, most seem to have followed the lifestyle of the other Ojibwa.

In 1855 S. Waldron, the missionary at St. Clair, observed that the children who had returned from Mount Elgin were "improved" but that something should be done to prevent them from sliding back into their former habits (Miss Soc Rep 1855:xxiii-xiv). In 1858 the Commission report harshly criticized the lack of change in former students:

It is discouraging in the extreme to see how transient is the impression made upon the children by the training which they have gone through at these schools. They do not seem to carry back with them to their homes any desire to spread among their people the instruction which they have received. They are contented as before to live in the same slovenly manner, the girls make no effort to improve the condition of the houses, nor do the boys attempt to assist their parents steadily on the farm.

It is true that improvement is perceptible in their own personal appearance, but the amelioration extends no further. The same apathy and indolence stamp all their actions as is apparent in the demeanour of the rest of the Indians. (Commissioners Report 1858:97)

The commissioners may have been over-stating the case. By the 1850s, many Ojibwa had adopted European customs such as farming and living in houses to some degree. However the Ojibwa had by no means been entirely Anglicized and many still lived by hunting and other traditional pursuits.

Table 3
Ages of Boys at Mount Elgin School, 1851

Age	Number
18 years	2
17 years	2
16 years	2
15 years	2
14 years	2
13 years	4
12 years	2
11 years	2
10 years	3
7 years	1
Total	22

Source: S. Rose, "Report of the Mount Elgin Industrial School" April 1852, Miss Corr. Roll 25. The ages of the girls are not included.

The school administrators often complained that the children were too old when they arrived. Indeed, a list of the boys' ages at Mount Elgin in 1852 (Table 3) showed that most were between the ages of ten and eighteen (Samuel Rose, "Report of the Mt. Elgin Industrial School," April 1852, Miss Corr, Roll 25). In taking most students as teenagers, the Methodist schools appear to have differed from later residential schools. Because the students were too old, the administrators felt that little more than a transitory impression could be made upon them (Miss Soc Rep 1854:xv). In 1855 the *Christian Guardian* (19 September 1855:200) warned that not too much should be expected of the first group of graduates because the schools were only beginning to train the students in their youth rather than as adults. This may have been another way of saying that the students were not greatly changed when they left the schools.

Some more discerning Methodists argued that the cause of "back-sliding" was not only the age of the students, but also a lack of economic opportunity for the graduates. They argued that if the graduates were given a grant to establish themselves as farmers, they would willingly implement what they had learned when they returned to their homes. In 1853 the Missionary Society pressed the Indian Department for grants (Miss. Soc Rep 1853:xi.). In 1854 Rose reported that the Indian Department had promised each graduate a grant of "£15 to £20 per annum to assist them in settling among their own people. This carried out, will do much toward completing the Manual Labour School system" (Miss Soc Rep 1854:xv).

However the grants were never actually given out. In 1856 Rose wrote that graduates did not receive a grant "and not having the means of settling on lands among their own people, have been compelled to beg permission to remain longer in—what has become a home to them—the Institution" (Miss Soc Rep 1856:xx). The 1858 Commissioners' report confirmed that the grant was never given and stated that, because of a lack of opportunity or reward, the children had learned "to regard the establishment rather as a prison than a place where they might acquire the means of advancing themselves, and improving their position in the country (Commissioners Report 1858:97)."

Some Methodists accused the Indian Department of compounding the problem by refusing to give the Ojibwa secure title to their land. Unless the graduates had title to the land they were supposed to farm, they would have little incentive to clear and work it. In 1855 the *Christian Guardian* attacked the Department for not giving titles and for actually taking away land which the graduates had begun to farm (CG 19 September 1855:200).

It is difficult to know how effective the schools were in Anglicizing

the Ojibwa, but it may be assumed that their effect was limited. Probably several hundred children passed through the schools between 1850 and 1860. Because of the short time that most stayed, it is likely that the impact of the schools on their behaviour was limited. While the students may have returned home with more academic or practical knowledge, their characters may not have changed to any great degree.

Evidence on the success of the schools seems mixed. While many students left the schools, others completed their terms. Seven graduates became teachers on Reserves (Miss Soc Rep 1854, xvi; 1857, xxii). There was a waiting list for places at Mount Elgin. Alnwick may have had more success with students from nearby Reserves or day pupils from Alderville, who were closer to their families. On the other hand, the evidence suggests that many Ojibwa, particularly the northern bands, withdrew their support.

The Indian Department's policy contributed to the decline of the schools. The government reports then noted the outcome of these policies and concluded that the schools were a failure. When the Manual Labour Schools began, government officials hoped that they would make the Ojibwa self-supporting. The graduates were supposed to return to their Reserves to farm and teach their relatives how to farm as well ("Extract of Governor-General's Despatch," 18 August 1847; Miss Soc Rep 1848:xxiii). Once the Ojibwa became completely dependent on farming rather than hunting, the Department reasoned that they would no longer need large Reserves. Their surplus land could be sold and the profits invested to support the Indian Department. The underlying motivation of the government officials—and the reason it supported the Manual Labour Schools—was to relieve the Ojibwa of most of their remaining land holdings in Upper Canada and to bring about the complete assimilation of the Ojibwa. Nonetheless, the heavy-handed, short-term policies of the government impeded this goal, and led the commissioners to recommend that the schools be closed.

The 1858 Commissioners' report absolved the Methodists' of blame. Instead it blamed the Ojibwa for the failure of the schools:

If the good effects which were expected to result from the establishment of these schools are not apparent,...no blame can be attached to the [Methodist] Society to whose management they were entrusted.... We think that the following obstacles have impeded the success of the experiment.

First. The children are too old when they are received into the institutions. They have, before their entrance, acquired idle, filthy, and in some cases vicious habits, and have

arrived at an age when it is difficult to attain any control over them, or eradicate the evil practices to which they may be disposed.

Secondly. The children remain too short a time at these establishments to receive much advantage from the training there offered to them. Their parents have in many cases prejudices against the schools, and remove their children after a very short residence. The pupils themselves too frequently abscond, and return to their homes without permission, finding the wholesome restraint of the school irksome. This evil it is found impossible to prevent (Commissioners Report 1858:96).

Moreover the schools did not succeed in conserving expenses. Instead the schools absorbed fully one-quarter of the Ojibwa's annuities and produced few apparent results.

The Methodists had embarked on the schools with enthusiasm. Missionary Society reports in the early 1850s were full of statements that the schools were the best of all possible solutions for instructing the Ojibwa. However the Methodists had no power to keep the students in school. They did not have enough money to bankroll the graduates. To deal with these problems, the Missionary Society needed either the help of the Indian Department or the support of the Ojibwa, neither of which was forthcoming.

The school administrators resolved the situation by blaming the Ojibwa and the government. Sylvester Hurlburt castigated the Ojibwa for their lack of support:

This Industrial School, will eventually prove a failure...the Indians are opposed to the School; that is the most of the bands who first consented that a portion of their funds should be appropriated to the support of the School. The appropriation to the School lessens their annuities by that amount, and they do not appreciate education sufficiently to make the least sacrifice for the benefit of their children. In some cases I believe they think they confer a great favour on us if they consent to let their children attend the school (Miss Soc Rep 1859:xvii).

The principal of Mount Elgin accused the government of policies which interfered with the Anglicization of the Ojibwa. He suggested that the entire method of conducting Indian affairs was suspect and that the Department should be required to publicly account for its policies (CG 19 September 1855:200).

Having assigned blame, the school administrators did not look any

further to see if their own practices might be culpable. They offered only two solutions: enrolling younger pupils and preventing their contact with other Ojibwa. For example, Sylvester Hurlburt stated that "If I had the children of the Indians by myself, entirely detached from the example and influence of Indian character and habits, I think something could be made of them (Miss Soc Rep 1857:xxix)." The Methodists do not appear to have questioned any further either the goals or the operations of the school system they had devised.

Conclusions

Trevithick (1998:77-80) points out in his review of research on residential schools that our knowledge about the schools is still quite incomplete. There may be significant differences between Church denominations, individual administrators, and the quality of education in different institutions. There may also have been changes in policy over time. This case study of the pre-Confederation Methodist Ojibwa residential schools challenges some common assumptions derived from more recent residential school practices, and raises interesting questions about the evolution of residential school policy.

One common assumption is that residential schooling was a system forced on the Aboriginal community by government and missionaries, who used residential schools as a means of social control. It certainly seems well-documented that this is what the schools became in the twentieth century. But it may not be what the residential schools started out to do. This analysis of the Methodist schools gives a considerably more complex picture. As I have shown, the main impetus for residential schooling came from some Ojibwa leaders and their Methodist supporters. Government support for residential schools was late and limited, and quickly withdrawn.

The vision of residential schooling shared by the Ojibwa leaders was of a system which empowered the Ojibwa community, as part of a broad scheme of social adaptation. Ojibwa leaders were working towards a comprehensive package of educational and intellectual reforms, which included a written language, books in the Ojibwa language, a self-directed educational system staffed by Ojibwa, and a high level of education. These reforms were consciously modelled on the Cherokee system in the United States. They did not intend residential schooling to be the penny-pinching, mean-minded system it later, too often, became. On the contrary, residential schools were part of a broad strategy intended to put the Ojibwa on an equal footing with the European settlers.

The Methodists and Ojibwa intended the schools to offer a comparatively high quality of education, and in many ways were equal to, or

better than, the schools available to the settlers. Progressive features included the use of teachers with professional training from the newly-established Normal School, and books and apparatus approved for the new provincial curriculum. This was all state of the art educational practice for the time. The Methodists were also making education widely available to Ojibwa at a time when almost a quarter of settlers still had no schooling. One way of doing this was to provide room and board for students who might not otherwise be able to attend school. The instruction in farming, trades, and domestic crafts could have also seemed like a positive service at the time, since the Ojibwa might have had few other opportunities to learn these skills.

Nevertheless some serious problems were emerging. The runaways and school leavers, and the northern Ojibwa's withdrawal of support signal real discontent with the schooling. A combination of factors may have been responsible, including student homesickness and unhappiness at separation from their families; possible overwork; disease; corporal punishment; and unsympathetic school administrators. In addition, the Ojibwa leaders may have become angry and disillusioned by the government's political machinations which used the schools as leverage. Finally, the students may have found it simply impossible to practice what they learned when they had no financial support, and no secure land tenure, and while the government was continuing to seize Native lands and farms.

One of the most important differences between the early Methodist residential schools and later schools was that the Aboriginal people still held the balance of power. The schools began because Ojibwa leaders fought for them a number of years. The Ojibwa controlled much of the funding which came from their annuities, and could withhold funds. They also had the power to refuse to send their children. Because the remainder of the funding came directly from the Missionary society, the Ojibwa and the missionaries were, in effect, joint funders of the system. This made Ojibwa partners in decision-making, rather than clients or dependents of the missionaries and government.

After 1850 there was a shift in the balance of power. Increasingly the administrators saw themselves as compelling the Ojibwa to accept education, or forcing them to change, rather than working with the Ojibwa leaders to find solutions. For example, the problem of homesickness was probably not impossible to solve. There might have been solutions such as a shorter school year, so students could spend more time with their families, or frequent family visits. Perhaps Case or Jones might have found such solutions. But instead the school administrators began to recommend a more severe policy of taking younger children and lim-

iting contact between parents and children. It was this coercive model which tended to dominate in later residential schooling.

Later residential schools were seen as an inexpensive solution to dealing with Aboriginal people (Miller 1996:63). This was not true of the Methodist residential schools. On the contrary, they were more expensive than the day schools, and only seen as worthwhile if the results justified the cost.

In view of the evident problems with residential schooling, it is hard to understand why anyone wanted to continue them. They were expensive, and only prepared a few students for higher academic work. (The Methodist day schools had already been equally successful in sending some students to higher education.) The residential schools probably did succeed in preparing some students as farmers, but it was difficult for graduates to practice farming afterwards.

This case study raises some interesting questions for further research. For example, as I have shown, as of 1858, the government assessment of residential schooling was that it was too expensive for the limited results achieved, and that it was a waste of funds. The Methodist Church as a whole seems to have shared this point of view, although some administrators believed that solutions could be found. Therefore one might ask, when did this negative assessment change? When did government become an advocate for residential schooling, and make a decision to expand the system and fund it extensively? What factors led government officials to change their minds about a system that was clearly considered unsatisfactory? Why did the churches continue to administer a system which was showing such obvious problems so quickly? And why was such an unsatisfactory system exported to the west and north of Canada after Confederation?

I would go further and ask whether both government and churches were fully aware that the system was unsatisfactory before they put it in place after Confederation. The evidence of this study suggests that they were well aware of some major problems by 1860. If this is so, why did they enter into residential schooling, knowing it was a poor system?

Perhaps both groups believed that tinkering with the system would fix it. The answer may have seemed to be practices such as taking students at a younger age and preventing all contact with other Ojibwa. Or did government and churches enter into residential schooling because they lacked the imagination to find a better system? Or because residential schooling came to be seen a cheap means of fulfilling other goals, such as social control?

If churches and government entered into residential schooling knowing it was a poor system, it seems that neither group can claim they did

not know what would happen. Both groups should accept liability for the system if they knew from the beginning (or at least from 1860), that there were real problems with it.

Concluding Thoughts

I have shown in this article and in a previous article on Methodist Ojibwa day schools (MacLean 2002) that the Ojibwa were not opposed to schooling. On the contrary, Ojibwa leaders saw schooling as an important way that their people could adapt to European settlement. They approached residential schooling with a broad vision of what a school system could become. They persisted for many years in political support of residential schooling, and devoted considerable funds to it. It is a pity that the type of program they envisioned was not implemented. Instead Canada let pass a chance for residential schools which could have been a building block for Aboriginal autonomy.

Notes

1. The Methodists later became founding members of the United Church of Canada.
2. As the American removal program progressed during the 1830s, other groups such as the Potawatomi, Odawa, and Oneida (of Munceytown) took up permanent residence in Upper Canada (Clifton 1975; Graham 1975:37).
3. Smith (1975, 1987) gives an excellent portrait of Peter Jones and the disastrous effect of settlement on the Ojibwa. Jones himself portrayed the same subjects in his journals (Jones 1860) and his history of the Ojibwa (Jones 1861).
4. Even the hardened Indian agent, Captain Thomas Anderson, commented during a conference on how beautiful Sunday's speech was, and what a pity it could not be taken down (Indian Chiefs and Principal Men 1846:17).
5. In 1829, Case married one teacher, Hetty Hubbard, then married a second teacher, Eliza Barnes, after Hetty's death (Smith 1987:118, 152). Case's wives were active participants in his residential school.
6. John Sunday was already in England during 1836-37, speaking about missions and lobbying government and those in high "authority" (Carroll 1871, v. 4:132).
7. Egerton Ryerson (1883:275) commented that Case wanted to continue "in his old, lonely Indian mission at Alnwick, near Cobourg, isolated alike from the White inhabitants and from other Indian tribes."

8. George Copway (1847:195-6) records a letter from Chief Joseph Sawyer, authorizing him to collect funds for a Manual Labour School, and accuses the Canadian Conference of not doing enough on this project. Copway's claim is validated in a letter from Peter Jones to his wife Eliza (Letterbook. 15 June 1844).
9. For example, Jones wrote to his wife, "I must now get ready for the Soiree. I have been requested to appear in my *odious* Indian costume." (Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, 29 October 1845, Letterbook). He often complained to his wife of his dislike of having to beg for money (For example, 1 November 1845, Letterbook).
10. It is remarkable to realize that promises to develop Native lawyers and Native-controlled schools, which were made in 1845 were only beginning to be fulfilled in the 1970s (MacLean 1973:171-3, 111-118; 1977).
11. In 1847, some Credit Ojibwa moved to Owen Sound, but most moved to the New Credit Reserve, adjoining the Six Nations Reserve (Miss Soc Rep 1847:viii).
12. One comparison of hours worked is an English domestic servant of 1855, who rose at 4 am. and worked until 9 pm. Dawes (1973:15-17) comments that a servant's lifestyle was still better than the general economic condition of the poor in English cities.
13. Sylvester Hurlburt was one of several brothers who served as missionaries to the Ojibwa. His brother, Asahel Hurlburt, while sympathetic to the problems faced by the Ojibwa, eventually decided that the Methodists were wasting their funds on the Upper Canada Ojibwa missions (CG 6 May 1846:113). A third brother, Thomas Hurlburt, was fluent in Ojibwa, frequently harangued the other Methodists to support Native civil rights during the 1850s, and spent much of his career working at remote Western Native missions (MacLean 1978:190-191).
14. See also Conrad Van Dusen (1867:13-17) for charges that the surrender was fraudulent.

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