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This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <u>https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/</u> Based on voluminous research in the archives of colonial courts, *Puritan Justice and the Indian* enables us to see clearly the degree to which New England whites were willing to include Indians in their legal system, even after it was obvious that Indians had little interest in converting to Christianity. Not all scholars will want to be as legalistic as Kawashima in their evaluation of white attitudes; he demonstrates, however, that the operation of a court system can provide a reliable index to the nexus of values and behavior. Indeed, from an Indian's point of view, the courts may have been the most reliable indicator of official Puritan policy.

One final quarrel: both Prof. Kawashima and his editor have been lax in avoiding apparent contradictions. At times it is merely a matter of style, as, for example, when the statement that "many" colonial jurists were "liberal-minded" toward Indians (p. 100) is followed by the assertion that "these devoted friends and champions of the Indians" were "relatively few in number" (p. 105). But at other times, substance is the issue, as in the confused accounting of Indian population (pp. 9, 123), or the backto-back assertions that "both Indians and whites received the same penalties for the same offences" (p. 177) and that "Indians . . . were treated much more strictly than the whites" (p. 178). In a beautifully produced book, slips like these in virtually every chapter are disconcerting.

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Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy. Edited by Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986. 180 pp. \$10.95 Paper.

This collection of seven articles gives the reader some indication of historical depth and east-west and north-south diversity and also addresses some issues in the history of Indian schooling in what is now Canada. There are no photographs, unfortunately, but the articles are generally of good quality. Volume Two promises to focus on recent experiences with Indian-controlled schools; hopefully this will include pre-school, post-secondary, adult education and Native teacher training.

The editors' brief introduction is disappointing. They explain

that aboriginal peoples around the world are asserting their right to self-determination in general and control of education in particular. They state that Canadian Indians have only recently begun to regain this control because of complex historical relationships founded on misunderstandings and contradictions inherent in colonial administration.

A brief sketch of twentieth century developments leads to mention of the important 1972 statement by the National Indian Brotherhood (now Assembly of First Nations) on *Indian Control* of Indian Education, but omits the Penner Committee's Report on Indian Self-Government in Canada (1983).

There is no comprehensive survey of the literature and no discussion on methodology; these are sorely needed.

Marie Battiste traces the growth of an oppressive system of schooling among the Micmac, who possessed their own system of teaching and recording, and argues that forced literacy is merely cognitive assimilation; no mention is made of L.F.S. Upton's *Micmacs and Colonists* (1979), a basic historical reference. Cornelius Jaenan describes early educational efforts among Algonkian and Iroquoian groups in New France during the seventeenth century; this theme, and that of reciprocal efforts by Native people, are discussed more broadly by James Axtell in *The Invasion Within* (1985). Ken Coates follows the development of Indian day schools in the Yukon.

Two of the articles presume to correct the misconceptions of popular Native writers. Donald Wilson promises to describe "the true nature" of Indian schools in southern Ontario during the nineteenth century in order to balance misleading statements made by Native politicians Harold Cardinal and Howard Adams (p. 64). Similarly, Jacqueline Gresko criticizes the "simplistic" accounts of Cardinal and George Manuel by examining two Roman Catholic schools in western Canada (p. 88). This approach is unfortunate. Politicians and historians have different interests and write for different audiences.

Much of the scholarly literature about Indians is written by non-Indians, and most historians must cross a wide cultural gulf in attempting to understand what happened in Indian schools. Battiste, who is evidently the only Native contributor to this volume, writes from "the inside." Jean Barman uses interviews with graduates of British Columbia's All Hallows School to supplement the documentary evidence and finds that prejudice and lack of funding contributed to failure. Similarly, Dianne Persson obtained personal testimony from Indian people familiar with Alberta's Blue Quillis school, before and during its takeover in 1970.

Reliance on written sources, unless they are carefully interpreted, can wrongly portray Native people as victims being acted upon, instead of actors coping with a variety of influences on their lives. Anthropological literature concerning traditional enculturation and values can provide useful perspectives from which to interpret documents written by non-Natives and also the impact of foreign institutions on Native people. Without some kind of evidence, how can historians conclude, for example, that the Ojibwa developed a "confused identity" (p. 83)? Further proof of the need for inter-disciplinary research comes from the unfortunate use of outdated racial slurs—"halfbreeds" (p. 95, 100) and "mixed blood" (p. 98, 135).

The articles by Jaenan and Wilson are revisions of earlier publications. Any sample of articles can be criticized, especially when it attempts to cover three centuries of history in a country as large and diverse as Canada. This reviewer hopes that one day someone will fully document the story of what may be the first Indian school board in Canada, established among the Six Nations of Grand River in 1878 (Canada, *Report of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs 1929–1930*, 1930: 17), and the Department's later opposition to such local board's on the grounds that "We are paying the whole shot, and we should call the tune" (Ontario: *Proceedings of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs*, 1954: 453).

Readers will find two other recent works very useful in understanding the history of Indian education in Canada. Brian Titley's *A Narrow Vision* (1986), also published by University of British Columbia Press, provides a broad and concise account of Indian Affairs (including education) during the years 1880 to 1932. Jerry Pacquette's *Aboriginal Self-Government and Education in Canada* (1986) is especially valuable in explaining the financial and administrative aspects of Indian education today.

The editors of the present volume mention the absence of any specific or "direct legal basis" for effective transfers of control over education (p. 16). The March 1987 First Ministers Conference (a meeting of the Prime Minister with provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders) certainly failed to define the nature of self-government in Canada. But in Ontario some aboriginal groups are, in 1987, negotiating with the federal and provincial governments in order to design a framework for Indiancontrolled education in that province. The editors state that the federal Department of Indian Affairs is hindering the achievement of Indian control of Indian education because it wishes to transfer programs to Indian control without incurring additional costs. As this review is being written in 1987, the Department is prepared to offer Indians only "administrative control" of existing Departmental programs without any "enrichment." New tribal councils or educational authorities are not eligible for funding unless they agree to become, in effect, invisible administrative arms of the Department and enforce federal treasury board cutbacks on their own people.

So long as some of the highest officials in the Department continue to view Indian organizations as corrupt, self-serving and unrepresentative, the Department will continue to frustrate the development of educational systems designed by (not for) Native people. And until Canadian politicians recognize the right of self-government for aboriginal people in the Canadian Constitution, Indian-controlled educational institutions will be the exception, not the rule.

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Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Rights. By Fay G. Cohen. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986. 229 pp. \$20.00 Cloth. \$9.95 Paper.

Treaties on Trial is the second report on Indian fishing rights sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. An earlier work, Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians (1970), dealt with similar subject matter, but its coverage stopped with the late 1960s. Cohen's book can stand on its own because it traces the background of recent controversies over Indian fishing rights, but it also offers a detailed discussion of events since the publication of Uncommon Controversy.

The subject Cohen treats involves perhaps the most important conflict between Indian treaty rights and state attempts to exercise authority over tribes since President Jackson's removal period. The off-reservation fishing rights of the northwestern Indians rest upon treaties negotiated by Isaac Ingalls Stevens, governor of Washington Territory, in 1854–1855. Typical of other