Tracing the Logic of the Democratic Symbolic in Manual Labour and Industrial Schooling for Indigenous Youth in Upper Canada, 1821-1863

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Abstract

This dissertation explores why residential schooling went on to become a federal system despite early and acknowledged failures. Efforts to understand the provenance and aftermath of the system must address how the schools were intimately related to Canada's colonial past and liberal democratic present. In this dissertation, the history of the residential school system for Indigenous children in Canada is situated within the context of pre-confederation democratization. Democratization is understood within the framework outlined by Claude Lefort as a sociocultural phenomenon characterized by a shift in symbolic representations of the locus of power away from an external, identifiable source toward the sovereign power of the individuals constituting a collectivity. I focus on how Crown administrators, missionaries and philanthropists articulated the desirability of manual labour and industrial boarding schools for Indigenous children and how those discourses reflected and propagated an emerging democratic symbolic.

To maintain their unity, social systems have historically required symbolic representations of the source of legitimacy of concepts, relations of power, norms and behaviors. If for British colonizers, that source had in previous regimes represented something external to the collective that authorized claims to knowledge and was understood as the basis of law, within the democratic symbolic emergent in nineteenth century Western Europe and North America, that source dissipates in its distribution throughout the collectivity. In letters, reports and policy documents exploring and describing the form and function of manual labour and industrial boarding schools for Indigenous children written between 1821 and 1863, I identify the turn inward in seeking foundational legitimizing precepts in the evangelical ideal of salvation through personal transformation, in conceptualizations of self-perfection via pursuit of one's individual

interests and in ideas of a universalized society constructed around shared natural sympathies or mutual protection of self-interest. The work of manual labour and industrial boarding schools as they were imagined in this period was to generate a subject that would find the principle of order within their own person and cast out, preferably of their own volition, that which signified chaos and disorder.

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Introduction

Overview

In the early 1990s, Assembly of First Nations (AFN) National Chief Phil Fontaine publicly disclosed the abuse he had suffered in a residential school. This, and the filing of a growing number of lawsuits against the Canadian government and religious organizations by residential school survivors, brought the violent practices and disastrous consequences of the residential school system to the attention of the Canadian government and to a non-Indigenous public who for too long had been ignorant of the implications of the system. These events also began an important debate about the appropriate means of taking responsibility for participation in the creation and operation of the schools. In 1998 the federal government issued a Statement of Reconciliation, and in 2003 adopted the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) process to address the growing backlog of court cases. However, in both cases, only sexual and physical abuse and wrongful confinement were addressed. An editorial in *Windspeaker* summarized the feelings of many Indigenous[1] and non-Indigenous critics of this approach: "Canada is suffering an arbitrary, self-serving amnesia about the premeditated assault on Indigenous cultures and languages by only compensating for sexual and physical abuse in the ADR…. The ADR is all about saving money, limiting liability, and it will be done on the backs of the victims."[2]

In response to the recommendations of the AFN, the Canadian Bar Association, and the 2004 report of a task force charged with assessing the ADR, the federal government gave

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1. Throughout this dissertation, I use the term Indigenous to refer to the first peoples of what is now known as Canada. Where I reference the fact that Indigenous people in Canada were and are not monolithic but constitute many discrete nations, I use Indigenous peoples. Where possible, I use the names of the specific people referenced. The term "Indian" is used when quoting or directly referencing usage in historical documents or in reference to First Nations individuals with status under the Indian Act where applicable legal context warrants.
2. "Not so fast," *Windspeaker*, vol. 21, issue 9, December 2003.

final approval to the *Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement* in 2006. The government tacitly acknowledged corollary effects such as loss of language, racism, forced assimilation and cultural destruction by agreeing to pay a lump sum to all former students. In addition, the agreement maintained the option of pursuing larger individual awards and promised funding for a Truth and Reconciliation process and for commemoration and healing. However, the government's continuing refusal to issue an apology for the racist and assimilationist nature of the institution[3] and the lack of criminal charges laid against any fiduciary officer or employee[4] continued to rankle. Beatrice Gladue of the Tansi Friendship Centre Society, said of the package that, "To me it's like putting a Band-Aid on it and saying 'Yes, it has happened, but oh well, let's move on and here's a little bit of money to basically keep you guys quiet'."[5] Her suggestion that non-Indigenous Canadians had proven again unwilling to grapple with deeper issues associated with the aftermath of the institution was demonstrated by responses to the package publicized after its release. *Globe and Mail* editorials printed after the draft agreement became public took the stance that lump sum payments feed a culture of victimhood[6] and asked why the "staggering sum" to be paid out in reparations should be "borne by the current, blameless generation of taxpayers, who should be looking toward the future."[7]

On June 11, 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper took the laudable step of issuing an apology to former students of the residential school system. In addition to the Members of Parliament, Assembly of First Nations leader Phil Fontaine and hundreds of former

3. Paul Samyn, "Residential-Schools Package Okayed: [Final Edition]," *The Gazette*, May 11, 2006.
4. Kevin D. Annett, "Why we are Not Sorry for our Crimes: The Residential Schools Settlement Farce," *Native American Times*, Dec 22, 2006.
5. Debora Steel, Cheryl Petten, and Laura Stevens, "Suspicion Greets Compensation Announcement," *Alberta Sweetgrass*, 12, 2005.
6. "Paying for the Past," *The Globe and Mail*, Aug 27, 2005.
7. "The Expensive Politics of Residential Redress," *The Globe and Mail*, Nov 24, 2005.

attendees and church representatives were present for the speech. Harper described the two primary objectives of the residential school system to be the isolation of the child from their families, traditions and cultures, and their assimilation into the dominant culture. "Today" he said, "we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country." There is no question that the schools, and the policy of assimilation that they represent have caused harm. Over the one hundred and fifty years during which residential schools were in existence, approximately 150,000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children were removed from their families to live for the majority of the year in institutions isolated from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. There, children were subjected to physical and emotional abuse and poor living conditions and were systematically taught the inferiority of all aspects of their culture. Recent findings of unmarked graves at the sites of former residential schools have garnered international attention and highlighted the incredible harm done to children, their families and their communities throughout the history of this institution.

Public acknowledgement of the harms caused by the residential school system and the role of the Canadian government, religious institutions and the settler population in actively or tacitly supporting its existence is an important step. However, if the goal of reconciliation is to come to terms not only with the effects of residential schooling but the provenance of the institution - the social and ideational conditions under which the institution came into existence and operated as it did for many decades - then there is more work, and difficult work to be done. As Jeremy Patzer points out, if reconciliation does not address how residential schooling was connected with other aspects of colonization in the Canadian context, including loss of land and self-determination, it may instead promote "a subtle claim to political legitimacy" on behalf of

the Canadian state.[8] It is my hope that I can contribute to the on-going process of reconciliation by identifying elements of the ideational framework productive of residential schooling that continue to guide how many settlers view Indigenous personhood and peoplehood today. I will argue that the symbolic and imaginary framework within which the schools came into existence remains largely operational but is generally invisible to settlers, and particularly the white, English-speaking settler population, because it is taken for granted. Like breathing, we can become conscious of it, but it does not require our awareness to function.

The initial line of inquiry guiding my dissertation research was to investigate how an institution so misguided and with such disastrous consequences came into existence in the first place. What were the social and ideational conditions under which separating children from families and subjecting them to a regime of mind control seemed like a good idea? There is a substantial literature on the history and impact of residential schooling that takes up themes related to this question. Some of these works are primarily historical overviews of the emergence and management of the institution in general[9] or in particular cases,[10] often offering detailed descriptions of conditions within the schools, as in the case of Milloy and Graham. Some have explored residential and industrial schools as a colonial policy not only in North America but throughout the British empire,[11] and have shown how the schools were intimately associated

8. Jeremy Patzer, "Residential School Harm and Colonial Dispossession: What's the Connection?" In *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton, Andrew Woolford and Jeff Benvenuto, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 178; also David B. MacDonald, "Paved with Comfortable Intentions: Moving Beyond Liberal Multiculturalism and Civil Rights Frames on the Road to Transformative Reconciliation," in *Pathways of Reconciliation: Indigenous and Settler Approaches to Implementing the TRC's Calls to Action*, ed. Aimée Craft, and Paulette Regan, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2020), 10.
9. Robert Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation: The Early Experience," *Historical Studies* 61 (1995): 13-40; John Webster Grant, *Moon Of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System – 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).
10. Graham, *The Mush Hole*; Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995).
11. Linda Bull and Valerie Alia, "Unequaled Acts of Injustice: Pan-Indigenous Encounters with Colonial School

with the racist and coercive tactics of colonialism.[12] Bear Nicholas[13] and Chrisjohn and Young[14]

argue persuasively that this colonial worldview remains operative in the present. Others have

focused on the contribution of Christianity[15] and rationalized, bureaucratic thinking[16] to the

development and organization of the schools. Writers such as Manore[17] and Smith[18] have

examined the role of Indigenous communities and leaders in the emergence of the system, and

the resulting clash of visions and expectations in grappling with the demands of colonizers. A

related literature explores Indigenous resistance to, and extension of agency within the schools.[19]

Finally, there is a large literature surrounding the experiences of attendees,[20] the difficulties of

grappling with the consequences of the system for individuals and communities,[21] and the

Systems," *Contemporary Justice Review* 7, no. 2 (2004): 171-182.

12. Noel Dyck, "Tutelage, Resistance and Co-optation in Canadian Indian Administration," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 34, no. 3 (1997): 333; Noel Dyck, *Differing Visions: Administering Indian Residential Schooling in Prince Albert, 1867-1995* (Halifax: Fernwood, 1997); Mary-Ellen Kelm, "'A Scandalous Process': Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950," *Native Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (1996): 51-89.

13. Andrea Bear Nicholas, "Canada's Colonial Mission: The Great White Bird," in *Aboriginal Education in Canada: A Study in Decolonization*, ed. K.P. Binda and Sharilyn Calliou, (Mississauga, Ont.: Canadian Educators' Press, 2001), 9-33.

14. Roland David Chrisjohn and Sherri L. Young, *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2006).

15. Syd Pauls, "Racism and Native Schooling: A Historical Perspective," in *Racism in Canadian Schools* ed. M. Ibrahim Alladin (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company Canada, Ltd., 1996), 22-41; Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths, eds. *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

16. Jacqueline Gresko, "White Rites and Indian Rites: Indian Education and Native Responses in the West," in *Western Canada: Past and Present*, ed. Anthony Rasporich (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1975), 163-181; Jennifer Pettit, "To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada" (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 1997).

17. Jean L. Manore, "A Vision of Trust: The Legal, Moral and Spiritual Foundations of Shingwauk Hall," *Native Studies Review* 9 no. 2 (1993-1994): 1-21.

18. Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

19. Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988).

20. Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*.

21. Assembly of First Nations, *Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated By the Stories of First Nation Individuals* (Ottawa, ON: Assembly of First Nations, First Nations Health Secretariat, 1997); Constance Deiter, *From Our Mothers' Arms: The Intergenerational Impact of Residential Schools in Saskatchewan* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1999); Rosalyn N. Ing, "The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-Rearing Practices," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 (Supplement 1991): 65.

process of re-gaining Indigenous control of education.[22]

The standard account in scholarly literature of the provenance of the residential school system generally describes the schools as a manifestation of the Anglo-European mission to Christianize and civilize grounded in Victorian era moral precepts and serving the goal of acquiring land for settlers.[23] While this is not wrong, situating the schools within a relatively narrow historical and conceptual frame allows contemporary readers to see the framework underlying the schools as a thing of the past and no longer a determining factor in relations between Indigenous peoples and settlers. I will broaden the lens and analyze the emergence of this system not only in its immediate context but within a larger trajectory of social and political ideas. How were the schools related to a symbolic and imaginary regime that continues to guide how the settler population in Canada conceptualizes and realizes social and political existence? How were the schools tied not only to the colonial project of securing ever-expanding claims to territory but to the project of instantiating Canadian peoplehood and to more general ideas of power, individualism and race?

In this dissertation, I will argue that conceptualizations of residential schooling in early nineteenth-century Upper Canada among colonial administrators, missionaries and philanthropists were guided by a symbolic regime productive of democratization. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter one, by symbolic regime, I mean a representational framework that guides how individuals access the world - knowledge of the physical and social world, its organizing principles, and our agency relative to it, our power over it and others within

22. Marie Battiste and Jean Barman, eds., *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995); Celia Haig-Brown, *Taking Control: Power and Contradiction in First Nations Adult Education* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995); Jacqueline Hookimaw-Witt, "Any Changes Since Residential School?" *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 22, no.2 (1998): 159-171.
23. For example, Milloy, *A National Crime*.

it.[24] Democratization will be discussed not in terms of the establishment of its procedural elements but as the transfer of sovereign power to the people and a disruption of references to an externalized legitimating authority. I am not arguing that the schools were designed with the goal of recognizing Indigenous people as participants in an emerging political apparatus, nor that this transition related to a recognition of Indigenous peoplehood, something that remains largely unaccomplished. In fact, I hope to show that the configuration of democratization in Canada has been such that it is structurally resistant to the recognition of multiple peoplehoods within what is claimed as Canadian territory. Rather, I will argue that the particular democratic symbolic emergent in nineteenth-century Upper Canada gave form to ideas about individual personhood and belonging that were reflected in the structure of the schools, and that the schools in turn served to propagate, at least for the settler population.

Positionality

This study is premised on the notion that for as long as humans have represented aspects of our existence symbolically, we have been engaged in a metaphysical exploration of what our relationship to the nature of being is, and that the social and political systems we have developed have been premised on varying conceptualizations of this relationship.[25] This raises the question of the validity of the kind of study undertaken here itself. In speaking of how society articulates and theorizes its constituent components, am I not perpetuating the process I aim to criticize? And in taking a critical stance in relation to the outcome of such theorizing for the subjects who are theorized, and secondarily for those who theorize, am I not reinstituting a new idea of who

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24. Claude Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, David Macey, trans. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, Oxford, UK, 1988).
25. Bernard Flynn, "Democracy and Ontology," *Research in Phenomenology* 38 (2008): 216-227.

rightfully belongs to my newly envisioned, more justly oriented collectivity? Finally, Lefort

himself writes that "the quest for truth and the truth itself are one and the same, that modern

society and the modern individual are constituted by the experience of the dissolution of the

ultimate markers of certainty…".[26] In the work of Foucault, the emergence of groups of

individuals and institutions such as Bentham's panoptic prison dedicated to the reinstatement of

order in eighteenth-century England were the result of wealth taking the form of goods that were

vulnerable to theft, and the desire of individuals to protect in advance their endangered

valuables.[27] For Lefort, the emergence of society as a space susceptible to, and in need of re-

ordering is instead attributed to the breakdown of signifiers of the coherence of the social body

such as the body of the monarch in different periods throughout Europe.[28] Rather than being

replaced by another representation of the totality of the collectivity conceived of as external to

the social body (e.g., the king, God, the primordial order), the void left by the diminishing power

of the monarch was filled by the collectivity itself. But as Lefort suggests above, this process

diminished accordingly "ultimate markers of certainty" – timeless legitimating forces such as the

king or God. If members of the collectivity look primarily to themselves to legitimate the nexus

of relations within their social body, how is it possible to adjudicate between competing claims

to the correct vision of what that social body ought to look like? As can be witnessed in the

development of the field of political theory, one particularly influential answer to this in

modernity has been through the application of scientific principles.[29] So once again, the

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26. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory,* 179.
27. Foucault, Michel, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984,* Vol. 3, James D. Faubion, ed., Robert Hurley, trans. (New York: The New Press, 1994).
Foucault, 1994a, 68-69. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 84-90.
28. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory,* 179.
29. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*.

microscope must swing around to face the author of the present study: how can an individual

within such a modern society make claims about that society that are not in the service of

legitimating one or another vision of what the society ought to look like? Where scientific

principles applied to the study of society are based on the need to legitimate some view of the

best organization of that society, how does one start out on the road of analysis?

Lefort himself answers such questions by asserting that what differentiates an

analysis such as his own from those he is interrogating – i.e., analyses intended to prove what

society is or ought to be – is that he is instead looking at,

> different regimes or forms of society in order to identify a principle of internalization
> which can account for a specific mode of differentiation and articulation between classes,
> groups and social ranks, and, at the same time, for a specific mode of discrimination
> between markers – economic, juridical, aesthetic, religious markers – which order the
> experience of coexistence.[30]

The analysis he proposes seeks to uncover those principles through which elements of the social

body are differentiated from one another, categorized, and ordered, the means through which

these principles are deployed (economic, juridical, etc.), and the effect on how we relate to

ourselves and one another. For those writing about the history of colonization from the position

of a descendent of colonizers, as I am, the application of this approach can be understood as what

Fuyuki Kurusawa calls an ethnography of modernity.[31] The gaze so often directed outwards by

colonizers and researchers is instead directed inwards, upon the self and the collectivity the

individual is situated within, in order to understand foundational elements of oppression and

inequality, as well as those elements that remain in the present, often unacknowledged and

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30. Ibid, 218.
31. Fuyuki Kurusawa, "The Ethnological Counter-Current in Sociology," *International Sociology* 15, no. 1 (2000):
11-31.

unappreciated. As Bear Nicholas writes, what is needed is knowledge of how to self-consciously analyze "the processes and ideologies of colonialism itself, literally a curriculum on colonialism."[32]

Chapter Outline

This dissertation is organized both chronologically and thematically. I begin by establishing the theoretical framework guiding my analysis of documents and proceed from the earliest documents under consideration, letters and policy documents generated by colonial administrators in the 1820s, to documents related to the functioning of Mount Elgin through its closure in 1863. Chapter one establishes how I employ the concepts of the symbolic and the social imaginary. Both the symbolic and the social imaginary reference representations that relate to and derive from collective existence. Emile Durkheim's conceptualization of collective representations is used to explore how representations can be generated at the level of the group. Claude Lefort, in response to a problematic identified by Pierre Clastres, moves beyond Durkheim's theory of collective representation to highlight the significance of the ordering of representations, and of representability - of the configurations within which certain elements of social life become visible or accessible. The symbolic references not just ideas about, or generated by a collectivity that influence social life, but how we make meaning of the world; how we order the world in terms of what can be known and by whom, what authorizes law and knowledge, and by extension, the nature and scope of power within a collectivity. The democratic symbolic diverges from that of the *ancien régime* in that it renders the power to

32. Andrea Bear Nicholas, "Canada's colonial mission: The great white bird," In *Indian Education in Canada: A Study in Decolonization*, eds. K.P. Binda and Sharilyn Calliou, (Mississauga, Ont.: Canadian Educators' Press, 2001).

legitimate and authorize representations present and available to the people within a collectivity. In this way, access to sovereign power, and by extension, knowledge of the world and the capacity to establish laws, requires no intermediary. As Singer and Weir point out, this has the effect of decoupling power, law and knowledge; law and knowledge are freed to operate in spheres separate from the exertion of sovereign power (for example, scientific inquiry does not necessarily have to be sanctioned by the voting public to be considered valid). However, the ephemeral nature of 'the people,' the authorizing power in the democratic symbolic, is such that a claim to the power to govern may be made in its name, in this way opening the possibility of apparatuses of governance entirely separate from the domain of the decision-making privileges of the people.

This conceptualization of the democratic symbolic as emerging from the *ancien régime* and imagining individual autonomy in terms of individual access to sovereign power clarifies how democratic formations and ideas of peoplehood within this symbolic regime differed from those of other periods. The idea of democracy, or its functional realization in decision-making dispersed among members of a collectivity, is neither new nor monolithic. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy may be considered a democratic formation that existed within a symbolic regime very different from that of the period under consideration here. As Taiaiake Alfred points out,

> Indigenous perspectives offer alternatives, beginning with the restoration of a regime of respect. This ideal contrasts with the statist solution, still rooted in a classical notion of sovereignty that mandates a distributive rearrangement, but with a basic maintenance of the superior posture of the state. True indigenous formulations are non-intrusive and build frameworks of respectful coexistence by acknowledging the integrity and autonomy of the various constituent elements of the relationship.[33]

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33. Taiaiake Alfred, "Sovereignty," in *A Companion to American Indian History*, eds. Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2004), 471.

Formulations of individual autonomy can be other than that derived from the democratic

symbolic within which the individual remains a conduit for the expression of abstract ideals and

the interconnectedness of individuals is conceptualized primarily in relation to those ideals, for

example, via the mutual pursuit of self-interest. Contrary to the notion of a people as defined by

community - by being and living in relation to one another via kinship relations, proximity,

dialogic connections, etc.[34] - within the democratic symbolic emergent among Western

Europeans and the settler population in North America beginning in the eighteenth century 'the

people' was to be defined in relation to abstract and universalized conceptualizations of society.

Chapter one closes by using Charles Taylor's secularization thesis to specify ideas of

interconnectedness within the democratic symbolic that will be observed in documents related to

manual labour and industrial schooling for Indigenous children.

Chapter two shows how ideas of society in the Canadian context were formulated in

letters and policy documents that promoted manual labour and industrial schooling as a

cornerstone of a renewed policy related to Indigenous peoples by colonial administrators

including Peregrine Maitland, George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, H.C. Darling and John

Colborne. As Taylor suggests, the emergence of the idea of the individual as empowered to act in

and on the world according to the dictates of reason or their conscience, and through those

actions to realize an ideal society mirroring God's will, was gradual. Documents generated by

colonial administrators in the early nineteenth century suggest an adherence to an earlier view of

individuals as situated in society by virtue of their relation to the Crown and the sovereign power

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34. "It is in the nature of traditional indigenous political systems that power is not centralized, that compliance with authority is not coerced but voluntary, and that decision-making requires consensus. (In practice, these principles mean that contention is almost a natural state in indigenous politics!) … because there is both an inherent respect for the autonomy of the individual and a demand for general agreement, leadership is an exercise in patient persuasion." Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1999), 92.

of the Crown. However, one may also observe in those documents abstract ideals of the individual as achieving belonging through the demonstration of particular attributes and the mutuality of personal interests. Maitland argued for the application of humanitarian principles to British relations with Indigenous peoples and tied his proposals to the promotion of characteristics such as land ownership, conversion to Christianity and general usefulness to society. Maitland, Dalhousie, Darling and Colborne also raised the centrality of recognizing and pursuing one's own personal interests and Maitland and Dalhousie invoked society and the development of particular characteristics to become members of society and even to become "social".

Chapter three focuses on the role of philanthropic societies in the promotion of educational reform and manual labour and industrial boarding schools for Indigenous youth. Within the emerging democratic symbolic, the authority of society and the idea of sovereign power as imminent to society[35] means that political power is no longer simply the power to govern from a position of authority, but to assert what 'society' will be. As Lefort points out, it is not that political institutions, by speaking on behalf of society, adopted the transcendental traditions of their religious predecessors, as is suggested by Tocqueville. Order and stability are imagined not through the positioning of individuals within a hierarchical order but in the reformulation of the individual. Philanthropic organizations promoting ideas of social reformation and social engineering conceived of and fostered institutional regimes that would reconstitute society by focusing on the individual. In the period under consideration here, such organizations were primarily the dominion of the colonial elite. Their efforts often targeted

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35. Brian C. J. Singer, and Lorna Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power: Considerations on Foucault." *European Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 4 (2006): 454.

children, who had by this point come to be seen as nascent individuals in need of protection and development and emphasized segregation from negative influences through restriction to the nuclear family, educational institutions or asylums. The conceptualization of education as a means of integrating children into society through segregation from community, the cultivation of individual characteristics and knowledge of abstract ideals demonstrates how peoplehood was by this period already understood to be forged not through meaningful, real-time interpersonal connection but through the conduit of one's individuality. Chapter three will consider how philanthropic organizations such as the Society for the Promotion of Education and Industry among the Indians and Destitute Settlers in Canada articulated ideas of social order and belonging and how transformed ideas of childhood were reflected in educational reform initiatives and in the conceptualization of manual labour and industrial boarding schools. It will also address how children and adults who had not been subjected to this regime of reform were framed in non-human terms, often as animals living in a state of degradation, an idea that would lay the groundwork for acceptance of dehumanization within later schools.

Chapter four centers on tensions between Methodists and Anglicans as demonstrating the transitional period between the *ancien régime* and democratic symbolic. As the nineteenth century wore on, the hold of the Anglican Church on religious life in Upper Canada was weakening. The Methodists did not see themselves as reformers or desirous of undermining the authority of Crown or Church but rather as promoting stability and the status quo by asserting that Christian members of society would naturally submit to and realize the authority of the government. Nonetheless, this idea of social order and the maintenance of the status quo as stemming from personal salvation rather than deference to authority, of more immediate access to the word of God (for example, in the idea of lay proselytizing), and of the personal and

emotional nature of religious connection and experience differentiated Methodists from Anglicans. That the Anglican establishment increasingly saw the Methodists in Upper Canada as partners in, and necessary to efforts among Indigenous peoples speaks to how the Anglican view of the social order was changing, even if they took measures to promote the activities of the more conservative British Wesleyans in the province.

In the fifth chapter, I delve more deeply into the Methodist understanding of personal salvation through the work of Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby). Jones was the child of a Mississauga mother and Welsh father who lived primarily among the Mississauga as a youth, later becoming a Methodist convert and serving as a Methodist missionary as well as chief of the Mississauga of New Credit. His view of the necessity of conversion and of Indigenous individuals pre-conversion, as well as full adoption of European customs such as private property ownership was complex and did not cleave entirely to that of his Methodist brethren. However, his sermons, speeches and letters suggest that he had fully adopted the idea of conversion as the primary source of social order, and he promoted manual labour and industrial schools as the best means to conversion and survival within the context of colonization. For Gauchet, the reordering of the symbolic regime articulated in the work of Lefort entailed situating the source of disorder and chaos within the self. This effectuates what Gauchet describes as a fracture in being whereby one's thoughts, desires and inclinations must be treated as an object of possible betrayal and a site of scrutiny. The self is to be understood as a site of social pathology and therefore the object of interventions productive of social order not primarily in the external disciplining of the person but in through an internal sanctification. This tension between internal purification and the disciplining of the body through "clean living," labour, habituation, routine, and the like was to be a theme in debates over the form and function of manual labour and industrial schools.

The focal point of the sixth chapter is the report of the Bagot Commission, 1842-1844, whose recommendations in favor of manual labour and industrial boarding schools were couched in the language of natural law and the pursuit of self-interest. In their reports and recommendations, the Commissioners cited settlement and land usurpation as inevitable according to the "natural laws of society," suggesting that the dictates of natural law superseded those of any other authority and constituted for settlers not only a justification for claiming Indigenous land and subjecting inhabitants to reformatory interventions, but an obligation to do so. Citing the work of Emer de Vattel, humanity and "mankind in general" were invoked as the beneficiaries of settlement, pursuit of private interests and self-perfection. The Commissioners reflected Vattel's notion that self-perfection was to be accomplished through productivity and that the pursuit of self-interest was the basis of social order and coherence. Recommendations included the extension of civil privileges to Indians but only if they ceased entirely to live according to non-European customs. The Commissioners argued that customs such as the use of English or adoption of English dress were insufficient if not paired with private property ownership. In keeping with Vattel's argument of self-perfection, the buying and selling of goods and the products of one's labours, and the need to protect one's private property and savings would bind Indigenous individuals to one another and to settlers in a finger trap of mutual dependency. The society Vattel and the Commissioners imagine aligns with what Taylor calls the "society of mutual benefit," individuals united in a collectivity not through tradition, shared culture, kinship, natural sympathies, or a sense of responsibility for others but by the exchange and protection of privately owned goods. Further, by attributing this obligation to maintain a network of exchange relations to "mankind in general," adherents delegitimized any claim to peoplehood or even humanity on behalf of those who resisted property-based dependencies.

Chapter seven tracks the final steps toward and first decade of operation of Mount Elgin Industrial Institute. Letters and reports written by Samuel Rose, the first principal of the institution show that the focus in the school was on strictly imposed and maintained routine, habituation and isolation. Rose's statements on the latter reflected the idea of the children's parents and communities as a pollution discussed in chapter three. In his reports, one can observe a transition from the idealization of goals and structure of the institution in the early years to disillusionment stemming from the reality of the reaction of the children to being institutionalized, persistent community questions and concerns, years of under-funding, and lack of support and communication from both church and colonial offices. Frustration with dealing with the colonial bureaucracy is a frequent theme in Rose's letters. In theory, the schools were designed to realize the autonomy of the individual such that they might pursue self-perfection as outlined in chapters five and six; in reality, the first decade of operations at Mount Elgin show how within the actual institution, students became a "population" to be governed. This disjuncture between theory and practice speaks to the unmooring of sovereign power from governmental power within the democratic symbolic. If in theory, the schools were to prepare individuals for participation in the civil sphere as a member of the Canadian public, in practice they specified conditions under which individuals could be subject to the disciplinary power of the state - namely where those individuals were not white and resisted private property ownership as the basis of social connectedness, among other indicators.

Methodological Approach

I focus in this dissertation on early instances of residential schools in Upper Canada (manual labour and industrial boarding schools) because these were the schools that formed the

basis for the 1879 Davin Report, which prompted broad federal deployment of the institution. Though the earliest missionary boarding schools for Indigenous children existed in the seventeenth century,[36] there was a significant break between these early Jesuit institutions and their nineteenth-century variants. This dissertation begins with the earliest policy documents and letters promoting such institutions in nineteenth-century Upper Canada, by which time manual labour and industrial schools had come into fashion in Europe and North America.

The analysis presented in this dissertation is limited to the consideration of two groups of documents generated between the 1820s and 1860s. The first group of documents relate to industrial or manual labour schools for Indigenous children in general, that is, discussions of these schools in the abstract, relating to any such school then in existence, or to the possibilities of industrial and manual labour schooling in general. This includes commissions on behalf of the British government, reports of missionary organizations, articles in publications such as the *Christian Guardian* and the *Journal of Education*, petitions on behalf of Indigenous peoples, and letters written by representatives of Indigenous peoples, missionary and religious organizations, and the British government.

The second group of documents relate to Mount Elgin Industrial Institute from when it was merely an idea through to the first decade of its operations. Mount Elgin Industrial School was one of a small number of schools that served as models for the later federal system of residential schools, and that included the Mohawk Institute which was run by the New England Company on behalf of the Church of England, Alnwick at Alderville, also run by the Methodists, and the Jesuit-run Wikwemikong. All of these were boarding schools that combined the requirement of labour with a more classically oriented education. Mount Elgin was selected

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36. Milloy, *A National Crime*, 13-14.

because it was often invoked in colonial and missionary documents as a model of how industrial schools should be run. A second reason for the selection of Mount Elgin was due to its association with Peter Jones and the Credit River Mississauga, who were similarly regularly referenced in arguments for manual labour and industrial schooling for Indigenous children. During the period under consideration in this dissertation, children at the school came from the Deshkaan Ziibing Anishinaabeg (Chippewas of the Thames First Nation), the Anishinaabeg living at St. Clair, the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, the Aamjiwnaang First Nation (Chippewas of Sarnia First Nation), the Odawa and Potawatomi people living among the Anishinaabeg at Sarnia, the Bkejwanong First Nation (Walpole Island First Nation), which included Anishinaabeg, Odawa and Potawatomi people, and the Eelünaapéewi Lahkéewiit (Lunaapeew People of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown). Mt. Elgin was promoted by prominent missionaries, including Jones and Egerton Ryerson. For all these reasons, the documents pertaining to it represent a variety of populations in Upper Canada during the early- to mid-nineteenth century and facilitated an investigation of discourses related not only to the institutions in the abstract but in their concrete specifics.

Coding was used to identify themes in the documents selected.[37] From the outset of this project, the ideational foundation of residential schooling was approached both historically and sociologically, with the goal of analyzing historical documents and situating those documents within an appropriate historical context but also extracting generalizations about social processes through this analysis. Initial coding was guided by the research question and by a particular interest in how religious beliefs inform social and political organization and in the intersection of

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37. Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, "Strategies for Qualitative Data Analysis," in *Basics of Qualitative Research (3rd ed.): Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008).

the political and the religious in social change over time.

Open coding was employed to identify themes in the documents, resulting in 79 codes.[38] These codes were organized into ten categories (see Appendix A - Coding: Initial Categories). Two categories not directly related to the research question ("Death" and "Resistance and Contradiction") were removed prior to the second round of coding. One category was modified during the second round of coding ("Statements of religious belief" became "Bible as the best system of morals" as the latter more accurately captured the items included within that category). The second stage of analysis involved returning to the documents with the remaining eight categories as a guide. This time, the number of codes falling under these categories rose to 150, with some codes including sub-codes (see Appendix B - Coding: Round Two Categories). Colored tabs were assigned categories and used to indicate that a word, sentence, or section within a document related to that category. A numbering system was used to assign tabs to codes or sub-codes within the categories.

During and after the second round of coding, themes within the codes and categories were identified by analyzing the context of the categories and relating the categories to one another.[39] An initial theory that a religiously motivated transformation in conceptualizations of the subject would inform arguments for manual labour and industrial boarding schools was supported by the coding process. A second hypothesis that rationalization would be the dominant theme in relation to the subject was not supported by the coding process, and themes related to peoplehood and preparation of Indigenous people for civic participation were more dominant than was anticipated. Prior to the initiation of the coding process, Marcel Gauchet was the

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38. Corbin and Strauss, "Strategies for Qualitative," 160-161.
39. Julianne S. Oktay, *Grounded Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

primary theorist informing the theoretical framework of the study. The second round of coding

suggested that Claude Lefort's analysis of democratization and the relationship between

symbolic representations of peoplehood and the positioning of the subject vis-a-vis those

representations was better aligned with emergent themes. A discrepancy was identified among

the documents under consideration between the need for discipline and the formation of habits

and the need for Indigenous people *not* to act according to habit but to act on the basis of

understanding and acceptance of the relevant precepts (for example, the importance of property

ownership). Attitudes toward discipline were initially attributed primarily to the religious and

social context of the individual asserting the idea and to a transition from hierarchical ways of

thinking and operating to less hierarchical ways. However, the Bagot Commission, essentially

the culminating document of the documents under consideration, prioritized discipline and

habituation, which was inconsistent with the development of ideas related to peoplehood and

civic participation that had taken place in the Canadas more broadly between 1820 and 1860. In

addition, the commissioners framed their view of Indigenous people vis-a-vis the Canadian state

and their recommendations using the language of natural law, a category I had identified during

the coding process but that continued to trouble a theoretical framework informed mainly by

Lefort.

These doubts and questions prompted a return to philosophical and theoretical literature

and ultimately to the work of Charles Taylor. Taylor's treatise *Sources of the Self* and the notion

of an "expressivist self-understanding"[40] as a counterpoint to the "ethic of rational control"[41] was

initially helpful in understanding how these two frameworks might co-exist and have related,

40. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989), 106.
41. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 152.

though separate trajectories and in disentangling their threads within the documents under consideration for this dissertation. Taylor's identification of competing approaches to social unity grounded in divergent conceptions of human nature within a more general transition toward social solidarity via mutual benefit, as articulated in *A Secular Age*, was consistent with competing themes within categories that had emerged during the process of coding.

Throughout this dissertation, Max Weber's concept of the ideal type is used in reference to broad descriptors such as the "democratic symbolic" or "society of mutual benefit." The ideal type is a means by which to respond to the methodological problems posed by the evaluative standpoint of the researcher, the ordering of the world as primarily subjective, and the irreducibility of the social world to a set of laws. Because neutrality is impossible in a discipline organized around practical problems, evaluative standpoints must be made explicit: "An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild)."[42] The ideal type is not a model of what should be, nor are the distortions of social reality arbitrary: "their falseness is a reflection of the observer's rootedness in time and space, and not the product of an artistic falsification."[43] Ideal types function, rather, as a comparative tool by which the researcher attempts to ascertain whether their judgment of significance bears a relationship to 'historical reality.'[44] Discrepancies between the meaning attributed to an ideal type by a researcher and the ascription of meaning by

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42. Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, trans. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch (New York: Free Press, 1997), 90.
43. Ahmad Sadri, *Max Weber's Sociology of Intellectuals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 15.
44. Weber, *Methodology*, 92-93.

an individual or group offers valuable insights. The failure of the social world to 'live up' to the ideal type is not a failure of the ideal type, or of the concept as it existed but a means by which to understand the complexity of social and political life.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

In this dissertation, I will argue that discourses related to the introduction of industrial and manual labour boarding schools for Indigenous children reflected a social imaginary productive of democratization, but not because the schools successfully integrated Indigenous peoples as rights bearing individuals. The rights gained by First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples both within the context of the Canadian political system and in terms of the assertion of sovereign rights have been hard fought and gained (or preserved) through persistent pressure on the Canadian government and settler population. Here, democratization is understood sociologically; political practices reflected a symbolic reorganization also associated with expanded participation in collective decision-making.[1] In what follows, I will draw upon the work of Claude Lefort, Marcel Gauchet and Charles Taylor in establishing both the historical and ideational context of the period under consideration and how I will apply key terms including democratization, symbolic representations, and society.

I will begin by reviewing Durkheim's conceptualization of collective representations and the expansion of the concept in the work of Lefort and Gauchet to address symbolic regimes as that which constitute the conditions of possibility for something like a collective representation. I will then turn to the work of Charles Taylor, whose investigation of ideas of the self and of exclusive humanism provides a framework for understanding the articulation of society, salvation, and self-interest in the following chapters. I conclude the chapter by considering how race intersected with the democratic symbolic in the period under consideration.

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1. In this dissertation, I am focusing on democracy in the context of Western Europe and Upper Canada as a British colony. Democracies have existed in other times and places, including among Indigenous peoples prior to colonization. A similar, though not the same, analysis could be applied, the general argument being that political practices express and rely upon particular social configurations.

Durkheim and Collective Representations

In order to maintain their unity, social systems have historically required symbolic representations of the source of legitimacy of concepts, relations of power, norms and behaviors. These representations are referred to not only in asserting the validity of key norms, relations and concepts but in constituting the group to whom those norms, relations and concepts apply, and in providing a mechanism for identification with that group. Symbolic representations that are used to legitimate claims, power relations and behaviors are representations of something external to, or greater than the empirical substance of a social system. This source of legitimacy grounds, and is referred to in asserting key claims, norms, hierarchies, and so forth because it is understood to be an authority that is beyond reproof (reason, natural law, God, organizing principles, time immemorial, and so forth). In addition, as will be described in more detail below, the very structure of those representations provides the framework for the organization of social relations.

Symbolic representations are not necessarily required to preserve the unity of a social system. I will also not here argue for the actual substance of those sources of authority.[2] Taylor warns against the application of the procedures of the natural sciences to fundamentally moral and subjective questions because such a move renders the procedures and methods of the natural sciences the grounds of legitimacy of any claims to moral correctness.[3] Those with faith in a

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2. For Durkheim, sociology constitutes the process of understanding the building blocks of collectivities such that it is possible to reconstruct more positive, unified and intentional societies from the ashes of excessively differentiated and anomic modern societies (Emile Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, trans. D. F. Pocock (New York: The Free Press, 1974), 65, 67, 76. Though he did not suggest sociology as a science was at a point where it could be applied to dictating what *should* happen, as opposed to what *does* happen. "If the science of *morals and law*, as we are trying to make it, were sufficiently advanced, it would be able to play in relation to moral facts the same role that astronomy plays in relation to astronomical facts. One would go to it in order to discover in what moral life consists. But this science of morality is only now being born, and the theories of philosophers coincide so little with our intentions, so little do they set themselves the object that we have in view, that they are unanimously opposed to our way of looking at and studying moral facts. They cannot, then, serve us as authorities in the same way" (Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 76).

3. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard

higher power - God, gods, a spirit world, etc. - will feel the presence of a higher truth or calling,

and I take no stance for or against the existence of such things, nor for the possible accuracy or

inaccuracy of representations of these. While it may be possible to slip the question of actual

sources of, or even the existence of Truth or other ordering principles, it is necessary to address

the question of how symbolic representations are generated.

In his theorization of collective representations, Durkheim argues that they are, "the

product of a vast cooperative effort that extends not only through space but over time; their

creation has involved a multitude of different minds associating, mingling, combining their ideas

and feelings - the accumulation of generations of experience and knowledge."[4] Generated by

society itself, collective representations represent truths about collective organization

inaccessible to individual consciousness, except through their systematic study in the tradition he

established.[5]

> When we said elsewhere that social facts are in a sense independent of individuals and exterior to individual minds, we only affirmed of the social world what we have just established for the psychic world. Society has for its substratum the mass of associated individuals…. The representations which form the network of social life arise from the relations between the individuals thus combined or the secondary groups that are between the individuals and the total society. If there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that individual representations, produced by the action and reaction between neural elements, are not inherent in these elements, there is nothing surprising in the fact that collective representations, produced by the action and reaction between individual minds that form the society, do not derive directly from the latter and consequently surpass them.[6]

In some descriptions, such representations are the manifestation of the mutual interests,

expectations and obligations (what Durkheim speaks of as moral rules)[7] that bind individuals

University Press, 1989), 7.

4. Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

5. Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 38, 84, 93, 95.

6. Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 24-25.

7. Emile Durkheim, "Division of Labor in Society: Conclusion," in *On Morality and Society*, ed. Robert N. Bellah, trans. George Simpson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 135-136.

together into a society - "… an anticipated representation of a desired result whose realization is possible only thanks to this very anticipation…".[8] Even in highly secularized environments, collective representations may be imbued with special significance, rendering them "sacred" in comparison to the mundane or profane world of everyday life.[9] Whether they represent the experience of collective existence (more in the spirit of what Durkheim calls effervescence)[10] or normative expectations, they surpass, and cannot be generated by isolated, individual consciousnesses, rather expressing the "collective force"[11] in such a way as to continually reassert and reimpress upon the individual participation in the collective conscience.[12]

Durkheim's framework is fundamentally evolutionary.[13] In societies he described as less complex and less segmented, unity was derived from interpersonal experiences and collective experiences generative of shared ideals. In more complex and differentiated societies, social solidarity must derive from other sources, namely the interdependence of roles and professional associations.[14] Ultimately, he argued, this change would be to our benefit:

> If, moreover, we remember that the collective conscience is becoming more and more a cult of the individual, we shall see that what characterizes the morality of organized societies, compared to that of segmental societies, is that there is something more human, therefore more rational, about them. It does not direct our activities to ends which do not immediately concern us; it does not make us servants of ideal powers of a nature other

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8. Durkheim, "Division of Labor in Society," 124.

9. "From another point of view, however, collective representations originate only when they are embodied in material objects, things, or beings of every sort - figures, movements, sounds, words, and so on - that symbolize and delineate them in some outward appearance. For it is only by expressing their feelings, by translating them into signs, by symbolizing them externally, that the individual consciousnesses, which are, by nature, closed to each other, can feel that they are communicating and are in unison. The things that embody the collective representations arouse the same feelings as do the mental states that they represent and, in a manner of speaking, materialize. They, too, are respected, feared, and sought after as helping powers. Consequently, they are not placed on the same plane as the vulgar things that interest only our physical individualities, but are set apart from them" (Emile Durkheim, "The Dualism of Human Nature and Its Social Conditions," in *On Morality and Society*, ed. Robert N. Bellah, trans. George Simpson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 160.)

10. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 157-8.

11. Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 55.

12. Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 91-92.

13. For example, Emile Durkheim. "Progressive Preponderance of Organic Solidarity," in *On Morality and Society*, ed. Robert N. Bellah, trans. George Simpson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973).

14. Emile Durkheim, "Organic Solidarity and Contractual Solidarity," in *On Morality and Society*, ed. Robert N. Bellah, trans. George Simpson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 90.

than our own, which follow their directions without occupying themselves with the interests of men. It only asks that we be thoughtful of our fellows and that we be just, that we fulfill our duty, that we work at the function we can best execute, and receive the just reward for our services. The rules which constitute it do not have a constraining force which snuffs out free thought; but, because they are rather made for us and, in a certain sense, by us, we are free.[15]

While in Durkheim's view, there is much to be gained from increasing social complexity, there is also a loss of experiences of unity and belonging as a result of the breakdown of social features that had played an integrative function, such as symbolic representations and their associated rites and social practices, and a lag in implementing new sources of unity and mechanisms for productively resolving social conflict. Social breakdown occurs when advanced differentiation is such that we no longer feel bound to a recognizably shared social ideal:[16] "Profound changes have been produced in the structure of our societies in a very short time… Accordingly, the morality which corresponds to this social type has regressed, but without another developing quickly enough to fill the ground the first left vacant in our consciences."[17] One result of this is anomie, as analyzed in *Suicide*.[18] Another is the despotic imposition of laws that constitute the norms of individual conventions.[19] However much we may realize these negative consequences, Durkheim argues that to attempt to revive the integrative social practices of the past would be to

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15. Durkheim, "Division of Labor in Society," 144.
16. Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 53, 112. "To be a member of the society is… to be bound to the social ideal. There is a little of this ideal in each one of us…. When the social ideal is a particular form of the ideal of humanity, when the type of citizen blends to a great extent with the generic type of man, it is to man as such that we find ourselves bound…. When one loves one's country or humanity one cannot see one's fellows suffer without suffering oneself and without feeling a desire to help them. But what binds us morally to others is nothing intrinsic in their empirical individuality; it is the superior end of which they are the servants and instruments." See Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 53. "Men cannot live together without acknowledging, and, consequently, making mutual sacrifices, without tying themselves to one another with strong, durable bonds. Every society is a moral society." See Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, 112.
17. Durkheim, "Division of Labor in Society," 145. See also Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 322.
18. For example, "Anomy, therefore, is a regular and specific factor in suicide in our modern societies… In anomic suicide, society's influence is lacking in the basically individual passions, thus leaving them without check-rein" (Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1951), 258.)
19. Durkheim, "Organic Solidarity," 97-99.

return to a more conformist time and to falsely recreate obsolete gods.[20]

I admire both Durkheim's determination to move past critique alone and establish grounds for mutual understanding and collaboration and will maintain many elements of his analysis of symbolic representation. However, while the form and function of collective representations have undoubtedly changed over time, I reject the association of values such as increased freedom or greater desirability with changes that have occurred and dismiss evolutionary approaches to the understanding of social legitimation. Conformism and discrimination are associated with, though not necessary outcomes of, inherent elements of liberalism and democracy. The approach I will take to the investigation of elements of the Canadian social formation is genealogical in the sense of identifying points of convergence and transmission without imputing an assumption of progress or improvement[21] or adopting a teleological view of change over time as movement toward a more advanced state.

Durkheim understands symbolic representations as mechanisms through which the "moral ideals on which social order rests" are rendered capable of understanding.[22] They are generated in times of heightened emotion and feeling of unity among a group - a state Durkheim calls "effervescence."[23] Concepts such as humanity, freedom or rationality are not analyzed as themselves symbolic representations productive of their own set of relations and potentials for destabilization. Durkheim does not pursue the possibility that the challenges of anomie and

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20. "The communion of spirits can no longer be based on definite rites and prejudices, since rites and prejudices are overcome by the course of events. Consequently, nothing remains which men can love and honor in common if not man himself. That is how man has become a god for man and why he can no longer create other gods without lying to himself. See Emile Durkheim, "Individualism and the Intellectuals," in *On Morality and Society*, ed. Robert N. Bellah, trans. Mark Traugott, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 52.
21. I adopt Foucault's meaning of genealogy here. Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984 Vol. 3,* ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: The New Press, 1994).
22. Lise Ann Tole, "Durkheim on Religion and Moral Community in Modernity," *Sociological Inquiry* 63, no. 1 (1993): 10.
23. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 157-8.

despotism could derive from an abstract and universalized social ideal or with misdirected efforts to reinstitute less abstract and generic representations of unity in conceptualizations of self-perfection.[24]

In the following section, I will review Claude Lefort's theorization of symbolic representation, and will argue that it expands upon useful attributes of Durkheim's approach without placing symbolic representations in an evolutionary framework. I will then show how Charles Taylor's study of secularization as the emergence of a repertory of options adds a clarifying dimension to Lefort's framework.

Clastres, Lefort and Gauchet and Symbolic Representations

As with Durkheim, Lefort shows how representations bridge the gap between thought and action, and between the individual and the collective. For both Durkheim and Lefort, they are used to account for how we, as individuals, reproduce and act within frameworks we do not generate individually and of which we may not be explicitly aware. However, Lefort focuses on the relational nature of symbolic representation and the implications of such representations for collective organization. For Lefort, symbolic representations do more than give expression to a state of social being inaccessible to individuals within a collectivity.[25] By asserting a relationship between individuals, what can be known and how we can know it, symbolic relations shape the nature of collective life. A symbolic regime refers not to the collection of signs and symbols that represent observable elements of social life (what a family is, who makes decisions) and the physical world (a tree, what makes a tree grow, why we have these and not other trees) or non-observable elements of life (what is God, what is our purpose on earth) but the nature of the

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24. "It is humanity which is worthy of respect and sacred" (Durkheim, "Individualism and the Intellectuals," 48).
25. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power," 453.

relationship between signs and symbols, the social, physical and metaphysical world they represent, and the status of the individual relative to this configuration. The symbolic regime shapes individual relations to the social, physical, and metaphysical world by dictating access; that is to say, by dictating whether individuals have immediate access to knowledge of, or control over the social, physical and metaphysical world or whether there is some barrier that renders the intercession of an intermediary, or reference to a higher authority necessary.[26]

For Lefort, the symbolic dimension of "the way humans establish a relation with the world"[27] establishes a relation with difference that reverberates through individual and collective life. Within a particular symbolic regime, the world may be represented as open to the individual in the sense of being interpretable, understandable, and available to direct manipulation; in other cases, some version of this access is reserved for special intermediaries or not available to humans at all. Symbolic representations are generative[28] insofar as they establish: "a principle of internalization which can account for a specific mode of differentiation and articulation between classes, groups and social ranks, and, at the same time, for a specific mode of discrimination between markers – economic, juridical, aesthetic, religious markers – which order the experience of coexistence."[29] In this, Lefort was building on the scholarship of his friend and predecessor, Pierre Clastres.[30] Clastres's observations of the Guayaki people in Paraguay had led him to conclude that hierarchical relations of domination and subordination can be refused through the strict maintenance of both unity and autonomy at all levels:[31]

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26. Note that I am not making a claim to our actual access to knowledge of the perceivable world.
27. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 222.
28. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 198-199.
29. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 218.
30. Natalie Doyle, "Democracy as Socio-Cultural Project of Individual and Collective Sovereignty: Claude Lefort, Marcel Gauchet and the French Debate on Modern Autonomy," Thesis Eleven 75 (2003): 69-95; Moyn, Samuel, "Claude Lefort, Political Anthropology, and Symbolic Division," *Constellations*, 19 no. 1 (2012): 37-50.
31. Pierre Clastres, *Archaeology of Violence*, trans. Jeanine Herman (New York: Semiotext(e): 1994), 154.

> Together the community gathers and goes beyond the diverse units that constitute it, most often inscribed along the axis of kinship, by integrating them into a whole: elementary and extended families, lineages, clans, moieties, etc., but also, for example, military societies, ceremonial brotherhoods, age groups, etc. The community is thus more than the sum of its groups, and this establishes it as a political unity.[32]

It was not simply the case that the structure of collective existence among the Guayaki was non-hierarchical, but that it was organized in such a way as to resist hierarchization. This was accomplished, Clastres argued, by situating the political outside of society, thereby resisting the intrusion of power into the space of social life. An absence of coercion and hierarchization therefore entails neither the absence of power nor the absence of a political structure. The primary attributes of leadership - oratorical talent, generosity, and polygyny - existed in a non-reciprocal relationship with society.[33] That these three foundational attributes of the group (women, goods, and signs) were represented in the leader but held at a distance suggested, for Clastres, that models for how the social group related to political power were operational at the level of the unconscious.[34]

Lefort, along with his student Marcel Gauchet, expanded upon this insight by articulating a symbolic constitution of the political. For the Guayaki and other indigenous peoples to resist the development and imposition of the state on the basis of the threat posed by power, they would have had to pre-emptively realize the structure and effect of something yet to be instituted.[35] To overcome this conundrum, Lefort postulated symbolic division as playing a constitutive role in collectivities generally. The symbolic division references a division between

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32. Ibid., 153.
33. Ibid., 37.
34. Ibid., 42.
35. Moyn, *"Claude Lefort,"* 44.

a collectivity and representations of itself, representations that stand for and render not only comprehensible but present and active principles of organization and self-understanding. The symbolic regime - a particular configuration of such representations in their specific relation to a collectivity - is tied to, and constitutive of power, law and knowledge.[36] In Gauchet's view, the symbolic division stemmed (and stems) from a "transformative nonacceptance of things" characteristic of the human relation to the world (i.e. to nature, other individuals, objects, etc.).[37] Faced with a world full of people and forces impossible to comprehend or control, humans adopt a "confrontational posture towards things as they are, making it structurally impossible… to entrench themselves and settle down…"[38]. Because a confrontational posture toward the world is unsustainable, humans institutionalize themselves "against themselves",[39] resisting a purely combative relationship with nature and one another by positing an order within which the individual agents have a place and a role, and the chaos of the external world is at least accounted for.[40] What Clastres terms "the principle of unity of the collectivity,"[41] highly significant representations of norms, ideals, and beliefs around which the group coheres, Gauchet describes as "religious exteriority" or the instituting principle – the Law determined by a primordial order, the dictates of an approachable god, the dictates of a transcendent God, and so forth.[42]

     If the symbolic represents a division between the internal and the external (the knowable

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36. Brian C. J. Singer, and Lorna Weir, "Sovereignty, Governance and the Political: The Problematic of Foucault," *Thesis Eleven* 94 (2008): 54.
37. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 22.
38. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 22.
39. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 22.
40. In this way, Gauchet's argument is not unlike Weber's theory of the transformative power of the theodicy of suffering, or the necessity to explain unpredictable and tragic events in the face of a belief in powerful gods (Max Weber, "Social Psychology of the World Religions," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).)
41. Clastres, *Archaeology of Violence*, 155.
42. Gauchet, *Disenchantment,* 11, 13.

and unknowable, visible and invisible, representable and unrepresentable, self and other, etc.),

where that boundary lies has profound implications for the structuring of social space and for the

principles of internalization alluded to above. Taiaiake Alfred's description of the stewardship

principle in indigenous philosophies, in contrast to state-based conceptualizations of sovereignty,

points toward the significance of the symbolic division:

> Indigenous philosophies are premised on the belief that earth was created by a power
> external to human beings, who have a responsibility to act as stewards; since humans had
> no hand in making the earth, they have no right to 'possess' it or dispose of it as they see
> fit - possession of land by man is unnatural and unjust. The stewardship principle,
> reflecting a spiritual connection with the land established by the Creator, gives human
> beings special responsibilities within the areas they occupy as indigenous peoples, linking
> them in a 'natural' way to their territories."[43]

Alfred describes a division between the power of the Creator and the humans who live on, and

from the land given to them by the Creator that is absolute. It is not for humans to interpret the

will of, or act on behalf of the Creator but to protect and take responsibility for what has been

created. Such a conceptualization does not imply a status of unchangeability but rather an

alternative to a symbolic regime such as that of the *ancien régime* within which certain

individuals embody God's will on earth and thereby wield the power of God's word - sovereign

power - over others.

Much of this dissertation will be focused on the transition from the symbolic architecture

of the *ancien régime*, in the unstable and weakened form we find it in early nineteenth-century

Upper Canada, to that of democratic power. Within the *ancien régime*, the personhood of the

reigning monarch took on particular symbolic significance, as described in detail in Ernst

Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies* and analyzed with particular reference to the political by

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43. Alfred, *Peace, Power*, 60-61.

Singer and Weir.[44] Insofar as the monarch was understood to be specially tasked with representing God's will on earth, "(1) he renders the divine will present by representing it and (2) he sees his power as a reflection of divine power, that is, he represents himself as, relatively, all-powerful, all-knowing, and the embodiment of the law (and, with his thaumaturgic powers, a dispenser of miracles)."[45] The symbolic divide was no longer between the members of the collectivity and a legitimating authority or Creator, rendering the absolute externality of that founding principle. Gauchet points out that this re-organized relationship between the invisible and the visible, a relation of both absolute separation and involved imposition, is replicated at every level of the social relation.[46] The separate ruling power shows its separation from its subordinates by establishing, and continuously expanding, an insurmountable distance from, and authority over, its subjects.[47] Where the indivisibility of the social body had (paradoxically) maintained the autonomy of the social body itself and the various sub-units of the collectivity (the family, clan, etc.), the separation of the ruling power (the god, ruler and law) from the collectivity produces "the sameness holding them together…".[48] As Gauchet writes, "In the eyes of the system of domination, those dominated are all the same. In comparison to the overwhelming splendor of the despot, the appendages pale into significance."[49]

Within the democratic symbolic, the participation of everyday individuals in making decisions for the collective, seeking and asserting the truth of knowledge about the world, and establishing norms and rules that govern behavior is accomplished through a weakening of the divisions that characterized previous regimes. The world is laid bare to scientific inquiry, the

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44. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1957); Singer and Weir "Politics and Sovereign Power."
45. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power," 453.
46. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 38.
47. Ibid., 36.
48. Ibid., 38.
49. Ibid., 41.

people refer only to themselves in asserting the legitimacy of political decisions; a reference to something external to society is not necessary to legitimate law, knowledge or power and indeed modern democracy is a regime which shows power to be an empty place.[50] If the "place of power" had in previous regimes represented something external to the collective that authorized claims to knowledge and was understood as the basis of law, within the democratic symbolic, that "place" dissipates in its distribution throughout society. Lefort writes that,

> Modern democracy testifies to a highly specific shaping [*mise en forme*] of society, and we would try in vain to find models for it in the past, even though it is not without its heritage. The new determination-representation of the place of power bears witness to its shaping. And it is certainly this distinctive feature that designates the political.[51]

The abstract notion of the power of legitimation as dispersed among the members of a collectivity is only possible where individuals are understood to be standing in a position of influence relative to their social world and physical world as individuals – that is to say that each individual is understood as capable of exerting influence over society as a whole. As Taylor establishes in detail in *A Secular Age*, this requires adoption of the notion that the "overall schema" of the collectivity is generated (and therefore legitimated) by the collectivity itself. In order for individuals to assume an activist stance in relation to the social world, it must be possible for them to adopt the point of view of humanity in general.[52] Instead of a symbolic representation of an external force legitimating the social formation, participants in democratic social formations must recognize that the collectivity itself grounds the authority of laws, norms, etc., and must therefore be capable of taking up the perspective of an abstractly conceived 'people[53].'

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50. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 225.
51. Ibid., 224-225.
52. Ibid., 13.
53. Ibid., 225.

For Lefort, the empty place of power raises the spectre of crisis. While the absence of a representation of a legitimating source of authority is productive of more openly expansive participation in decision-making, it can be experienced as anonymity, absence, "void."[54] In his assessment of Tocqueville's analysis of American democracy, Lefort writes that everything portrayed by the trajectory of the novel and literature in Tocqueville's day is an index of the new mode of individual existence within democracies:

> …giving one's thoughts their due, agreeing to live with them, accepting conflict and internal contradictions, granting one's thoughts a kind of equality (no matter whether they are noble or base, no matter whether they take shape under the aegis of knowledge or passion, as a result of contacts with people or with things), and accepting that the inner-outer distinction has become blurred. The emergence of the individual does not merely mean that he is destined to control his own destiny; he has also been dispossessed of his assurance as to his identity… from the possibility of attaching himself to a legitimate authority.[55]

Where there is not a chain of being securing our place and role in the collectivity, the individual may feel adrift and seek new mechanisms for reinstituting such a source of assurance.[56]

A second, and related problematic is that the uncoupling of power, law and knowledge allows for governance of a population to exist as a domain largely separate from the exertion of sovereign power. Within the democratic symbolic, those moments when the people of a democracy come together to assert sovereign power are relatively infrequent and constituted largely in the action of voting. Day-to-day governance of the population derives not from the assertion of sovereign power but from tactics based in special knowledge of the population and

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54. Ibid., 172.
55. Ibid., 180.
56. The basis for ideology as the reinstantiation of the symbolic representation of the foundation of authority by claiming authority to represent the view of the whole (Ibid., 232-234).

the most effective mechanisms of management of that population.[57] It is of course the case that the legitimacy to govern is derived from the sanction of the sovereign, but the development of governance as a domain of expertise gives rise to the claim to know the people better than they know themselves.

Lefort's analysis of the role of the symbolic in shaping social organization and relations within a collectivity provides a framework for understanding how institutions such as residential schools for Indigenous children could arise at the same time as the institutions of democracy were being set in place in British North America. The transition to the democratic symbolic was gradual, piecemeal and variable in its realization. In the next section, I will turn to the work of Charles Taylor whose exploration of the emergence of autonomous individuality and secular humanism help illustrate elements of this transition as it occurred in parts of Europe, Great Britain and the North American colonies.

Taylor and the Age of Mobilization

In *Sources of the Self* and *A Secular Age*, Charles Taylor painstakingly reconstructs elements of the emergence of an activist stance toward the world in the Western European context. Taylor uses Weber's concept of the ideal type to construct contrasting matrices that illustrate stages in the transformation in religious belief and practice from the sixteenth century forward:[58] the *ancien régime* and the Age of Mobilization. As was discussed above in relation to the work of Lefort and Gauchet, the *ancien régime* matrix was characterized by a view of local and national communities as co-extensive with church membership, and of ritual forms as

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57. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power," 455.
58. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007): 437-438.

continuing to play a role in the protection of individuals and communities.[59] The relationship between individuals and their communities was mediated insofar as religious principles grounding the structure of communities were consistent with God's order but not transparent to the average individual. Maintaining the sanctity of the community, and one's place within it required continuing to play the role assigned, a role consistent with a religiously ordained hierarchy. Over the course of the following two centuries, this gave way to Taylor's second ideal type, the Age of Mobilization.

Unlike the *ancien régime* matrix, the Age of Mobilization was and continues to be characterized by the recognition that "…whatever political, social, ecclesial structures we aspire to have to be mobilized into existence."[60] The conceptualization of an order ordained by God has not been lost, and this order may continue to be seen as "established, eternally valid perhaps, because willed by God, or in conformity with Nature,"[61] an assertion we will see in the documents under consideration in this dissertation. However, it is an order that must be brought into existence through human action, even if according to a plan established by God.[62] In *A Secular Age*, Taylor tracks the unfolding of ideas key to the emergence of "exclusive humanism."[63] First, the anthropocentric turn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was characterized by the idea that the world is designed by God (and therefore the anthropomorphizing of God in the direction of a being who acts in the world).[64] Second, Taylor

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59. Ibid., 440.
60. Ibid., 445.
61. Ibid., 446.
62. In *The Disenchantment of the World*, Marcel Gauchet writes that where religious exteriority is made a god-subject who can govern the present, religious exteriority is relativized: "Such a god could be communicated with, his decrees interpreted, and the application of his laws negotiated. We were no longer within the framework of an order handed down unchanged in its original entirety" (13). As Gauchet argues, although the human order might be perceived as being imposed by a god, "Imposing an order, even in the name of its inviolable legitimacy, means changing it…" which means that this order is open to change, and subject to willing rather than received (36).
63. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 221.
64. In *A Secular Age*, Taylor specified four conceptual moves that characterized the anthropocentric shift: 1) the idea that we owe God the achievement of our own good (222); 2) the eclipse of grace by an order "…God designed [that]

considers a shift toward the primacy of an impersonal order: "God relates to us primarily by establishing a certain order of things, whose moral shape we can easily grasp, if we are not misled by false and superstitious notions. We obey God in following the demands of this order."[65] Finally, Taylor argues that the notion of natural religion has been obscured and must be laid clear again.[66]

The transformation from an assumed embeddedness within a religiously ordained "chain of being" to the necessity of realizing God's will in the world, in what Taylor calls the anthropocentric turn,[67] entailed a new focus on everyday actions.[68] If members of local and national communities had been united by their positioning within pre-ordained hierarchies of being, they were now united by sets of interlocking interests and mutual dependencies[69] - a regime Taylor calls the ethic of universal benevolence.[70] God's order had to be actively realized through the application of reason and discipline: "What is significant is that the plea for a holy life came to be reductively seen as a call to center on morality, and morality in turn as a matter of conduct."[71] This transformation is central to Taylor's argument against a common understanding of secularization in terms of loss - the loss of a belief in God or gods, the loss of commitment to religious ritual, and so forth. Rather, a striving for something higher that had taken the form of ascetic striving or ritual fulfillment is replaced by a striving to realize God's will in the world,

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was there for reason to see (222) and which, by reason and discipline or through reliance on inherent benevolence, love, solidarity or rewards and punishments, humans could realize (222-223); 3) a fading sense of mystery (223); 4) and the diminishment of the idea that God has planned a transformation for us (224). "What is significant is that the plea for a holy life came to be reductively seen as a call to center on morality, and morality in turn as a matter of conduct" (225).

65. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 221.
66. Ibid., 221.
67. Ibid., 222-226.
68. Ibid., 230.
69. Ibid., 268-269.
70. Ibid., 249.
71. Ibid., 225. Foucault writes about problematic and trajectory studied by Taylor in a number of texts. For example, Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: New Press, 1997), 223-251.

and to experience "moral fullness" in the place of spiritual fullness.[72]

> But to the extent that churches, and later states with churches, set themselves the goal of mobilizing and organizing and actively bringing about these higher levels of conformity to (what was seen as) the Christian life, this latter comes to be codified, laid out in a set of norms. There is no more separate sphere of the 'spiritual'… There is just this one relentless order of right thought and action, which must occupy all social and personal space.[73]

To this point, there are many parallels between Taylor's analysis and those of Lefort and Gauchet. The activist stance Taylor describes is indicative of a symbolic regime within which the individual is not locked into a pre-ordained order. Both also point out that the conceptualization of an activist stance in relation to the social world entails the possibility of taking a view of society as a whole.[74] Participants in democratic social formations are asked to consider the good of the whole - to act in accordance with that which is to the benefit of the general population. Taylor traces this to anthropocentric reformulations of the realization of God's will, and the notion that humans can access God's will through the application of reason and, in our actions, realize that will on earth. Both also detail the grounds of possibility of moral and normative demands in the absence of reference to a transcendent principle.[75] In some ways, this is where Taylor's work begins.

In *A Secular Age* and *Sources of the Self*, Taylor suggests that the ethic of universal benevolence (described in *Sources of the Self* as practical reasoning - the philosophical and theoretical approaches to the question of how we should conduct ourselves) takes two divergent paths toward the achievement of exclusive humanism. As with his contrast of the *ancien régime*

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72. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 244-245.
73. Ibid., 266.
74. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 225; Taylor, *Secular Age*, 231.
75. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 239; Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 205.

matrix and the Age of Mobilization, he develops these two paths as ideal types. The first, described as the "innocentizing strategy"[76] relies on instrumental reason.[77] Human motivation is understood to be neutral, and potentially positive or negative depending on how directed.[78] If guided by reason, taking the stance of an impartial spectator and thinking in universal terms, human motivation can generate positive outcomes. Under these circumstances, benevolence can be seen, "as a fruit of our escaping our narrow particular standpoint. We rise to it through enlightenment and discipline."[79] In *Sources of the Self*, Taylor describes the innocentizing strategy in terms of the demand for qualitative distinctions – "for 'criteria' to decide the issue, i.e., some considerations which could be established even outside the perspectives in dispute and which would nevertheless be decisive".[80] This, he argues, arises from the application of naturalism to practical reasoning, or the extension of the natural sciences model to moral and political inquiry more broadly.

The second ideal type, the positive strategy, is a response to the disciplinary and instrumentalist bent of the innocentizing strategy described above. Ordinary, "untransformed human desire and self-love" is seen to be not only neutral or innocent but positive,[81] "an original propensity to sympathy…"[82] that motivates us to feel solidarity with others. In *Sources of the Self*, Taylor argues that this view obscures the demand for qualitative distinctions through a process of internalization that grants socially and culturally specific moral criteria the status of

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76. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 253.
77. Ibid., 159-160.
78. Ibid., 253.
79. Ibid., 256.
80. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 73. See also Foucault's discussion of modes of objectification: Michel Foucault, "Afterword: The Subject and Power" in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, eds. Herbert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 208-226. Norbert Elias's work on social attitudes addresses the historical development of ideas related to appropriate behaviour; see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (New York: Urizen Books, 1978).
81. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 253.
82. Ibid., 256.

intuitions or personal revelations.[83] If the above described innocentizing strategy requires a distancing from the self, or treatment of the self as a thing that can be subjected to discipline, this approach is characterized by a conception of the self as demanding exploration and intimacy. There is no universal nature; reflection is "intensely individual, a self-explanation, the aim of which is to reach self-knowledge by coming to see through the screens of self-delusion which passion or spiritual pride have erected. It is entirely a first-person study…".[84] The result is a form of practical reasoning that is largely procedural, that is preoccupied with how we act in the world, rather than with the question of whether the standards to which those actions are held are valid.[85]

In Taylor's view, these types were the (somewhat artificially dichotomized) building blocks of the social imaginary that came to constitute nineteenth-century Great Britain and its colonies (or at least its North American colonies). On one hand, the self is taken as a somewhat unreliable arbiter of moral correctness. Universalized normative guidelines are therefore required to direct the self toward the correct moral intuitions. These guidelines are available to reason, but only where the application of reason is correctly directed. The disciplining and directing of reason are required. On the other, the self is presented as the true source of the moral intuitions and normative guidelines that will unify a collectivity. Correct behavior is grounded in a process of self-seeking and self-understanding. Unity itself is constituted from the freedom and natural sympathy between individuals. In the United Kingdom and, I will argue, Upper Canada, the evangelical movement of the early nineteenth century synthesized notions of freedom and mutual benefit grounded in individualism and a conception of rights with the ideal of civilization and its

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83. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 82-84.
84. Ibid., 181.
85. Ibid., 21.

disciplinary dimensions: "to be civilized means to have internalized a demanding discipline, self-control, high standards of behaviours governed by ethics, manners, and other necessary conventions."[86] As I will show in this dissertation, the two variants of the ethic of universal benevolence identified by Taylor may be identified in arguments for institutions such as manual labour schools, but so, too, may remnants of the *ancien régime* matrix be identified.

> The modern idea of order animates a social imaginary which presents society as a 'horizontal' reality, to which each has direct access, created and sustained by common action in secular time, as we see in forms like the public sphere, the market economy, the sovereign people. By contrast, the earlier 'vertical' vision presents society as articulated into hierarchically-ordered parts, which determine the identity of those who make them up, so that they relate to the whole only mediatedly, through the part.[87]

The two models can co-exist, as in Taylor's depiction of the eighteenth-century ideological struggle between Tories and Whigs in the United Kingdom: "'Whigs' tend to want to cast the justification for their mixed constitution in terms of a doctrine of contract; they are reaching for the modern model. 'Tories' want to stick with some kind of earlier 'vertical' model, even sometimes toying with more recent, radicalized versions of this, like the Divine Right of Kings."[88]

Writers such as Paul Kelly[89] or commentators on liberalism and Indigenous peoples in Canada such as Tom Flanagan[90] prioritize the theoretical outlines of liberalism over the practices used to achieve what appear to be laudable goals. However, insofar as, to use Kelly's articulation of liberalism, political power must be legitimated through recourse to moral or normative

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86. Ibid., 394. See also Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire*.
87. Ibid., 392.
88. Ibid., 393.
89. Paul Kelly, *Liberalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).
90. Tom Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

systems and should "in principle be acceptable to all that are subject to it,"[91] universal agreement can only be achieved through the enforcement of particular moral or normative systems. "Self-civilization" – the term Laurence Oliphant used in an 1854 letter to Lord Elgin[92] – must be preceded by an assertion of the standards according to which civilization can be measured, and this was to be the job of manual labour and industrial boarding schools.

Race and The Symbolic

In this chapter so far, I have tried to establish how the concept of symbolic representations will be applied in this dissertation. Symbolic representations relate to the collective and shape the way in which people relate to one another and to the foundations of authority within their collectivity over time. Clastres, Lefort and Gauchet show how symbolic representations situate individuals within a collectivity relative to power, law and knowledge, arguing that this is, in fact, the unique function of symbolic representations. They give meaning to constitutive divisions within a collectivity and, as observed in the transition from the *ancien régime* to the Age of Mobilization, can establish conditions for changes to the structure of a collectivity; as Lefort writes, the shaping of society involves both the giving meaning to, and staging social relations.[93] Taylor's work on secularization and the emergence of modern ideas of

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91. Kelly, *Liberalism*, 35.
92. L. Oliphant to Lord Elgin, November 3, 1854, Indian Department, Quebec, in Great Britain, Colonial Office, "Indian Department (Canada) return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 28 April 1856, for 'copies or extracts of recent correspondence respecting alterations in the organization of the Indian Department of Canada," (1856), CIHM series, no. 63353, 6. In the same collection of correspondence, see also the letter from Lord Bury (William Keppel), Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, to Governor General Francis Bond Head in which Bury references a letter from a Mr. Chesley, officer of the Indian Department, to himself. Bury uses Chesley's words to describe the idea of self-civilization: "The Roman-catholic Indians are taught to look so exclusively to the missionaries for guidance, that in their absence they are almost entirely helpless. It is almost useless, as far as civilization is concerned, to convert, unless, along with the still greater lessons of Christianity, that healthy spirit of self reliance be inculcated which constitutes the great distinguishing difference between the linked follower and the reasoning convert" (Great Britain, Colonial Office, "Indian Department (Canada) return to an address," 26).
93. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 218-219.

selfhood and autonomy operationalizes this idea. He shows, in great detail, how the moral order that constitutes the background to the emergence of the Canadian state and residential schools for Indigenous children was conceived of and staged from the seventeenth century onward. The anthropocentric turn represented a shift in the situating of the individual relative to God as the transcendent principle legitimating social relations up to that point in Europe, and particularly in England, Scotland and France, the focal points of Taylor's analysis, whereby the individual was positioned as interpreter and even enactor of God's will on earth. This shift gave existing moral codes a different significance. As Taylor writes, "What is significant is that the plea for a holy life came to be reductively seen as a call to center on morality, and morality in turn as a matter of conduct."[94] Moral conduct ceased to be an indicator of one's position within a network of relations established by God and became instead first the means by which God's will could be realized, and then the end in itself; human flourishing need make no reference to anything beyond moral conduct.

While the significance of human flourishing and individual action in the everyday world was prioritized and universalized, the particular ideational content of this new moral order was not universal, but culturally specific. The first step in articulating an idea of the "higher state" to which individuals could aspire arose in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ideals of "polite society" primarily reflecting the social mores of the élite in England, Scotland and France.[95] To be part of polite society, to behave in a civilized manner, was to seek peaceful interaction with others – approaching the other "as an independent agent" – for the purpose of mutual exchange, benefit or amusement,[96] and to exhibit self-discipline and self-control. While the emphasis on

94. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 225.
95. Elias, *Civilizing Process*; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, revised edition (London and New York: Routledge: 2002).
96. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 235.

civilized conduct began among the elite, its demands were quickly adopted by other social

classes as a marker of religious adherence (or in some cases, as Weber also points out, as an

indicator of belonging)[97] and good government.[98] For Lefort, this signals the new power of

society and the sphere of the social arising with the democratic symbolic:

> When it is divorced from the person of the prince, freed from the transcendental agency
> which made the prince the guarantor of order and of the permanence of the body politic,
> and denied the nourishment of the duration which made it almost natural, this power
> appears to be the power society exercises over itself. When society no longer recognizes
> the existence of anything external to it, social power knows no bounds…. the boundaries
> of personal existences mean nothing to it because it purports to be the agent of all.[99]

The symbolic reordering of the revolutionary age entailed a reconfiguring of belonging from its

collective realization to connection via one's individuality. Taylor's "society of mutual benefit"

constituted the specific content of that in the case at least of England and Scotland, and, I will

argue, nineteenth-century Upper Canada. To be a participant in society was to exhibit in one's

nature, in one's very being, the standards of conduct consistent with belonging to this moral

order. These standards of conduct were associated not only with Western European social mores

and modes of collective organization, but with whiteness. In this way, not only particular types

of conduct, values and norms were inherent to belonging, but race as well, and whiteness in

particular.

     Certainly, race-based notions of belonging had existed prior to the eighteenth and

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97. "The member of the sect (or conventicle) had to have qualities of a certain kind in order to enter the community circle. Being endowed with these qualities was important for the development of rational modern capitalism… In order to hold his own in this circle, the member had to prove repeatedly that he was endowed with these qualities. They were constantly and continuously bred in him. For, like his bliss in the beyond, his whole social existence in the here and how depended upon his 'proving' himself" (Max Weber, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 320).
98. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 266.
99. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 167.

nineteenth century. Throughout the history of Christianity, Christians have attacked, excluded, expelled and attempted to exterminate the Jewish people on the basis of attribution of responsibility for the Crucifixion,[100] folk mythologies suggesting they possessed a demonic nature,[101] and the suggestion that they carried an impurity in their blood that prohibited full conversion to Christianity.[102] But as Fredrickson argues, these, and other pre-modern instances of racism were of a different nature than the systematic racism emerging in the eighteenth century. Earlier instances lacked the commitment of figures of authority and race was one among many characteristics deployed to rank members of the community in the "great chain of being," and not the defining one.[103] As Fredrickson writes,

> In a society in which inequality based on birth was the norm for everyone from king down to peasant, ethnic slavery and ghettoization were special cases of a general pattern - very special in some ways - but still not radical exceptions to the hierarchical premise. Paradoxical as it may seem, the rejection of hierarchy as the governing principle of social and political organization, and its replacement by the aspiration for equality in this world as well as in the eyes of God, had to occur before racism could come to full flower.[104]

Although the social and philosophical commitment to equality constitutes the grounds for a critique of race-based exclusions and judgments, it was also the grounds for these to be systematized and "baked in" to the very foundation of the social formation.

The systematic racism emerging in Europe and the Americas throughout the eighteenth century was, at least in part, the result of the application of scientific observation and categorization to the study of individual human attributes and human societies.[105] Writers such as

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100. George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 18.
101. Ibid., 20.
102. Ibid., 31.
103. Ibid., 51-52.
104. Ibid., 47.
105. Ibid., 56; Dean Neu and Richard Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide: Canada's Bureaucratic Assault on Aboriginal People* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2003); Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Tukufu Zuberi, "Toward

Carl Linnaeus and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach categorized humans as creatures within the animal kingdom, undermining arguments that all were equally children of God and paving the way for "scientific racism" and claims that particular groups were closer to animals than were others, and as such were biologically unfit for civic participation.[106] Fredrickson argues that in contexts where equality of status was a foundational precept, such as post-revolutionary France and United States, scientific racism was particularly prevalent because, "Egalitarian norms required special reasons for exclusion."[107] Though he does not establish why collectivities committed to civic nationalism require or exhibit a tendency toward seeking reasons for exclusion, Fredrickson's premise is applicable to the context of nineteenth-century Upper Canada, and to the argument I put forth in this dissertation.

As we shall see, documents related to manual labour and industrial boarding schools in nineteenth century Upper Canada frequently draw upon animal imagery in establishing either the innocent nature and natural propensity of Indigenous people for the purported benefits of civilizing interventions, or the extent of the removal of the adult population in particular from adherence to the markers of human civilization. In either case, linkages between Indigenous people and the animalistic nature of non-European populations is a key mechanism for the exclusion of Indigenous people from de facto membership in society. Even colonizers who rejected the notion of a fundamental or natural distinction between Europeans and Indigenous people demonstrated no accompanying assumption of the inclusion of Indigenous individuals in society or in 'the people'. Inclusion was not a given on the basis of an ideal of shared humanity or even common membership in a state (whether all had acquiesced to that status or not).

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a Definition of White Logic and White Methods" in *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology*, eds. Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 3-30.
106. Fredrickson, *Racism*, 56-57, 68.
107. Ibid., 68.

Fredrickson suggests that under conditions where ideals of equality are prevalent, a special reason is required for exclusion; I will argue that under conditions where ideals of equality are prevalent, exclusions remain a key mechanism through which the grounds of inclusion are established. Even in the case of collectivities where the ideal of equality has currency, the unity of the collectivity continues to be established through symbolic representations of the collectivity. Where those are symbolic representations not of a non-human legitimating principle but of 'the people' as a self-legitimating entity, race becomes salient in four ways: first, as has been established, it is attached to content associated with whiteness; second, such symbolic representations easily slip into a definition of 'the people' against that which it is not; third, the articulation of the people as united by a shared view of the whole has a homogenizing tendency; and finally, the temptation to close the space of conflict and indeterminacy associated with democratic social formations by asserting a concrete ideal of 'the people' and the views those who belong to it hold is omnipresent.

Race and Indeterminacy

As was described above, Lefort argues that communities require a representation of unity, or the projection of an "imaginary community" that positions it as natural or eternal, and that thereby masks the act of social institution – the process whereby the collectivity comes into existence. [108] He describes these representations as "generative principles" or the "overall schema governing both the temporal and the spatial configuration of society", [109] representations that generate the internal divisions within the group while uniting those internal divisions within the

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108. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 181; Natalie Doyle, "Democracy as Socio-Cultural Project," 75.
109. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 218.

whole.[110] What is unique to modern democracies is that the reference to a non-human external has been supplanted by society's self-externality; there is no longer a unifying force external to the collectivity such as the gods or a God, or a primordial order to legitimate the representation by standing in for the moment of social institution, or via access to which internal divides are constituted and granted permanence.

In modern democratic collectivities, the laws, the internal divisions derive from the will of the people – from society. The externally situated founding and legitimating force is replaced by one that is thoroughly internal. Lefort writes that the significance of democracy in modernity is that it is,

> …the formation of a power which has lost its ability to be embodied and the ultimate basis of its legitimacy, and the simultaneous establishment of relations with law and knowledge which no longer depend upon relations with power, and which imply that it is henceforth impossible to refer to a sovereign principle transcending the order of human thought and human action.[111]

Embedded in this is a longing, or a desire for an identity, to be situated relative to others in a community, to know one's place or where one fits, and to be assured of the legitimacy of the authorities to whom one looks for succor.[112] The reference to a supra-human authority had guaranteed the social bond; without this guarantee, Lefort raises the spectre of two related consequences. One is the disassociation of members of the society from one another. Each individual identifies with the abstract ideal of the society, but because it is so diffuse as to resist representation, identification with concrete individuals is rendered impossible. As Singer and

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110. "Through an original and idiosyncratic journey, Lefort arrived at the realization that power is always the power of representation, the power to give a human community a symbolical representation of itself in an identity which subsumes its inner divisions" (Doyle, "Democracy as Socio-Cultural Project," 71).
111. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 179.
112. Ibid., 181.

Weir write, "There was no longer a single source, whose law moved down the entire length of the chain of beings, guaranteeing an ultimate coherence and purpose to the universe."[113] The second danger is the drive to re-establish, or to re-assert the social bond by projecting a new social imaginary legitimated not by reviving the reference to a supra-human authority (it seems that for Lefort, the genie is out of the bottle), but through the demand for homogeneity in the articulation of what constitutes belonging, and the demand that members of the society demonstrate those attributes.[114]

We have already seen how social norms and behaviors associated with European values informed ideas of civilization prevalent in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and how their framing as universal ideals obscured their particular social and historical context. When not attached to mutable characteristics such as race, it was at least conceivable that a person of any racial or ethnic heritage could acquire those characteristics, however, even the implicit association between a particular race and the characteristics of civilization foreclosed this possibility.[115] If a key marker of the status of being civilized was whiteness, any person who was not white was barred from the attribution of civilization, and from its associated benefits (e.g., civil privileges). In the context of a highly fluid social context where the markers of belonging and membership and the boundaries of the collectivity were (and perhaps are) indistinct, and where the very mechanism for legitimating new norms – reference to the will of the people – was itself in flux, race provided (and continues to provide) a relatively more clear-cut boundary concept. This perhaps explains an impossible contradiction within the democratic symbolic in nineteenth-century Upper Canada (that arguably continues to be expressed in differing forms in

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113. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power," 454.
114. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*.
115. Mark Francis, "The 'Civilizing' of Indigenous People in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Journal of World History* 9, no. 1 (1998): 51-87.

North America today) whereby the ideal of equality engendered the goal of education for all even while race-based notions of humanity and civilization significantly altered the form and function of educational initiatives. As Mouffe points out, while democratic discourses of 'the people' may be grounded in conceptions of equality and inclusion, the co-mingling of elements of modern democracy with the ethos of liberal humanitarianism has resulted in the definition of a people through reference to who and what that people is not.[116] Drawing on the work of Carl Schmitt, Mouffe writes that,

> The liberal conception of equality postulates that every person is, as a person, automatically equal to every other person. The democratic conception, however, requires the possibility of distinguishing who belongs to the demos and who is exterior to it; for that reason, it cannot exist without the necessary correlate of inequality.[117]

In articulating and institutionalizing practices intended to foster the development of characteristics deemed desirable, such as proficiency in the English language, Western European styles of dress and property ownership, missionaries and colonial administrators were drawing that bright line. As Calliou writes, "Racism enables and sustains great powers to erect or resurrect institutional, social, or other barriers against some members of society based on feeling rather than reasoned argument."[118] Justifications for race-based exclusions may have been offered by colonizers (for example, for the particular structure of concepts of civilization), but they were not open for debate with the Indigenous people to whom they were applied, and they were driven by a desire for stability and the closure of conflict and not by reasoned and judicious

116. Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*, (London: Verso, 2000), 49.
117. Mouffe, *Democratic Paradox*, 39.
118. Sharilyn Calliou, "Peacekeeping Actions at Home: A Medicine Wheel Model for a Peacekeeping Pedagogy" in *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds,* eds. Marie Battiste and Jean Barman, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), 53.

consideration.

Throughout what follows, I will show that despite this, colonial administrators, philanthropists and missionaries articulated the need for schooling for Indigenous children as related to the need for Indigenous people to take their place in society. Some may have been cynically aware of the contradiction between their words and actions. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to investigate those individuals' private thoughts and commitments. What I will instead argue, and what can be known from an analysis of documentary evidence, is that the effect of the entanglement of whiteness with representations of 'the people' and of society was that the ideas, norms, values, behaviors and ways of organizing collectively of the European settler population were established as the norm.[119] While in early documents under consideration here, some colonial administrators continue to maintain the necessity of honoring agreements made with Indigenous people under the Crown, by the Bagot Commission, any previous validity granted to those agreements had been quashed by the erasure of Indigenous peoplehood. As Milloy writes,

> By 1857 the policy of civilization had been pushed off its original foundation. The traditional concurrent themes of tribal conciliation and Indian improvement were placed in subtle conflict as the new logic of the civilizing system, worked out between 1840 and 1857, now demanded not only the provision of education and practical and religious training but also, as an indispensable prerequisite for complete native civilization, the assimilation of individual Indians and the piecemeal absorption of reserved land into white colonial society.[120]

Inclusion in Canadian society required civilization, and civilization was inextricably bound to

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119. Waters, "Optional Ethnicities."
120. John Milloy, *The Era of Civilization: British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860* (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1973), 233. He ends this quote with "The inevitable corollary of this was the gradual disappearance of native nations in Canada." I have not cited it here because I do not agree with, nor wish to perpetuate the assertion.

race, and specifically to whiteness. This created an unbreachable barrier for any person seeking political recognition within the bounds of the emerging Canadian state who was not white. Further, the universalization of the notion of 'the people' dissolved competing claims to peoplehood, particularly where they represented ways of being that were inconsistent with the norms embedded in the vision put forth by colonial administrators and missionaries.

The elision of whiteness and belonging to the people and to society also demonstrates a duality within the democratic symbolic whereby the people are both the legitimating power (the sovereign power in the context of modern democracies) and a population that can be known and acted upon. As was outlined above, sovereign power is not to be confused with governance (the day-to-day governance of a population); in relation to the concept of society, sovereign power is concerned with the overall schema and not the minutiae of population management.[121] Democratic sovereignty, unlike monarchical or despotic sovereignty, has the character of being diffuse and inscrutable. As Singer and Weir write, "When there is but one ultimate power, presented as the sole source of order, coherence and intelligibility, all knowledge and all law proceed from that power as their source."[122] Where power is dispersed so too is knowledge. The techniques of scientific inquiry may be applied not only to the natural world and the cosmos but to the people not as the sovereign 'people.' 'The people' as sovereign constitutes an object of knowledge that may be subjected to scrutiny but that in its actual manifestation will always slip knowledge of its being (as is demonstrated time and again by the failure of polling to predict the outcome of elections). Rather, inquiry is applied to the people as a population and often in the name of 'the people' - in the name of the will of the sovereign power. Calls for Indigenous people to join society must be read in this dual context of potentially serving to establish

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121. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power."
122. Ibid., "Sovereignty, Governance and the Political," 56.

Indigenous people as part of a population to be managed and not as participants in the sovereign power.

I follow Lefort and Mouffe in arguing that the existence of democratic political formations should not be taken as evidence of our ability to live comfortably in the presence of the uncertainty and abstraction it entails. There is an ambivalence at the heart of the democratic symbolic. The indeterminacy of the people within democracies leaves an opening for productive conflict over how best to serve the needs of members of society, what equality and equity mean, how to achieve justice and so forth. However, the continuation of ideas of sovereignty - of power and dominion over others - within the modern democratic regime means that these debates bear the imprint not of dialogue, accommodation and consensus but of the exertion of power. It is for this reason that Alfred questions whether the goal of self-determination should be understood within the framework of sovereignty for Indigenous peoples in Canada today.[123] As has been demonstrated time and again, processes of democratization revert all too easily to the demand for a clear and unambiguous source of legitimation - a referent that can be used to legitimate and ground claims made in the name of the people. Race, a visible marker of difference, was then and remains one such source. This was, above all, demonstrated by the fact that First Nations such as the Credit River Mississauga, who had established schools that taught English, adopted European styles of dress, separated commonly held land into individual lots, encouraged conversion to Christianity, and cultivated their land, were still not granted the right to hold their land in fee simple, and therefore, for eligible men to pursue the right to formal political participation.

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123. Alfred, *Peace, Power*, xiv.

Chapter 2: The Maitland and Colborne-Kempt Proposals

This dissertation situates the emergence of manual labour and industrial boarding schools as a policy within the broader context of democratization while acknowledging the specific circumstances of British North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Democratization is understood as part of a broader transformation in the symbolic regime and conceptualizations of the status and role of the individual relative to collective existence in the North Atlantic region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Certainly, none of the individuals focused on in this chapter would have been considered Reformers. They were members of the conservative elite and Family Compact, and therefore staunchly loyal to the Crown and resistant to efforts to extend access to governing power within the colony beyond that set out in Constitutional Act of 1791.[1]

Arguments for prioritizing education, along with other initiatives such as promoting (or requiring) settlement on private lots and the adoption of farming, emphasized the internal orientation of Indigenous people - for example, the need for Indigenous people to feel indebted and attached to the Crown, to feel the necessity of the changes demanded of them, and to recognize their interests. They also repeatedly referenced the need for a paternalistic vigilance over the affairs of Indigenous people and the establishment of order and regularity in order to "reclaim" and "civilize" Indigenous people. These arguments were couched within the larger goal of situating Indigenous people within society, of rendering Indigenous people "social" as

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1. It is worth pointing out that in British North America, Reformers themselves were most often loyal to the British government and argued for changes to the structure of colonial governance rather than a separation from the Crown and American-style republicanism. See Benjamin T. Jones, *Republicanism and Responsible Government: The Shaping of Democracy in Australia and Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); and Garner, *Franchise and Politics*.

opposed to "warlike" and "barbarous." I assert that statements related to manual labour and industrial schooling made by colonial administrators such as Maitland, Colborne and Kempt reflect a symbolic reorientation of the form and content of the authority legitimating collective norms and beliefs consistent with democratization understood as a sociocultural phenomenon. These individuals continued to emphasize deference to the authority of God and the Crown and to promote the rightful place of members of the colonial elite as authoritative decision-makers. However, their references to intermingling interests, the internal orientation of the individual, society and moral behavior as signifying sociality indicate a movement away from social unity on the basis of one's place within the "chain of being" and toward unity via bonds of mutual dependence and a conceptualization of the foundation of collective norms and collective coherence as grounded in society.

The policy initiatives outlined in this chapter were certainly part of the broader colonizing efforts of the British government and reflected vestiges of earlier ideas of placing subjects within a social hierarchy at the top of which stood representatives of royal power. They also reflected contingencies of colonial administration - the need to maintain Indigenous allies in the face of military threats from the south, the insatiable need for more land upon which to settle immigrants arriving from the United States and the British Isles, and the desire to reduce the British government's fiscal obligation to Indigenous populations. However, I will argue that the focus on the interests of the individual Indigenous subject and their affective relationship to authority, and the way in which civilization was linked to belonging to society as a singular and monolithic entity and to social existence in a more general manner reflect a transition in colonizing tactics from the colonization of peoples - of First Nations - by the British Crown to the colonization of Indigenous individuals via integration into the universalized idea of society

emerging in Upper Canada and in British North America. It is in this way that the discourses

even of members of the conservative Family Compact were related to democratizing trends in

the province.

The Constitutional Act had established Upper and Lower Canada, granted each an elected

representative assembly, and specified who could vote:

> All residents of the province who were twenty-one years, natural-born British subjects, subjects naturalized by act of the Imperial Parliament, or subjects by the conquest and cession of Canada, and who had not been convicted of treason or felony nor disqualified by provincial statute, were eligible to enjoy the franchise. These residents could exercise the franchise if as residents in a rural riding they possessed for their own use property to the yearly value of 40s. sterling above all charges, or as residents in an urban riding they possessed for their own use a dwelling house and lot of ground of the yearly value of £5 sterling or having been residents within a town for twelve months had paid a year's rent for a dwelling house to the amount of £10 sterling.[2]

From the earliest introduction of representative governance in the British North American

colonies in Nova Scotia in 1758 through to Confederation, the vote was tied to property holding,

which was seen as giving the individual a special interest in maintaining the peace (stake-in-the-

country theory) and was tied to ideas of virtuous rural living.[3] The British government had made

land so readily available to colonizers and the requirement was so loosely interpreted that

basically all white men could vote. Garner argues that the debates over changes to the franchise

that did occur during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century were driven by maneuvering to

maintain power on behalf of the white, English settlers who had arrived early and were loyal to

the Crown, not by a desire for more democratic participation (except maybe by the radicals such

as the Clear Grits).[4]

Indigenous people had a complicated relationship with the franchise during the

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2. Garner, *Franchise and Politics,* 82-83.
3. Ibid., 8-9.
4. Ibid., 10.

period under consideration here. Most did not have access to the vote because land was lived

upon communally rather than owned, and individuals did not therefore meet property

qualifications.[5] However, the reluctance to pursue the franchise resulted not only from an

unwillingness to partition land and adopt the practice of private property holding, but from the

desire to protect the special status of Indigenous peoples as sovereign peoples who had entered

into treaty agreements with the Crown.[6] As shall be seen in chapter five, some leaders such as

Peter Jones saw acquiring the vote as an important step toward pulling the levers of power within

the colonies. Evans writes:

> The Indigenes' understanding of this changing situation was more evident in action than in word, yet there is no sense in which they were silent victims. Band councils continued to function, retaining considerable autonomy within the reserves and serving as the first point of contact for government and colonial officials. The Council of the Six Nations, the largest Indigenous group in the province of Canada, consistently argued that its people remained allies not subjects of Britain, living under the uneasy supervision of the Indian Department. Other bands, however, were prepared to explore the possibilities which 'subject' status offered.[7]

Though some Indigenous leaders were willing to consider changes conducive to seeking the

benefits of enfranchisement, as with the Credit River Mississauga's adoption of European dress,

settled living and Christian worship, there was virtually no desire among the Indigenous peoples

of the Canadas to divest themselves of tribal lands or threaten their status as a people in order to

acquire the vote.[8] In the eyes of the colonizers, an individual could not be both an "Indian" and a

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5. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* 225; Garner, *Franchise and Politics,* 161. "No attempt was made to remove this disability and to encourage their assimilation until John A. Macdonald, as Attorney General West, introduced a bill into the Canadian Provincial Parliament in 1857 [the Act to Encourage the Graduate Civilization of the Indian Tribes of the Canadas]. This bill, which was passed by a near unanimous vote, was to allow Indians, subject to approval by a commission appointed by the Governor General, to acquire a freehold grant of fifty acres within their reservation together with a sum of money equivalent to the capitalized value of their share of the tribal revenues. An Indian so circumstanced was to be eligible to acquire the franchise and to be subject to taxation" (Garner, *Franchise and Politics,* 161).
6. Julie Evans, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous People in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2003).
7. Evans, *Equal Subjects,* 48.
8. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations.* Dickason writes that the 1857 Act to Encourage the Graduate Civilization of

British subject.[9] Although the individuals focused on in this chapter were certainly not participants in efforts to reform colonial governance in favour of extending democratic participation in decision-making, they were participants in a discursive field within which such participation was rendered possible.

As such, the colonial administrators under consideration in this chapter were establishing a vision of the kind of individual that constituted a member of "society" and of the ties binding together that "society." The individual would be one who could recognize their interests - what would benefit them specifically - and rationally calculate how to protect those interests. An element of that was certainly the feeling of indebtedness to the Crown, the feeling of not treating with the Crown as a member of a sovereign People negotiating on an equal footing with another sovereign, but of being an individual personally indebted to, and tied by that indebtedness to the colonial power. The act of rationally calculating and protecting one's interests was what constituted preparedness for belonging. This framework was obviously entirely contradictory to social existence grounded in collective existence and required individuals to see themselves *as* individuals, but as individuals primarily characterized by having things that were calculable and could be protected (land, personal property, good character, etc.). As will be discussed in following chapters, this was not the only conceptualization of human nature, and of the ties binding individuals together within a universalized moral order, but I will argue that in letters

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the Indian Tribes of the Canadas, "introduced the idea of enfranchisement for Amerindians, which Macdonald envisioned as a sought-after honour even though it involved dropping Amerindian status, and established the procedures by which it was to be achieved, most of which would stay on the books until 1960. Eligible were males 21 years of age and over, literate in English or French, minimally educated, and 'of good moral character and free from debt', who had passed a three-year probation. By those standards, a good proportion of the Euro-Canadian community would not have been eligible for the vote." By 1876, only a single candidate had been enfranchised, partially because bands refused to allot the land (Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* 229).

9. Claude Denis, "Indigenous Citizenship and History in Canada: Between Denial and Imposition," in *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings*, ed. Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn, and Robert Menzies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Higher Education Division, 2015), 113. See also Garner, *Franchise and Politics,* 161 and J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, 3rd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2000), 140.

and policy documents related to schooling for Indigenous populations in Upper Canada during the 1820s, it was the prevalent conceptualization.

The Maitland Plan

In the 1820s, colonial administrators began to shift their focus from maintaining military alliances with Indigenous people to intervening in Indigenous affairs in the name of "amelioration of the condition of the Indian Tribes," as Sir Peregrine Maitland wrote in an 1821 letter to Henry Bathurst, 3rd Earl of Bathurst and Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in England, and therefore overseer of Indian affairs in the Canadas.[10] Industrial and manual labour schooling for Indigenous youth was an integral part of this transition from the beginning. Maitland, then Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was the first to suggest on record that humanitarian principles be applied to policies related to Indigenous people in British North America at that time, and that industrial schools be a central means to the ends he desired.[11] In 1820, Maitland sent a proposal to the Colonial Office calling for settlement, the adoption of farming under the supervision of the Indian Affairs Department and missionaries, and "School Houses of instruction and industry."[12] He may have been the first to make such a proposal, but his ideas were based on a larger discussion of philanthropy and humanitarianism taking place at the time, and were found to be reasonable, if not always desirable by his audience of British colonists. What is notable about Maitland's contribution to this history is his embeddedness in a class and religious structure that had historically resisted the leveling of participation in the

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10. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada; Evans, *Equal Subjects*, 45.
11. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 82.
12. Milloy, J.S. *'Suffer the Little Children': The Aboriginal Residential School System, 1830-1992* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 17-18.

religious or civil sphere. Despite resistance to evangelical premises, in this, he found himself aligning with assimilationist strategies promoted by the Methodists and Quakers.

In his discussion of the "Family Compact", the group of influential, conservative families who largely controlled the political scene of Upper Canada into the late 1820s, W. Stewart Wallace described Maitland as a "Tory of Tories".[13] He was born in England in 1777 to Thomas Maitland of Shrubs Hall (a "country squire" as Donald Smith writes).[14] After joining the army at the age of fifteen, he fought in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and was honored for his conduct during the Battle of Waterloo. He was knighted in 1815, and appointed Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada in 1818, a position that would begin a somewhat unremarkable career of service to the British empire through to his death in 1854. An often petty and reactionary individual, Maitland was a champion of many of the attitudes and causes dear to the hearts of conservative colonizers in Upper Canada in the early decades of the nineteenth century. He believed in the supremacy of the Anglican Church and supported, along with John Strachan, Indian agent James Givins's efforts to undermine the influence of Methodists in the province.[15] For instance, in 1824, he allowed the Legislative Council to throw out a provision passed by the Assembly enabling Methodists and other nonconformists to solemnize marriage.[16] In part, he loathed the Methodists because he believed them to share the rebellious and democratic ideals of the American republicans, another group he felt particular animosity towards. Maitland routinely persecuted those he felt to hold liberal views or to be reformers in the province, even if they had proven their loyalty to the British Crown through military service.[17]

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13. W. Stewart Wallace, *The Family Compact: A Chronicle of the Rebellion of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1922), 43.
14. Smith, *Sacred Feathers,* 101-102.
15. Ibid., 101.
16. Wallace, *Family Compact*, 47.
17. Ibid., 44.

Such an aggressive reaction to perceived reformers derived from the inexorable encroachment of American influence into the daily lives of Upper Canadians. As Jane Errington writes, "Upper Canada between 1784 and 1828 was a colony of both Great Britain and the United States..."; American loyalists and pioneer settlers in search of fertile land steadily arrived from the United States and as such, the social and political beliefs, attitudes and institutions emerging in Upper Canada were influenced both by Great Britain and the United States.[18] While there was often an appreciation of the achievements of the republic to the south, and at times even a call to selectively apply the best aspects of both worlds in the creation of an Upper Canadian society superior to either, Maitland reflected an Upper Canadian elite that was generally conservative and suspicious of the potential anarchy and disorder assumed to be associated with American republicanism and democratic governance.[19] This elite "believed that all civilized societies were founded on a social and religious compact. The true happiness of man was ultimately attained by the individual's deference to authority – both God's and man's."[20] In addition, the population from which colonial administrators were selected – generally military types at the end of their careers, for whom protection of Crown and empire was the primary duty[21] – was hardly representative of the broader Upper Canadian population (a key complaint aired by reformers in the province).[22]

Nonetheless, Maitland's view of how the government ought to fulfill its responsibilities towards Indigenous people shared many significant themes with his Methodist and Reform counterparts. Though he felt the Methodists to be dangerous to the stability of the province and

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18. Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada*, 5.
19. Ibid., 35.
20. Ibid., 28.
21. Ibid., 29.
22. Garner, *The Franchise and Politics.*

wished to extract the Methodist church from the process of "civilizing" the Indigenous people of the province, he agreed that it was the responsibility of the British colonizers to educate the Indigenous population of Upper Canada in the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic, and in some basic skills of trade and industry. Christianity was to be the cornerstone of an accompanying moral education, and settlement was perceived as necessary to the future success of Indigenous people economically, spiritually, and intellectually.[23] That British colonizers owed this debt to Indigenous peoples, that it should be fulfilled through the paternalistic policy laid out in Maitland's 1821 letter to Lord Bathurst, and that such a policy should be centered on education and training strongly reflects earlier Methodist tracts on the issue such as William Carey's *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens.*[24]

Maitland's letter suggested four steps be applied in the first place to the Kanien'kehá:ka of the Six Nation Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and then on a smaller scale to the Mississauga, who would later be one of the peoples contributing annuities to, and participating in the construction of Mount Elgin, in order to effect "a diminution of Expense to the Government...".[25] These were: 1) that the head of each Mohawk family living on land reserved for the Mohawk be granted a parcel of land secured by the King's Patent "under such restrictions as shall be judged necessary for the uses of himself and dependents" and that every white with an equitable claim acknowledged by the Six Nations be confirmed in their possessions; 2) that the cost of annual "presents" owed to the Mohawk be taken from proceeds of the sale of land purchased for the Six Nations after the Revolutionary War; 3) that the proceeds from these sales also be used "for the

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23. Grant, *Moon Of Wintertime*, 82.
24. William Carey, *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792).
25. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.

maintenance of a Mission including Schools of instruction and industry, all under the direction of the Missionaries, and residing consistently among the Six Nations" with a view to "their Religious instruction and civilization"; and finally 4) that any remaining proceeds be "applied to the uses of the people of the Six Nations."[26]

The schools would be paid for by distributing only ten out of the whole surplus of fourteen pounds annually to each Indian, and then redirecting the remaining funds to Schools of Industry. There, "all the boys and girls that are without immediate protection shall be taught, clothed and fed, and provided with farming utensils…" Should the parents of attendees agree, their share of annual payments and proceeds of the land would be used so that they could be admitted as boarders. Maitland estimated that board and lodging at the School of Industry would not exceed five pounds per child "because the boys would be employed at trades or on the farms, and the girls making clothes, taking care of the Dairies etc. and their food and clothing would be simple."[27]

Day Schools

While Maitland's proposal signaled the first effort to deploy industrial schooling as a policy, European style day and boarding schools for Indigenous students would not have been new in British North America. As early as the seventeenth century there had been Jesuit and Ursuline day and boarding schools for Indigenous children in parts of present day eastern Canada, though by the late seventeenth century their focus had shifted to French pupils, largely due to the resistance of Indigenous people.[28] In the period under consideration here, day schools

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26. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.
27. Ibid.. The blank here indicates only a word in the letter that I could not decipher.
28. Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation," 13-40; Dickason, 142-143; Miller, J.R., *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996): 39-48.

for Indigenous children had again been established by Indigenous populations, as in the case of

Joseph Brant's Mohawk schools on the Grand River,[29] by the New England Company,[30] or by

missionaries of various denominations at Indian missions. Hope MacLean writes that the period

between 1824 and 1833 saw particularly rapid growth of Methodist Indian schools in Upper

Canada.[31] This was largely because, "As soon as a group of Native people declared their belief in

Christianity, the Methodists responded by sending them a school-teacher."[32] These schools

shared many characteristics that would later appear in manual labour boarding schools. Those

operating the schools emphasized the importance of regimentation: a regular schedule,

uninterrupted attendance, and the learning of habits of order and discipline.[33] Students were

taught reading, writing, arithmetic, scripture, and, in the case of the Anglicans, church

catechism.[34] Some schools featured instruction in mechanical trades, farming and the production

of household goods.[35] While the schools were frequently taught in the students' original

languages, or in a combination of these and English, the expectation was that the students would

gradually adopt English, and in some cases, the use of languages other than English was not

permitted.[36] Methodist missionary James Evans's 1829 letter from the Rice Lake day school, to

be discussed in chapter five, communicated an emphasis on producing personal transformation

through education, rather than simply the learning of new habits, a theme that would be prevalent

29. Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation," 23.
30. The New England Company, *History of the New England Company, from its Incorporation in the Seventeenth Century, to the Present Time*, London: Taylor and Co., 1871.
31. Hope MacLean, "Ojibwa Participation in Methodist Residential Schools in Upper Canada, 1828-1860," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 25, no. 1 (2005): 93-137.
32. MacLean, "Ojibwa Participation in Methodist," 35-36.
33. J.B. Benham, "Grape Island Mission, Grape Island, Jan. 22, 1830," *Christian Guardian*, Feb. 13, 1830: 98-99.
34. Nicholas Flood Davin to Joseph Brant Clench, May 26, 1845, R216-293-8-E, C9634 Microfilm, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency, 1825-1909, Archives Canada; J.B. Benham, "Grape Island Mission, Grape Island, Jan. 22, 1830," Christian Guardian, Feb. 13, 1830: 98-99.
35. Thaddeus Osgood, *The Canadian Visitor: Communicating Important Facts and Interesting Anecdotes Respecting the Indians and Destitute Settlers in Canada and the United States of America* (London: Hamilton and Adams, 1829), 10, 43.
36. D.G.F., "Indian Schools, April, 1846," *Christian Guardian*, April 22, 1846.

in discussions of manual labor boarding schools in the following decades.[37]

There were, however, many respects in which day schools were not like the boarding schools to come that went beyond the fact that students attended for varying portions of the day and then returned home. In some cases, Indigenous children were educated alongside white children[38] and the historical record suggests that the schools were more likely to be integrated into the fabric of the community.[39] As has been noted, in some cases, schoolmasters shared the heritage of the students and taught at least part of the day in their language.[40] Indeed, one of the goals of Mount Elgin was to produce future day-school teachers attached to missions in the province (as was the case with William Wawanosh). Both adults and children attended the schools[41] and many Indigenous individuals saw them as a means of navigating the turbulent waters of colonization and empowering individuals and communities in the face of encroaching white settlements.[42] Milloy's comments about day schools in the last decades of the nineteenth century apply equally to the period under consideration here:

> Communities in areas of non-Aboriginal settlements posed additional difficulties. Many of them were favourable to schooling but had an educational agenda that, if allowed to predominate, would frustrate the intended assimilative function of schools. As with

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37. James Evans, "Letter dated Dec 28, 1829," *Christian Guardian*, Jan. 9, 1830: 59.
38. Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation," 27-28.
39. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54, United Church of Canada Archives.
40. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54 refers to schools being taught in Indigenous languages. For Indigenous individuals taking up the position of schoolmaster see Osgood, "Canadian Visitor…," 43. William Wawanosh was an example of a Mount Elgin graduate who went on to head up a day school in Sarnia. See "Return for Sarnia day school," Reel 9646, R216-293-8-E, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency, 1825-1909. This arrangement seems to have been relatively infrequent, though. Andrew Jameson wrote to Col. Joseph Brant Clench from Walpole that the Indigenous interpreter and schoolmaster James Thomas had started drinking again, suggesting in the next letter that Thomas had been put in the position as an experiment, and as the experiment had failed, should be removed (Andrew Jameson to Joseph Brant Clench, April 17, 1851, Walpole, C9634 Microfilm, R216-293-8-E, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency, 1825-1909).
41. From an undated excerpt from the *Methodist Magazine* containing extract of a letter from Rev. Thomas Madden, March 8, 1827, file 2, Miscellaneous documents, box 3, Peter Jones Fonds, Toronto, Ontario.
42. MacLean, "Ojibwa Participation in Methodist"; Haig-Brown, *Taking Control*.

communities in pre-Confederation Upper Canada, bands attempted to use education as a tool of cultural revitalization as a method of mediating between themselves and the White communities growing up around them. The Department was aware of this and did not, of course, approve.[43]

The schools were undoubtedly seen by missionaries and colonial administrators as a means by which Indigenous people would adopt the religious beliefs and habits of white colonizers.[44] For this reason, the control Indigenous people maintained over decisions as to when to send their children or the funding of the schools was by Maitland's tenure already problematic for colonizers, as indicated by Maitland's suggestion that adults were lost causes and that children should be separated from the influence of their parents.[45] Missionaries and government administrators also used complaints about the irregular attendance of some students as an argument for separating children from parents for the duration of their schooling.[46]

Contextual Contingencies

Maitland's 1821 letter to Bathurst and its focus on cost savings certainly reflect the changing nature of relations between Indigenous people and the Crown in this period. Armitage refers to this as the period of the Royal Proclamation.[47] In the preceding period of early contact, colonizing nations approached the Indigenous peoples of Canada and the United States as potential military allies, and in significant ways, as sovereign peoples, through treaties focused

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43. Milloy, *A National Crime*, 26; Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 213.
44. Bear Nicholas, "Canada's Colonial Mission," 13.
45. Milloy, *A National Crime*, 15.
46. Peter Jones, Muncey Mission, Sept. 20, 1841, "Muncey Mission, and Camp-Meting," *Christian Guardian*, Sept. 29, 1841. Jones wrote, "… I am sorry to say that 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*."
47. Andrew Armitage, *Comparing the Policy of Indian Assimilation: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995).

on peace and friendship.[48] But following the Royal Proclamation of 1763, treaties came to be focused more on land cessions than peace and friendship for a number of reasons. One of these was "the Proclamation's reservation to the Crown of the right to acquire Indian lands, which henceforth was to be done only by a treaty negotiated at a public meeting."[49] Indigenous title thereafter meant "occupancy and use" rather than ownership in fee simple, and sale of Indigenous land could only occur through recourse to the Crown. In part, this was done to check the pace of colonization and preserve peaceful relations with the Indigenous allies whose lives and livelihoods were increasingly impinged upon by settlers. For this reason, Milloy considers the Proclamation to exemplify the policy of conciliation characteristic of the British policy approach to Indigenous peoples up until the 1830s. However, the status of Indigenous peoples as both military allies and military threats had been diminishing as the eighteenth century waned. Robert Allen suggests that the employment of Indigenous allies by the British Crown "was the single most important factor in the successful defence of Upper Canada" during the War of 1812.[50] It was to be the last major skirmish in which the British Crown allied with Indigenous people against the American threat. After the war, the migration of the fur trade westward, and the impact of immigration, disease, and starvation due to the declining game population, greatly diminished (both relatively and absolutely) and demoralized the Indigenous population of Upper Canada.[51]

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48. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 143.
49. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 163.
50. Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in The Defence of Canada, 1774-1815* (Toronto & Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1992), 120.
51. F.L. Barron, "Alcoholism, Indians, and the Anti-Drink Cause in the Protestant Indian Missions of Upper Canada, 1822-1850," in *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, eds. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 192; Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 35-36; Robert J. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Upper Canada, 1815-1830," in *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, eds. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 68.

These factors were compounded by the change in method of paying for land noted in Maitland's proposal. Rather than pay a one-time lump sum for purchased land, the province of Upper Canada offered to pay Indigenous communities a portion of the value of the land annually in perpetuity. This strategy was used extensively as an enticement to sell land between 1817 and 1819.[52] While George Murray, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (1828-1830), would not announce a new policy focused on "amelioration of their condition" rather than military alliance with Indigenous people until 1830, by the time of Maitland's proposal, this policy shift had already begun to form.[53] Surtees writes that land cessions were not only a result of this shift but a cause, insofar as they communicated to philanthropists and colonial administrators a willingness among Indigenous peoples to forego their traditional means of survival:

> While that conviction of superiority was inherent in the European view of aborigines everywhere, it was no doubt reinforced in Upper Canada by the experience of land cessions. The Indians of the southern regions surrendered their lands, which every commentator then and since had observed had very special importance to the native people. Such actions served as an indication that the native peoples had lost their confidence in survival. In such circumstances, the presentation of an alternative lifestyle, it was felt, would be gratefully, even eagerly, embraced. It was this situation which encouraged philanthropists to suggest and promote an alternative: a programme that would lead to a settled and civilized way of life. The land cessions of the postwar decade, therefore, can be seen as encouraging the advent of the programme, suggested in the 1820's, that would be adopted in 1830.[54]

Surtees's point is indeed suggested in Maitland's comment that while the Mississauga had agreed to the main points of his plan, he had not yet communicated its outline to the people of the Six Nation Haudenosaunee Confederacy because he had no doubt that they would see it as

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52. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions," 69-70.
53. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 35.
54. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions," 81.

beneficial and necessary. He wrote to Bathurst that, "as the plan is evidently for their Interest, as it doubles their present Revenue and gives industry, comfort and instruction to their children, it is to be expected that they will not hesitate to embrace these advantages when they shall be made fully to appear to them."[55]

The policy suggested by Maitland was therefore constituted amid the visible diminution of the Indigenous population and changing perceptions among colonizers of Indigenous peoples' status as military allies and commitment to traditional lifeways. As is apparent in Maitland's pitch, however, a reduction in fiduciary obligation was perhaps the most pressing preoccupation. The War of 1812 had produced a jump in the annual budget for Indian affairs, from £60,000 in 1811 to £125,000 in 1815.[56] Upon taking up his position as Governor General, Lord Dalhousie – born George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, and an experienced soldier turned colonial administrator, like so many others – began enthusiastically cutting costs, reducing the budget to £21,000 by 1823, and then cutting staff to further reduce the annual budget to below £7,000.[57] Still, as Milloy writes, the Treasury department of the British Crown demanded even greater reductions. Between 1821 and 1827, various colonial administrators suggested that money could be saved by doing away with annual payments to Indigenous allies, by administering such payments only to those individuals deemed deserving, or by closing the Indian Department altogether.[58] Maitland's proposal was an alternative to such moves, moves he saw as threatening to the willingness of Indigenous people to act as allies to the British Crown in the case of American aggression, and therefore as potentially conducive to the diminution of British control in its Canadian territories. For this reason, Milloy writes that Maitland was driven not by

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55. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.
56. Milloy, *Era of Civilization,* 47.
57. Ibid., 48.
58. Ibid., 48-57.

humanitarian impulses, but by the "mundane and pressing dictates of Imperial life" and strategic

considerations.[59] Maitland proposed industrial schooling in part because the skills training was

seen as a mechanism for ending the need it was designed to meet: as individuals gained the

farming and industrial labour skills necessary to integrate into an agrarian and industrializing

environment, they would cease to need the financial support of the Crown.[60]

A Steady and Vigilant System

It may well have been the case that Maitland was primarily driven by what he saw as

"sound policy," but this does not adequately tell us what that policy was productive of, or the

context within which his suggestion could be deemed suitable, reasonable, and beneficial by his

audience. To suggest that his proposal was the result of "mundane and pressing dictates of

Imperial life" is to suggest that it was the result of contingent factors alone, and my purpose here

is to try to understand some of the social processes undergirding not only what Maitland

proposed, but how he proposed it.

While the policy of civilizing and Christianizing had yet to come fully into view,

Maitland's plan introduced a number of themes which would be repeated in policy statements

and planning in relation to the use of industrial and manual labour schools for Indigenous

children over the following four decades (and beyond). His presentation of the plan to Bathurst

suggested that Indigenous people did not know what was in their interests and that colonizers

did, but that Indigenous people had the capacity to understand it, if they were presented with the

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59. Ibid., 35.
60. It is worth noting the irony of the fact that Indigenous people were already employing agricultural practices shown to be more productive than those imposed by setters. See Jane Mt. Pleasant, "The Paradox of Plows and Productivity: An Agronomic Comparison of Cereal Grain Production under Iroquois Hoe Culture and European Plow Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Agricultural History* 85, no. 4 (2011): 460–92.

information. Maitland's comment that the Six Nations would certainly agree to the plan communicated an awareness in advance not only of what would be in the best interests of the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mississauga people, but of what they would value. He wrote that, for this reason, the plan would not only be in the interest of the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mississauga people, but would be *perceived* to be in their interest because it would provide their children with industry, comfort and instruction.[61] Maitland's statements are indicative of the importance of an internal orientation toward particular values or goals, for example, ceding land and a portion of annuities to purchase farm equipment, but also of how those values or goals were seen as obvious and incontrovertible.

The primary goal of the plan was to lower the costs of the department, as noted above, by putting in place, as Maitland wrote, "A more steady and vigilant system… to make them truly Christians and gradually diminish the inclination to a desultory and savage life which still prevails among them."[62] What was ultimately in the interests of Indigenous people was not only the acquisition of skills necessary to survive in the absence of hunting,[63] but the acquisition of characteristics of European life: private ownership of property, employment in agriculture or trades, conversion to Christianity, and industriousness (understood in terms of calculable time division and the production of salable skills or objects). Instilling these beliefs and habits would require a "steady and vigilant system" – a more persistent and continuous form of intervention into the lives of Indians, in coordination with observation and supervision.[64]

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61. This somewhat contradicts a statement earlier in the letter that the Indians "never restrain their children…".
62. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.
63. Maitland writes that the services of the following will be deducted from the proceeds of land sales: a clergyman paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, two young men to inhabit the church so that it never be vacant, "A School Master and Wife capable of adding a School of Industry to instruction assisted by the students, three mechanics – Black Smith, Carpenter and Farmer who will teach the Indians their craft and assist in the school" and a surgeon.
64. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.

Insofar as it assumed that Indigenous people would, once sufficiently civilized, agree with its goals and methods, Maitland's proposal represented what Lefort refers to as power that does not have to exercise its authority openly.[65] The language Maitland employed was that of shared understanding and concern for the well-being of the other, even while his plan would certainly be the imposition of a vision of how the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mississauga *ought* to proceed. He argued that the happiest outcome would be that Indigenous peoples would come to favour the British government, causing the necessity for the payments of "presents" to cease within a few years: "it might be rationally anticipated the Indians would gain much in both a temporal and Spiritual point of view, be made comfortable in their habitation, useful members of Society, and under the Divine blessing true possessors of the Christian religion."[66] In this statement, Maitland downplayed the advantages of the educational aspect of his proposal in order to emphasize the monetary benefit to the Crown. Nonetheless, his invocation of "Society" demonstrated that the happiest outcome was consistent with a vision he held of the social body emerging in Upper Canada. The statement suggested that without the benefit of education, agriculture and conversion, Indigenous people would be useless, rather than useful members of society, or not members at all.

Robinson and the Common School Solution

With the exception of the financial support extended to the Credit River settlement, Maitland's plan was not acted upon until the later part of the 1820s.[67] Thaddeus Osgood, whose

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65. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 219.
66. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada. This phrasing presages the references to Vattel - we are "useful members of society" insofar as we are generating something of use to others. This is the basis of a transactional relationship, of connectedness through the transactions we perform with others.
67. Milloy, *Era of Civilization,* 70.

contribution to the advancement of industrial and manual labour schooling will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, had petitioned the Assembly of Upper Canada to dedicate funds to the objects of the Committee of the Society for Promoting Education and Industry in Canada on December 19, 1826.[68] Had his petition been successful, some part of Maitland's plan may have gone forward for, as shall be seen, the Society had among its objectives the provision of industrial schooling for Indigenous people in the province. However, the petition had been referred to a committee and Sir John Beverley Robinson, soon to be Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and an influential member of the Family Compact, reported to the Assembly two months later that the committee had not found any action to be necessary.[69] The committee argued that no "considerable portion of the population of this province can properly be said to be destitute" except under special circumstances. Once a township had been properly settled, the funds available for the support of common schools would be dispensed in a fair and equitable manner, and there should be no need to make special provision for particular populations.

The Common School Act of 1816 was a significant step toward creating a system of state-supported common schools. Debates leading up to, and following upon, the act had demonstrated the rift between conservative and Reform elements of the colony, embodied in the tensions between the Legislative Council and the Assembly. As Wilson writes, the Legislative Council had only been convinced to support the Act because of the Assembly's agreement to leave in place the district grammar schools.[70] Nonetheless, "it was a triumph for the Assembly and marked the first evidence of recognition of the state's responsibility to ensure facilities for

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68. Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, from the 5th December, 1826 to the 17th February, 1827, W.L. MacKenzie, 1827, CIHM 9_00941_3, York [Toronto], 18.
69. Ibid., 80.
70. J. Donald Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," in *Egerton Ryerson and His Times: Essays on the History of Education*, eds. McDonald, Neil and Alf Chaiton (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd, 1978), 23.

the education of the common people."[71]

The "common" in the designation "common school" still meant rudimentary or elementary at this time and would not mean "in common" until the 1840s, either in the sense of universally attended, or in reference to control by the general public.[72] In the 1830s and 1840s, the kinds of schools available, and their funding and organizational arrangements, varied widely. In addition to grant-aided schools, there were private venture schools, joint-stock institutions, schools operated by the Methodists, the Upper Canada Central School, which was grant-aided but through separate sources, home schooling via governesses and tutors, apprenticeships and indentures, urban evening schools, and Sunday schools.[73] Although the Common School Acts of 1816 and 1824 made government grants to local schools available, the grants were made to local school supporters and subscribers and their elected trustees controlled what happened in the schools.[74]

Upon replacing Lieutenant Governor Francis Gore in 1818, Maitland had attempted to establish Dr. Andrew Bell's system of monitorial schools to counter the non-denominational common schools created by the 1816 Act, and the American influences he perceived them to encourage.[75] Maitland was not alone in making the association between the education movement and the United States: other key figures such as Anglican bishop and Executive Council member John Strachan worried over the use of textbooks produced in the United States and the

71. Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," 23.
72. Bruce Curtis, "Preconditions of the Canadian State: Educational Reform and the Construction of a Public in Upper Canada, 1837-1846," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, eds. Bruce Wilson and J.K. Johnson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 358.
73. R.D. Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment" in *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly eds. (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 5-11.
74. R.D. Gidney and D.A. Lawr, "Bureaucracy vs. Community? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, eds. Bruce Wilson and J.K. Johnson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 374.
75. Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," 29.

predominance of American teachers. Indeed, Strachan would argue that a particularly Canadian university and education system was required precisely so that "the mass of the population" would not be nurtured "in hostility to all our institutions, both civil and religious."[76] The Common School Act of 1824 was a response to Maitland's efforts, and an effort by the Assembly to maintain control of the schools. It included provisions for Sunday schools for children who could not attend daily common school, and government grants for Indian education day schools which had up until this point been funded through the Crown and missionary societies.[77]

Robinson's response to Osgood's petition – that no portion of the province's population could be considered destitute – demonstrated the evolving definition of the deserving poor also apparent in philanthropic approaches to child rescue.[78] In his suggestion that there was no such population as "destitute settlers," the needs of individuals were not related to aspects of the groups to which they belonged or identified with, but rather to circumstances they found themselves in. Some settlers found themselves in a position of destitution, but this should not have inhibited them from availing themselves of the services of the common school fund. Similarly, in relation to the Indigenous population, Robinson noted approvingly the "gratifying circumstance" of widespread conversion to Christianity, and suggested that "Indians" too, once they had formed themselves into villages, "should enjoy the advantage of a common school, such as most of the townships possess…".[79] Implicit in Robinson's statement that funds for schooling would be dispersed once a township was settled was the suggestion that settlement was a

76. J. Harold Putman, *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 53.
77. Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," 30.
78. Patricia T. Rooke, and R.L. Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983).
79. Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, from the 5th December, 1826 to the 17th February, 1827, W.L. MacKenzie, 1827, CIHM 9_00941_3, York [Toronto], 80.

requirement for partaking of the right to education. The Indigenous population of Upper Canada would be treated as any other member of the population once settlement had been achieved, and common school funds could be applied in the same manner as they were to settler populations.

Major General Darling and the Policy of Conciliation

At the same time as Robinson was arguing that the destitute did not constitute a particular population, Major General H.C. Darling, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was lamenting the mistreatment of Indigenous people *as* a particular population to the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie. Dalhousie's dispatch of 1828 to Murray included a report from Darling, who criticized the inaction of the Department of Indian Affairs in relation to Indigenous populations. He wrote,

> Since the war too little attention has been given to the subject; the officers of the department have done little more than superintend the issue of presents, while the more important object of keeping alive the affections of the Indians to the Government, by a vigilant protection of their interests, and by encouraging their disposition to settle into useful subjects, has been altogether overlooked. [80]

Discussions of the policy approaches to the Indigenous population of Upper Canada among colonial administrators over the 1820s continued to be marked by a concern with diminishing expenses, as is suggested in Darling's remarks. Darling was responding to the suggestion made in 1827 by Lord Goderich, who both preceded and succeeded Murray as Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and who had previously held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, that

80. H.C. Darling to Lord Dalhousie, 24 July, 1828, Quebec, in Great Britain, Colonial Office, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834, for, copies or extracts of all such reports from the governors or lieutenant-governors of British possessions in north America, and of the answers thereto, as may throw light on the present state of the Indian tribes resident in His Majesty's dominions in North America, or in any adjacent territories, and also upon the present state of the Indian Department in Upper and Lower Canada," 1834, CIHM series no. 9_01017, 30.

the Indian Department, and all expenses associated with it, be abolished.[81] Dalhousie responded

that to do so would be impossible, so long as the Indigenous population maintained its warlike

ways:

> Insignificant as are some of the tribes now in Lower Canada, civilized and accustomed to social life, there is not one of them that does not boast of the warlike days of their chiefs and warriors... If, Sir, that be the feeling of our poor peaceable tribes near us, what can be the feelings of those who are in no degree civilized, who live by war and hunting, who, proud and independent, and ferocious, disdain the angry threats or frowns of white men, and who think no more of striking a man dead with their tomahawk, than they do of shooting their forest deer.[82]

Dalhousie's invocation of "social life" here suggests that those tribes who continue to live in

traditional ways are not only not civilized, but not "social."

Both Dalhousie and Darling were promoting a continuation of the policy of conciliation,

a sentiment that was similarly articulated by Sir James Kempt, then Governor of British North

America. Kempt was an experienced soldier who had been recognized for distinguished service

during the Napoleonic Wars and had served with Dalhousie in Spain.[83] The two had maintained

a close friendship and correspondence during Kempt's tenure as Lieutenant Governor of Nova

Scotia, and Kempt ultimately replaced Dalhousie as Governor General when the latter was

appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army in India due to British concerns in relation to his

conduct as Governor. Kempt wrote to Murray that while Indigenous people were, as allies,

"wasteful and expensive," it was necessary to maintain their military support, and "impolitic to

provoke their hostility" given "their barbarous treatment of prisoners and wounded men…"..[84]

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81. Lord Goderich to Earl Dalhousie, 14 July, 1827, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 5.
82. Lord Dalhousie to Mr. Secretary Huskisson, 22 November 1827, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834,"6.
83. For an outline of the policy of conciliation, see Milloy, *Era of Civilization,* 233.
84. Sir J. Kempt to Sir George Murray, 16 May, 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 39.

As with the debate over non-denominational common schools, much of the concern in relation to jeopardizing the military alliance with the Indigenous people of Upper Canada was related to what was perceived as an imminent American threat, and a fear of the influence of American views on any element of the population of Upper Canada. Maitland warned in 1826 against any diminution of rations as such an action would create an unfavourable impression on the minds of a people already "accessible to the Americans, whose interest and practice it is to place the worst construction on our dealings with them, whom they are bent on separating from their friendly relations with us."[85] Darling repeated this outlook to Dalhousie in 1828, arguing that if tribes were not supported in the possession of their lands, one possible outcome would be that they "throw themselves, with vengeance in their hearts, into the arms of the Americans".[86] Indeed, Sir John Colborne would later censure what he perceived to be an insufficiently vigorous protection of the Canadas from rebellion due to a widely held assumption that it was inevitable that not only the Indigenous population, but Upper and Lower Canada in their entirety, would be subsumed by the United States.[87]

It was in this context that Darling suggested that any change to the Indian Department in the name of reducing expenditures "should be in favour of one of more vigour, vigilance and activity."[88] For Darling, this was a security measure related to the threat of American military or ideological intrusion. Milloy suggests that Darling was additionally a convert to Maitland's program of assisted settlement and education.[89] He had observed the Mississauga settlement at

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85. Sir P. Maitland to Major-General Darling, 30 October, 1826, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 7.

86. H.C. Darling to Lord Dalhousie, 24 July, 1828, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 24.

87. George Charles Moore Smith, *The Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton: Compiled from his Letters, Records of his Conversations, and Other Sources* (London: Murray, 1903), 264.

88. H.C. Darling to Lord Dalhousie, 24 July, 1828, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 26.

89. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 80.

Credit River, talked to James Givins, the resident agent, Maitland, and Rev. Dr. C. Stuart, a

"dedicated civilizer" who was attached to the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

in Foreign Parts.[90] Dalhousie forwarded Darling's report to Murray, who gestured towards a

policy approach suited to times of peace rather than times of war in his 1830 dispatch to Kempt:

> It appears to me that the course which has hitherto been taken in dealing with these people, has had reference to the advantages which might be derived from their friendship in times of war, rather than to any settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life.[91]

Both Darling and Kempt favored a model that actively pursued the goal of intervening in and

engineering Indigenous social life. While Goderich's suggestion that "presents" to tribes might

be abolished was universally objected to by the individuals to whom he proposed the idea,

Darling's suggestion in response that annual payments be commuted into agricultural

implements was met with excitement. He proposed that,

> …a sum of money, in lieu of a portion of the presents now given, might be annually laid out for them to advantage, in the purchase of a few pairs of working oxen, ploughs, harrow-teeth, hoes, hammers, saws and other agricultural implements and common tools; of the use of which they would gradually become sensible as they advance in civilization.[92]

Kempt agreed that gradual settlement would be a plausible means of relieving the Crown of their

fiduciary responsibility to Indigenous people but raised two concerns. One was that if Indigenous

settlers suspected that there was a relationship between the encouragement to settle and reduction

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90. Ibid., 62, 80-81.
91. Sir George Murray to Sir James Kempt, 25 January, 1830, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 88.
92. H.C. Darling to Lord Dalhousie, 24 July, 1828, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 29.

of "presents," that they would be discouraged from settling. Second, he argued that they should not be given money to themselves purchase agricultural implements, as they would "in all probability make an improper use" of funds.[93] Instead, Kempt suggested that the commutation of annual payments into agricultural implements be married to a suggestion made by Colborne the year before, one that employed education as a means to civilization.

The Colborne-Kempt Plan[94]

Colborne had been called upon to "suggest measures for conducting the affairs of the Indian Department with economy and with advantage to the Indians" in his capacity as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. He came to this position something of a war hero, decorated for the bravery and leadership he had exhibited in the Battle of Waterloo, where he had led the 52nd Regiment in a particularly spectacular action against the French at Orthes.[95] Sir William Napier had famously called him "a man of singular talents for war",[96] but following the Battle of Waterloo there was significantly less war to participate in, and Colborne, like many in his position, was directed into civil service. In 1821, he was named Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey, an island off the coast of Normandy, and a Dependency of the British Crown. There he exhibited an interest in educational reform, making one of his first and most notable achievements in his capacity as Lieutenant Governor, the remodelling and revival of Elizabeth College, an ancient grammar school. He undertook the project within a month of taking up

93. Sir J. Kempt to Sir George Murray, 16 May, 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 39.
94. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 91.
95. William Leeke, "Lord Seaton's Regiment at Waterloo," *Christian Remembrancer*, 54 (July – Oct. 1867), 239-285.
96. Quoted in William Leeke, *The History of Lord Seaton's Regiment, (the 52nd light infantry) at the battle of Waterloo* (London: Hatchard & Co., 1866), 268.

residence in Guernsey, and when the school opened three years later, he enrolled his three sons.[97] Similarly, within a few months of taking up his post as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, he formed Upper Canada College in 1830, concerned that the existing grammar schools were not properly preparing settlers in the province for a university education, and, as we shall see, expressed strong support for including education in any plans related to the Indigenous population.[98]

In his letter dated May 7th, 1829 to Kempt, Colborne emphasized the positive changes he had witnessed among the Mississauga at the Credit.[99] His proposals stemmed largely from what he perceived to be the successes there. He wrote,

> You will perceive from the annexed Report that a very beneficial change has been produced among the Indians on the river Credit. If the order and regularity which has been established among them can be extended to the other tribes of this province, and a fund created for their future support, by authorizing their lands to be leased, and in some cases to be sold, the system which has involved His Majesty's Government in an enormous expense may be discontinued.[100]

As is apparent here, his plan revolved around convincing Indigenous individuals to settle on individual lots that would be cultivated and using proceeds from the lease and sale of communally held Indigenous lands to fund the building of schools and the purchasing of livestock and agricultural implements.[101] To aid in "collecting the Indians in villages, and in inducing them to cultivate their lots of land" four superintendent positions would be created. Colborne wrote that the most beneficial outcome of these exertions would be that Indigenous

97. Smith, G., *The Life of John Colborne.*
98. Ibid., 257.
99. Sir J. Colborne to Sir J. Kempt, 6 May, 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 41.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.

people "will feel how much they are indebted to His Majesty's Government for the benefit which they may receive."[102] This statement was likely intended to counter concerns over the stability of the military alliance voiced by Darling and Dalhousie, among others: settlement, cultivation and education would produce an emotive attachment to the Crown. Colborne went on to recognize the dominant role played by the American Methodists in efforts to civilize Indigenous people, and the necessity of continuing their involvement given the lack of Anglican teachers "equally able and zealous."[103]

Colborne's interest in education may have stemmed from a kind of conversion to the benefits of education that he underwent in the early stages of his military career. In his youth, he was a poor student, described somewhat comically by his great admirer William Leeke to be a "backward and dull boy".[104] He did not begin to seriously commit himself to his studies until after he had left school and was wounded in battle. While he convalesced, he studied French, Italian and Spanish. The wound, he maintained, sobered his wild ways: thereafter he often rose at four o'clock in the morning while not on active duty to spend time studying, and was known for his habits of not overindulging in food or drink, and for his forbearance of swearing.[105] He would later write to his son that, in order to be good at his chosen profession, he "must endeavour to acquire a perfect knowledge of every part of it, beginning with the minute details," and suggested learning the classic languages as well as French, reading the Greek and Latin historians and keeping a reading journal, studying mathematics, drawing, the sciences, grammar, rhetoric, English history and the history of war more generally, and, finally, reading his favorite

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102. Ibid.
103. Ibid. He even goes beyond his recognition of the efforts of the American Methodists to note the establishments constructed by the American Government near Lakes Michigan and Superior consisting of missionaries, schoolmasters, farmers and mechanics (42).
104. Leeke, "Lord Seaton's Regiment at Waterloo," 242.
105. Smith, G., *The Life of John Colborne*, 16.

journals: *Quarterly Review, Edinburgh* and *Blackwood*.[106]

Colborne's determination that education was a means to improvement that should be dispersed throughout the population was shared by Osgood, Maitland and Jones, as indeed by his interlocutors in this particular phase of the debate over the management of the Indian Department. The momentum of educational systematization in North America, the United Kingdom and Europe was such that by the late 1820s, it was largely assumed that education was a cure for social ills rather than a privilege accorded to the middle and upper classes.[107] In the letters following Colborne's initial proposal to Kempt, the themes of transforming the person of Indigenous attendees through education, and of thereby attaching attendees ever more strongly to the Crown were prominent, and the suggestion of boarding out attendees was ultimately tied to these goals. A month after the writing of Colborne's letter, Kempt wrote to Murray expressing his support of Colborne's urgent request that the payments administered annually be applied towards building houses and purchasing agricultural implements and stock.[108] By this time,

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106. His letter is quoted in Smith, G., *The Life of John Colborne*, 268-269.

107. Rainer Baehre, "Paupers and Poor Relief in Upper Canada," *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, Bruce Wilson and J.K. Johnson, eds. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 320; Dinah Birch, *Our Victorian Education* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 66; Michael C. Coleman, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); John Coolahan, "Imperialism and the Irish National School System," in *'Benefits Bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism*, ed. J.A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 76-93; Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Anne Digby and Peter Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1981), 13, 25; Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Deb J. Hill, *Hegemony and Education: Gramsci, Post-Marxism, and Radical Democracy Revisited* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2007), 32-33; Ian Hunter, *Rethinking the School: Subjectivity, Bureaucracy, Criticism* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994); Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," *Past and Present* 49 (Nov., 1970), 96-119; Houston (1975); Hope Maclean, "A Positive Experiment in Aboriginal Education: The Methodist Ojibwa Day Schools in Upper Canada, 1824-1833," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 22, no. 1 (2002), 23-63; Neil McDonald, "Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890" in *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*, eds. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1982), 98; Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 36; Putman, *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada*; Vaughan, Michalina, *Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 42; Wim Weymans, "Freedom through Political Representation: Lefort, Gauchet and Rosanvallon on the Relationship between State and Society," *European Journal of Political Theory* 4, no. 3 (2005), 271.

108. Sir James Kempt to Sir George Murray, 22 June, 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van

Kempt had also heard from Charles Stewart, the Bishop of Quebec. Though an Anglican Bishop, Stewart was "a moderate evangelical who welcomed the co-operation of other ecclesiastical bodies."[109] He argued that the most important step towards "the great object of their civilization and improvement" was settlement in villages, which would be conducive to taking up agriculture, acquiring the good habits of domestic life, and cultivating religion and education.[110] He suggested that education should be mixed with labour, and that attendance at school should not be granted more importance than acquiring the skills necessary to take up agricultural labour. Stewart also took up the possibility of boarding out, stating that boarding Indigenous students with "the families of white people" was prohibitively expensive and not extensively useful. In support of his suggestions, he referenced the successes of the Methodists, and in particular, of the Jones brothers, in "converting a great portion of the Mississauga tribe from heathen ignorance and immoral habits to christian faith and practice." Stewart's moderate view of other, and particularly evangelical denominations was apparent in his comments. "Whoever were the instruments," he wrote, the effect was remarkable: "the hand of God seems to be visible in it, and it must be acknowledged that they have done much in the work of civilization."[111] As in Jones's later letter, Stewart beseeched his Anglican audience not to allow the denomination of the actors to outweigh recognition of their achievements. Through the work of Jones and the Methodists, the Mississauga had been made sober and industrious, well clad, and religious in both words and

Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 54.
109. John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 82. Charles Stewart as representing evangelicalism in Church of England - only four of first 21 bishops in BNA were evangelicals (Richard W. Vaudry, "Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 160-161). For more on Stewart see Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*, 71-72.
110. Extract of a letter from the Lord Bishop of Quebec, addressed to his Excellency Sir James Kempt, G.C.B. Quebec, 22 April, 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 51.
111. Ibid., 53.

actions.

Over the course of the summer and fall months of 1829, a number of letters passed between R.W. Hay, Under Secretary of the State for the Colonies, and J. Stewart and R.W. Dawson, both of the Treasury, culminating in the Treasury's approval of the substitution of agricultural implements and farming stock for annual presents, the collecting and settling of Indigenous people on privately held lots in villages, and provision for "religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry".[112] Three weeks later, Kempt wrote to Murray arguing for the benefits of boarding Indigenous students at common English schools:

> In discussing the most eligible means of reclaiming the Indians from their wandering and savage habits, and of inducing them to settle and assume those of civilized life, it has been frequently suggested to me, by the Archdeacon of Quebec, and by various other persons who have given their attention to the existing condition of those people, that nothing is more likely to conduce to those most desirable ends, and to confirm the attachment of the Indians to the British Government, than the education of a portion of their children, with those of the inhabitants, at the common English schools of the country.[113]

Educating Indigenous students alongside settlers would improve the Indigenous peoples' view of the Anglican Church and encourage adoption of the English language. He cited the example of a Mr. Plenderleath, who had mistakenly interpreted Kempt's statement of interest in the undertaking for a direction to proceed and had placed six Indigenous boys at a school in Chateauguay. Though Kempt was apologetic for allowing the "experiment" to proceed without Murray's approval, he declared it less objectionable to authorize its expense and allow it to

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112. G.R. Dawson, Esq. to R.W. Hay, Esq, Treasury Chambers, 20 Nov. 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 59.

113. Copy of a Despatch from Sir James Kempt to Sir George Murray, Chateau St. Louis, Quebec, 15 Dec. 1829, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 61.

continue, than to "subvert the arrangements... and to excite the distrust and disapprobation of the Indians."[114] Plenderleath had been asked to report regularly as to its effects.[115]

By the time Colborne articulated the Colborne-Kempt plan to Murray in 1830, its main characteristics had already been outlined, and in some cases put into action. In October of 1830, Colborne wrote to Murray to report on the steps that had been taken in the previous year. The superintendents had begun to replicate the changes introduced among the Credit River converts, as instructed. In February 1830, James Givins, who was at that point Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, instructed T.G. Anderson to lead the Anishinaabeg from Lake Simcoe and Matchedash Bay (the ancestors of the Beausoleil First Nation, Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation and Chippewas of Mnjikaning First Nation), along with the Potawatomi from Drummond Island (referred to at the time as "Potanganasees" or "Potaganasee Ojibwa from Drummond Island") to the Coldwater area to clear a tract and establish villages.[116] Houses on detached lots were being built and the ground cleared for farming, agricultural equipment had been supplied, and farmers and schoolmasters to instruct adults and children had been sent.[117] He also indicated that he had begun work on a central school that would house select children from each tribe in Canada, who would be trained to teach their tribesmen upon their return to their

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114. Ibid., 61.
115. Kempt wrote to George Murray from Castle of St. Lewis, Quebec, with an update on the school May 20, 1838: "The six Indian boys placed at school in Chateauquay [sic], as reported by my letter of 15th December, 1829, are stated to be attentive and industrious. They are instructed in English, reading and writing, husbandry, and shoe-making; if the experiment of educating these boys should succeed, they will be particularly qualified to instruct their brethren; and I am induced to believe that the preparation on this system of a few Indians for the situation of schoolmasters, might be beneficially attempted on a somewhat more extended scale." *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada by a Sub-Committee of The Aborigines Protection Society*, London: 1839.
116 Indian Claims Commission, "Chippewas Tri-Council Inquiry: Coldwater-Narrows Reservation Surrender Claim," March, 2003, 10; Leslie, John F., *Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs in the Canadas, 1828-1858: Evolving a Corporate Memory for the Indian Department* (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Center, Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 1985), 38.
117. Extract of a Despatch from Sir J. Colborne to Sir George Murray, G.C.B., York, 14 October, 1830, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 128.

communities.[118]

To pay for these steps, monies would be deducted from annual payments to Indigenous peoples and credited to the Indian Department. Foreseeing resistance to the commutation of payments into such objects, Colborne wrote,

> It cannot be expected that the Indians, in their present state, will be induced to consent suddenly to exchange many of their usual presents for articles that we may consider more useful to them; but I trust that their interests, which have been long shamefully neglected, will be found strictly consulted in following the system which has been commenced this season, and that in a few years they will become useful subjects, and prepared to provide for themselves.[119]

Like Darling, Colborne connected the identification and promotion of the "interests" of Indigenous people with the process of their becoming "useful subjects." The interests of Indigenous people were conceptualized by colonial administrators not in terms of what Indigenous people themselves considered to be best for, for example, the preservation of themselves *as* a people. I argue that Darling and Colborne speak of a person's interests in what Grenville Wall calls an "entrepreneurial sense": "the projects, enterprises or states of affairs in which he has a stake and from which he expects to derive some advantage or benefit."[120] For Colborne, consulting the interests of Indigenous people would mean asking what could be done in order that an Indigenous individual could create value *for themselves* out of the land, material objects, skills, etc. that they had access to. They would become useful subjects at the point at which they *as an individual* could use that property, those objects, their skills, etc. to provide materially for themselves. Indigenous individuals would be connected to the Crown, other

118. Ibid., 128.
119. Ibid., 129.
120. Grenville Wall, "The Concept of Interest in Politics," *Politics and Society*, 5, no. 4 (1975), 489.

Indigenous individuals and Euro-Canadian settlers through mutual dependencies as individuals.

Clearly funding for these initiatives remained a sticking point because early the following year, Colborne wrote to Lord Aylmer (Matthew Whitworth-Aylmer, Governor General of British North America) to inform him that the cost of centralization of Indigenous populations in villages and the cultivation of individual lots would outstrip the funds made available through the charges made to annuities and deductions from presents. Colborne asked that the full amount of annual payments for 1831 be credited to the department, and that tobacco used for these payments be purchased from Canada rather than abroad to save money, writing that the "value of the improvements may be recovered gradually from some of the tribes, and from the latest regulations adopted in issuing presents to those only who attend on the days fixed for delivering them at the several appointed stations."[121]

In his letter to Viscount Goderich in support of education and conversion as a means of bettering the living conditions of Indigenous people, Peter Jones asserted that they must be given either outright control, or a strong sense of control of their own lands so that they might have confidence in their position relative to the settlers and government.[122] However, Colborne's exchanges with Aylmer and the Treasury assumed that Indigenous assets – annuities, presents, and land – were unquestionably under the control of colonial administrators. The issue was not when, or whether Indigenous peoples would be able to make decisions relative to the use of funds that were theirs, it was whether the cost of annuities would come out of Crown or

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121. Copy of a Letter from Sir John Colborne to Lord Aylmer, Government House, 19 February, 1831, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 130; Copy of a Letter from R.W. Hay, Esq. to Sir J. Colborne, Downing-street, 2 July, 1831, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 133; Copy of a Despatch from Sir J. Colborne to Viscount Goderich, York, 26 April, 1831, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 133.
122. Peter Jones to Viscount Goderich, 26 July, 1831, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 135-136.

provincial coffers[123] and how long it would be until these funds could be rendered unnecessary or no longer obligatory. The possibility that education and "civilization" would make Indigenous people capable of controlling their own money as self-sustaining communities rather than self-interested individuals was not part of the discursive universe of the colonizers. Further, it was Colborne's object that Indigenous individuals choose to pursue their own individual interests, thereby dissolving their association with and commitment to the continuance of their Indigenous communities. In 1831 Colborne sent the following instructions regarding the government's policy to agents: "Men, The great object in view is to make the Indians feel the necessity of providing for their future support, and of giving their children such an Education as will qualify them to live with the white population."[124] The emphasis of administrators such as Colborne, Maitland and Darling on education as a conduit for both developing the skills to forward one's interests and for recognizing one's individual interests is indicative of the symbolic reorientation at the center of this dissertation. The simple fact that Colborne, Maitland and Darling emphasize recognition of one's interests rather than recognition of the authority of the Crown, for instance, or their authority as representatives of the Crown, or even the authority of God's will in such statements points toward the particular modality of submission in this instance. Indigenous people were to become useful subjects and take their place among the white population through a transformation of how they saw themselves individually, and to relate to the Crown, provincial authorities, white settlers and other Indigenous people through that perception of the self as an individual with interests that intermingled with the interests of others.

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123. Copy of a Letter from Viscount Howick to the Hon. J.K. Stewart, Downing-street, 14 February, 1832, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 138; Copy of Despatch from Mr. Secretary Stanley to Sir J. Colborne, Downing-street, 27 January, 1834, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 146.
124. Instruction from the Lieutenant Governor respecting the Indians, May 1831, Government House, York, R216-294-X-E, C13328, Correspondence of Resident Agents, Western Superintendency 1825-1909, Ontario Archives.

The Maitland and Colborne-Kempt Plans and Democratization

It may be argued that the recommendations of Maitland, Colborne, and Kempt to employ education and the encouragement of agricultural pursuits and private property ownership were consistent with efforts to integrate Indigenous people into the polity and pursue equality within the province through efforts consistent with liberal humanitarianism.[125] Indeed, Maitland's emphasis on reducing the fiduciary obligation of the Crown to Indigenous people falls within Tilly's theory of the processes undergirding democratization. Tilly argues that states can be understood as democratizing to the extent that there are increases in (1) breadth, or the proportion of the population who may "communicate complaints about governmental performance," (2) equality, understood as a diminution of distinct legal categories, (3) protection from imprisonment without due process, and (4) mutually binding consultation between governmental officials and members of the population.[126] The processes deemed integral to producing these effects are the integration of trust networks into public politics, the reduction of categorical inequality and the reduction of autonomous power centers.[127]

The populations directly impacted by the introduction of Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute – the Anishinaabeg living at St. Clair, New Credit (the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation) and on the Thames (the Deshkaan Ziibing - Chippewas of the Thames First Nation), the Anishinaabeg, Odawa and Potawatomi living on Walpole Island (the Walpole Island First Nation), and the Lunaapeew at Moraviantown (the Eelünaapéewi Lahkéewiit - Lunaapeew People of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown) – can certainly be understood as trust networks

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125. Tom Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).
126. Tilly, Charles, *Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 66.
127. Ibid., 44-47.

and autonomous power centers in the context of the emerging colonial social and political structure. Each nation undoubtedly featured interpersonal connections or strong ties "within which people set valued, consequential, long-term resources and enterprises at risk to the malfeasance, mistakes, or failures of others".[128] They were also characterized by social institutions external to the public politics of the settler population, and at least to some extent outside of their control, such as the political structure of the tribe and lineages.[129]

Tilly suggests that the integration of trust networks and attenuation of autonomous power centers, to be properly democratizing, must be achieved through contingent consent rather than coercion:

> The democratic dilemma, in this view, concerns how to connect those valued enterprises and the networks that sustain them to public politics without damaging either trust networks or public politics. The connection will only work well with contingent consent on the part of trust network members. A state's shift away from coercion toward combinations of capital and commitment promotes contingent consent.[130]

Darling's comments regarding keeping alive the affections of Indigenous peoples and Colborne's references to feelings of indebtedness and the need to consult the interests of Indigenous peoples suggest that the schools were part of an effort to induce Indigenous people to willingly shift their primary allegiance from their nation to the emerging Canadian state; in other words, they were oriented towards achieving contingent consent. This is demonstrated by the importance placed upon disrupting the linguistic[131] and religious ties that helped to define and knit together

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128. Ibid., 74.
129. Ibid., 76.
130. Ibid., 94.
131. The Head Commissioners opined, "In our opinion however nothing will so pave the way for the amalgamation of the Indian and white races, as the disuse among the former of their peculiar dialects. So long as they continue to cling to them, they will remain a distinct people dwelling apart in the midst of their White neighbours." (Canada, Report of the Special Commissioners appointed on the 8 September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada. Sessional Papers, 1858, Appendix 21, Ottawa, 1858, 97, 151)

Indigenous peoples, alienating those nations from the land they had lived in relation to for generations, and giving individuals an "interest" in their land, as will be discussed in a later chapter, but doing so through education in the benefits of Christianity, the English language, private property ownership, cultivation and commerce. The dedication of provincial and Crown funds, along with the sanctioned efforts of philanthropic and missionary organizations in coordination with state agents such as Indian agents, constituted the combination of capital and commitment alluded to above.

Insofar as a number of special obligations owed to a sub-section of the population would be decreased, there would be a "decline... in the number of distinct legal categories defining rights and obligations of different population segments vis-à-vis the state" which, for Tilly, is consonant with an increasing level of equality.[132] Maitland's desire to bring communal ownership of property to a close by parcelling out land to individual owners represented an effort to decrease the autonomy and power of Indigenous communities, per the move towards the decrease in autonomous power centers Tilly associates with democratization. Finally, the fact that Maitland did not want to alienate the Crown's allies was consistent with Tilly's suggestion that democratization entailed a transition from coercion to "combinations of capital and commitment".[133] Indeed, Maitland was against moves that would be viewed by affected Indigenous people as unilaterally taken and punitive, and for decisions that would bring Indigenous individuals to themselves favour British rule and that would establish and reinforce relations of trust between colonists and Indigenous populations. Insofar as the purpose of the Colborne-Kempt plan was 1) to incorporate Indigenous people into the state by integrating them into the dominant population and by rendering them participants at least in the economic life of

132. Tilly, *Democracy*, 66.
133. Ibid., 94.

the colony, 2) to diminish the status of Indigenous communities as "external power centers" threatening the stability of the state (for instance, by siding with the Americans in conflict or protecting land rights against settlers without recourse to state officials), and 3) to move towards greater equality by reducing differences between settlers and Indigenous people, it was similarly part of a democratizing transition occurring in the Canadas, per Tilly's framework.

However, the unilateral nature of the decision making in evidence here seems to be an example of coercion, the absence of mutually binding consultation and a lack of increase in breadth. In the case of the Anishinaabeg and Lunaapeew people impacted by Mt. Elgin, the trust networks Tilly argues must be protected in processes of democratization were also the autonomous power centers so threatening to the progress of democratization. Trust networks – the kinship groups, religious sects, and credit circles of which they are constituted – may be protected so long as they are subject to the control of public politics (to use Tilly's phrase) and do not have autonomous access to coercive means. Where aspects of trust networks such as decision-making structures or property are not subject to the control of public politics, these trust networks become autonomous power centers and must be dissolved. *That* this can be seen as a movement towards inclusion, given the highly circumscribed statement of what the interests of Indians were, raises Lefort's cautions in relation to democratization.

As was described in chapter one, Lefort argues that the movement towards a democratic symbolic involves a shift of the point of legitimation of the state from an authority external to and other than society to society itself. [134] The polity – the totality of the civic participants who constitute a people within a democratic state formation – is no longer symbolically represented by the Crown or the Church, as was demonstrated by the credibility accorded (if reluctantly) to

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134. Lefort, "Permanence," 225.

denominations other than the Anglicans and political actors not affiliated with the Crown in the Canadas and the United Kingdom. Colborne's "white population" included even the elements he found distasteful, such as the Methodists. Decisions made on behalf of the state could no longer be legitimated by virtue of their issuing from the Crown or the Anglican Church – an "extra-social power," as Singer writes.[135] That the dictums of the Crown and the Anglican Church were no longer viewed as entirely authoritative was indicated by tensions around educational reform or the clergy reserves, among other provincial disputes, and by the debate around whether the Indian Department could be abolished or the annuities discontinued. In these debates, the perspective of the Crown was argued to be out of keeping with the "reality" of the situation by reformers, Methodists, Indigenous leaders and even, at times, representatives of the Crown; it was out of keeping with the needs of the people affected, or the well-being of the polity more generally (as with Darling and Colborne's warnings in relation to withholding presents). Rather than being legitimated by virtue of emanating from an externality seen as always already representative of the will of the people (insofar as the will of the people is an extension of that externality), policy decisions within the democratic symbolic regime are rendered acceptable by the perception of their consistency with what the polity wants for itself.

However, this does not mean that decision-making in the democratizing environment of nineteenth-century Upper Canada necessarily accounted for a real diversity of interests and perspectives. Singer and Weir show how the separation of knowledge from law and power in the context of democratic sovereignty opens the possibility of a separate domain of knowledge claimed by state actors in the name of governance[136] - by individuals such as Maitland, Colborne and Kempt.

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135. Brian C. J. Singer, "Thinking the 'Social' with Claude Lefort", *Thesis Eleven*, 87 (Nov. 2006), 89.
136. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power," 53.

> In the religious symbolic regime, where the 'order of the social' is rendered present through the representation of an extra-social power, knowledge appears as a necessary moment of, and inseparable from, power and its representation…. By contrast, the emergence of the social from the political supposes a form of knowledge that separates political representation from national existence, discourse from institution, enunciation from its referent, and words from things.[137]

The inability to fully capture and represent the will of the people opens the possibility of making competing claims to knowledge of, or on behalf of the people, or to have special knowledge of the will of the people. Chapter five will explore how notions of a divided self, or a self within the self in need of identification and possibly disciplining influenced approaches to conversion and institutionalization. Here, we see evidence of such a divide but at the level of the group. The sovereign people, and assertions of what the will of the people consisted of when that will was invoked to legitimate a claim, did not (and cannot) correspond to the thoughts and desires of the collection of individuals who in actuality comprise 'the people'. If at the level of the individual, such a schism required a cure in the form of religious, educational or medical intervention, at the level of the whole it required institutionalization - the identification of a problematic population in need of a diagnosis and a cure.[138] The various reports noted in this chapter and commissions to be discussed in future chapters borrowed the language and methods of scientific exploration of the natural world to establish claims to an understanding of society, the implication being that members of a society were not able to know themselves as well as those wielding such tools on their behalf.

This notion of the identification of a problematic population in need of a cure helps us understand the desire of colonial administrators for Indigenous people to be part of 'society'

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137. Singer, "Thinking the 'Social'," 89.
138. Gauchet and Swain, *Madness and Democracy*, 49.

even while taking measures to withhold the ability to act as part of the people through, for example, exercising the franchise. To be part of society was to be submitted to being known, to be submitted to the knowledge producing apparatuses of the state. If the particular role of state actors was to know those whom they are tasked with serving, inclusion in society meant being subject to their oversight, and for state actors to speak not only about them but for them. The Colborne-Kempt plan was argued to be the best possible policy decision not only because it served the interests of the Crown but because it served the interests of Indigenous people and would ensure the stability of the province, and because it was in keeping with the perception of the kind of people the British and Upper Canadian people were. When Viscount Goderich again raised the possibility of discontinuing annuities in 1832, Colborne wrote that,

> However embarrassing, therefore, it may be found to incur an expense annually for presents, I am persuaded your Lordship will think that this periodical acknowledgement of their [the Indians'] claims and exertions cannot be discontinued without a loss of character on the part of the British nation.[139]

Colborne was arguing that a decision to discontinue annuities based on the interests of the Crown alone – specifically the goal of decreasing the expenditures of the Crown – would not only threaten the stability of relations between Indigenous people and the Crown and raise the prospect of Indigenous support of Americans in the case of aggression from the south, it would not be virtuous.

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139. Copy of a Despatch from Sir J. Colborne to Viscount Goderich, York, 30 Nov., 1832, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 141.

Chapter 3: Educational Background

Philanthropic societies promoted a vision of childhood as a state of innocence and latent potential to be preserved and promoted by educational institutions. In this context, boarding schools and the integration of labour into educational contexts were understood in terms of the need to protect moral goodness and the propensity toward productiveness; human nature was cast as animalistic and uncivilized when not disciplined by exposure to training and a beneficial environment. Manual labour and industrial boarding schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were designed to separate children from the deleterious influences of their "natural" social context and to create a context within which behaviors and characteristics understood to be moral, civilized and normative could be learned and cultivated. As Philippe Ariès points out in his history of childhood, they were also designed to cater to specific sub-populations within the broader population of children. In this way, the egalitarian demand of universal education was enacted in a way that tended toward segregation and differential training and treatment of specific populations. While for the children of the elite, such schools were understood to preserve and cultivate positive attributes, the children of the impoverished, the working classes and non-European populations were rather described as on a path of savagery and uncivilized behavior from which education would serve as a rescue.

The Society for the Promotion of Education and Industry among the Indians and Destitute Settlers in Canada

In the early part of the nineteenth century, a variety of Societies had emerged in Upper Canada to address the condition of Indigenous peoples and poor settlers – in addition to other

sub-sections of the population deemed in need of aid such as single women, the unemployed,

orphans, those who drank spirits, and the deaf – in Upper Canada, and the British empire more

broadly.[1] Historians such as Jane Errington and Darren Ferry have shown how involvement in

voluntary associations significantly contributed to the constitution of individual and group

identities in nineteenth-century Upper Canada.[2] In Errington's study of gender identity

formation, she argues that the involvement of women in aid and religious societies in nineteenth-

century Upper Canada served to underscore the impact and influence of class on colonists' lives:

> The very existence of aid and religious societies illustrated that some Upper Canadians had the financial means and presumed they had the moral and social responsibility to help 'them' – members of the 'lower' classes – who individually or collectively were economically or morally wanting... Ladies Maitland and Colborne and other elite women who headed women's aid organizations assumed that they had the right and the responsibility to define social ills. They also presumed to determine which causes most needed to be addressed and how best to do this. And women such as Anne Powell and Harriet Cartwright assumed that they had a duty to enter the homes of aid supplicants and to decide, not only *if* they were deserving of aid, but also *what* aid these families needed.[3]

Errington's analysis underscores themes noted in chapter two. Colonial elites continued to

assume and reproduce a social hierarchy more reflective of the *ancien régime* matrix at the same

time as they manifested a new concern with the behaviors and everyday life of non-elite strata,

whom they viewed as in need of moral guidance.

According to Ferry, the relationship between voluntary associations and processes of

state formation were particularly notable in the Canadian context, where civil services were, for

many decades, provided by voluntary organizations rather than the state. He writes that "The

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1. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada 1790-1840* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
2. Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Liberal Identities in Central Canada, 1830-1900* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).
3. Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 238.

ideologies, functions, and services provided by voluntary associations… produced a common-sense worldview of how Canadian society was ordered representatively in a cultural and social sense, as well as materially in the economic and political spheres."[4] While the attempt to reflect liberal values of inclusive membership meant that these voluntary organizations at least claimed to cross class, ethnic and gender lines, "in many respects these societies and organizations symbolized the governing power of the increasingly visible 'middling sorts' in Canadian society."[5]

One such voluntary association was the Society for Promoting Education and Industry in Canada, a society dedicated to the education and "improvement" of Indigenous people and destitute settlers. In 1829, Thaddeus Osgood reported on the activities of its Auxiliary Committee in York, detailing a meeting that had occurred the previous year during which the Committee had decided to lend assistance towards the establishment of Schools of Industry at the River Credit, Lake Simcoe, and at the Thames, where Mount Elgin would ultimately be built. The schools would promote knowledge of agriculture and "the useful arts" under the care of individuals notable for their later involvement in Indigenous education, and industrial and manual labour schooling: Reverends Case, Jones and Ryerson.[6] Osgood's report demonstrates the connection between philanthropic efforts prevalent in the early- to mid-nineteenth century and colonial policy. Philanthropists and colonial administrators not only interacted, calling upon one another for support and information, but colonial officials very often leant their names and

4. Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good,* 6.
5. Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good*: 6. It is worth noting that these behaviors may be more properly considered civic republican than liberal. See Janet Ajzenstat (editor), *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican?* (Ottawa: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995) and Benjamin T. Jones, *Republicanism and Responsible Government: The Shaping of Democracy in Australia and Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).
6. Thaddeus Osgood, *The Canadian Visitor: Communicating Important Facts and Interesting Anecdotes Respecting the Indians and Destitute Settlers in Canada and the United States of America* (London: Hamilton and Adams, 1829), 69.

financial support to philanthropic causes. The impulse to improve some "object" of their attention in the name of a greater good was shared by both administrators and philanthropists.

Osgood had long been involved in the cause of the education of the poor of the British empire. Originally from Massachusetts, he had been raised a Congregationalist in "comfortable and respectable circumstances," attending college at Dartmouth for theological studies, and receiving his license to preach in 1804.[7] He travelled and preached in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Upper and Lower Canada before taking refuge from the War of 1812 in England. There, he organized a Committee for Promoting the Education of Destitute of all Denominations in England in 1813, one source of the funding of which was provided by Lord Bathurst to build a House of Industry.[8] In 1825, he turned his attention to Canada, raising funds to open schools, and train teachers for Indigenous populations and destitute settlers in Canada. With the support of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury and the Bishop of Durham, along with donors of different denominations, he started the Society for the Promotion of Education and Industry in Canada.[9] It was to this Society that he was reporting in the document under consideration here, and the report recorded and, in some instances, defended his activities as their agent.

Transformation of the Social Context of Childhood

The Society's support for the establishment of schools of industry at the River Credit, Lake Simcoe, and at the Thames is unsurprising given the growing popularity of institutions of this kind in the nineteenth century, and of the attendant conceptualization of childhood as a specific phase in life. Child rescue institutions such as the infant asylum, the orphan asylum and

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7. Ibid., 1.
8. Ibid., 3.
9. Ibid., 5.

the industrial or manual labour boarding school were intended to segregate children from the larger population, and to provide treatment and protection. Drawing on Philippe Ariès's history of the concept of childhood,[10] Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell write that these kinds of initiatives were organized around a newly emerging conceptualization of childhood as a state requiring protection, and of the family as the most appropriate social unit to foster the well-being of the child.[11] Rooke and Schnell use the four key characteristics of dependence, protection, segregation and delayed responsibilities to summarize the dominant conceptualization of childhood in Upper Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[12] Although frequently articulated by philanthropists as characteristic of what it meant to "be" a child, they were in fact indicative of a particular class position. Children of the labouring class often worked, and therefore partook of adult responsibilities, were, at times, independent of, rather than dependent upon adult protection, and were integrated into the world of adult activities. Child rescuers aimed to initiate these proto-children into the world of true childhood by radically altering their conditions of life through the use of refuges, asylums, orphanages and, later, adoption and fostering.[13] For the "delinquent" child who was considered prone to activities unfit for childhood, there were the reformatory and juvenile courts and laws.[14]

By the early nineteenth century, the factors central to determining the objects of

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10. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Robert Baldick (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962).

11. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*. For a discussion of competing notions of what constituted the family in Upper Canada in this period, see Alison Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example," *History of Education Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1972), 281-303.

12. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*: 8. See also J. Dekker, "Demystification in the Century of the Child: The Conflict between Romanticism and Disenchantment in (Residential) Youth Care from the 1830s to 2000," in *Professionalization and Participation in Child and Youth Care: Challenging Understandings in Theory and Practice*, eds. E.J. Knorth, P.M. van den Bergh and J. Verheij (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002). Dekker writes that there were three images of childhood at the beginning of the nineteenth century: Rousseau's romantic image of an age of innocence and childhood as being a time of developing along natural lines and timelines, Locke's idea of the child as a *tabula rasa*, and the image of the child as marked by original sin. He suggests that the latter was central to the field of child protection and among Réveil and British evangelicals (34).

13. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 10.

14. Ibid.

philanthropic aid had shifted from the particular circumstances leading individuals to be deemed deserving to a perception of a whole context of living as being a kind of contagion from which children had to be removed in order to better their condition. Rooke and Schnell write that the differentiation of "deserving" from "undeserving" poor had been established in the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601, where the undeserving were essentially able-bodied and the deserving were the aged, infirm and properly unemployed, and dependent children.[15] Still, children in Upper Canada were not treated as a separate population with specialized needs until the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Many of the children being "rescued" in the province in the mid-nineteenth century were indeed neither destitute nor orphaned.[16] What rendered them deserving was that they were believed to lack the attributes of childhood. Between the 1820s and 1860s, institutions such as infant asylums and industrial schools were perceived to be a substitution for a family context deemed by child rescuers to be absent from the lives of certain classes and racialized populations of children, and necessary for the inculcation of traits such as industriousness and virtue.

The popularity of boarding schools in France, England and Prussia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is testament to the prioritization of segregation and protection among the middle and upper classes. Ariès writes that in France in the early nineteenth century, both individual tuition and the boarding school "were designed to satisfy the same conviction of the moral necessity for a more suitable setting for childhood."[17] Seclusion from the family and world at large were felt to have both moral and educational value, a sentiment that faded along with the nineteenth century in France as French parents refused to be separated from their children.[18]

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15. Ibid., 34.
16. Ibid., 88-89.
17. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood,* 281.
18. Ibid., 284.

Boarding schools followed a rather different institutional development in England. By the close of the eighteenth century, the gentry had become reluctant to send their sons to the local grammar schools as the children of the poor also attended these institutions. For this reason, some of these schools decided to specialize in the education of young gentleman, draw their student populations from throughout the nation rather than the immediate locale, and establish boarding facilities for out-of-town recruits.[19] These became the prestigious, and peculiarly upper- and upper-middle-class English public schools, as distinct from grammar schools. Ariès writes of this transition that,

> here we have the great difference between the two societies, that of the seventeenth century and that of the twentieth or at least the nineteenth century: the difference between a society in which people were carefully ranked but were mixed up in a common space, and a society which is egalitarian but in which the classes are kept apart in separate spaces.[20]

The residential school system would demonstrate the theme raised here by Ariès: the achievement of segregation in the context of expanding notions of political participation, and in the name of egalitarianism.[21]

Industrial and Manual Labour Boarding Schools

Manual labour and industrial boarding schools typically featured the boarding of children and a curriculum that included some element of labour in the form of farming and animal husbandry, domestic labour, or training in a trade. In their earliest incarnations, manual labour

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19. Ibid., 313.
20. Ibid., 307.
21. For a related argument centered on psychiatric asylums, see Marcel Gauchet and Gladys Swain, *Madness and Democracy: The Modern Psychiatric Universe*, translated by Catherine Porter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

schools were to serve the purpose of bridging the chasms dividing the classes solidifying in Europe in the late eighteenth century, and to rectify perceived deficiencies in experience and training as a result of the emerging class structure. Bennett locates the inspiration for the idea of combining manual labour and education in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's view of agriculture as the highest occupation and trades as a means of freedom via reliance on one's own labour alone – "a title that cannot be taken," as Rousseau wrote in *Emilius and Sophia*.[22] Rousseau's ideas inspired Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, whose determination to help the children of the poor in his home country of Switzerland initially took the form of a school he named Neuhof Industrial School, the curriculum of which included cultivation of the land upon which it was situated.[23] Though Pestalozzi was an ineffectual manager of the various schools and institutes he started or was associated with, in the years following his initial attempt he developed an instructional method that was massively influential in the development of the manual labour and industrial school movement. Children, he believed, should proceed in their education from things to facts, and to develop an "alphabet of abilities" which could then be applied to any practical task the child may later face.[24] Bennett writes that, "He was in no hurry to have children read and write; first he wanted them to talk intelligently, count and perform simple mathematical processes, acquire power to observe accurately and learn a great many facts about the common things of life."[25] Combining manual labour with education was consistent with his view that education should center on observation, practical experience and the organic growth of the child. Rooke argues that Pestalozzi effectively combined,

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22. Quoted in Charles Alpheus Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870* (Peoria, Illinois: The Manual Arts Press, 1926), 97.
23. Ibid., 108-111.
24. Ibid., 119, 122.
25. Ibid., 119.

> …the more general notions of citizenship as human development with the education of the poor. Bringing together the two major streams of early modern European thought, Enlightenment belief in rationality and the Romantic belief in the power of the unconscious forces inherent in the folk, pedagogical theorists argued that cultural and political regeneration depended not on the education of the prince and his circle but on the uplift of the people.[26]

Pestalozzi's ideas inspired the work of Emanuel von Fellenberg, with whom he worked for a short period between 1804 and 1805 as Fellenberg developed his famous Farm and Trade School at Hofwyl.

Fellenberg believed that instruction in science, agriculture and manual labour was essential, and should be accomplished in the style promoted by Pestalozzi, but he combined this with a strict conception of the necessity of maintaining the order of society which, in his view, had been shaped by Divine Wisdom.[27] As such, Hofwyl was in actuality an aggregation of schools oriented towards what he felt were the proper occupation for each class. Male children of the upper class learned at the academy, male children of the middle class had a school of applied science, male children of the lower class attended a farm school where they spent most of their time in agricultural pursuits, but could also pursue a trade, and female students of the lower class attended a branch of the farm and trade school that trained girls for domestic service.[28] Nonetheless, each school required students to labour and there was engineered intermingling between the classes:

> Fellenberg sought to promote social harmony without upsetting a hierarchical class system. An enlightened elite would respect social inferiors and labor for their improvement, while the lower orders, educated and morally uplifted, faithfully toiled for

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26. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 132.
27. Ibid., 132, 129.
28. Ibid., 134-141.

the betterment of the nation. Through a union of mental and physical training and a melding of classes, Hofwyl hoped to forge a community bond of Christian love and mutual devotion.[29]

Such a conceptualization of manual labour schooling was consistent with the vision of Maitland, Colborne and Kempt for these institutions. They took as their object the individual subject of the student in the name of maintaining a status quo rather than accomplishing social reform.

The educational strategy applied emphasized a need for discipline and the enactment of an order to be mirrored in society and not of self-seeking per the themes to be explored in the next two chapters. Hofwyl featured both the strict daily allocation of time characteristic of later industrial schools, and a form of participatory governance designed to train students to participate in civic decision making. In his autobiography, American Hofwyl student Robert Dale Owen described the production and reinforcement of the rules he encountered as follows:

> I found the students living under a Verfassung (constitution) which had been drafted by a select committee of their number, five or six years before, adopted by an almost unanimous vote of the whole body, and approved by Mr. Fellenberg's signature…. This embraced the entire police of the institution. Neither the founder and president nor the faculty issued any rules or regulations. Our professors had no authority whatever except within their class-rooms. Our laws, whether defining official duties, or relating to household affairs, hours of retiring, and the like, or for the maintenance of morality, good order, cleanliness, and health, were stringent, but they were all strictly self-imposed….And while punishment by the college authorities held no place, as restraining motive, among us, neither was any outside stimulus of reward, or even of class rank, admitted. Emulation was limited among us to that which naturally arises among young men prosecuting the same studies.[30]

Hofwyl was heavily visited by educators, government officials and religious representatives, including an 1845 visit by Egerton Ryerson, though by the mid-1830s interest in manual labour

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29. Paul Goodman, "The Manual Labor Movement and the Origins of Abolitionism," *Journal of the Early Republic* 13, no. 3 (Autumn, 1993), 367.
30. Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way* (New York: G.W. Carleton and Co., 1874), 154.

and industrial schooling in Europe and America had already started to decline.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, schools modeled after Hofwyl served a variety of groups and purposes. Institutions built throughout Europe and the United States had as their purpose the preservation of the health, moral standing, and masculinity of children of the middle and upper classes, the reformation of delinquent children, the protection of the poor or orphaned, the preparation of Black and Indigenous people for participation in the labour force, and the training of evangelical ministers. Goodman suggests that they first appeared in the United States in the 1820s "as an inexpensive method for increasing the production of clergymen" insofar as the labour of the students would offset the costs of the institution,[31] though by 1804 the Moravians had already opened a school among the Cherokee that included a model farm and limited vocational training.[32] Among those who argued for their general utility in the United States, they were an answer to increasing social stratification insofar as they afforded access to education for the poorer classes, reduced contempt for manual labour among the middle and upper classes, and offered a practical education more suited to life in the colonies.[33] However, as the first decades of the century wore on, they became less commonly employed in the education of the middle and upper classes and were more often directed towards the education of the poor, orphaned or those deemed in need of reform or special attention such as the deaf, the blind, Indigenous people, immigrants and delinquent children.

Though the designators "industrial school" and "manual labour school" were at times

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31. Goodman, "Manual Labor Movement," 364.
32. Jeffrey R. McDade, *The Birth of the American Indian Manual Labor Boarding School: Social Control Through Culture Destruction, 1820-1850* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 89.
33. Goodman, "Manual Labor Movement," 370; Bennett, *History of Manual*: 182-183; McDade, *Birth of the American Indian Manual Labor*, 88. Michalina Vaughan points out that prior to 1832, the working class and middle class drew from same pool of educational ideas, but came to different conclusions, which would seem to apply equally to manual labour and industrial schools: "the middle-class radicals thought education would make the workers docile, the working-class leaders held that it would result in political emancipation" (Michalina Vaughan, *Social Conflict and Educational Change*, 42).

used almost interchangeably in the early nineteenth century, industrial schools typically focused

on trades such as shoemaking, carpentry, stereotyping and wood-engraving, and were situated in

or near urban centers. Schools of industry for the children of the working class poor were in part

the by-product of their families' reliance upon the profits of their labours, and the necessity of

beginning apprenticeships at young ages.[34] The weakening of the apprenticeship system in the

nineteenth century in favor of standardized training processes produced industrial school

frameworks such as the Mechanic Institutes of England and Scotland.[35] However, industrial

schools, like manual labour schools, were also used by the philanthropic societies who instituted

them to inculcate the values of industriousness, and to equip the children of the destitute and

orphans to provide for themselves without the need for charity. Early examples included John

Daniel Falk's 1820 school, formed in the vicinity of a battlefield, in which students were trained

to build and work with iron[36] and Philadelphia's Girard College, founded in 1833 for orphaned

boys.[37] Rooke and Schnell comment that, "Less concern was given to childhood sentiment than

to imprinting indelibly upon the lower classes the necessity for all members of society to labor in

order to be fed and to dissuade the hungry from expecting charity."[38]

The suggestion of the York Auxiliary Committee of the Society for Promoting Education

and Industry in Canada, along with others such as Maitland and Steward, that the application of

the boarding school concept be applied to the perceived problem of indigent children, can be

situated within this broader context of educational and pedagogical transformation.[39] However,

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34. Bennett, *History of Manual*, 230.
35. Aaron Benavot, "The Rise and Decline of Vocational Education," *Sociology of Education* 56, no. 2 (1983), 64.
36. Bennett, *History of Manual*, 211. See also Christine Mayer, "Poverty, Education and Gender: Pedagogic Transformations in the Schools for the Poor (*Armenschulwesen*) in Hamburg, 1788–1871," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1–2 (February-April 2011), 93.
37. Ibid., 213.
38. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 74.
39. James Kay-Shuttleworth, one of the architects of the public school system in England, advocated for a system of pauper district schools that would employ boarding facilities to separate children from the deleterious effects of their

the combination of work and schooling seems to run counter to the characteristic of delayed responsibility Rooke and Schnell suggest to be associated with the nineteenth-century conceptualization of the child. If such schools were intended to create the context for a pristine, more fully realized childhood, where did labour fit into the picture? The answer can perhaps be found in Osgood's description of the environment the schools should provide for attendees, which accords with Rooke and Schnell's description of a kind of artificial and apparently improved family environment. In addition, his emphasis on the value of labour in teaching Indigenous individuals to know their interests and in inculcating desired values and attributes aligns with Taylor's innocentizing strategy described in chapter one and renders comprehensible this apparent contradiction.

Osgood and the Institution of Society

The meeting of the York Auxiliary Committee of the Society for Promoting Education and Industry in Canada that took place February 3rd of 1828 was attended by a number of notables, including members of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada.[40] Osgood wrote that

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parents, though he seemingly got no further than the Norwood pauper school (Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," *Past and Present* 49 (Nov., 1970), 111). The Presbyterian minister Gideon Blackburn had introduced a boarding school among the Cherokee in 1804. Blackburn's was not the only American example that was looked to (Milloy, *A National Crime,* 13; William Gerald McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 75). Osgood's report contained a reference to a seminary in Michilimacinac attended by one hundred Native American students that combined labour and study. Indian agent Captain Thomas Gummersall Anderson had reported that the youths were bound to the superintendent until they were twenty-one: "The Captain thinks it would be very desirable that a similar establishment should be introduced in some central situation in Canada," Osgood commented (Osgood, *The Canadian Visitor*, 61). In 1822, Captain Robert Parker Pelly, Governor of Assiniboia, proposed industrial boarding schools for the case of "half breed" children whose parents had died or deserted them, and who were not under the care of the Roman Catholics (Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 65). The Hudson Bay Company would clothe and maintain them under the care of a Mr. West of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, suggesting that the expense of civilizing and instructing the children in religion would be short-term as the boys would be trained for agriculture and the girls for industry and could be apprenticed (Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 65). 40. Osgood mentions the contribution of the Honourable John Henry Dunn, member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, and Receiver General and later member of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada.

the auxiliary Society was pleased with the suggestion that the parent Society would match any funds they may raise through donations and subscriptions towards the aid of orphans and poor children of the English and Indigenous populations. Their approach to fundraising was based on raising funds from among the population they aimed to serve to match what they themselves could donate. While this was deemed feasible among the English population, Osgood reported that the Society members felt that "in relation to what may be given towards Schools of Industry among the Indian Tribes, it would be difficult to obtain an equal sum, for very few of them can do any thing more than what is necessary for their own subsistence."[41] However, as the Schools of Industry, and the knowledge of agriculture, domestic labour and skills in trades that they would offer were deemed "very important," members decided that £25, half the sum they originally intended to send, would be donated.[42]

Indeed, even the method of raising funds for the schools by demanding matching contributions was related to the goal of the schools and considered to be part of the "cure" that they would instigate. Referring to the responsibilities of the Auxiliary Society to the Parent Institution in London, Osgood asserted the necessity of the involvement of the local population generally, and the specific population towards whom efforts were being expended:

> But that your funds may not be misapplied, your Committee have resolved, that they will grant no assistance to any place until the people will meet and form a local Committee, and subscribe what they can towards helping themselves, that is, among the settlers. The poor Indians, and some others, who have no idea of the importance of an education, will be an exception to this rule.[43]

Osgood's choice of words is instructive. He stated that "the people" must meet to form a local

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41. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 69.
42. Ibid., 69.
43. Ibid., 28.

Committee – not the individuals being helped, but those doing the helping, who would be "helping themselves" in the process. The settlers constituted the "people" he referred to, and they were to be rewarded by the parent Society for their awareness of what was in their interests. However, while the settlers who were apparently unaware of what was in their interests would be left alone until they could take the decision to help themselves, Indigenous individuals would be an exception: Osgood suggested that they would simply be helped, given that they could not be expected, on their own, to know their interests. He goes on to write that "We are happy, however, to find that some of the Indians in the Upper Province, have entered into Society, and formed rules and regulations highly creditable."[44] I am interpreting this somewhat elusive statement to mean that some Indigenous people had formed auxiliary committees and undertaken the requisite process of writing rules and regulations to guide their decision-making. The contradiction between the statements that Indigenous people had "no idea of the importance of an education" but had in some cases organized their own Committees to tackle poverty and education was apparently unnoticed by Osgood, very likely due to his frequently offered assessment of the character of Indigenous individuals.

Indigenous people were, in Osgood's opinion, "averse to labour, and... greatly deficient as to their knowledge of the arts of civilized life."[45] Left untutored by colonizers, they were "as filthy as the swine" and suffered their children "to grow up like wild asses." Osgood quoted Rev. James Jackson, one of the first Methodist ministers to provide regular Sunday preaching in York,[46] as referring to Indigenous people as "poor perishing creatures... perishing in a temporal

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44. Ibid., 28.
45. Ibid., 23.
46. Thomas Edward Champion, *The Methodist Churches of Toronto: A History of the Methodist Denomination and Its Churches in York and Toronto* (Toronto: Rose, 1899), 14. Rev. Jackson was born in New York, and is described by Champion as, "…a remarkable man, and a fit subject for the pen of a novelist… Of superior talents, 'what he did not know he appeared to know.' Tall and handsome, with dark hair and florid complexion; graceful, with an air of assumed dignity; but never looking the person addressed squarely in the face" (42-43). He became an elder in the

point of view, for lack of clothing; and, in a spiritual point of view, for lack of vision."[47] They

live, Jackson wrote, "in nature's darkness."[48] In its employment of animal metaphors, the

language was indicative not just of a lack of social graces or Christian beliefs, but of humanity in

general.

> The ardently non-denominational object of the Society and its Auxiliaries was to:
> Assist in removing the dense clouds of ignorance from the minds of the Indians and
> uneducated settlers – to show them the advantages of settled and persevering industry –
> to teach them the value of domestic enjoyments, when mingled with the light of
> knowledge, and thus prepare the way for the regular ordinances of the sanctuary, by
> whomsoever they may be introduced.[49]

This view of Indigenous people and of the role of the Society clearly relates to a view of the

individual as not naturally given to attributes such as civic-mindedness and industriousness.

Those left without adequate guidance, training and discipline were destined to be like animals in

their lack of social virtues. Even where Osgood referred to Indigenous individuals attempting to

seek redress through the means available to them against the incursions of settlers, as where

Osgood notes a petition sent to the Government asking that action be taken against settlers

occupying their land, he wrote that "human laws and legislative enactments will prove of little

avail, unless the fear of God and a sense of religion be implanted in the mind."[50]

There is little doubt that the primary purpose of the schools was to be conversion, an

attitude of industriousness, and the transmission of labour related skills rather than a type of

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Church, was a missionary school-teacher, and exerted considerable influence, according to Champion, in the region
of the Thames. He and Rev. Henry Ryan were responsible for starting The Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church
after the break between the Methodists of Canada and the Mother Church, and then for forging a relationship with
the British New Connection in 1849 after a period of diminishing strength.
47. Osgood, *The Canadian Visitor*, 61.
48. Ibid., 61.
49. Ibid., 30-31.
50. Ibid., 34.

education suited to civic participation. Osgood wrote that the institutions did not require men of "the highest intellectual attainments" in the role of instructors, but rather those who possessed the qualities of "zeal, prudence, and piety, combined with habits of industry and skill in the useful arts." They were to be prepared to withstand hardship and privation and to survive on their own labour while fulfilling their obligations as teachers.[51] These traits – industriousness, piety, stoicism in the face of hardship, and Christian zeal – were so important in the teacher because of the power of imitation. Osgood described the satisfaction he gained from seeing the Mississauga settlement at Grape Island, a "once drunken and degraded people, now become sober and industrious, attempting to copy all that they see worthy of their imitation, from their white brethren – but shunning their errors."[52] Imitation was to be coupled with segregation from the negative influences of not only degraded Indigenous individuals but also impious "white brethren"; as was to become apparent in the debate over removal to Manitoulin Island, segregation was not an idea reserved for Indigenous children only, but a possibility frequently raised for Indigenous people more generally.

Those Indigenous individuals and tribes who had, at the time of Osgood's report, experienced the influence of a sustained Christian presence and of settlement were described in effusive terms. Like Darling, Colborne, Stewart, and Kempt before him, Osgood turned to the example of the Credit River Mississauga to illustrate the benefits of conversion and settlement. He wrote that the Credit Mississauga, previously "filthy as swine" had now "come out of their savage state…".[53] They were "neat and clean" and enjoyed "domestic comforts" that were the product of their fishery and manufactures. They had erected a schoolhouse overseen by a

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51. Ibid., 74.
52. Ibid., 64.
53. Ibid., 35-36.

Mississauga teacher, which was on Sundays used as a Sunday school in which parents and children alike received religious instruction from a minister who lived in the village. Upon his arrival, Osgood asked that the people be gathered to sing him a song of Zion. "They sung several hymns in a manner that was truly delightful" he reported. "I observed to the friend, who had accompanied me from York, this is a sight, which angels might witness with satisfaction."[54] Again, Osgood does not recognize the role of the Mississauga in bringing about this apparently miraculous scene, commenting only that, "By the assistance of Government, houses have been built for them…".[55] To do so would have been to break with the vision of Indigenous people and colonizers that was fundamental to Osgood's philanthropic efforts. The statement that Indigenous people could not be expected to raise matching funds for the Society's efforts, his dismissal of the use of the petition process to assert land rights, and his lack of recognition of Jones's role in the founding and operating of the Credit village all indicated his belief that Indigenous people could not help themselves, but had to be helped by the colonizers who already had all of the characteristics Indigenous people were being urged to adopt.

Of the plan implemented at the School of Industry among the Huron at Lorette village in Québec, Osgood wrote:

> Should the same plan be adopted in each tribe, it is hoped that great good would result from such an effort; and there is much encouragement to expect this will soon become generally established; for, whatever difference of opinion there may be in relation to other things, yet for the establishment of a School of Industry, several persons of high respectability, both of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, have lent their names and assistance.[56]

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54. Ibid., 36.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 24.

Osgood's plan was global, part of a grand design: as he wrote, "The Bible tells us, that God intends to convert the world... To combine labour with mental cultivation is the plan which promises the greatest and most permanent utility to the grand design of general reformation."[57] While Indigenous people and the poor were the populations to whom *these* interventions were directed, ultimately *all* people would be addressed in their time. Education, industry, and religion would combine to produce a time when "from one end of these Provinces to the other, we shall see a large and flourishing people...".[58]

Conclusion

Numerous authors have analyzed the deployment of the concept of "civilization" in arguments for residential schooling for Indigenous peoples and have demonstrated the discrepancy between what colonizers purported to offer or provide via civilization and the underlying motivations and ultimate outcomes of associated practices.[59] Scholars including Bear Nicholas, Ermine, Grant, Hastings and Milloy have shown that the attributes of civilization promoted by the educational institutions of the mid-nineteenth century and pitched by colonizers as universal, God-given and superior to those of other peoples represented instead cultural values and ways of making sense of the world particular to colonizers.[60] Though presented as a kind of gift to Indigenous people for which those recipients ought to feel grateful, educational initiatives aimed at civilizing and Christianizing were in fact a means of dismantling Indigenous ways of knowing in order to reduce resistance to colonial intrusions. Milloy writes that the strategy of

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57. Ibid., 9, 56.
58. Ibid., 31.
59. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 143.
60. Bear Nicolas, "Canada's Colonial Mission"; Willie Ermine, "Aboriginal Epistemology" in *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds* eds. Marie Battiste and Jean Barman (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995); Grant, *Moon Of Wintertime*; Adrian Hastings, "Christianity and Nationhood: Congruity or Antipathy?" *The Journal of Religious History* 25, no. 3 (2001), 247-260; and Milloy, *A National Crime*.

civilization served,

> …the goal of re-socializing the children by a movement from circle to square: from a world to be navigated by belief, dreams and spirit guidance to one of secular logic and reasoning, from rhythms that came from the body and needs of the child to those in which the child was to respond to the corporate needs of the school and from learning by living, observing and doing, to living and learning by discipline in preparation for a life governed by the dictates of an alien society.[61]

As was noted in the introduction to this dissertation, Bear Nicholas calls this the "hidden curriculum" of the schools, a curriculum designed to inculcate the deference to authority, self-discipline and industriousness consistent with a working class existence.[62] This curriculum was accomplished in part through what students were taught and required to do within the schools and in part through the information that was excluded from the curriculum – an acknowledgement of "distinct nationhood and political culture of Aboriginal Peoples."[63]

Bear Nicholas and Grant have additionally noted not only how residential schooling was ideationally linked to religious ideals but how theological shifts influenced the institutions. Bear Nicholas calls the period following the fall of New France in 1760 and the incorporation of Indigenous nations within the borders of British North America the period of internal colonialism.[64] As was discussed in chapter two, there were day and boarding schools for Indigenous children as early as the seventeenth century, but they differed from nineteenth-century examples in their focus on spiritual salvation as separate from rather than an extension of acculturation.[65] In this chapter, I have discussed discourses of civilization used by philanthropists

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61. Milloy, *A National Crime,* 136-137.
62. Bear Nicolas, "Canada's Colonial Mission," 19.
63. Ibid., 21.
64. Ibid.
65. Bull and Alia, "Unequaled Acts of Injustice," 176-177; Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 94; Grant, *Moon Of Wintertime*, 90; Adrian Hastings, "Christianity and Nationhood," 253; Robert Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools," 27-28.

and proponents of education not only to understand them within their nineteenth-century context but to analyze how they contributed to developing an emerging vocabulary of society and conceptualization of social belonging that was the foundation for democratization in Canada.

The colonial administrators addressed in chapter two were proposing "humanitarian" interventions[66] into the affairs of Indigenous peoples within the more general context of an emerging construction of certain populations as in need of care and protection. This charge was even more explicitly taken up by philanthropic organizations for whom 'society' constituted a purified context modeled after the family within which the members of populations in need of protection could be given aid and "saved" from other contexts that were constructed using the language of contagion and danger.[67] As is suggested by Osgood's statement that education, along with learning the advantages of "settled and persevering industry" and "domestic enjoyment," would "prepare the way for the regular ordinances of the sanctuary,"[68] salvation alone was not sufficient. A transformation of the whole person was required that involved, in the eyes of educational advocates and child rescuers in the early nineteenth century, integration into a context that would reorient the child.

For British and French colonizers and settlers in the colonies, authority related to political entities and the collectivity more generally was shifting away from traditional hierarchies and toward the collectivity itself – toward a universalized society and the authority of the people to legitimate social norms and the rule of law. The religious and sociopolitical context within which this was taking place was such that the transition was not swift and absolute but incremental. In this period, the idea of society was generally connected ideationally to the realization of God's

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66. Grant, *Moon Of Wintertime*, 82.
67. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*.
68. Osgood, *The Canadian Visitor*, 30-31.

will on earth and was not yet (and may never be) a secular concept. This vision of society was connected to religious imperatives through the language of duty[69] and moral necessity[70] but also via its articulation as an expression of God's will, as in Fellenberg's belief that it was necessary to maintain the order of society as it had been shaped by Divine Wisdom. Rooke suggests that Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, whose theories and institutional experiments laid the groundwork for later residential schools, united the threads of the Enlightenment belief in rationality and the Romantic orientation toward unconscious forces.[71]

Society is here no longer a given that arises from the order of things and relations within society no longer replicate an order that exists outside of those relations. In this sense, power has become immanent to society, and it is thus that the shaping of society becomes a project for individuals such as Ladies Maitland and Colborne and Osgood. The dissipation of division within the democratic symbolic characterized by the gradual absorption of principles of order into the realm of the social entailed a new equality of the individual who was no longer beholden to a pre-ordained place within the order of things. If previously, individuals had been united within the collective by representations of the whole, now they were to be united in their abstraction. One was related to others via abstract individuality and not primarily through one's place in a hierarchy or (especially as it relates to strangers) via ties of community or kinship. Within this context of differentiation, institutions became a site of unification. What Boltanski calls "durable institutions" establish equivalence between "spatially and temporally *local* situations."[72] They institute a common space in that through the institution one helps those who

69. Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* 238.
70. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 281.
71. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 132.
72. Boltanski, Luc, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*, trans. Graham Burchell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 7.

are not otherwise known to oneself (those who are part of one's community or circle of friends or kin) but who represent categories such as "the needy" or "the destitute." The extension of aid or expression of concern in the form of pity serves to inscribe those who are helped into the space of society (in the process of recognizing, categorizing, diagnosing, etc.) even while segregating them as a special population.[73] A concern with the individual does not translate into a concern with the individual in their specific individuality but as a representative instance of an abstraction.

In the previous chapter, I described how apparatuses of state power and the exertion of power over others by state actors in the name of the sovereign could be accomplished due to a new independence of knowledge and power. The disentangling of law, power and knowledge made possible not only the exertion of state power in the name of the people but of social power in the name of society, as has been outlined in this chapter.

> The disappearance of the other-as-fellow as the collapse of an authority which guaranteed the nature of the social bond in the here and now has, however, a twofold effect: the individual acquires the notion of a society in which he is defined as being shaped in the likeness of others, but he cannot see it – he can see neither himself nor its other members. And in that society he inevitably loses the markers of his identity because he surrenders his individual perspective and allows himself to be absorbed into an anonymous vision.[74]

I cite this not to suggest that those who were subjected to institutions such as manual labour and industrial boarding schools outlined in this chapter willingly subjected themselves to institutionalization, but rather to highlight the logic of those who imagined and promoted such institutions. The philanthropists and educational reformers described in this chapter designed institutions within which the institutionalized could be "shaped in the likeness of others." In this

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73. Ibid., 9.
74. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 177.

case, it was not the state apparatus but a social apparatus in the form of philanthropic organizations who wielded generalizations about "the Indian" and the "white population" to claim special knowledge of society, civilization and how to mould others in its form. For those philanthropists and reformers who could not recognize Indigenous people as fully realized, autonomous individuals, and saw them in their individuality as either potentiality or threat, there was a need to constantly assert the power of the space of society (the social) by shaping it and giving it form.

Within the democratic symbolic, subjective being gains a significance of a different order than in other representational matrices. When the individual was situated relative to an existing order, the internal state of the individual was of less consequence. However, when every individual is posited as the arbiter of social and political order, the internal status of the individual and the "disorganization of the subjective being"[75] becomes a problem of power. As shall be described in more detail in chapter five, for Gauchet, the constitutive division of the democratic symbolic resides not between the here-and-now and the there-beyond but within the self. In this context, threats to order and stability derive from the disordered or disorderly self. If for Lefort and Gauchet, power lies in the representation of an orderly and meaningful cosmos, institutions such as the manual labour and industrial boarding school or the asylum (Gauchet and Swain's institution of choice in their analysis of institutionalization within the democratic context) were a mechanism for representing and instituting order within a symbolic regime not characterized by a representation of an orderly externalized cosmos. Such institutions allowed for philanthropists, social reformers and government representatives to reinscribe division within the framework of equality by segregating the institutionalized in the name of equality - i.e., in the

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75. Gauchet and Swain, *Madness and Democracy*, 48.

name of seeking a cure.

Chapter 4: Methodism and Anglicanism

Introduction

Chapter four will develop three key contextual factors influencing debates over Indigenous education going into the mid-nineteenth century in Upper Canada. (1) As the century progressed, there were those who remained committed to an idea of the collectivity as united by an established and religiously sanctioned hierarchy. (2) Despite this, even those most suspicious of the democratic currents of the time and of republican influences invading from the American colonies had to acknowledge the successes of evangelical approaches to proselytizing and themselves drew upon a language of belief and conversion more consistent with evangelicalism than with traditional Anglicanism. In this chapter, I will introduce evangelicalism and its primary vehicle in nineteenth-century Upper Canada, Methodism, and I will discuss the oppositions and the interplay between Methodists and Anglicans as it relates to their missions to Indigenous peoples. (3) Finally, I will show how the conflict between the Anglicans and Methodists vis-à-vis missions to Indigenous peoples was related to the sociopolitical developments at the center of this dissertation. Anglican-Methodist relations were part of the symbolic transition noted above from a representation of the collectivity as embodied in the figure of the Crown subservient only to God at the head of a chain of relations stretching down to the newly colonized peoples of the empire to a representation of the people themselves as embodying and exerting sovereign power. But despite the protestations of the Methodists, it was also political in the sense of *realpolitik*, as demonstrated by the maneuvering of factions within Methodism. Anglicans and Methodists vied for power and influence within the colony, at times by undermining the efforts of the other group, at times by strategically allying forces, and at times by doing both simultaneously.

The Great Awakening and the Origins of Anglican/Methodist Conflict

In what is generally called the "Great Awakening" of the eighteenth century, church reformers in the United Kingdom, Europe and British North America began to push back against what they perceived to be the corruption of the founding principles of Protestantism: an experience of faith that was personal and unmediated by figures of authority, the centrality of discipline and devotion as expressed in one's actions in the world, a dedication to Biblical teachings and the example of Jesus Christ as the basis of religious belief and action, and the obligation to share religious truth with others. While the Great Awakening was manifested in diverse ways theologically and organizationally, evangelicalism is generally associated with the three main characteristics of the conversion experience: atonement for the individual's sins through the death of Jesus Christ, the centrality of the Bible, and an activist stance in relation to one's faith.[1] Experienced initially as a threat to both the religious and social order by adherents to established Christian denominations, by the early nineteenth century its influence had become pervasive, as will be seen in greater detail below.[2]

Methodism had begun as a movement within the Anglican Church during the Great Awakening. While John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, argued for a turn away from the rituals and pomp of the Anglican Church towards an emphasis on experiential religion and personal salvation, at the time of his conversion experience he was a priest in the Church. Wesley maintained that this was a return to the true basis of the Church, not the establishment of

1. Marguerite Van Die, "A March of Victory and Triumph in Praise of 'The Beauty of Holiness': Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism, 1800-1884," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George Rawlyk (Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 76.
2. Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 7-8.

a new sect, and urged adherents to maintain the ascendancy of the Church. Methodists shared

with many Anglicans a suspicion of Roman Catholicism and perceived its rituals as irrational

and superstitious, both stressed salvation and the doctrine of atonement and argued that the basis

of a sound, prosperous society was the Christian faith, and both perceived the Bible to be the

foundation of that faith.[3] Yet in Methodism's focus on the experience of conversion, on personal

reflexivity, devotion and discipline rather than dedication to Church doctrine, and its

encouragement of lay proselytizing, it could not but challenge the foundations of the Church.

For the Methodists, the conversion experience was sudden, intensely personal and

legitimated by the nature of the experience, where the Anglican Church approached conversion

as a gradual process through which the convert was shepherded by an individual of superior faith

and knowledge. Westfall argues that the Anglican Church claimed a particular relationship to the

state precisely because of the gradual nature of conversion. Christian knowledge could and

would produce a new Eden on earth as greater numbers turned to the true religion, but in the

meantime, it was left to the state, under the guidance of the Church, to maintain the order that

would be productive of the slow process of transformation.[4] Although the Bible was the

cornerstone of the faith, the Anglican Church differed from Methodism in arguing that its

interpretation could not be left to the unschooled, even if they had experienced salvation.

Westfall writes of the Anglican and Methodist approach to the interpretation of Biblical texts

that,

> The first pattern of interpretation… was highly rational and systematic and appealed to
> the values of order and reason. The second pattern turned over the cultural coin and
> appealed to the other side of early nineteenth-century psychology – the feelings – by

3. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 22-23.
4. Ibid., 24.

reworking the Bible into a religion of intense personal experience.[5]

The dichotomy Westfall articulates between the Anglican Church and Methodism was fundamental to the tensions between the two sects: it was the tension between the hierarchically ordained order and the personal and experiential.

Because of their experiential emphasis, Methodists were suspicious of religious institutions and the established hierarchies so central to the doctrines and practices of the Anglican Church.[6] Grant writes that while Wesley's view of salvation reflected the Calvinist conviction that the way of salvation cannot be chosen, Wesley "insisted that each person had been granted sufficient 'prevenient' grace to be able to accept God's offer of it."[7] In contrast to the idea of an innate capacity for grace and the associated implication that the Church was not integral to the experience of salvation stood the Anglican's view of the distance between social orders and between man and God.[8] Religious authority was vested in the Church, not the individual; those who deferred to a Baconian reflection on the natural world deemed a hierarchical social and religious order natural insofar as hierarchy and subordination was exhibited in nature[9].

An example of this cleavage between Methodists and Anglicans pertinent to the more specific subject of this dissertation was a meeting recorded by Jones between an Anglican Church missionary and a group of Methodist Kanien'kehá:ka to discuss church attendance. While

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5. Ibid., 30.
6. Mark Noll, "Canadian Evangelicalism: A View from the United States," *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, G.A. Rawlyk, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 10.
7. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*, 29-30.
8. Nancy Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion': Popular Religion and the Challenge to the Established Order 1760-1815," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience: 1760-1990,* ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 19.
9. Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage'," 19. See Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century* for a discussion of the employment of Baconian induction in response to scientific and philosophical challenges to religious supremacy in nineteenth century Upper Canada. See also Taylor, *Secular Age*, 221.

Mr. Lugger, the Anglican missionary, declared himself open to having Methodists attend services at his church, Jones wrote that Lugger,

> …would not suffer them to speak or to hold their own meetings in his church or school houses; as he considered them unqualified to preach, and therefore were in danger of teaching erroneous doctrines…William D. answered [on behalf of the Mohawks] and said, that since he knew what religion was in his heart, he feels it his duty to warn his Native Brethren to flee from the wrath to come and to invite them to the Saviour of Sinners, and so he did not fear man, he would still strive to discharge his duty to God in that way that he thought would be for the good of his people.[10]

While Lugger doubted the capacity of the layperson to adequately interpret and communicate scripture, William D. argued that the message he brought was legitimated by his "heart" and that the duty to warn Lugger's congregants arose from his faith experience rather than from any institutional directive.

Methodists and the Anglican Church in Nineteenth-Century Upper Canada

The tension between Lugger and William D. reflects tensions between Anglicans and Methodists in Upper Canada that, while informed by theological differences in relation to issues such as salvation and proselytizing, were intimately connected to political conflicts over governance in the province. As in England, it was the intention of the British Crown that the Anglican Church would have a special status in British North America. The Constitutional Act of 1791 and the Marriage Act of 1793 preserved for the Anglicans certain privileges relative to the state: tracts of lands known as the Clergy Reserves were set aside for Church use, the Lieutenant-Governor was given the power to appoint clergymen, provincial funds were

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10. Peter Jones, March 5, 1828, Brantford, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

designated for the payment of clergy, and the Anglican Church was given exclusive rights to perform marriages, a duty that was not only ritually significant but a source of income as well.[11] In addition, in early movements towards the formation of grammar schools, clergy were granted a controlling voice[12] and at its inception, Upper Canada's first university employed only Anglican professors and featured an entrance exam strongly oriented towards Anglican congregants. However, visions of Upper Canada as the realization of a thoroughly Anglican polity were more plausible in theory than practice.

Prior to the War of 1812, 80% of the 75,000 settlers in Upper Canada were American; by one contemporary estimate, only two out of every ten inhabitants were loyal to the British Crown and the majority had immigrated from three counties in New York that were heavily Puritan and Baptist.[13] In this period, the province was characterized by a diverse religious make-up of Roman Catholics, Mennonites, Quakers, Moravians, Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists and Puritans, in addition to the many Indigenous peoples who continued to adhere to non-Judaeo-Christian traditions and belief systems. By 1812, it was the Methodists who had the largest number of active members among the Christian denominations in the province, reporting 2,550 "in society".[14] This was not entirely due to the make-up of the population immigrating into the province. Methodist successes among the settler population were also due to their approach to establishing congregations and missionizing.

Anglican clerics were appointed by Bishops and were required to be British subjects. As a result, they were frequently unacquainted with the conditions under which their congregants lived and the needs accompanying life in the new colony. In addition, Upper Canada was hardly

11. Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage'," 16-17.
12. Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 85-86.
13. Ibid., 21.
14. Ibid., 58.

a desirable post for any individual with aspirations for advancement in the Anglican Church, and

was generally considered to be a backwater.[15] Methodists had no such naturalization

requirement; by 1824, Grant estimates that only one quarter of their itinerants were natives of

British North America.[16] While Anglican extension was organized around the church and parish

and involved only periodic visits to surrounding locales, the Methodist emphasis on itinerancy

and openness to lay preaching meant that their reach into rural areas was much greater. A duty to

proselytize, the passion with which they conveyed their message, and the Methodist dictum

against political involvement helped. While American Baptists, Presbyterians and

Congregationalists were outspoken Republicans,[17] the Methodist stance against political

involvement did not provoke the same discomfort from otherwise willing potential converts. The

Methodist take on the individual's responsibilities relative to the government was clearly

outlined in an article on the subject in the *Christian Guardian*, a Wesleyan Methodist journal

published from the 1820s to the 1920s:

> A Christian man cannot resist the constitutional powers and administration of the
> government, under which he lives, without forfeiting his religion, and acquiring for
> himself 'damnation.' He may not approve of all the conduct and measures of the officers
> and government; yet, if they are constitutional, his holy religion binds him to a cheerful
> obedience. A Christian man, therefore, must be a patriot, in the proper sense of the
> word.[18]

Political activity was viewed as a distraction from the primary obligation of the convert: "the

high and holy interests of morality and religion."[19] Though the Anglican Church generally

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15. Ibid., 37, 42-43.
16. Ibid., 72.
17. Ibid., 47.
18. *Christian Guardian*, Nov. 21, 1829, 2.
19. *Christian Guardian*, Nov 21, 1829, 6.

argued otherwise, and though the Methodists would, by the late 1830s, be firmly entrenched in the political affairs of the province, for the first three decades of the nineteenth century at least, they argued their position to be a fundamentally conservative one.

Yet, for many in the Anglican Church such as the Reverends John Strachan and Charles Inglis, the Methodist skepticism of institutional authority and their ties to the United States signified an association with republicanism and the chaos-inducing egalitarianism of democracy, accusations they did not hesitate to levy against the Methodists. Camp revivals, emotional outpourings, and lay preaching conjured the spectre of the mob – the uneducated mass waiting to overthrow a rational, ordered elite entitled to their positions of privilege and authority. Nancy Christie writes:

> A religion which upheld the individual's right to decide upon his or her own spiritual salvation and allowed free participation in religious rites might lead all too easily to the exercise of individual judgments in matters of civil government in a society with a close relationship between Church and State. What traditionalists like Strachan and Inglis feared about evangelicals was not that they might immediately incite political revolt or mob rule, but that the democratic spiritualism of the evangelical ethos might unleash upon the embryonic society a host of newly assertive individuals.[20]

While the Methodists periodically forged political alliances with reformers in the province over specific issues such as the clergy reserves or educational systematization, they had no overt political aspirations, as is suggested above, and did not take issue with the Anglican's claim to be the church of the state so long as the partnership did not inhibit their spiritual work (as in the case of marriage or the exclusionary organization of the university). It was rather the exercise of individual judgment that was threatening; Christie argues that the Anglican elite feared a social cohesion based on the differentiation between the converted and the unconverted and personal

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20. Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage'," 37.

bonds of attachment, rather than cohesion deriving from institutions such as the church or the state.[21]

The competing approaches to state representation described above illustrate a changing conceptualization of the human role in constituting the contours of collective life. As was described in chapter one, the steady advance of universal humanism outlined by Taylor - the advance of the idea that we can transcend our mundane existence and strive toward something higher here on earth and not only by ascending to a higher plane - was powered by a notion of a God whose will could be discerned and was realized by humans.[22] As Michel Gauchet argues, although the human order might be perceived as being imposed by a god, the notion that an order must be imposed, "even in the name of its inviolable legitimacy" meant that it was an order open to change, and subject to willing.[23] At the same time, even despite this re-envisioning of God's relation to human action in the world, this god remained supremely extra-mundane. No human could make a claim to unproblematic knowledge of God's will. The absoluteness of the exteriority of the deity entailed not only that its designs and decrees must be interpreted and made comprehensible within the mundane sphere, as with the stance of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada, but that those decrees, in their inscrutability, could be mis-interpreted. Power could be assumed and expressed in the ability to interpret the dictates of God, to mediate between the less powerful and the deity, to embody the order and the distance between the ruling power and its subordinates.[24]

It was the exertion of this claim to an intermediary relation between God and believer that evangelical Christians such as the Methodists rejected (not the power of the Anglican

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21. Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage'," 38; Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 46.
22. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 221, 230.
23. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 36.
24. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 36.

Church to govern but the power of a Church representative to mediate the relationship of an individual with their spiritual life[25]). If God's will was only indirectly accessible and if no human could have perfect knowledge of God's will, the claim to authority was not God-given but derived from a human claim. Dinah Birch writes that evangelical Protestantism and Romanticism shared an assumption that the means to mental and spiritual growth was not through the teachings of an institution but through "self-forged authenticity"[26]: "True authority comes from God, or from nature as the creation of God, and it must be recreated in the perception and in the feelings of the faithful student."[27] Indeed, many Anglicans called for a prioritization of biblical teachings over Church doctrine and were inspired by the evangelical focus on character and voluntarism – the support of a church by its congregation rather than through state support. In the process of adjusting to the vicissitudes of religious practice in settler colonies, Anglican missionaries took up methods such as itinerant ministry and extemporaneous speaking. However, despite the evangelical influence pervading the Anglican Church and the convergence of Methodism and Anglicanism politically and spiritually as the nineteenth century progressed, the Methodist conversion experience and approach to evangelizing represented a significant break with the practices of the Anglican Church. As shall be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, an attitude towards conversion as intensely personal and transformative, and the associated perception of the social bond between individuals in a community as forged by shared experience and understanding rather than institutional authority informed the Methodist approach to missionary efforts and the role of industrial and manual labour schooling therein.

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25. Vicki Tolar Burton, *Spiritual Literacy in John Wesley's Methodism: Reading, Writing, and Speaking to Believe* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008). Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage'," 23.
26. Dinah Birch, *Our Victorian Education* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 68.
27. Ibid., 69.

Colborne, the British Wesleyans, and the Removal Debate

In the years following the articulation of the Colborne-Kempt plan to collect Indigenous peoples into villages, distribute communally held property to individual lot owners, establish schools, churches and missionary stations in each village, and possibly to board out Indigenous children at English common schools, Colborne had focused primarily on settlement and agricultural advancement. While he had established a foundation for the "nearly complete civilizing system in the form of serviced agricultural settlements" he also left "a pile of debt and a tradition of overspending for the sake of civilization,"[28] a situation the Crown treasury found unacceptable. While funding was in part responsible for the prioritization of administrative transformation and agriculturalization over educational initiatives, the lack of resources among Anglicans in the field of education, and a distrust of Methodists had contributed to a near monopolization by Methodists of the field of educational advancement of Indigenous peoples in Upper Canada.

Although there was no doubt that the Anglican Church believed that it should be in control of education,[29] there were a number of reasons for their relative absence from the field of missionary educational endeavor. As was indicated in the previous chapter, the processes inherent to establishing new dioceses meant that the Anglican Church was slower to establish a missionary presence among Indigenous populations. They were also less committed to the idea of education as a means to salvation or a privilege that ought to be extended to the entirety of the population. Support for Sunday schools had for this reason been more strongly voiced among Methodists than Anglicans, who feared that teaching reading and especially writing might

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28. Milloy, *The Era of Civilization*, 163.
29. Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," 17.

encourage itinerant preaching and the lay assumption of clerical privileges.[30] Educational efforts

on the behalf of Anglicans in England after 1830 were a product of a belief that the

establishment was under attack, and that education was necessary to respond to undermining

forces. However, where in England there was a network of gentry who could respond with

funding and support, in Upper Canada, there were neither the organizational nor the financial

resources available to counter Methodist involvement.[31]

Both Anglican leaders and colonial authorities such as Maitland and Colborne, who

would have rather seen the Anglican Church head up educational endeavors in the province,

acknowledged Methodist ascendancy in the field and the success of their methods. Still, they

viewed the Methodists as a necessary evil. There was suspicion that the prevalence of Methodist

teachers among Indigenous populations would spread support for republican and democratic

ideals, a concern Nancy Christie argues was not entirely unfounded.[32] In an 1828 dispatch to

Colborne, the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, expressed both the fear that the influence of

Methodist teachers over Indigenous peoples was a threat to the political stability of the province,

and the recognition that if the Colonial Office's policy approach was education and civilization,

Methodists had to be utilized. He wrote that the religious teachers of Indigenous people within

the province were largely Methodists, and largely hailed from the United States:

> How far the growing influence of such Teachers may be desirable is a subject which
> appears to me to merit much consideration.
> In the mean time, in the absence of all provision for the Religious or Moral instruction of

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30. Burton, *Spiritual Literacy,* 288-289.
31. Digby and Searby, *Children, School and Society*, 15.
32. "In the United States and in its Upper Canadian and Lower Canadian satellites, American Methodism challenged constituted authority and overtly fostered democratic values by extolling the universality of spiritual perfection and equality in religious communion. As such it became one of the most active cultural vehicles for transplanting the anti-traditionalism and reformist spirit of the new American republic particularly into Upper Canadian society outside the rarified stability of the Tory elite." (Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage'," 23). Also Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," 17.

these Tribes, it would have been difficult and in my opinion invidious either in the local Government or the Department to have interfered so as to prevent their receiving the only means that presented themselves.[33]

Dalhousie's estimation that it was worse for the Indigenous population to be without education than to be subjected to the possibly revolutionary influences of Methodist teachers speaks to the prioritization of education even among representatives of the Anglican Church and the Colonial Office. Still, the colonial elite did not support the advancement of education by way of the Methodist cause to the extent of uninhibitedly assisting in their efforts.

Colonial suspicion of Methodist educational involvement was encouraged by the withdrawal to Lower Canada of the British Wesleyan Methodists in 1821 and the inclusion of the Upper Canada Methodists in the American Conference until 1828. Maitland had expressed concern over the event, but the Colonial Office did not take action to intervene in relations between the Methodists and Indigenous peoples until the late 1820s. In his diary, Methodist missionary and Mississauga chief Peter Jones described a meeting with the Governor General over the question of land – whether land would be granted to Indigenous populations for farming, and the precise extent of the lands that had been to that point granted. Jones attended with representatives from Belleville, Rice Lake and the Credit, however, rather than being granted an audience, they were directed to talk to Colonel Givins, who instructed them to see the Governor's Secretary, Dr. John Strachan, who took notes. They then met again with Strachan, this time accompanied by Major Hiller, Sir John Robinson, the Attorney General, and Givins. In this meeting they were informed that the government could not provide them assistance because they were not under the Superintendence of the Anglican Church. The Methodist missionary

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33. Dalhousie to Colborne, March 28, 1828, York, Office of the Governor General, General Operational Records, R216 192 2 E, Miscellaneous Corr., Vol 782, Micro 13498, Archives of Ontario.

establishment was declared to be too impermanent and the offer of higher salaries was even held out to Jones and his fellow missionaries if they agreed to come under the direction of the Superintendence of the Anglican Church.[34] The response of Chief Shahwundais of the Alderville Mississauga, also known as Reverend John Sunday, was indicative of how the offer was received: why, he asked, were his people made to live precariously year to year when they were Christians? Why were they made to live as if they were sinners?[35] While Methodists such as John Sunday and Peter Jones were not discouraged from their faith by these kinds of threats, there is no doubt that they were sensitive to the partnership of Church and state, and the associated precariousness of their financial situation resulting from the decision to remain outside of the circle.

Direct approaches to Methodist agents such as Jones and Sunday were not the only tactic employed by colonial officials to loosen ties between Methodists and Indigenous populations in the province. In 1830, Colborne initiated the establishment of the Anglican Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians, though it soon came to focus its energies on "destitute settlers."[36] He also took steps to reintroduce the British Wesleyans to the province. If the Methodists had to remain active in missionary endeavors among the Indigenous population, the Anglican Church and the Colonial Office preferred that the British Wesleyans have control of Upper Canada because the latter continued to consider themselves as reliant upon the authority of the Anglican Church, and because they too expressed suspicion of the motives and activities of the American Methodist conference. In 1831, Colborne suspected that Jones planned to bring a petition to London asking that Methodist missionaries be granted land and funding in support

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34. Peter Jones, Jan. 30, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones fonds, Victoria University. See also Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 123-125.
35. Ibid.
36. Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 110.

of the civilizing of Indigenous people. Although no such petition was presented, he feared that the Methodists were going to extend their involvement in Indian affairs beyond proselytizing to a claim for direct involvement and determined to meet with the British Wesleyans to ask that they re-enter Upper Canada.[37]

When the Wesleyans had withdrawn in 1821, they deferred to the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, who had been supplying the Upper Canadian Methodists with preachers. The Upper Canadian Methodists had themselves become disturbed with presumptions of disloyalty stemming from their partnership with the American Methodists after the War of 1812, and by 1828, under the leadership of Henry Ryan, had enacted a friendly separation, leaving the Canadian Methodist Episcopal Church an independent entity under the superintendence of William Case. Almost immediately, Ryan was embroiled in a controversy and formed the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church and then in 1832, the Wesleyans used the Canadian break from the American Methodists on the basis of a claim that the 1820 agreement had been broken, and that they planned to send Wesleyan missionaries into Upper Canada.[38] While the Canadians initially resisted partnership with the British Wesleyans, John and Egerton Ryerson soon urged that a union with the British conference be formed, likely as a result of the debts the Methodists had accrued in their missionary efforts and in the establishment of Victoria University.[39] However, Colborne's decision to involve the British Methodists in order to counteract the democratic and disloyal influence of the Canadian and American Methodists in some ways backfired, as the British Methodists were in no way inclined to simply accept some of the more contentious policy proposals issued by Colborne's successor, Francis Bond Head.

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37. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 144-145.
38. Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 75.
39. Ibid., 76.

Baehre points out that Bond Head's Canadian assignment was something of a surprise

and a mystery, even to Sir Francis himself. Prior to taking up the position of Lieutenant

Governor, he had been Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in England, where he had been

involved in "reviving the character and condition of the English labourer," in his own words.[40] It

is likely that he was chosen for his new post to bring his experience as a Poor Law

Commissioner to the issue of pauperism in Canada. However, he had not interacted directly with

Indigenous people in Upper Canada, basing his views of how to proceed on his experiences in

the Pampas of Argentina.[41] He was convinced that Indigenous people in British North America

could not be educated, nor made competent agriculturalists, and that extinction was the likely

outcome. In addition, the influx of Irish immigrants following the devastating potato famine, the

general increase in the population of settlers in Upper Canada, and frustration with wealthy

speculators who held on to large tracts of valuable land in order to drive up the prices made land

acquisition a priority for Bond Head. [42]

Himself under pressure by the Treasury to cut the expenses of the Indian Department,

Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, had defended the Colborne-Kempt

civilization scheme against the Treasury's demands that the costs of the Indian Department be

cut, and commissioned Bond Head to find cost savings primarily in reductions of annuities and

of salaries and pensions.[43] Bond Head was not satisfied that the Colborne-Kempt plan was, or

could be successful and instead proposed removal of the Indigenous peoples of Upper Canada to

Manitoulin Island. Glenelg agreed: he too had suggested racial separation and felt that the

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40. Rainer Baehre, "Paupers and Poor Relief in Upper Canada," *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, eds. Bruce Wilson and J.K. Johnson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 328.
41. Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 162.
42. Susan E. Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," *History of Education Quarterly* 12:3, Special Issue: Education and Social Change in English-Speaking Canada (Autumn 1972), 254-280.
43. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 167-174; John Leslie, "The Bagot Commission: Developing a Corporate Memory for the Indian Department," *Historical Papers* 17, no. 1 (1982), 35.

circumstances in Upper Canada were entirely comparable to those in South Africa. Milloy writes that in the opinion of Glenelg, "Removal was necessary; it was the indispensable road to the ideal basis of White-Indian relations: separate existence and controlled contact – exclusive relations between the native and the antiseptic agent of only what was good in European society, in particular of Christianity – the missionary."[44]

The British Methodists vehemently opposed a policy of removal, uniting with Joseph Stinson, James Evans, Egerton Ryerson, Peter Jones and John Sunday in their opposition to the plan.[45] Ryerson approached the Aborigines Protection Society (a non-governmental offshoot of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines) to garner their support in opposing removal,[46] and Glenelg was soon surrounded by opposition not only from Methodists and missionaries, but from London humanitarians.[47] Both the Treasury, who had noted that Bond Head's proposal was a departure from the Colborne-Kempt policy, and the Aborigines Protection Society called for investigations into the soundness of the policy of removal, and a third party review was ultimately called for. In the end, Glenelg may have distanced himself from Bond Head and his plan for removal because of the political turmoil he had initiated in the province. Whatever the reasons for the rejection of removal, the debate instigated around the Crown's Indian policy was the context in which Peter Jones and the Methodists began to call for manual labour boarding schools as a policy focus.

Conclusion

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44. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 194.
45. Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 164.
46. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 205.
47. Ibid., 198. Jones met with the Aborigines Protection Society in London January 2nd, 1838 (File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones fonds, Victoria University, 393). Jones also notes that he met with Glenelg August 20th, 1838 and referred to a tour of the island (also recorded in his diaries), indicating that he felt it unfit for settlement (File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones fonds, Victoria University, 393).

In this chapter, I have shown how struggles between Methodists and Anglicans for access to the spiritual lives of settlers and Indigenous people in Upper Canada were part of the context from which Mount Elgin Industrial Institute emerged. As shall be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, the Methodist approach to conversion and personal salvation differed from that of Anglicanism in that it centered on personal individual responsibility for one's relationship with God rather than commitment to Church doctrine and adherence to an institutional structure mirrored in the social hierarchy. I have argued that in this way, the Anglican Church and by extension, the political elite of the province, reflected the vestiges of the *ancien régime* matrix. For Anglicans, spiritual and political life - Church and state - were coterminous.[48] 'Society' was not separate from the body of the Church which extended from the monarch as the supreme governor of the Church down through the congregants who were in theory the very same as the subjects of the Crown. Anglicans and Methodists posited a continuity between personal spiritual well-being and politics but in reverse directions; for Anglicans, the acceptance of religious and social hierarchy and the authority of the Church would filter down to the spiritual well-being of the individual. For Methodists, a healthy personal relationship with God and inspection of one's self would spin upward into a broader social good, including the maintenance of the status quo of Church hierarchy.

Despite their political aspirations and connectedness with the colonial elite, Anglicanism was not well-suited to the circumstances of colonial life. The hierarchical structure of the Anglican establishment and insistence upon adherence to institutional practices that were difficult to replicate in the particular circumstances of colonial Canada meant that they were unable to intercede in the growing influence of religious organizations such as the Methodists.

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48. Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 28.

The Methodist willingness to use lay preachers and flexibility in relation to how and where their ministry took place meant that they were better positioned to serve outlying areas and to build a cadre of missionaries. Colonial administrators committed to Anglicanism took steps to undermine Methodist missionary efforts, for example by attempting to start a missionary outreach arm to compete with Methodist missionizing, refusing to provide assistance to Methodist missionary efforts, attempting to bring Methodists such as Jones and Sunday under the superintendency of the Anglicans and promoting the more conservative Wesleyan Methodists. Though in theory, Methodists deferred to the authority of the Anglican establishment, protection of their missionary efforts often put them at odds with colonial administrators and Church officials. For Anglicans, giving up spiritual authority was tantamount to giving up political authority in the sense that they were relinquishing their special role as intermediary between God and congregant and ceding authority over the spiritual life of the inhabitants of the province to the inhabitants themselves.

Though Methodists did not dispute the ascendency of the Anglicans and disavowed involvement in political strife but even in doing so, in the very logic of focusing on the individual's spiritual life as a separate sphere of activity and influence, they drove a wedge between the individual's relationship with God and the mundane sphere of politics. Anglicans in the province were fighting a battle they had already lost. In part, this was due to geographical and demographic factors that allowed for traditions other than Anglicanism to gain a foothold. More importantly, Anglicans upheld a view of social cohesion that had for some time been undergoing a process of transformation. As was suggested in chapter two, even those most committed to the Church of England and conservation of the status quo were themselves subject to a conceptualization of the individual as increasingly responsible for the shape of the social

body and the realization of God's will in the world.

Chapter 5: Jones and Methodism

Introduction

Representations of connectedness are meaningful not primarily because they make visible relations that lie beneath the level of consciousness or the truth of which are not fully understood but because they play a role in how individuals within a collectivity relate to one another. As Lefort points out, the shaping of society involves both the giving of meaning to social relations and the staging of those relations; these are inextricable – social relations are not staged before they are given meaning, which would allow them to be observed objectively as in the positivist undertaking.[1]

The idea of 'society' is one such representation of connectedness, but society as a concept is not uniform, fixed in time or one dimensional. Taylor's description of the ethic of universal benevolence[2] captures the multi-dimensional nature of the idea of society as articulated in the transitional period from the *ancien régime* matrix to the Age of Mobilization throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Atlantic Europe and among European settlers in North America. Unlike the *ancien régime* matrix, wherein individuals saw themselves as connected to one another as parts within a whole visible in the person of the prince or the body of the Church, the ethic of universal benevolence describes members of a collectivity who are connected by a series of interlocking sympathies. The adoption of the viewpoint of a member of a people or of 'society' involves recognizing and promoting mutual sympathies either through disciplinary interventions or through self-reflection and internal discovery. As in Lefort's democratic ideal

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1. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 218-219.
2. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 249.

type, the founding principle of the collectivity is immanentized.[3]

Within the ethic of universal benevolence, Taylor describes two differing strategies for realizing, or to use Lefort's term, staging connectedness. The statements of colonial administrators were representative of a shift toward the Age of Mobilization matrix, and, as was argued in chapter two, fall within the more specific view of human nature and social connectedness Taylor describes as the "innocentizing strategy." Human motivation is understood to be neutral – potentially positive or negative depending on how directed.[4] If guided by reason, taking the stance of an impartial spectator and thinking in universal terms, human motivation can generate positive outcomes. The development of a shared point of view is based on developing an awareness of calculable, mutually shared interests and requires guidance, as seen in the sentiment that colonial administrators had not been sufficiently active with regards to the affairs of Indigenous peoples. Here, the sympathies uniting individuals are not conceived of as inherent but rather require cultivation and must be produced through enlightenment and discipline.[5] In *Sources of the Self*, Taylor describes the innocentizing strategy in terms of the demand for qualitative distinctions, understood as decisive criteria for deciding an issue.[6] This, he argues, arises from the application of naturalism to practical reasoning, or the extension of the natural sciences model to moral and political inquiry more broadly. This framework is also reflective of Weber's concept of rationalization – the transformation of the individual's priorities into calculable interests (for example, property ownership) and of social connectedness into a

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3. In what we might describe as Lefort's democratic ideal type, as was noted in chapter one, democracy in modernity is characterized by, "the formation of a power which has lost its ability to be embodied and the ultimate basis of its legitimacy, and the simultaneous establishment of relations with law and knowledge which no longer depend upon relations with power, and which imply that it is henceforth impossible to refer to a sovereign principle transcending the order of human thought and human action" (Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 179).
4. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 253.
5. Ibid., 253, 256.
6. Ibid., 73. See also Elias, *The Civilizing Process*.

network of these interrelated interests.[7]

Taylor opposes the innocentizing strategy to what he calls the positive strategy – a response to the disciplinary and instrumentalist bent of the innocentizing strategy described above. As noted in chapter one, ordinary human desire and self-love exemplified for Taylor in the works of writers such as Hutcheson and Shaftesbury and in the perspective of Wesleyans and romantic spiritualism, is not only neutral or innocent but positive.[8] It is "an original propensity to sympathy…"[9] that motivates us to feel solidarity with others. In *Sources of the Self*, Taylor argues that this view obscures the demand for qualitative distinctions through a process of internalization that grants socially and culturally specific moral criteria the status of intuitions or personal revelations.[10] The result is a form of practical reasoning that is largely procedural and preoccupied with how we act in the world, rather than with the question of whether the standards to which those actions are held are valid.[11] This conceptualization of human nature and of the social connections constituting society is more frequently observed in letters and reports generated by evangelical missionaries during the first part of the nineteenth century. Like colonial administrators and philanthropists, missionaries were, during this period, beginning to demand that education be a central element of the Crown's policies in relation to Indigenous people. They too connected education with the production of belonging to society, and both education and belonging with moral character and the attributes of civilization. However, the

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7. Though Taylor reverses the direction Weber argued for. Weber suggested that it was, in fact, interests that drove rationalization with ideas only directing the path of those interests: "Not ideas, but material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct. Yet very frequently the 'world images' that have been created by 'ideas' have, like switchmen, determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest" (Max Weber, "The Social Psychology of the World Religions" in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 280).
8. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 253.
9. Ibid., 256.
10. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 82-84.
11. Ibid., 21.

underlying assumptions had a different philosophical and ideational foundation.

In this chapter, the life and words of Peter Jones and the example of the Methodists in Upper Canada will be used to illustrate how evangelical approaches to salvation, sin, discipline and collective belonging represented (1) a significant moment in Taylor's Age of Mobilization, in that it placed responsibility for realizing God's will on earth squarely in the purview of the individual; (2) an alternative view of human nature to that outlined in chapters two and three, and (3) nonetheless served the same homogenizing and universalizing ends as the innocentizing strategy: the establishment and perpetuation of *a* society united by a shared set of normative commitments. Though the idea of the inherent capacities of the individual had significant implications for how this goal might be met, there was nonetheless no room for competing sovereignties, ideas of collective co-existence, social and interpersonal norms, and so forth. I will also address how Indigenous people, including Methodist missionary and Mississauga chief Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby), were not exclusively *acted upon* by colonizers, but rather frequently strategically co-opted the tools of colonizers to promote the survival of Indigenous peoples.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, Jones was one of the most vocal supporters in the advancement of manual labour schooling in Upper Canada, and a key player in the planning and building of Mount Elgin. Although he was frequently critical of modes of living and worshipping traditional to Indigenous peoples, his view of the rights that ought to be accorded to those who had prepared for civic participation per the strictures of colonial administrators was often at odds with the colonial administration and with his settler counterparts in the Methodist church. Nonetheless, Jones's arguments in support of manual labour boarding schools, like his comments on conversion, self-discipline, and morality, were very much in keeping with the Methodist view

of education as a means of Christianizing and civilizing and of the positive strategy, as described by Taylor.

The colonial administrators and philanthropists discussed in chapters two and three envisioned a society of people knit together by a shared view of mutual benefit and moral behavior, defined in part by those deemed outside the circle of belonging. Their proposed educational initiatives were intended to establish a shared interest, to define approved behaviors and to create an institutional context that would model the societal context into which institutionalized children and adults would be integrated. The present chapter will focus on the positive strategy as a competing view of societal belonging and pedagogy and how evangelicalism manifested Taylor's positive strategy. Within the evangelical context represented by Jones, society was united by shared humanity and an inherent propensity toward civility (narrowly defined, as shall be seen). Externally imposed discipline was rejected in favor of self-imposed discipline.

Peter Jones and Indigenous Education

Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) was born to Tuhbenahneequay, daughter of Chief Wahbanosay, head of a band of between fifty and sixty Mississauga, whose hunting territory had been at Fond du Lac, and Augustus Jones, a Welsh surveyor for the Crown who had learned Anishinaabemowin and Kanien'kehá.[12] Though his early years were spent among his mother's people, in 1816 Jones joined his father, a convert to Methodism. One year later, he was pulled from school so he could be prepared to run his own farm,[13] though he later returned to school, accepting a clerk's position at a trading post in 1823, and converting to Methodism the same year

12. Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 1-3.
13. Ibid., 43.

at a camp meeting. His 1824 return to the Credit Mississauga to preach and to open a day school was the beginning of what would be an eventful and influential career as a Mississauga leader and missionary. In 1825, Jones took over the Davisville mission, introducing European farming, and returned to the Credit River with fifty converted Mississauga to meet Colonel Givins, who was coming to present the annual gifts. [14] Rev. John Strachan was also in attendance, and though he felt the itinerant Methodist missionaries to be a negative influence, offered government support should the Mississauga agree to settle permanently at the Credit River where 8,000 acres of land was still remaining. [15] That winter, the Mississauga converts at Davisville and the Credit decided to entrust Jones with their affairs. A year later, they took up residence in the log cabins erected on 25 acres at the Credit River, where Jones encouraged the converts to engage in agriculture rather than hunting, to preserve the Sabbath for worship, to adopt European names and dress, and to abstain from alcohol.[16] A report from William Case published in the *Methodist Magazine* summed up the narrative that would come to represent the Credit River Mississauga for Methodists and colonial administrators in the following years: "A nation of wandering, idle drunkards, destitute of almost every comfort of life, have, in the course of twenty months, through the influence of Christianity, become a virtuous, industrious, and happy people!"[17]

In the years following the establishment of the settlement at the Credit River, Jones continued to conduct missionary tours and to promote the importance of establishing schools among the Indigenous peoples of Upper Canada. For example, in a diary entry dated December 13, 1827, relating to a visit to a mission school, he wrote that, "In visiting these Schools, I saw

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14. Ibid., 65-67.
15. Ibid., 72.
16. Ibid., 76-78. Jones to Col. James Givins, June 17, 1825, Grand River, File 7, Box 3, Letters to John Jones and Others, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
17. William Case, "State of the Missions under Direction of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church", Undated excerpt from the *Methodist Magazine*, File 2, Box 3, Miscellaneous documents, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

the necessity of parents being punctual in sending their children regularly to School."[18] The

content of the instruction in these schools included basic instruction in reading, writing and

Christianity along with skills applicable to farming and the domestic sphere. Jones even taught at

Rice Lake for a short period in 1828 while the schoolmaster was away.[19] He recorded a visit

made during this teaching stint to York on February 22, 1828, to demonstrate to members of the

House of Commons, among others, how education has improved the children. There his twenty

charges sang hymns in English and Anishinaabemowin, read, spelled, recited the Lord's prayer

and the ten Commandments, and showed knitting and sewing samples.[20]

Three years after this demonstration, Jones wrote to Viscount Goderich in support of the

Colborne-Kempt plan,[21] which was introduced in chapter two. In the letter, he asked that

Indigenous title to their lands be respected and protected either by administering ownership in

fee simple to Indigenous peoples, or by entrusting the lands to the Crown rather than to

provincial authorities or corporations (as in the case of the Rice Lake Indians and the New

England Company).[22] He also spoke strongly in support of education:

> I wish to speak a few words about the Indian schools in Upper Canada. I hope you will help all the schools which good white people have established for the Indians, and that you will make no difference between us who are Methodists and others. The Methodist missionaries found us when we were poor and blind, and had no one to help us, and they have done us much good, and made us a happy people. We have great regard for our teachers; they first taught us to pray, and to pray for our great father the King. We hope our father, the governor at York, will speak words of peace to our teachers, and encourage them to do us good. This is the language of all people.[23]

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18. File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
19. Jan 2, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
20. File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
21. Peter Jones to Viscount Goderich, 26 July, 1831, CIHM 9_01017, 135-136.
22. Ibid., 135.
23. Ibid., 135.

There is no doubt that in his request that Goderich "make no difference" between Methodists and "others," Jones obliquely took up the issue of Anglican discomfort with the Methodist domination of Indigenous education, as discussed in the previous chapter. In part, this represented a plea to the British governmental administrators to support the efforts of the Methodists, rather than undermining those efforts in hopes of re-asserting the prominence of the Anglican Church among Indigenous converts. The British government's antipathy toward the Methodists went beyond the status of the Anglican Church as the "official" church of the British empire; though the Methodists would deny it, central tenets of evangelicalism struck at the heart of the very legitimacy of the Crown and the claim of the Anglican Church to be the religious guide of the peoples of the British empire. In the previous chapter, I introduced evangelicalism and the fractious relationship between Methodists and Anglicans in Upper Canada. In what follows, I will delve more deeply into Methodist conceptualizations of conversion and consider how those ideas reflected a perception of human nature critical both to religious ideals and approaches to colonization and Indigenous schooling.

Methodism and Conversion

It was essential to the Methodist conceptualization of conversion that the convert not merely declare their commitment to Christianity, but that a total transformation of the person occur. Having experienced conversion, the individual was not the same as before; they lived differently not because of an intellectual allegiance to the principles of Methodism but because they *were* different; they felt differently, perceived differently, and therefore acted differently.[24]

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24. Goldwin S. French, "Egerton Ryerson and the Methodist Model for Upper Canada," in *Egerton Ryerson and His Times: Essays on the History of Education*, eds. McDonald, Neil and Alf Chaiton (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd, 1978), 48; William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 38; Grant, *Moon Of Wintertime*, 90.

The Methodist missionary James Evans, for whom William Case would soon thereafter pass over Peter Jones in the selection of an individual to produce a hymnal in Cree, wrote triumphantly of this kind of complete conversion in a letter to the *Christian Guardian* describing the Rice Lake Anishinaabeg. Evans had been teaching around fifty children at the day school, reading the English Reader and the translated St. Matthew's Gospel. Of the students' accomplishments at the school, he wrote,

> But what is best; with all their 'getting' they 'get understanding.' A knowledge of sins forgiven. Many know that 'the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.' And 'know that if the earthly wigwam of this tabernacle were dissolved,' they 'have a building of God a wigwam not made with hands eternal in the heavens. Halleluja! the Lord God omnipotent reighneth!'[25]

"Understanding" is here equated with "knowledge of sins forgiven"; it is the experience of forgiveness often described in conversion narratives as a release, the lifting of a burden, or a newly established freedom, rather than an understanding of religious conviction derived from reason. As Peter Jones wrote in notes for a sermon on Isaiah 60:22, "This key which unlocks the prophecies is found in the scriptures. It is not of human make and comes not from man; but is revealed by the… testimony of Jesus."[26] Conversion was understood as an event that brought to the individual a consciousness of the meaning of the scriptures, and therefore a consciousness of a meaning that transcended human reason.

Jones's notes on Isaiah indicate the centrality of scripture to Methodism, but also of the particular approach to the reading and interpretation of scripture employed by its adherents. Egerton Ryerson, a central mentor and spiritual guide to Jones, argued that religion was not a set

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25. James Evans, Jan. 9, 1830, Christian Guardian, 59.
26. Jones, Peter, Davisville, 1832, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

of rational precepts.[27] Evangelicals often eschewed the natural theology popular in the Anglican Church not only because it seemed to prioritize speculation on nature over the personal experience of salvation, but because its argument for a natural order inherent in the world threatened to reinstitute the hierarchical order of experience and understanding Methodism was so critical of.[28] Christ's *experience* of suffering signified the suffering of the individual mired in sin; it was his atonement for human fallibility in death and resurrection, rather than his actions as a teacher, that represented the model to be emulated. The life of Christ was to serve as inspiration rather than a set of precepts to be rationally grasped.[29] As Peter Jones noted in the outline of a sermon on the education of children, if it was a Christian duty to "train up" or teach a child to fear God, the means of doing so was through an emphasis on the actions and example of Christ, rather than his words. He wrote:

> I. <u>The duty</u>. 'Train up' or teach a child. 1. The fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom. 2. The amazing love of Christ to a fallen world. 3. The doctrines of the Saviour as our depravity, our need of him, and the way he accepts of poor sinners. 4. The miracles of Christ. 5. His death, suffering, resurrection and ascension.[30]

Gauvreau writes that, "For these men, their students, and their congregations, Christianity was a passion, a living force, a pulsating energy infusing the individual soul and human society. Their descriptions of its power often took the form of medical analogies in which faith assumed the character of a "remedy" for the "disease" of sin."[31] The Reformation, and to an even greater extent the evangelical revolution, were characterized by the conceptualization of an active, self-

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27. Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 38.
28. Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 57-90.
29. Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 38; Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 16.
30. "Education of Children," Prov 22.6, Credit 1832 and 1834 and Muncey 1844, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
31. Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 16.

determining individual with an unmediated relationship to a personalized god. While on the one hand, this made the individual responsible for their actions and guilty for their sins, Gauchet points out that personalizing God meant locating the foundational principle within "the divine subject and its unlimited self-presence."[32] The self is constituted by the possibility of looking at one's self and one's immediate reality from an outsider's perspective: "The experience of an inner split is more than just a gap. It opens up a fracture in being…."[33] Gauchet proposes that, beginning in the nineteenth century, this "fracture in being" was pathologized. A part of the self could become an obscure, motivating force behind undesired thoughts and actions.[34] If the individual was made responsible for their actions via this conceptualization of self-determination, they were at the same time exonerated by the dispossession of a part of the self: it becomes "an immense problem to establish your identity when it is no longer given by others and, strange though it may sound, an even greater problem to conform to yourself when you are released from your allegiance to the gods."[35] For Methodists, while humans lived in a fallen state prior to conversion, the desire for and disposition towards salvation was inherent. Both the Anglicans and the Methodists articulated the universality of Christianity, but from different sources. For the Anglican Church, the institution and doctrines of Anglicanism expressed "true" religion, and it was through these that humanity would and should regain its rightful order. Strachan's suggestion that humans are not naturally sinless but required the Church to guide them to an otherwise unnatural state is indicative of this. Methodism suggested that the need for institutions was instead representative of a fall from grace. Human nature was inherently good, but humans lived in a fallen state. Conversion was in this sense rediscovery or re-acquaintance

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32. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 63.
33. Ibid., 47.
34. Ibid., 169-170.
35. Ibid., 166.

with one's true nature, rather than the process of learning anew.

The "Block of marble" Metaphor and Methodist Missionizing

This perception of the innate nature of humans was the cornerstone of the Methodist attitude towards missionizing. Jones's notes for sermons given at Muncey and Credit River in the 1840s outlined the Methodist historical narrative of the creation and fall in the process of articulating the human responsibility towards what he called the "Brute Creation." Animals were created by God and given to man, who had been given by God a higher state of knowing; but when man fell, so too did the animal world and indeed "all the earth." Evidence of the animal world's fallen state was to be had in the animal hatred and fear of man, and the suffering they felt – "fear, pain, death" –, a metaphor for human suffering. While the resulting obligation on behalf of humans to show "love, friendship, mercy, benevolence," and to take care of domestic animals and not overhunt, can be understood as a moment of continuity between the Mississauga conceptualization of the connectedness of the natural and human worlds, Jones's comments also express the Methodist obligation to proselytize, and to show benevolence for all of the fallen creatures of the earth.[36] The duty to show mercy and benevolence was combined with a belief in the inherent inner sanctity that could be regained through submission to Christ, the communication of which was understood as the ultimate act of friendship and love.

A letter submitted by an unnamed author to the *Christian Guardian* reported on the Mahjejusk Mission [sic], and encapsulates this conceptualization of the true nature of humanity and its application to missionizing to Indigenous peoples:

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36. Peter Jones, "On the Brute Creation," Muncey, Feb. 19, 1843 and Credit, Dec. 13, 1846, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

> In the natural state of the Indian children, their gradual improvement, and pleasing development of genius, I have seen a beautiful illustration of a passage of Addison, where he compares a human soul without education to a block of marble lying hid in the quarry; which, though good of itself, yet can never show forth any of its beauties, until the skilful hand of the statuary makes them appear. So it is with the Indian mind, its inherent powers and capacities would never have made their appearance without the regenerating influence of religion and the polishing hand of education. By these they have been raised to their proper dignity as human beings, made useful to themselves, and good members of social and civil society.[37]

Though innately good, the human soul is unable to enact its goodness while in a state of fallenness. Within this framework, religion "regenerates" rather than instills or creates, and through religion, the individual is restored to full dignity. The author goes on to write that while the Indian is in this state due to ignorance, whites have chosen this state, and are therefore harder to convert.

Implicit in the author's statement is the claim that conversion restores individuals not only to holiness but to their full humanity, a theme that was commonly reiterated in statements on proselytizing to Indigenous peoples. The state of fallenness was associated with savagery, a trope that was used both literally, in the conceptualization of an Indigenous individual having not yet converted, and figuratively, as a representation of the suffering of a sinful existence. Though as we shall see later in this chapter, Jones did not assume a state of spiritual fallenness to be the *de facto* state of Indigenous people in the way that non-Indigenous commentators frequently did, he employed the language of heathenism and savagery in speaking to the need for conversion. His notes for a sermon on Ephesians 3.11-14 suggested that being Heathen meant living in a state of spiritual degradation, and was thus a term applicable to any non-Christian:

> Christians ought to call to remembrance their former sinful state in thanks and humility. I. Notice the wretched state of all mankind by nature. 1. They were Heathens – no right

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37. April 3, 1830, *Christian Guardian*, 156.

knowledge of God. 2. As such they were out of Christ. No part in him, no knowledge of him. Are far off from him. 3. Aliens from the commonwealth of Israel by birth, idolatry, etc. from the civil and religious privileges of God's people. 4. Strangers to the covenant of the promise. Did not realize the blessed promises of God. 5. Had no hope… 6. …wretched and unhappy beyond description![38]

In Jones's articulation, factors such as birth and idolatry were applicable to "all mankind," anyone with "no right knowledge of God." In this sense, the conceptualization of civilization and savagery informing Jones's comments, and perhaps to a less consistent degree, the view of Methodists more generally departed from that of the philanthropists and colonial administrators discussed in chapters two and three. Here, the state of being uncivilized was not biological but a universalized attribute of being without the attributes of Christian learning. Methodists emphasized conversion as the foundation of changing what were perceived to be destructive behaviors insofar as the transformation of conduct first required an internal transformation. The requirement of conversion before civilization was exemplified in a poem featured in 1830 in the *Christian Guardian* depicting the movement of the Rice Lake Anishinaabeg into houses: "In vain the white man tried to tame,/ The red man's heart, 'twas still the same;/ 'Till one came who of Jesus tell;/ I then say, bark wigkewaum, farewell."[39] The necessity to "tame" the "red man's heart" spoke not only to the association between living in wigwams and being undomesticated; the wigwam represented a migratory, non-agricultural lifestyle, but also the wildness of the unconverted heart.

Peter Jones more extensively rehearsed the connection between conversion and conduct in a letter to Judge Charles John Crompton, a judge of the Queen's bench, in 1837:

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38. Peter Jones, Ephesians III.11-14, File 5, Box 2, Skeletons of sermons preached, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
39. March 13, 1830, *Christian Guardian*, 129.

You will be happy to hear that the work of God among my countrymen in Canada continues to prosper. Several Tribes have embraced Christianity since I was in this country last, and the cause is still progressing gradually towards the north and west. The most astonishing changes have been produced in all the Tribes who have accepted the offers of Salvation – the pagan idolator has become the worshipper of the true and living God – the uncivilized the untutored Indian has been brought to taste the blessings of civilization and to know the great plan of redemption by our Lord Jesus Christ – the drunken and dissipated red man of the wilderness has become sober and virtuous, and those who were once no people, have now become the people of the most high God – All, all this has been effected by the mighty energy of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts, but the honoured instruments in this work are the missionaries sent out by Christians to advance the Kingdom of Christ.[40]

Drunkenness, dissipation, and idolatry were the wilderness, significantly, a state of being "no

people," while sobriety, virtue, and the practice of Christianity were civilization – the state of

being "the people of the most high God." Although missionaries are the instruments of God, it is

the effect of the Holy Spirit on the "heart" that provoked transformation. Jones attributed

civilization, sobriety, and even the practice of worshipping God to an acceptance of the offer of

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40. Peter Jones to Judge Crompton, Nov. 16, 1837, London, File 7, Box 3, Letters to John Jones and Others, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University. There are many similar articulations of the fruits of evangelical missionizing to Indians in the *Christian Guardian*. The following excerpt from an update on Indian Missions in 1830 is one such example: "In the present and late numbers of our paper, we have been enabled to lay before our readers the most encouraging accounts and the most pleasing exemplifications of the happy and wonderful influence of the Gospel upon the hearts, lives, and conditions of the Indian tribes. A people, that but a few years ago, were no people, are now a sober, a religious, an improving people. The light of life has dispelled the death-like shades of their moral darkness, and the power of the gospel has raised them up from a Hottentot degradation to perform willingly many of the duties of the industrious husband-man, and to enjoy the consolations of the devoted Christian. Their own now softened and renewed hearts are often deeply affected, when they compare their present with their former state… While the Christian, whose heart has been cast in the mould of apostolic sensibility and benevolence, sees the scattered remnants of the ancient proprietors of our world _____ from the wilderness, observes them settling down _____ of humble cottages, cultivating the arts of civilization, sending up to heaven, morning and evening, the perfumed incense of domestic devotion, their children assembling in little groups to the place where they learn to read the words of the Great Spirit which are able to save their souls; sobriety, peace, love and joy diffusing comfort and harmony throughout their newly settled territories – while the Christian witnesses this interesting scene, his faith in the christian religion will be abundantly strengthened, and his feeling heart cannot but breath sentiments of gratitude to that God, who of stones raises up children unto Abraham." The author asks why this was not done sooner for they who are of "one blood with ourselves" and why Christians have allowed people to continue to live in darkness reminding the reader that at judgment day, Christians will have to account for every shilling; "Will not thousands of our heathen neighbours be found to have perished in their sins, but will not their blood be required at our hands? Will not our now hoarded gold then become a worm that dieth not…". In conclusion, the author writes that "The wilderness is opening – the fields are white for harvest – the laborers are few, and the means are small. O that faith, and prayer, and means, and men might be abundantly multiplied, in carrying the words of salvation and the earthly boon of social and civilized life, to our wandering, injured, heathen neighbours, who are now sitting in darkness and in the valley and shaddow [sic] of death." (Feb. 6, 1830, 93-94)

salvation. That the offer of salvation was awaiting acceptance bespeaks something already there, rather than something imposed, as was additionally stressed in a diary entry asserting that too many missionaries "manifested a domineering spirit" rather than acknowledging that "The Indian is a free man" who "will not be driven."[41]

Evangelicalism situated the source of goodness squarely in the individual subject. Within the framework of evangelicalism, humans are not good by virtue of the institution they are associated with but are *in themselves* good: the inner sanctity of the individual is like "a block of marble lying hid in the quarry," as put by the letter writer quoted above, an analogy that articulated the possibility of this goodness being obscured even to the subject themselves. The evangelical articulation of the subject suggested that there could be a part of the self that was concealed from the self: the self was no longer a coherent whole either in the dictum of predestination or the confessional awareness of sin. Gauchet says of the second great awakening that,

> A second stage was set in motion around 1800, dissolving this pure self-identity and causing the reemergence of the other at the core of personal action. The subject was no longer in full possession of itself with the ability to choose in full awareness, but was consciously dispossessed and determined by a part of itself it did not know. Whether this occurred within the framework of an inner struggle between the attraction of evil and the desire for good… the truth of the subject's reality was realized in its relation to the self or the act of self-disposition.[42]

The processes whereby the individual discovered and, to extend the analogy of the quarry, mined the latent capabilities of the self broke with institutional authority in many ways, but were nonetheless part of a process of the disciplining of the self. In part, this was because the

41. Excerpt from P. Jones's diary, File 10, Box 3, Correspondence not in Letter Book (copies), Peter Jones fonds, Victoria University, 228.
42. Gauchet, *Disenchantment*, 169.

discovery of the "true" self was only the first step, to be followed, as we shall see, by the difficult work of maintaining a state of sanctification. But the possibility of a diminution in the glow of conversion implied the counterpart of subjective autonomy, "the internalization of the origin of evil":[43] if the subject was granted both the power and the responsibility to release themself from a state of spiritual degradation, and if this was accomplished internally in a transformation of the "heart," then it was from their own subjective degradation that the subject was to be released.

The Disciplining of the Self

The self was not only the source of sanctity and freedom but also of sin and degradation. As Jones implored in the opening statement of his sermon on Ephesians, "Notice the wretched state of all mankind by nature."[44] Although the human soul was characterized by innate goodness, or at least held within it the possibility of goodness, it could not be divorced from its situatedness in the "brute creation," and could not but be sullied by the vagaries of mundane human existence. In conversion, the cobwebs were cleared and the individual experienced, lived in that moment, the sanctified self, but because the individual was not then removed from the contamination of physical and social existence – because at least part of the self was still the same self – the process of sanctification, of working on and cleansing the self to maintain a state approximating purity, would be on-going.

By simultaneously according to the individual autonomy in relation to the self – the power to regenerate or recreate one's self, for instance, in the image of Christ – and withdrawing

43. Ibid., 168.
44. Peter Jones, Ephesians III.11-14, File 5, Box 2, Skeletons of sermons preached, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University. Also his comment that he chose John 9:25 as the core text of a sermon preached at Ebenezer Chapel in Chatham, Nov. 20, 1831 "for the purpose of applying it in a spiritual point of view to the dark state of mankind by nature..." (Peter Jones, "The Substance of a Sermon preached at Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham, November the 20th 1831, in Aid of the Home Missionary Society by Kahkewaquonaby, Chief of the Eagle Tribe of the Chippewa Indians, Upper Canada," File 2, Box 3, Miscellaneous documents, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University).

from the individual the coherence of their person in the intimation of hidden sources of both sin

and sanctity, evangelicalism created a perpetual cycle of renewal in the persistent danger of

fallenness, and the internalization of at least some portion of the source of fallenness. Conversion

was the experience of freedom from degradation, but it could not excise the source of potential

degradation. The co-existence of the sanctified self and a self prior to, or given in excess of the

sanctified self was expressed in the Methodist discourse of conversion and regeneration, as in

this 1846 *Christian Guardian* editorial on Spiritual Regeneration, which I will quote at length

because it is a particularly evocative statement of the Methodist concept of the self:

> Spiritual Regeneration, or, in other words, Scriptural Conversion, is that work of the Holy Spirit whereby, through his grace implanted in us, we are born again and spiritually changed in our whole inward man. It is a change which, in accordance with it vast importance, has never been lost sight of by the 'people called Methodists;' but, in every clime, and under every circumstance, its necessity has been insisted upon, with a success unexampled since the days of the Apostles, by Wesley and his followers, from the moment that great and good man experienced in his own soul that gracious change until the present time.... The man who has regenerated has within himself an evidence that it has produced a change in his apprehensions. His views are different of himself, of his God, of his Saviour, of time, of eternity, from what they were; for God, who commandeth light to shine out of darkness, shineth in his heart,' opening the eyes of his understanding to knew himself, and 'the things which are freely given to him of God,'"; it is a change in his will, in his desires... the man who is born again earnestly desires a conformity to the will of God, as his highest happiness. His affections are no longer disordered, nor placed upon improper objects...[45]

Throughout the article, the articulation of regeneration must take up the stance of the self in

relation to the self. Conversion acts upon "the whole inward man" but enables a transformed

view of himself; the self can stand at a distance from the self to perceive the change, and indeed

ought to do so, as evidence of regeneration is, according to the author, "within himself." New

understanding is a new understanding of the self and calls for remembrance and recognition of

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45. Nov. 25, 1846, *Christian Guardian*, 22.

the old as evidence of new understanding. Jones writes in notes for a sermon "On the surrender of the heart" on Proverbs 23.24 that "By nature our hearts are under the dominion of other gods" – the world, the flesh and the devil.[46] The new understanding initiated by conversion allowed the subject to stand at a distance from the dangers of the heart, but not to expunge those dangers insofar as they derive from the nature of human physical existence. In these discourses around conversion, the individual is beseeched to realize the true self and to close the distance between themselves and Christ, to achieve "conformity to the will of God," as in the article quoted above; in essence to realize complete integration with the sacred that had been internalized. Savagery and wilderness represented the disordered self, as in Jones's note that the "desolate wild" that is wilderness could be that of the Jewish church "in lack of piety," the heathen world, the Anglican Church, and our own hearts.[47]

Here, a point of convergence between Lefort and Taylor comes into view. Lefort, reflecting upon the work of Tocqueville, argues that liberal democratic state formations are built upon a resistance to representability.[48] As the idea that some have particular rights or powers (the prince, a priest) diminishes in the minds of people, the idea of the authority of society takes its place, but 'society' is amorphous. In the idea of society, we have a sense of commonality with others, but it no longer resides in the social bonds that had been made apparent and reinforced by a firmly established hierarchy. The indistinct nature of society is reflected not only in the vagueness of the notion of those others with whom we are connected within the space of the social but of who we are in relation to that space.[49] The true self is in conformity with the will of

46. Peter Jones, "On the surrender of the heart" Prov XXIII.24, undated, File 2, Box 2, Notes for sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
47. Peter Jones, "History of John the Baptist" John 2.23, Credit 1846, File 2, Box 2, Notes for sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
48. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 179.
49. Ibid., 177.

God, though that will is unseen, unrepresentable, hiding within believers and yet accessible in that it shapes a community of believers in a manner that is shared, is observable in its effects and identifiable in its manifestation. God's will is both realizable (and indeed demanded of the individual) and invisible. One is counted a member because they have committed to a vision that can neither be fully represented nor fully grasped. "It is in this context that the notion of 'social power' begins to be deployed in systematic fashion."[50] The authority of society is not an authority conferred by a representative; rather it is in the idea of what society believes in, approves of, desires, etc. that power comes to be exerted over the individual.

As is suggested in the editorial quoted above, the individual stands in judgment of their person, issues the judgments of society over their own thoughts and actions, and seeks within themself for misalignment between their internal thoughts and feelings and those approved of by "society." As was noted in chapter one, Taylor points out that in mobilizing to encourage greater conformity with ideas of the Christian life, churches came to establish a codified set of norms for what that meant. The product of this effort was to eliminate the 'spiritual' as a separate sphere, as everyday life was suffused with "right thought and action."[51] Taylor is pointing to the emergence of a set of norms that arise from the initial blush of personal self-revelation within evangelicalism, and that will be discussed in greater detail shortly. But for the moment, I wish to point out Taylor and Lefort's emphasis on the co-articulation of the personal, social and political. Once the individual's inner life becomes the basis for collective co-existence, as Lefort writes, "When society no longer recognizes the existence of anything external to it, social power knows no bounds…. The boundaries of personal existences mean nothing to it because it purports to be

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50. Ibid., 205.
51. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 266.

the agent of all."[52]

Taylor and Lefort resist the idea that society or some representative figurehead has simply taken the place of God or gods, the prince, etc. within the context of liberal democracies or exclusive humanism.[53] The point is not to replace deferral to an identifiable external legitimating force or power with deferral to an identifiable legitimating force or power that represents "the people." Rather, both are at pains to show a more substantive and far-reaching but subtler shift – the notion that within each of us are the guidelines or architecture of a collective existence realizable through the application of reason or self-seeking. The grounds of collective co-existence that each of us accesses through the procedures characteristic of the innocentizing strategy or the positive strategy, for example, are universalized but not as a figurehead, more as a blueprint, a correct "feeling" or the uncovering of laws that govern human behavior.

Yet neither suggests that the emergence of exclusive humanism or liberal democracy has entailed the loss or removal of what drove earlier frameworks. For Taylor, this is to be found in a drive to seek something higher[54] or hypergoods[55] and for Lefort, in a mechanism for containing conflict.[56] These drives persist into the present for Taylor, in the defence of ordinary life, and the modern conceptions of freedom, benevolence and altruism[57] and for Lefort in the terror of being lost in the crowd.[58] Where there is no mechanism for the satisfaction of these drives, the

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52. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 167.
53. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 255.
54. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 47.
55. Ibid., 63.
56. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 180.
57. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 85.
58. "The most remarkable feature of critiques of democracy is the durability of the representation of the man lost in the crowd. It fuels both a horror of anonymity and a longing for an imaginary community whose members experience the joys of being together" (Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 181).

individual may fall into a malaise or seek the reinstatement of certitude, as with fascism.[59] For both Taylor and Lefort (and earlier, in Durkheim's notion of anomie)[60] fear of meaninglessness, of the absence of markers of certainty and identity, may motivate individuals to search for meaning and connection with others, or to struggle to realize their best self. But there is ever the danger that a fear of "the void" moves conceptualizations of human willing in the direction of manifesting one will; the will of one who is designated a representative of all and the fallacy that the collective might think or speak as one. While what Taylor describes as the positive strategy may have focused on a seeking within the self, this manifestation of the "society of mutual benefit" was no less likely than the innocentizing strategy to assert both the strict necessity of the seeking and clear outlines as to what might be found.

Fear, Consequences and Conversion

Fear was an integral element of the call to conversion, fear of the consequences of remaining unconverted both in the present and in the hereafter. Sorrow, pain and suffering are frequently invoked in Methodist discourses of the unconverted existence, and the threat of hell is omnipresent. Jones's sermons and letters contain a variety of examples of such techniques, perhaps the most radical of which were contained in notes on a sermon given on Ecclesiastes 11.9 to youth at the Credit in 1841 and at a Lunaapeew camp meeting the same year:

> What follows after the judgment: The world is enveloped in a flame of fire. The ocean burns. Sun is darkened. Moon turned into blood. The stars fall. All nature in confusion. Hell opens her hideous mouth. The wicked drop into hell and utter their eternal groan. The righteous ascend up to God with a shout of victory and enter into eternal life and joy.[61]

59. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 233.
60. Durkheim, *Suicide,* 258.
61. Peter Jones, "Address to Youth" Ecc XI.9: given at Credit Aug. 2, 1841 and at Muncey Camp Meeting Sept 5,

In points following these, Jones writes that infidelity, procrastination, sensuality, obstinacy and self will, drunkenness, carnal pleasure, and willful blindness are the behaviors that will lead people to hell – they are "the way of eternal deaths." To remain unconverted is to risk experiencing the terrors of hell, but also to risk foregoing the raptures of righteousness, a duality not limited to the afterlife. Suffering on earth is attributed by Jones to God's "chastening dispensations": "When he sees we need correction he lays his hand upon us, and takes away our *property*, *relatives*, and our *health*. Then we cry unto the Lord and look for him" [emphases his].[62]

Jones similarly narrated for his wife Eliza Jones the conversion of Jacob Jackson. Eliza Field Jones was the deeply religious daughter of an affluent factory owning family, born and raised in Lambeth, England.[63] She met Jones while he was on tour in England in 1831 and married him in New York in 1833, joining him at the Credit thereafter. The story of Jacob Jackson that Jones relayed communicated the discomfort of mind resulting from spiritual degradation, the omnipresence of the threat of death, and the release conversion provided from both states of uncertainty and sorrow:

> I shall here relate the conversion of Jacob Jackson. This Indian had been under a concern of mind for some time. His child was taken ill, which greatly increased his desire for experimental religion. A number of the praying friends being assembled at Jackson's house, and perceiving that the child was about dying they knelt down to prayer in order to command the spirit of the child into the hands of God, and at the same time to pray for poor Jacob. Just as the soul of the child took its departure, the Holy Ghost fell upon the mourning father, who shouted aloud and declared that the Lord had revealed himself to his poor heart. Jacob then went to toll the Church Bell, and whilst he was tolling it, he

1841, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
62. Peter Jones, "On looking for god", given between 1847 and 1852, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
63. Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 132.

was all the time praising God for pardoning mercy and the people who came to know who was dead, found the bereaved father rejoicing in the midst of his sorrows, and cried aloud, 'My child is dead; but I am made alive. My child is gone home to heaven, and I am determined to follow after … 'I thank, I thank Jesus for his mercy unto me.' May God continue to carry on his blessed work amongst this people![64]

It is an obviously compelling instance because it exemplified the power of God to provide relief and release even in moments of extreme pain and loss, as in the death of a child. Jones's re-telling also stresses the experiential nature of conversion and spiritual regeneration, and its manifestation in behaviors inconsistent with normative behavior, as in Jacob Jackson's response of rejoicing in the midst of his grief.

Behaviors such as drunkenness, procrastination and infidelity were intensely moralized by the assertion that they would divest the individual of relief in the case of the death of a loved one or would lead to suffering in one's life and afterlife. However, fear was not to be the crux of conversion and a lasting modification in conduct. In a piece on religious tolerance, the *Christian Guardian* admonished those who demanded conformity in conduct without "genuine conviction," arguing that "He who bribes or frightens his neighbour into doing an act which no good man would do for reward, or from fear, is tempting his neighbour to sin…".[65] Full commitment to Christianity, exemplified by "a right understanding of the Gospel, and a deep veneration for his great Master, and an earnest desire to tread in his steps, and a full confidence in his promises," would allow the converted to see that "the employment of secular coercion in the cause of the Gospel is at variance with the true spirit of the Gospel."[66] In the 1840s, both the *Christian Guardian* and Peter Jones expressed doubts about the tactics of the temperance movement, and the spiritual commitment of its adherents precisely because of the perceived

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64. Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, Jan. 24, 1844, Credit, File 6, Box 3, Letters, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
65. Nov. 25, 1846, *Christian Guardian*, 22.
66. Ibid.

discrepancy between conversion and intellectual commitment. The *Christian Guardian* argued that Washingtonianism, a cure for intemperance involving taking an oath and maintaining sobriety through interpersonal contact and discussion, would not work because it was not accompanied by conversion; sobriety could not be achieved "without ever reaching the essential principle of their accountability to God, without admitting the necessity of a change or moral character as the sure ground of permanent reformation of manners."[67] Jones wrote disdainfully of how temperance devotees were swayed by the pageantry and grandeur of a particular fundraising event, disregarding the cause of Indian education because he could not provide an equally impressive spectacle.[68] "But to be serious" Jones wrote to Eliza, "I am more and more sick at the doings and principles of these people. I believe that infidelity lies at the bottom of this association."[69] Although both were committed to the goals of sobriety and self-control, even such laudable goals were suspect if they were not the product of a complete transformation of the self.

Within the Methodist framework, good conduct was not centrally articulated as evidence of salvation, though the implication of salvation was clearly an element, as in references to the hopeful future of which the convert was assured.[70] More centrally, good conduct was indicative of the desire for transformation, of the willingness to perform the work of maintaining a state of sanctification after the crucial event of conversion, and of the individual's dedication to the labour of self-discipline. Evangelicalism called for the individual to subject their own person to

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67. Feb. 3, 1847, *Christian Guardian*, 61.
68. Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, Jan. 13, 1844, Seneca, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
69. Ibid.
70. Also the statement in the rules for class meetings that wherever "A desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins" was "fixed in the soul, it will be shewn by its fruits." Wesley, John, *The nature, design, and general rules of the Methodist Societies. Established by the Rev. John Wesley. To which are added, the rules of the Band societies* (London, 1798: Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, University of Pennsylvania Library, 21 Aug. 2010), 3.

self-discipline, rather than for the individual to subject their person to the disciplinary power of an externalized source of authority. In notes for New Year's Day sermons given at the Credit in 1839 and Muncey in 1843, Jones outlined the various forms of self-reflection that the congregants should re-commit to in the new year. "Let us begin the year," he wrote:

> 1. With self inspection on our past lives. 1. Of all our mercies and the improvement of them. 2. Of our faults and shortcomings. 3. Of the goodness of God in sparing us to see another year, through so many dangers. Etc. 2. With a solemn reflection on the future…. 3. With a determination to abandon and overcome our evil habits…. 6. With fresh concern to the useful… 7. With more method in the arrangement of our affairs. Regularity, 1. In our meals and devotions. 2. In our business…. 8. With a resolution to redeem time. 1. From idleness. 2. From gossiping. 3. From self indulgence in sleep.[71]

Self-inspection combined reflection on the goodness and evils of the self, on God, on time, and on one's habits – both what the reflecting individual did do, and what they had committed themselves to doing. Calls for a "fresh concern" and "more method" implied renewal of beneficial habits, rather than introduction. But most importantly, it was incumbent upon the individual to commit in themselves to this work of inspection and transformation. The targets of inspection were intensely personal. Jones called the congregant to reflect on their particular mercies, faults and habits rather than mercies, faults and habits more generally, and to adjust their habits in particular.

Nonetheless, as with the deployment of fear, Methodist congregants were not freed from external pressures to act morally because of the church's stance against external authority. Rather, in keeping with the dictum of self-governance, external authority was organized around the concepts of the free submission of the individual to inspection, and external inspection as

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71. Peter Jones, "New Year's Day" Exodus, 40.2; Credit 1839, Muncey 1843, Sermons for special occasions, 1832-1855, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

counterpart and reinforcement of internal processes assumed to be already in play. The Methodist church was characterized by a highly developed structure of surveillance and authority. Over the individual congregant stood the class leader, exhorter, local preacher, and senior preacher. An official board governed over the circuit, the area to which one or more itinerant preachers were assigned, and the circuits were organized by the conference, a body composed of all itinerant preachers, and which was responsible for discipline and the appointment of preachers.[72]

Class meetings were the most immediate form of surveillance over the individual. Classes were constituted by members of local Methodist Society, which was, according to the guidelines for Societies, "A company of persons, who, having the Form, are seeking the Power of Godliness: United, in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their Salvation."[73] While individuals had to go through an extensive process of admittance, the only condition required of those admitted to the Society was "A desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins."[74] The Society was divided into smaller groups, or classes "That it may the more easily be discerned, whether the members of the society are working out their Salvation."[75] During the meeting, members were urged both to speak truthfully of their internal state of salvation, and to exhaustively inquire into the state of others.' The list of behaviors warranting discussion and censure was extensive, including buying and selling spirits, fighting, revenge, uncharitable conversation, wearing gold and expensive clothing, playing cards or dancing, self-

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72. Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 57.
73. Wesley, *Nature, Design, and General Rules*, 3.
74. Ibid., 3.
75. Ibid., 4.

indulgence, and marrying an unbeliever.[76] Continuation in the Society was contingent upon

evidencing a "desire for salvation" by doing good, being merciful, giving aid to the poor,

"instructing, reproving, or exhorting all we have any intercourse with," being patient and God-

fearing, praying, and studying the Bible.[77] The design of class meetings was:

1. To meet once a week, at the least.
2. To come punctually at the hour appointed, without some extraordinary reason.
3. To begin exactly at the hour, with singing or prayer.
4. To speak each of us in order, freely and plainly, the true state of our souls, with the faults we have committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations we have been exercised with since our last meeting.
5. To end each meeting with prayer, suited to the state of each person present.
6. To desire some person among us to speak his own experience first; and then to ask the rest in order, as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations. Such as:

1. Have you been guilty of any known sin since our last meeting?
2. What temptations have you met with?
3. How was you delivered? [sic]
4. What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be a sin or not?[78]

While the guidelines for directing classes, and the obligation to submit others and one's self to a

kind of spiritual interrogation clearly constituted the subjection of the self to external censure,

the emphasis on desire worked to cast the classes in the form of exercises in the enhancement of

the self. In addition, while the rules were rules of the Societies, derived from the written word of

God, "all these we know his Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart."[79] Even censure for

habitually breaking the rules of the Society was articulated in terms of self-censure: "let it be

made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they that must give an account. We will

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76. Ibid., 5-6, 8.
77. Ibid., 6-8.
78. Ibid., 11.
79. Ibid., 10.

admonish him of the error of his ways: We will bear with him for a season. But then if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls."[80] At the point at which an individual had shown themselves worthy of being ejected from the group, it was a matter of saving the souls of the remaining members rather than dictating to the offender the terms of their salvation.

Marguerite Van Die writes of the informal disciplining of evangelical denominations that "the sins of members were a matter of communal concern."[81] Van Die argues that evangelicals, and in particular, Methodists, strove to constitute a public sphere based on private practices. Methodists distinguished the public sphere of the class meeting from the sphere of political and secular institutions. However, the public sphere of the church and the community of the converted were built upon private practices of self-discipline and devotion to God and were understood to be the model and basis not only for a transformation in the self, but a transformation of society. Church discipline brought private affairs into the public eye, even if it was in the narrower sphere of the class meeting. Although women were excluded from many corners of the public sphere, part of the differentiation and gendered demarcation of public and private spheres in modernity, women's access to private behaviors, and what Van Die calls the "female networks of moral surveillance,"[82] allowed women to participate in the constitution of the public sphere and to bridge the gap between private and public life more generally. In addition, women were active in organizations sponsored and supported by evangelicals, organizations that were in part intended to model the society to come, as was argued in the

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80. Ibid., 10.
81. Marguerite Van Die, "Revisiting Separate Spheres: Women, Religion and the Family in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 251.
82. Ibid., 252.

previous chapter on philanthropy. Women helped to organize and participated enthusiastically in camp meetings, schools (particularly Sunday schools), temperance activities, Bible societies, and dorcas societies;[83] as has frequently been noted, such religious and philanthropic activities allowed women access to activities that extended beyond the circumscribed domestic sphere.[84]

Peter Jones and the Idea of Civilization

By the time that Bond Head was floating his removal policy, Jones had gained extensive experience in the fields of education, administration, and missionizing. His first foray into educational provision to Indigenous people was a day school he opened at his father's house between 1823 and 1824 at which orphans were taught about religion and instructed in reading and writing.[85] During his missionary tours, he had inspected or taught at mission schools, and had spent time negotiating with tribes to send their children to missionary schools. Jones's view of the day schools he had witnessed was uniformly negative, and the focus of his criticism rested squarely on two issues: attendance and parental influence. In the documents reviewed for this dissertation, Jones did not criticize missionary teachers, or the methods they applied in the classroom. Instead, he stressed the centrality of parental initiative, writing of school visits undertaken during an 1827 missionary tour that "In visiting these Schools, I saw the necessity of parents being punctual in sending their children regularly to School."[86] In an 1834 address

83. Dorcas societies were service groups usually associated with a church or mission and in this context, usually made up of women. Elizabeth Gillan Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991); Catherine Murton Stoehr, *Salvation From Empire: The Roots of Anishnabe Christianity in Upper Canada, 1650-1840* (PhD diss., Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 2008).
84. Errington, *Wives and Mothers*; Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 70; Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit*; Susan Thorne, "Missionary-Imperialism Feminism," in *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, eds. Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 40-66.
85. Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 63.
86. Peter Jones, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

delivered in Toronto and entirely devoted to the subject of "Indian Schools," Jones laid out the

four main reasons that the existing day schools were inefficient. He argued: 1) that what the

students learned at the schools was counteracted by the examples their parents set at home,

"Example going before precept"; 2) that because the students' parents had not themselves been

educated, they did not value education and did not force their children to attend; 3) that the

insufficient education students received at the schools as a result of these influences gave them

no applicable skills so that when they left schools they took up with bad company and made

nothing of themselves; and 4) that because girls had no skills applicable to fundraising for the

Society, and could not therefore fund an additional teacher, they did not receive adequate

domestic training, perpetuated the issue of negative parental influences once they bore children,

and could not act as adequate partners for Indigenous men who were educated and well trained.[87]

The negative influences Jones felt students were exposed to at home reflected the

characteristics he associated with the unconverted. They were "indolent and dirty" in their

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87. Peter Jones, Feb. 1835, "Thoughts on Indian Schools delivered at Toronto," File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University. Jones's articulation of his five complaints against the existing day schools was transcribed as follows: "I. The present plan of the schools quite inefficient to do much permanent good old established schools. – as the following reasons will plainly show.
    1. The good instruction they receive at the Schools is in a great measure counter-acted by the examples of their parents at home, many of whose habits are indolent and dirty, which they naturally imitate. Example going before precept.
    2. The parents never having enjoyed the blessings of education, do not sufficiently value it so that the children are often kept from school, or suffered to run about.
    3. When the boys leave the Schools, not having been taught any trade or the habits of industry, they lounge about, get with bad company and the little knowledge they have is turned to bad account.
    4. The girls for want of proper instruction in work for the funds of the Society will not allow at present to support but one teacher, either man or woman at each School / and other domestic duties when they leave the Schools and become parents themselves are very little prepared to take care of a family than their parents were.
    5. Some of the young men are at Ca_enovia (?) and from the superior advantages they enjoy there, they will I think be altogether raised above their brethren and become very useful to them as teachers and preachers, but they will want wives, and where can they get suitable companions among their Indian Sisters?"

habits,[88] quarrelsome,[89] prone to drunkenness,[90] living in a state of darkness,[91] a "wretched and forlorn state" he compares to a wilderness.[92] They were superstitious idol worshippers who did not enjoy the benefits of civilization.[93] That these characteristics were for Jones more strongly associated with being unconverted than being Indigenous was indicated by his frequently positive representation of Indigenous people prior to contact with European colonizers,[94] and indications in references to himself that he saw positive elements of his person as deriving from his Mississauga heritage. In his lectures to settlers, he generally represented Indigenous people prior to contact as numerous, happy and prosperous, if "savage" in war; he noted the industriousness of Indigenous women and a good sense of humour in general. The degradation described above was the result of the introduction of alcohol and the lack of resources for survival. Jones repeatedly stressed that conversion was the key to positive transformation, rather than transformation resulting in the first place from the adoption of European customs, though undoubtedly, conversion was never disassociated from a transition to European conventions.[95]

In addition, Jones took the stance that all peoples had gone through or were still going through the transition from the state of living in darkness as heathens to living as civilized, Christian people. This was in keeping with the Methodist view of the "depravity and miserable condition of mankind," as he wrote in describing his efforts to convert the Bear Creek

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88. Peter Jones, Feb. 1835, "Thoughts on Indian Schools delivered at Toronto," File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
89. Peter Jones, March 20, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
90. Peter Jones, March 13, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University; Dec. 5, 1829, *Christian Guardian*, 17.
91. Dec. 5, 1829, *Christian Guardian*, 17.
92. Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, April 9, 1833, Credit Mission, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
93. Peter Jones, Nov. 13, 1840, Richmond Hill, File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
94. For example, an undated address on North American Indians, File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
95. Peter Jones, March 20, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28 , Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

Anishinaabeg, who ultimately agreed only to send their children to school.[96] In notes for a

sermon on Acts 17:30 in 1854 entitled "Times of Ignorance," Jones wrote,

> All Christianized and civilized Nations have had their times of ignorance. Note – 1. <u>The former state of the British Nation</u>. 1st Their mode of life… were like the Indians. 2nd They worshipped ___ and Thor – oak tree, mistletoe, fire, offered human sacrifices. <u>Cornwall</u>. 2. <u>The ignorance state of the Indians.</u> 1st of the true knowledge of <u>God, Christ, Holy Ghost, Resurrection, Future State, Bible</u>. [emphases his][97]

It is also worth noting that Jones's view of Indigenous people as agents of conversion

seemed to have changed between the mid 1820s and the late 1840s, though evidence of this is

weaker than the support found for points made above. In the early 1820s, Indigenous agents of

conversion were those who had already been converted, and the remainder of the Indigenous

population were generally represented as living in a "state of darkness": the present state was

degradation. In 1846, Jones gave an address to a Methodist meeting in Kingston where he listed

the former state of the Indigenous peoples in Upper Canada as "pagan and wandering" and the

present state as "instruments of civilization".[98] This possibly also reflected the generally more

sedentary state of Indigenous peoples in the 1840s in comparison to two decades prior.

In comparison to those living without Christianity, the converted were represented to be

generous and diligently in pursuit of the well-being of others, as in his description of the "good

white Christians" who came to the aid of the Mississauga at Credit river, "who love the Lord,

and who love to see his religion spread among all nations, not being stingy of their good

enjoyments, but willing that others, who were not of their own people, might also experience the

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96. Ibid.
97. Peter Jones, File 2, Box 2, Notes for sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
98. Peter Jones, June 7, 1846, Kingston, File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

same happiness in their hearts...".[99] In a letter to John Jones, Peter Jones described in 1830 how among the 1,150 Indigenous members of the Missionary Society there had been "Spiritual improvements" as well as conformity to the "habits and customs of civilized people": they were living in villages, clearing and planting their fields, attending to religious and literary education, "And in short becoming a new race of people, traveling in the paths of Christianity...".[100] Conversion was the key to a happy and productive life,[101] but Jones argued that wisdom in relation to the word of God was the product of both spiritual exploration and disciplined habits of living; wisdom should be sought through prayer, the study of scripture, meditation, obedience, instruction, diligence, the seeking of counsel from spiritual teachers, and the forsaking of evil ways.[102] That Jones believed education could achieve conversion and transformation was demonstrated by an event he recounted in a letter to Eliza in which a student described a conversion experience:

> Some of the children of the Mission School have also experienced a change of heart; a boy by the name of Isaac expressed himself thus – 'When I went forward to the altar to be prayed for, I felt all over so heavy I could hardly walk, and when they began to pray for me, I felt more and more heavy, but all at once my heavy heart was taken away, and I felt all over light and ticklish. Now I am not afraid to die, before whenever I used to have any pain I was afraid to die.'[103]

99. Dec. 5, 1829, *Christian Guardian*, 17.

100. Peter Jones to John Jones, Jan. 18, 1830, River Credit Mission, File 7, Box 3, Letters to John Jones and Others, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

101. As in Jones's comment that "The fear of the Lord... is the beginning of wisdom." "Education of Children," Prov 22.6, Credit 1832 and 34 and Muncey 1844, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

102. Peter Jones, "Wisdom calling upon youth," Prov VIII.17, Credit 1834, Muncey 1843, Oneida 1843, File 2, Box 2, Notes for sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University. Jones's homage to William Case is also indicative of his perception of what "good character" consisted of. He opened by reasserting that man by nature was not good but that God had changed his heart and then listed the attributes of a man such as William Case who had experienced such a transformation of the heart: "He is full of the Holy Ghost"; "He is a man of faith"; "He is a man of love"; "He is a man of prayer"; "He is a man of gratitude"; "He is regular in his attendances upon the ordinances"; "He is a man of usefulness."; "He is a man of industry"; "He is a man beloved."; "The end of such a man is peace." File 2, Box 2, Notes for sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

103. Peter Jones to Eliza Field, Jan. 16, 1833, River Credit Mission, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

Issac's story was not only evidence of the role of missionary schools in conversion, but of a characteristic of individuals who had experienced conversion: assurance of a "happy death". [104]

Per the discussion of evangelical views of salvation above, Jones argued that a virtuous life began with personal dedication. The individual had to feel responsibility both for the state of their own soul, and for those committed to their charge (children, relatives, partners, servants, and visitors): "The work must begin at ourselves," he wrote. [105] However, convinced that by adulthood, the unconverted were usually steadfastly committed to their degraded lifestyles, Jones maintained that children had to be the special target of missionary efforts. In the sermon on the education of children noted above, he quoted Proverbs 22:6: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it." [106] The best time to seek wisdom was early, a point expanded upon in notes for a sermon on Proverbs 8.17:

> 1. Not in old age when evil habits are formed. It is ten times harder for an old sinner to reform than the youth. Habit becomes second nature. 2. Morning of life is the best time. The heart is more tender to yield to conviction. The Spirit of God strives more powerfully. 3. God loves the young. This love ought to be mutual. 4. Youth is the best time to get a knowledge of God, of his world, and all useful knowledge. What is learned in youth is not easily forgotten. [107]

Children who had been converted at the schools would then support missionary efforts among

104. The description of death following conversion as a "happy death" was frequently used by Jones and other Methodists, as in an 1834 address at Oakville where Jones told his audience that spreading the Gospel among Aboriginal people had: 1) Brought them to knowledge; 2) Go give up their evil ways; 3) To habits of civilization; 4) To have translations… 5) Happy deaths (File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University).

105. Peter Jones, undated sermon "On Joshua's Resolution," Joshua 24.15, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

106. "Education of Children," Prov 22.6, Credit 1832 and 34 and Muncey 1844, File 1, Box 2, Notes from sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

107. Peter Jones, "Wisdom calling upon youth," Prov VIII.17, delivered at Credit 1834, Muncey 1843, Oneida 1843, File 2, Box 2, Notes for sermons, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

their parents,[108] and themselves become the next generation of instructors at the schools.[109]

Jones's view of conversion, and of the role of education in relation to conversion, was therefore very much in keeping with that expressed more generally by his fellow Methodist missionaries, with a notable exception. For other voices among the Methodists in Upper Canada, "Indian" was consonant with "heathen." To be an Indigenous person was to be unconverted; conversion was a special state for Indigenous people rather than a state into which Indigenous individuals entered in the same way that whites did. Jones associated heathenism not with being an Indigenous person but with non-conversion; as such he could and did talk about the heathenism of the English or the wilderness of the Jewish church. However, that Jones starkly differentiated the unconverted from the converted, re-organizing the foundation of the community around the bond of personal conversion rather than cultural or ethnic belonging reflected the re-organization of society associated with evangelicalism and democratization. Inclusion was no longer to be determined by adherence to civil authority or simple membership in a territorialized population but was indicative of the adoption of a point of view or internal state of "the people."

Habits such as self-discipline, industriousness, and spiritual generosity were suggested by Jones to be the product of internal transformation insofar as such habits would fail to be

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108. As in William Case's 1831 letter to Peter Jones: "Thus you see our Indian Schools begin to partake of the spirit of Missions to their brethren of the wilderness. Indeed many of the Indian children are already Missionaries to their Parents and friends for they are called on to read in the English and then in Indian, the word of God at the hours of family devotion." William Case to Peter Jones, Dec. 19, 1831, Grape Island, File 9, Box 3, Correspondence – Letters from Peter Jones: John Jones, Augustus Jones, etc., Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

109. In the lecture already quoted, "Thoughts on Indian Schools delivered at Toronto", Jones writes that those young Aboriginal men pursuing higher education will be useful to their people as preachers and teachers (Peter Jones, Feb. 1835, "Thoughts on Indian Schools delivered at Toronto", File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.). Case expressed his hope in this outcome in the letter quoted in the previous footnote. Attorney General Henry Boulton wrote to Peter Jones to express his support for the training of Aboriginal teachers in 1830: "As I am convinced that nothing will be so beneficial to the Indians as the assiduous attention and pious labour of native Teachers I shall be at all times happy to hear of your emanating the Gospel amongst them." Nov. 24, 1830, Henry Boulton (Attorney General) to Peter Jones, File 9, Box 3, Correspondence – Letters from Peter Jones: John Jones, Augustus Jones, etc., Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

developed in the absence of conversion. They were thus divorced not only from domination and imposition by figures and institutions of authority, but also, for Jones at least, from a particular cultural background. The habits he described were not European but civilized. When he writes that his people have become a "new race," he does not express shame for their heritage, but the view that they have become a new civilization.

This is suggested by Jones's many comments on his heritage and the reception of his heritage by whites, particularly during the many speaking tours he undertook to raise funds for education and missionary endeavours. Jones was well aware of the prejudices against himself as an Indigenous man, and against his union with Eliza, who was English and white, acknowledging them in an 1833 letter to Eliza describing a missionary tour of Lake Huron and Michigan he was about to leave on:

> All acknowledge friends and enemies that the Lord has signally made use of me in christianizing and civilizing many of my perishing countrymen. To God be all the Glory! But the fact is my beloved Eliza, it is that feeling of prejudice which is so prevalent among the old American Settlers (not Indians) in this country. They think it is not right for the whites to intermarry with Indians. Now if this doctrine be true, what must we poor fellows do who in the order of God's providence are brought to be united in heart to those of a whiter hue?... In my opinion character alone ought to be the distinguishing mark in all countries, and among all people.[110]

When asked to attire himself in his traditional costume while on speaking tours of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, he consistently disparaged both the costume, and the request that it be worn.[111] However, his reluctance seemed to stem largely from the associated

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110. Peter Jones to Eliza Field, April 9, 1833, Credit Mission, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

111. For instance, Jones wrote to Eliza from Glasgow: "I must now get ready for the Soiree. I have been requested to appear in my odious Indian Costume so I must begin at once to dress." File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

feeling that he was a curiosity, and that his speeches were attended not because the listeners were serious about the state of their souls, missionary activities, or the issue of Indigenous education and advancement but because he was an "Indian."[112] This was aptly demonstrated by a wry reference he made to the attention he attracted in an 1841 letter to Eliza. "At Mr. Wait's there is a *madman* chained to his cell," he wrote, "when the poor fellow heard that an *Indian Missionary* was in house, he expressed a *desire* to see me, so you see even a mad man is not devoid of *curiousity*."[113]

Peter Jones, Civil Privileges and Schooling

Jones was not in support of Indigenous assimilation into the European population. He argued for the granting of deeds to land directly to Indigenous people in the 1820s and stood against removal when Bond Head raised the idea. The civil privileges he argued were due to Indigenous people derived not from divestiture of communally held land, but from their willingness to abide by British laws and the efforts many individuals and peoples had made in relation to conversion, education and agriculturalization. The *Edinburgh Witness* reported a speech given by Jones while on the fundraising tour he undertook in 1845 in support of manual labour schools. His comments on the rights he felt were owed to the Indigenous peoples of Upper Canada were noted, along with the responses of the apparently supportive crowd:

> He then proceeded to state the wants and wishes of his countrymen. In the first place, they wanted our holy religion; they had already received that to a certain extent; but, in the second place, they wanted our civil blessings and civil privileges. (Hear, hear.) The

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112. He wrote the following to Eliza in 1841: "In the evening I preached at Picton. The congregation very large, it seemed as if the whole country in these parts had turned out to hear an <u>Ind. Preacher</u> see what curiosity will do." Jan 20, 1841, Bay of Quinty: Jones to Eliza, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
113. Feb. 15, 1841, La Chute: Jones to Eliza, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

Indians lived under the British Government in Canada, but the Government looked upon them as children and minors, and not as men and women at all; and although the laws took hold of them – and he was glad they did so, - the Indians had no voice in the making of the laws. (Hear, hear.) He had brought this matter again and again before the Government of Canada, and before the Colonial Office in London, when he was last in England; but he was told to wait a little, that they were hardly men and women yet. But he wanted to know when the Government would begin to consider them men and women? (Cheers.) He thought the Government had a good feeling towards them, but that they were delaying their rights too long; and he besought the people of this country to aid them in this matter.[114]

That the subject of civil privileges was included in a speech focused on fundraising for manual labour schooling shows not only that Jones considered this a central issue for Indigenous people, but that he connected it with conversion, education and manual labour schooling. In a speech given in Toronto early in the previous year, he argued similarly that the wants of his people were manual labour schools and "civil privileges." "No votes and are no people" he wrote in his notes, adding that it was "Far better not to civilize them and not to impart them knowledge," suggesting that preparation for civic participation, if not associated with the legal rights necessary for political participation, left his people in a worse state than had they never been prepared for participation. Not only did they have skills they could not use, and training for civil functions they were not permitted to perform, they had the disappointment of false hopes – of being misled and let down by promises that were never intended to be fulfilled. Late in his life, Jones wrote to Colonel Clench regarding the increasing number of squatters on the Grand Reserve. How was it that a "handful of outlawed white men" had defied the entire Government of Canada, he wondered: "If our Rulers have not the power to execute the laws of the Land, it would be better for them to tell the Indians so, and there would be an end of expectation" he wrote.[115] In essence,

114. *The (Edinburgh) Witness*, Wed. July 30, 1845, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
115. Peter Jones to Col. Clench, March 7, 1850, Brantford, R216-293-8-E, C9634 Microfilm, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency 1825-1909.

Jones wanted the fulfillment of the promise he saw as inherent to the Christianization and

civilization scheme, a promise that many proponents of Christianization and civilization clearly

did not see as implicit.

That Jones did not associate conversion, settlement, and the granting of civil privileges

with a complete break from Indigenous languages and traditions is indicated by his employment

of religious terms and frameworks adopted from the non-Christian belief systems of the

populations he missionized to in order to communicate Christian tenets. He regularly used the

term "Great Spirit" to refer to God and held that the message of Christianity could be preached

and understood in any language, as in the 1831 speech he gave in Chatham.[116] Methodist

missionaries were described as coming to Indigenous people not with weapons but with "hearts

burning with love to poor Indians." His people had begun to call upon the Great Spirit in their

language, "and when we cried, he understood the Chippewa language, and stretched out his

hands and said, 'Your sins be forgiven you...'".[117] The next evening, Jones gave the following

description of English Methodism at a public speech:

> I was delighted when I came to England, and saw the great Tree that the Good Spirit had planted in this country, large enough for all to rest upon; some were clinging to its branches, some reposing under its shade, some watering the trunk; this tree is a great height, and spreads its branches wide; one branch extends as far as my country, and while I was hunting in the woods I found a leaf of it that made a healing balm for my soul; and since that, my countrymen have been busily employed in gathering the fruit from this branch, which hangs low enough for the smallest to reach.[118]

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116. Peter Jones, "The Substance of a Sermon preached at Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham, November the 20th, 1831, in Aid of the Home Missionary Society by Kahkewaquonaby, Chief of the Eagle Tribe of the Chippewa Indians, Upper Canada," File 2, Box 3, Miscellaneous documents, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
117. Ibid., 5.
118. Peter Jones, "Extract From Kahkewaquonaby's Speech, Delivered at the Public Meeting the next Evening," File 2, Box 3, Miscellaneous documents, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

In the same way as Jones consciously used his traditional costume as a means of raising interest in, and therefore money, for his cause, the metaphors employed here were undoubtedly rhetorically suited to the purpose of his speech. References to the "great Tree," healing balms, and hunting and gathering called upon common tropes used by Europeans and Euro-Canadians to represent Indigenous existence. Nonetheless, in using these metaphors, Jones communicated that central tenets of Christianity could be integrated into and understood within diverse conceptual frameworks.

In a manner that would not be replicated by the majority of his Euro-Canadian peers in later discussions of manual labour schooling for Indigenous children, Jones did not argue that becoming Christian and gaining civil privileges were exclusive of being Indigenous. His arguments for a transformation of the soul and self of his people derived from a clearly exhibited dedication to salvation – both the spiritual salvation of the unconverted and the salvation of a people he felt to be suffering *as a people*. For Jones, conversion and a transformation of behaviors would be conducive to both happy lives and happy deaths, and to communities healed from what he saw as the scourges of alcoholism, interpersonal conflict, and dependency on the vagaries of colonial administration. What connected the homogenizing and assimilatory elements of Jones's vision of the schools to these elements of the Crown's approach to Indigenous populations were evangelicalism and an associated approach to envisioning and creating the civil sphere through the behaviors and attributes of its participants.

While Jones did not represent Indigenous people in a negative light and identified strongly with his Mississauga heritage, there is no doubt that he had a clear vision of how the individual ought to be in the world and believed that some individuals were in a better position to produce this way of being than others. As such, when he took up the cause of the Manual Labour

school as a resolution to the issues he felt plagued Indigenous people, the reasons for his support

of this kind of institution revolved around the behaviors they would inculcate in attendees and

the institution's suitability to separating attendees from negative influences in their home

environment. Jones floated the idea of manual labour schooling in 1835 in an address on "Indian

Schools" given in Toronto and quoted above.[119] He told the audience that the issues of parental

influence and inadequate skill acquisition already noted "have led me much to desire that some

plan might be suggested and sufficient means procured, so that an Institution might be formed at

one or more of the Missions for the better education of the children." The institution he had in

mind was described as follows:

1. Provide suitable buildings and teachers for the purpose.
2. Let all the children be placed entirely under the charge and management of the teachers and Missionaries; so that their parents shall have no control over them.
3. Provide a lot of ground for the boys to work and let the avails of their labour go towards the support of the Institution.
4. Let the girls be taught needle work and all sorts of domestic duties.
5. Let Religion, Education and manual labour go hand in hand.

He concluded by noting the importance of preparing Indigenous teachers through these

institutions so that they could be made useful to missionary efforts in the west. The idea that the

schools would serve to train Indigenous youths in order that they would become teachers to other

youths was repeated in notes made for "An Address on the importance of promoting Christian

education amongst the Canadian Indians" two years later. There he wrote that the importance of

Central Schools would be "1. To avoid the indolent examples of their parents; 2. To have

superior instructions and examples of the Mission Family; 3. To train up the youth as

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119. Peter Jones, Feb. 1835, "Thoughts on Indian Schools delivered at Toronto," File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

teachers."[120]

Conclusion

These themes were repeated by Jones in the years following as he traveled to raise funds in support of manual labour schools, and in the push towards opening Mount Elgin. Jones's thoughts on manual labour schooling are emphasized here in part because he was a driving force behind the school used here as a case study, but also because in his comments there is a clear co-articulation of the ideas of civil privileges, peoplehood, Christian ideals of selfhood and personal conduct, and manual labour schooling. However, his actions also show how Indigenous individuals and peoples employed these ideas as a tactic to re-assert their place in colonial decision-making. In her work on Tsimshian kinship relations and Christian missionizing in British Columbia in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Susan Neylan writes that "Christianity is an aspect of Native history, not simply a force acting upon it…. Just as colonial forces were heterogeneous, so the myriad of responses to those forces cannot be encapsulated by a single term such as 'resistance' or 'colonized'."[121]

Undoubtedly, an outright rejection of Christianity and European education was one response Jones met with in his efforts to proselytize to First Nations in Upper Canada. For instance, in 1828, Jones noted in his diary the response of the Anishinaabeg living at Bear Creek north of the River Thames to his message that God sent his son "to make all people good and happy in this world and in the world to come."[122] He records that the argument given against

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120. Peter Jones, notes for "An Address on the importance of promoting Christian education amongst the Canadian Indians," File 3, Box 1, Notes for Addresses on North American Indians, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
121. Susan Neylan, "Contested Family: Navigating Kin and Culture in Protestant Missions to the Tsimshian, 1857-1896," in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1730-1969*, Nancy Christie ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 167-202.
122. March 20, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University..

conversion was that while the God of the white people had given them their book, the Great

Spirit "made the Indian… with his way of worship written in his heart which has been handed

down from one generation to another; and for his subsistence he gave him the wild beasts of the

forest, fowls that fly in the air, and the fish that swim in the waters, and corn for his bread." He

was told that before the whites came, they had their own tools, tools that "answered his use" and

made the people "contented and happy." The white Christians were additionally argued to be no

better than the "Indians" because they "get drunk, quarrel, fight, murder, steal, lie, cheat."[123] As

we have seen, while Jones argued against resistance to Christianity and European domestic

customs and forms of education, these were adopted in the name of empowering Indigenous

people. In this sense, he is one of many examples of Indigenous adoption of European customs

that were not consistent with the desire for assimilation.[124]

Nonetheless, the response Jones records himself as giving to the Bear Creek

Anishinaabeg speaks to the ultimately prescriptive elements of Christianity that I argue were so

significant to the outcome of the schools, even if it was not an outcome he intended. Jones

writes, "In answer to his arguments, I told him that the good book said, that there was only one

right way to worship the great Spirit which he ___ said that all nations should receive and

keep."[125] In this exchange, Jones is confronted with the stance that these different approaches to

learning about and worshipping God and the Great Spirit are appropriate within their respective

contexts. In response, Jones suggests that the perception of difference was false insofar as the

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123. March 20, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones fonds, Victoria University.
124. See for instance, Juliet Pollard, "Growing Up Metis: Fur Traders' Children in the Pacific Northwest," in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984), 64; Grant's discussion of nativistic movements as syncretic in Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*; and Celia Haig Brown, "The 'Friends' of Nahnebahwequa" in *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada*, eds. Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 132-157.
125. March 20, 1828, File 3, Box 3, Peter Jones Diaries 1827-28, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University. Blank signifies indecipherable word.

Great Spirit was, in fact, the same as the Christian God, though misunderstood. Further, this misunderstanding had to be corrected as there was "only one right way to worship the great Spirit." Though Jones showed that the tenets of evangelical Christianity could be communicated and understood within a framework that was non-European and applied to the demand for civil rights for Indigenous people, its aspiration to universality allowed little tolerance for a true diversity of ways of relating socially and religiously. Much as work had to be done on the self to render the self consistent with the will of God, work had to be done in the social sphere to conform its inhabitants to the will of God. Jones could not and did not take the response of the Bear Creek Anishinaabeg to be a rejection, but rather to be an indication that more work had to be done, and ultimately as an indicator that more efficient means had to be found to perform the work required.

Chapter 6: The Bagot Commission

Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have used two ideal types invoked by Taylor - the positive strategy and the innocentizing strategy - to describe conceptualizations of connection between the individual and religious precepts, and between individuals within a collectivity that were prevalent among the colonizing population in Great Britain and the North American colonies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the previous two chapters, I showed how an evangelical view of conversion informed arguments for manual labour schooling among Indigenous youth made by Methodist missionaries in Upper Canada. I argued that the Methodist emphasis on introspection and personal revelation was consistent with Taylor's description of the positive strategy, a view of human nature as fundamentally in alignment with God's will, thereby supporting the possibility that one might investigate and come to know moral precepts through introspection.[1] To be among "God's people" was to have experienced a complete transformation of the inner self that would be a catalyst for related changes in behavior. In this chapter, I will again take up the thread of the innocentizing strategy introduced in chapter two, Taylor's second ideal type within the "ethic of universal benevolence."[2] As with the positive strategy, the

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1. Francis Oakley writes that Alfred North Whitehead differentiates a conceptualization of laws of nature as immanent to the structure of reality and laws of nature as imposed on universe from without (28): "the notion of laws of nature as immanent implies an equally immanent understanding of moral or juridical natural law and may be said to presuppose a system of ideas in which the divine is conceived as immanent or innerworldly; the epistemology is essentialist (or to use a medieval term 'realist'); and nature is conceived in organismic terms, fraught with purpose and finality and open to investigation… On the other hand, the notion of laws of nature as imposed by an external will implies a similarly legislative notion of moral or juridical natural law, and presupposes or entails a system which harbors a notion of God as extraworldly or transcendent stressing above all his freedom and omnipotence, a nominalist epistemology, and a natural philosophy of empirical mode or mechanistic sympathies focused on the investigation of efficient causes and emphasizing the conditional nature of all knowledge…" (*Natural Law, Laws of Nature, Natural Rights: Continuity and Discontinuity in the History of Ideas.* New York: Continuum, 2005, 30).
2. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 249.

motivation to justice is immanent but is described as neutral - "always a mode of self-love, it can either be well or badly, irrationally or rationally directed."[3] Unlike the positive strategy, which posits a natural benevolence awaiting realization and expression, within the context of the innocentizing strategy, a feeling of connection with, and sympathy for others requires work on the self.[4] In chapter two, I argued that colonial administrators tended toward the innocentizing strategy, as demonstrated by letters and policy documents generated throughout the 1820s and early 1830s (enumeration, seeing interests). In the present chapter, I will expand on that argument primarily through an analysis of the 1842 Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, under the supervision of Charles Bagot (hereafter referred to as the Bagot Commission).

The recommendations of the commissioners and the context and justifications given for those recommendations reflected, and explicitly referenced, an idea of natural law put forth by Emer de Vattel. For Vattel, humans are subject to natural law (it is available to our conscience) but are motivated to adhere to it only via the pursuit of a primary passion: one's self-interest and the desire for self-perfection.[5] The passions are of utmost importance because they are what cause humans to act. Given the natural depravity of humans, we require education and guidance to see that virtuous action, which is adherence to God's natural law, is indeed the most expedient path to self-perfection.[6] Pursuit of self-perfection is also that which connects the individual to others within their collectivity, again because we most efficiently achieve self-perfection when we have access to the resources and protection provided by membership in and commerce with a

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3. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 253.
4. Ibid., 256.
5. Emer de Vattel, "Essay on the Foundation of Natural Law and on the First Principle of the Obligation Men Find Themselves Under to Observe Laws," in *The Law of Nations*, eds. Richard Whatmore, and Bela Kapossy, trans. T.J. Hochstrasser (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2008), 753.
6. Emer de Vattel, "Dissertation on This Question: 'Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection Without the Assistance of Political Laws?'" in *The Law of Nations*, eds. Richard Whatmore, and Bela Kapossy, trans. T.J. Hochstrasser (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2008), 779.

group.[7] Vattel's theory of natural law is representative of Taylor's innocentizing strategy. Unlike the evangelical idea that knowledge of God is most effectively accessed through experience, for Vattel, natural law may be studied in the world in the same way that the laws of physics might be studied. Although Vattel similarly emphasized the passions, or the affective element of virtuous action, that passion was not a revelation of God's love or of salvation but a desire for one's self-interest, including spiritual but also physical and financial well-being.

In what follows, I will show that recommendations for the deployment of manual labour and industrial boarding schools put forth within the Bagot Commission were grounded in a theory of natural law consistent with that articulated by Vattel. Commissioners explicitly referenced Vattel's *Law of Nations* in their summary of the history of relations between Indigenous peoples and colonizers. They adopted the stance that Indigenous people were not less capable than settlers of the requirements of membership in society as described in previous chapters (property holding, conversion to Christianity, education in reading, writing and arithmetic, and so forth) and therefore the object of the colonial administration ought to be "to raise the Tribes within the British Territory to the level of their white neighbors."[8] What is intended by "raising to the level" aligns with those actions Vattel describes as essential to pursuing one's self-perfection: learning to perform sanctioned types of labour and industry (especially agriculture), owning private property, learning to use money and to engage in trade with others, receiving an education, and converting to Christianity.[9] While conversion is among the recommendations put forth by commissioners, throughout the report, self-dependence is stressed, meaning not only independence from support of the Crown but private property

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7. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 773.
8. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada*, 1847.
9. Emer de Vattel, *The Law of Nations*, eds. Richard Whatmore, and Bela Kapossy, trans. T.J. Hochstrasser (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2008).

ownership, knowledge of a trade that would secure an income, and knowledge of money management. All of this can be understood as in the service of enabling the individual to pursue their "individual advantage."[10] If in the previous chapter, settlement on private lots, the use of English, the adoption of English dress, and so forth, were seen as signs of conversion and secondary to the primary cause of conversion, I will argue that in the Bagot Commission, commissioners assert commitment to one's individual self-interest as primary. Their support for manual labour and industrial boarding schools reflected not only Vattel's argument that a moral education was most effectively accomplished when begun in youth,[11] but also that those who were aware of their duty to God and to self-perfection and resisted pursuing their individual interests ought to be subject to discipline.[12]

Second, the content of the Bagot Commission ought to be understood not exclusively as an artifact of colonial rule but as reflective of a symbolic shift. Over the preceding four chapters, I have laid out competing views of peoplehood and collective unity reflected among colonial administrators and humanitarian activists, in efforts of Indigenous peoples to exert control over the havoc wreaked by colonization, and in tensions between adherents to Anglicanism, who tended to also represent the colonial elite within Upper Canada/Canada West, and Methodist converts. These latter reflect Taylor's ideal type paths (the positive and innocentizing strategies) of the unfolding of the ethic of universal benevolence, within which individuals in a collectivity are united not by commitment to an external source of legitimation or authority but by mutual sympathies and dependencies. I have also argued that they ought to be understood as divergent approaches to accomplishing a shift fundamental to the emergence of modern democratic

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10. Vattel, "Foundation of Natural Law," 753.
11. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 119-120
12. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 779.

collectivities whereby individuals within a collectivity identify with one another not via an external referent but through an abstract idea of 'the people' and society that resists adequate representation insofar as it is constituted by the participation of the collectivity. Democratic ideas of peoplehood in Canada were not the result of discrete rebellions or sudden turning points but of a long unfolding with roots in the religious shifts of previous centuries. Disciplinary institutions such as the residential school should not be understood as a vestige of colonial rule but as having the potential to be encompassed within a liberal democratic context. It was possible for missionaries and colonial administrators to argue for political inclusion and equality and to lay the groundwork for the travesty of the residential school system.

In the present chapter, I will argue that the innocentizing strategy ultimately emerged as the dominant view among colonial administrators, potentially laying the groundwork for the highly disciplinary approaches taken within residential schools in later years but certainly solidifying the commitment to the association of Indigenous education with agriculture and the learning of trades and to enforced individualism and "moral education" as a requisite not only of civil privileges but of belonging to society in a more general sense. I will begin by reviewing the events that transpired vis-à-vis the founding of Mount Elgin Industrial Institute during the late 1830s and early 1840s and the various reports and commissions that preceded and were referenced by the Bagot Commission during the same period. I will then turn to the contents of the Bagot Commission.

Alderville

Two years after Peter Jones presented his "Thoughts on Indian Schools" in Toronto in 1835, he wrote to his wife Eliza that a resolution had been passed to recommend the necessity of

establishing a central manual labour school for Indian youth at the Methodist Conference to take place later the same month. [13] Although Jones was by this point becoming a vocal proponent of manual labour boarding schools, his should not be taken as the sole, or even the primary voice in the call for this kind of institution. Both boarding schools and manual labour and industrial schools were fairly common kinds of educational institutions, and, as we have seen, had been applied to the issue of "indigent" children, as well as other populations, in Upper Canada and the United Kingdom throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition, by 1838, manual labour boarding schools were an element of the post-removal Indian policy in the United States; there were already six government operated manual training schools and eighty-nine boarding schools in operation. [14] As early as the 1760s, Dr. Eleazor Wheelock, a Congregationalist minister and the founder of Dartmouth College, suggested that the optimal approach to Indigenous education was "to remove the Indian youth from all influence of his tribe and his Indian environment to maximize the effect of his exposure to 'civilized life'," and had boarded students at his school in Lebanon, Connecticut or in the private dwellings of white families. [15] Jones had visited the United States on a number of occasions and, from the earliest moments in his missionary career, had been in contact with American born missionaries such as William Case, whose school at Alderville would become the first Methodist manual labour boarding school for Indigenous youth. [16] In addition, the Anglicans had opened the Mohawk Institute as a mechanics' institute and day school in 1828 and by 1831 had begun accepting boys

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13. June 16, 1837, Jones to Eliza, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

14. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, "A History of Indian Education," in *Teaching American Indian Students*, ed. Jon Reyhner (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 39.

15. Helen Maynor Scheirbeck, et. al., *Report on Indian Education – Task Force Five: Indian Education – Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission* (Washington D.C.: Congress of the U.S., American Indian Policy Review Commission, 1976), 36.

16. The Alderville school is noted in the Bagot report ("Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T). In his testimony to the Bagot Commissioners, Jones notes a school in "the Missouri country" that is doing well.

as boarders, adding female boarders in 1834.[17]

It is not clear that the resolution to recommend manual labour boarding schools came from Jones. Case's interest in locating such a school at Alnwick suggests that others shared Jones's interest in the institution. Indeed, there seems to have been something of a competition between Case and Jones for the location of what was envisioned as a central Methodist manual labour boarding school. William Case, the "Apostle of the Indian work in Canada,"[18] and head of the mission at Rice Lake, was a formidable force in the field of Methodist missionizing in nineteenth-century Upper Canada. That Case and Jones were jockeying to have their missions named as the location for the school is suggested by Jones's letter to Stinson that September suggesting that the Credit was preferable to Alnwick as a location for the "proposed Central Indian School" as it was more central and easily accessed, and as all the Credit Mississauga supported the suggestion.[19] Nonetheless, sometime around 1837-1838, Case established a manual labour boarding school for girls at Alderville.[20] Whatever part the Conference had played

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17. Graham, *Mush Hole*.
18. Egerton Ryerson, *By Canoe and Dog Train among the Cree and Salteaux Indians* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1890).
19. Peter Jones to Joseph Stinson, Credit Mission, Sept. 14, 1837, RG 10, V. 1011, LB, 1825-1842 (I thank Donald Smith for this reference).
20. In Carroll's biography, Case was said to have "commenced, at his own instance, a manual labor school, on a small scale, principally for young women, in which they learned domestic economy, – spinning, knitting, and butter and cheese-making; and by the sale of the two latter articles the Institution was intended to be made self-supporting" (John Carroll, *Case and his Contemporaries; or The Canadian Itinerants' Memorial: Constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada from its Introduction into the Province till the Death of the Rev. William Case in 1855* vol. IV (Toronto: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1874), 208-209). While this suggests that Case may have initiated the school without the special consent or financial support of the Conference, Hope MacLean writes that after the 1840 division of the Canadian and British Conferences, the British Conference took control of the missions at Alderville, St. Clair and Rice Lake, and began to fund Case's school ("Ojibwa Participation in Methodist Residential Schools in Upper Canada, 1828-1860," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 25, no. 1 (2005), 103). In their rebuttal to some of Egerton Ryerson's claims regarding the British Conference after the split, Joseph Stinson and Matthew Richey's comments in *The Wesleyan* suggest that the school was funded by the Conference from the beginning. They proposed that, "…the following Stations be occupied by us on the grounds that they are Missionary Establishments which, in their present localities, have been commenced under the direction of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, or on which its funds have been largely expended, viz. Alderville, including the Manual Labour School for Indian children, established and supported by us…" (J. Stinson and M. Richey, A.M., *A Plain Statement of Facts, connected with the Union and Separation of the British and Canadian Conferences* (Toronto: R. Stanton, 1840), 56, quoted in *The Wesleyan*, vol. 1, no. 8 (Nov. 12, 1840), 65-66)

in the establishment of Alderville, by 1839, a letter Case wrote to Jones records that the school was fully in operation, and that children from the Credit had been sent there to study. In it, we begin to see both the operational structures of the school and the effects on the children. Case opened by acknowledging that the children missed and asked for their parents, frequently weeping at the thought of them. They were distracted from these feelings by "various plans of amusement and instruction," including involvement in chores on the farm and the construction of swings in the shed. "From observation," he wrote, "thus far, we are confirmed in the opinion, that it is altogether preferable to take children from their homes: after the first feelings of homesickness, they will be found more steady and attentive to instruction." Case suggested that Jones might send three rather than two more children.[21]

Throughout this period, Jones continued to work towards the goal of erecting a manual labour school. He is recorded as having read his letter to Stinson to a Council held at the Credit Mission. There, he additionally suggested that the aid of the Crown, by way of petition, and of the New England Company be sought in establishing a Mechanic's Institute at the mission.[22] In 1837-1838, Jones left for the United Kingdom on a missionary tour, at least some of the proceeds of which were to be allocated to the manual labour school,[23] and to present a petition to the Queen requesting the title deeds to land held by the Credit River Mississauga. While there, he wrote to David Sawyer and the River Credit Mississauga that he was, at the same time, working with the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London to secure a central manual labour school for them. "I feel very anxious to see an institution of this kind established amongst us," he wrote,

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21. William Case to Peter and Eliza Jones, July 28, 1839, Alnwick, quoted in Carroll, vol. 4, 265-267.
22. Sept. 14, 1837, CM, 1835-1848, RG 10, 1011. – is from Don's notes; check reference. Check to verify how the New England Company was involved.
23. Peter Jones, *Life and Journals of Keh-ke-wa-guo-nā-ba: (Rev. Peter Jones,) Wesleyan Missionary* (Toronto: A. Green, 1860), 403.

"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."[24] While his letters and diary entries say nothing on the matter, a "Report on the Indians of Upper Canada" by a sub-committee of the Aborigines Protection Society published in 1839 additionally suggests that Jones had sought the aid of the Crown during this tour, but without success. The authors wrote that,

> One of the last appeals made by Peter Jones in England last Autumn, was for help to found a Manual labour School at the River Credit; the appeal was made in vain. The government seems to leave this whole subject in a great measure, either to voluntary societies, such as the Colonial Missionary Society, the Colonial Infant School Society, the Moravians, the Baptists, the Church of England, and above all, the Wesleyan Missionary Society; or to such a body as the New England Corporation.[25]

In this matter, the Aborigines Protection Society disagreed, arguing that it was obvious to them that "the government ought to make *complete* provision on these heads… It is impossible to deny that Great Britain ought to provide at once all the funds needed for *all* proper institutions, calculated to protect and improve the Indians." Nonetheless, it would seem that neither the British Wesleyans nor the Crown were willing to grant further aid to Jones's cause.[26] Samuel Waldron reported to the *Christian Guardian* that although Peter Jones's idea of a manual labour school had been dropped, the mission at Muncey had proceeded, with the support of the Chiefs, to employ an additional teacher and commence a School of Industry serving forty to sixty scholars. Waldron wrote that the students were improving in education and industry, and, in

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24. Peter Jones, (Kahkewaquonaby), *History of the Ojebway Indians: with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity* (London: A.W. Bennett, 1861), 264.
25. "Report of the Indians of Upper Canada by a Sub-Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society" (London: William Ball, Arnold, and Co., 1839), 42.
26. Ibid.

some cases becoming truly pious: "This, we feel, is the grand point, as it lays a foundation – yes, the only foundation – for bringing them into a state of civilization; for if we merely educate a savage in letters, he is only the more knowing savage."[27] In 1841, Jones was stationed at the Muncey Mission, where Mount Elgin would ultimately be built. Over the following three years, he would be preoccupied with bouts of ill health, his new position at Muncey, and translation work; as a result, his efforts towards a second Methodist manual labour boarding school essentially came to a halt.

A Season for Reporting: The Aborigines Protection Society Report, the Report of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, and the Macaulay Report

While the Methodists had been wrangling over where, or whether to establish a central manual labour school, a flurry of reports on the subject of administration of Indigenous affairs in the Canadian provinces were being issued. Bond Head had based his policy of removal on a belief that Indigenous people could not be civilized. However, as was discussed in chapter four, a number of factors militated against the adoption of the suggestion by the Colonial Office, not least of which was the persistent pressure of the Aborigines Protection Society. The Society had, on more than one occasion, come out strongly against Bond Head's proposal. In 1837, two of its members communicated the Society's disapproval of the removal proposal to Lord Glenelg, and in 1838 the Society issued a memorial to Lord Durham, then Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada, outlining an alternative proposal composed of five points: 1) that title to Indigenous lands be given to Indigenous peoples and the reserves recognized as "distinct countries of townships" in the fashion of the Welsh in Great Britain, or the Basques in Spain and France; 2)

27. Samuel Waldron to the Editor of the *Christian Guardian*, Dec. 24, 1838, Wesleyan Mission House, Muncy Town, *Christian Guardian*, vol. 46, Jan. 23, 1839.

that the rights of British subjects should be granted to all Indians residing in the province; 3) that the objects of conversion and civilization should be pursued, "The introduction of civilized habits and *bona fide* conversion to christianity having mutually promoted each other, and proved the best security against rapid diminution in numbers, and the baneful and demoralizing influence of profligate whites"; 4) that payments be continued; and 5) in order to continue payments, that they should be "administered with the most rigid economy", and the religious bodies involved coordinate rather than clash in their operations.[28]

The Society's 1839 report asserted that Indigenous peoples were due the same rights as the other British subjects of Upper Canada. "The rights of the Indians, &c., in their relations with Great Britain," the authors wrote, "depend on the laws of nature and nations; upon the injunctions of Christianity and upon treaties…".[29] They asserted that the rights to be accorded to the Indigenous population stemmed from three documents: Charles II's instructions for the guidance of his Colonial Office issued in 1670,[30] the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, and the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Bond Head was singled out for his denial of the purposes and intents of these documents:

> …on the other hand, modern writers on the laws of nations seem inclined to exclude [the Indians] from its benefits. And modern statesmen carry this theory further, so as to sacrifice them by positive injustice in practice. Sir Francis Bond Head recommended the discontinuance of payments due by treaty to certain tribes, on the ground of those tribes being at war with our present allies the people of the United States…[31]

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28. Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society to Earl of Durham, April 3, 1838, London, quoted in "Report on the Indians of Upper Canada" (1839), 27-28.

29. "Report of the Indians of Upper Canada" (1839), 2.

30. What the writers of this report call guidance to Charles II's Colonial Office is in actuality 'Instructions for the Council for Foreign Plantations, 30 July, 1670.' See Charles M. Andrews, "Appendix II: Instructions for the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1670–1672," *The Project Gutenberg EBook of British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1908), Retrieved from https://www.gutenberg.org/files/33313/33313-h/33313-h.htm.

31. "Report of the Indians of Upper Canada" (1839), 4.

While the authors of the report conceded that Bond Head's was a grave accusation, they argued that the question of international rights it raised was too summarily disposed of. The report modified somewhat the remedies suggested in the Society's 1838 memo to Lord Durham.[32] Policies the Society argued to be wrong-headed, such as the abandonment of processes of civilization and the proposal of removal, were blamed on the defective organization of the department; checks on local governments, an unbiased Secretary of State, and an additional Under-secretary of State devoted to Indian affairs and assisted by an agent at home were all suggested.[33] Tribes were to be incorporated via treaties, and individuals granted acts of naturalization upon individual application; until then tribes and individuals were to be accorded the "same rights as any foreigner."[34] The laws and usages of Indigenous peoples were to be collected, and observed in colonial courts, and greater publicity granted to treaties, law cases and other affairs involving Indigenous people through public media. As in their memo to Durham, religious missions, schools and "institutions for the instruction in the arts," and finding places for Indigenous youth in common schools were deemed measures of the greatest importance.[35]

At the same time, the Executive Council of Lower Canada, at the behest of the Earl of Gosford, submitted the report it had prepared in response to Glenelg's 1836 request for Gosford and Bond Head to report on the status of Indian affairs in the Canadas.[36] While the report rejected the discontinuance of presents, it suggested that "Trinkets and Ornaments" be

32. Quoted in "Report of the Indians of Upper Canada" (1839), 22-30.
33. "Report of the Indians of Upper Canada" (1839), 50.
34. Ibid., 51.
35. Ibid., 50-51.
36. Great Britain, Parliament, Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 11 June 1839: for copies or extracts of correspondence since 1st April 1835, between the secretary of state for the colonies and the governors of the British North American provinces, respecting the Indians in those provinces. Parliamentary papers, (1837-1841), (London: HMSO, 1839), CIHM no. 9_00974, 25-68.

substituted with agricultural implements, that these should not be granted to the "wandering

Indians," but only to those who had settled, and that money should not be substituted for material

goods. The formation of compact settlements was encouraged, but these should be founded on

land close to existing settlements, and choice granted to individuals and tribes in their location.

The establishment and maintenance of schools was strongly recommended, and it was suggested

that these should include instruction in agriculture, handicrafts and the English as well as the

French language. Making the receipt of annuities dependent upon sending children to schools

was raised as a possibility.[37] In his outline of the recommendations to Glenelg, Gosford wrote of

these educational proposals:

> Of so much Importance did I consider this Branch of the Subject, that before the Report
> was made I did not hesitate to sanction and set in operation an Agricultural School and
> Experimental Farm near St. John's for Indian Youths; A Plan which was brought under
> my Notice by a Mr. Plenderleath Christie… I have also, as they suggest, instructed the
> Officers of the Indian Department to inquire and report in what Places and Manner
> Establishments of a similar Nature might be best formed.[38]

In his overview of the content and context of the Bagot Commission, John Leslie expresses some

surprise that the recommendations of the Executive Council of Lower Canada were in many

respects in keeping with those of the Aborigines Protection Society.[39]

Though the two reports were motivated by starkly different concerns – the Aborigines

Protection Society by the motivation of protecting Indigenous peoples from the abuses of settlers

and defective colonial administration, and the Committee of the Executive Council of Lower

Canada by that of "managing" the Indigenous population, and of diminishing and ultimately

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37. Copies or extracts of correspondence since 1st April 1835, 25.
38. Ibid.
39. John Leslie, "The Bagot Commission: Developing a Corporate Memory for the Indian Department," *Historical Papers* 17, no. 1 (1982), 36.

suppressing annuities – both arrived at the conclusion that annuities could not be suspended and both expressed this conclusion in the language of the laws of nature and humanity. The Committee of the Executive Council wrote that, "good Faith, Justice, and Humanity alike forbid the Discontinuance of the Presents until the Indians shall be raised to a Capacity of maintaining themselves on an Equality with the rest of the Population of the Province."[40] While the Aborigines Protection Society expressed the need for the understanding and honouring of Indigenous customs, the maintenance of a distinct identity was not the ultimate goal. Naturalization and incorporation into the population of the British Subjects of the Canadas was to be achieved through education, conversion and land ownership. As the evidence collected by the Bagot Commission would abundantly show, Bond Head's assumption of the inevitability of the extinction of Indigenous people, and of their incapacities in relation to Europeans was a distinctly minority view among colonial administrators.

On August 22nd, 1838, Glenelg wrote to Arthur that he had been persuaded that Bond Head's proposal was faulty and should not be pursued, primarily due to the report of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, and the arguments of Robert Alder, a secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and an influential figure in missionary work in the province.[41] Glenelg was in support of the Committee of the Executive Council's submission, adding the notable suggestion that, given the difficulties raised by the lack of regular reporting on "the State and progress of the Indians," Arthur provide directions for the preparation of regular reports. These would show:

The annual Births, Marriages, and Deaths among them; the Proportion entirely or

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40. Report of a Committee of the Executive Council… 7th October, 1836 respecting the Indian Department, to Earl of Gosford, Copies or extracts of correspondence since 1st April 1835, 27.
41. Details of Alder's contributions to the debate can be found in Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 208-215.

partially located; the Number of Acres in Cultivation, and the Amount of Subsistence derived therefrom; the Number of Schools established and of Scholars attending them, distinguishing the Adults from the Children, with a general Statement of their Progress in the several Branches of Education; the Degree to which Agricultural Implements have been substituted for Presents, and the distinctive Indian dress laid aside; the Number of prizes awarded for Proficiency, whether in Agriculture, in the usual Branches of Education, or for good Conduct. On these and all other Points connected with the Indian Tribes, I wish to be furnished with a Report at least once a Year…[42]

Glenelg essentially asked Arthur to instruct on the administering of a yearly census of Indigenous people in the province, except one that would record not only population statistics but "progress," indicated by such characteristics as educational attainment, practices of cultivation, the adoption of European dress, and the amorphous category of "good Conduct." Arthur in turn commissioned Justice James Buchanan Macaulay to prepare a report on Indian affairs in Upper Canada. Leslie writes that Macaulay's report was modeled on the Executive Council's report and "reinforced the earlier findings of Lord Durham that administrative reform and increased autonomy for all colonial government departments was imperative if responsible government was to become a reality."[43] However, the intensifying political turmoil in Upper and Lower Canada inhibited any further action being taken in relation to either departmental transformation or an adjustment of the civilization strategy.

In his analysis of educational systematization in Upper Canada, Bruce Curtis suggests that the Crown's goal of divesting itself of colonial departments and of diminishing its obligations to its colonies was consistent with its support of the movement towards self-government within the colonies, and of democratization in the province. The 1840s were a decade of revolution in government.[44] The Durham report and Radical opinion in the imperial

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42. Lord Glenelg to Sir G. Arthur, 22 August, 1839, Copies or extracts of correspondence since 1st April 1835, 89.
43. Leslie, "Developing a Corporate Memory," 37-38.
44. Curtis, *True Government*, 6.

Parliament had both called for institutions that would foster local representative government in the Canadas. In the colonies, Reformers and moderate Tories, and in the imperial state, Whigs and Radicals, "regarded oligarchic rule from the centre as ineffective and inefficient."[45] Indeed, in 1842, Bagot had commented to Lord Stanley that responsible government existed in the colony virtually, if not openly.[46] As a result, by the 1840s, elected bodies were replacing appointed bodies, there were new state bureaucracies and political centralization, central state departments undertook systematic social policies with local governmental bodies as management agencies, all of which formed the context for the group of educational inspectors Curtis investigates, and for state formation.[47] Curtis writes that "By state formation, I mean the centralization and concentration of relations of economic and political power and authority in society. State formation typically involves the appearance or the reorganization of monopolies over the means of violence, taxation, administration, and over symbolic systems."[48] The desire exhibited by the Colonial Office to transfer responsibility for Indigenous affairs to the province, or to end its responsibility to Indigenous peoples, as well as its concerns with the organizational structure of the department, can be understood in the context of the movement Curtis outlines, and were further evinced in the reports following the submissions made by Bond Head and the Committee of the Executive Council of Lower Canada. However, as the Bagot Commission would demonstrate, the way in which increased autonomy for colonial departments would apply to the Indian Department was a complicated matter that would resist straightforward

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45. Ibid., 25.
46. Barbara Jane Messamore, *Canada's Governors General, 1847-1878: Biography and Constitutional Evolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 44.
47. Curtis, *True Government*, 5.
48. Ibid. Similarly, Alfred: "In all systems, accountability procedures basically reflect the cultural values of the people. In Western systems, with their delegated authority, representative government, and detached bureaucratic structures, there is a distance between leader and led that makes accountability a largely impersonal matter of procedure." (*Peace, Power and Righteousness*, 92)

administrative reform, even in the absence of upheavals such as the Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada and the union of the two provinces.

The Bagot Commission

The 1842 Bagot Commission completed the review that Arthur had been asked to carry out,[49] collecting information from missionaries and colonial administrators and publishing its findings, ultimately emphasizing education as key to the "future elevation of the Indian race," and calling explicitly for the founding of manual labour and industrial boarding schools. Charles Bagot was Governor General for only a year, one of a series of short lived Governors General over the 1840s, and succumbing to illness before any part of the commission was published.[50] He appointed three commissioners: Rawson W. Rawson, Civil Secretary to the Governor General, and later President of the Statistical Society; John Davidson, formerly a Commissioner of Crown Lands and a member of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada; and William Hepburn, Registrar of the Court of Chancery.[51] Hepburn had sat with Justice Macaulay and former Attorney General Robert Jameson on Committee no. 4, the committee that had reviewed the Indian Department for the Legislative Assembly's 1840 inquiry into departmental operations, a review that had again reiterated the findings of Macaulay's earlier report.[52] In his analysis of the Bagot Commission, Leslie finds that the Commission was differentiated from these earlier reviews by two characteristics: it presented a critical analysis of the department's programmes, and it was specific both in the information it presented about the Indigenous peoples of the

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49. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 236.
50. Messamore, *Canada's Governors General*, 36-37.
51. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 236.
52. Leslie, "Developing a Corporate Memory," 38.

Canadas and in its recommendations.[53]

The report was split into three sections. The first presented an overview of relations between Indigenous peoples and the Crown, reviewing relevant agreements, instructions and proposals from the instructions issued by Charles II in 1670 to Lord Sydenham's 1841 letter to Lord Russell expressing doubts in the civilizing strategy undertaken by the Crown. The second section presented information on individual tribes in Canada East and West, reviewing such items as the size of the tribes, their location, health, and educational activities, the history of the land they had title to, agricultural undertakings, and religious orientation. Included were tables of data on general items such as income and expenditures of tribes and specific items such as wheat, numbers of chiefs, men, women and youth settled and the locations of settlement, the number of individuals holding "improved land," the quantity of goods that had been produced by tribes, quantities of improved land, houses, barns, implements and stock, and the number of individuals receiving annual payments among various tribes. This section, and the recommendations ultimately made by the Commission, relied on information gathered using two survey questionnaires: one for employees and representatives of the department, consisting of fifty-three questions, and one for missionaries, consisting of twenty-four questions. As such, it represented the first comprehensive example of the collection and reporting of statistical data that Glenelg had called for in 1838. Section III presented an overview of the strategy of civilization and Christianization, presents, lands, annuities, and the Indian Department, and the Commissioners' recommendations for the amendment of each.

The Commissioners' general recommendations were: 1) that tribes remain under the "special protection and guidance" of representatives of the Crown in the province, rather than

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53. Leslie, "Developing a Corporate Memory," 39.

Provincial Authorities; 2) that measures to settle and convert Indians to Christianity be maintained; 3) that education of the young should be a priority; 4) that schools should be established, along with missionaries and teachers at each settlement; 5) that in addition to common schools, manual labour or industrial schools should be established, including boarding schools of this description; 6) that all denominations be supported in their efforts to these ends; 7) that schools should be established among the Indians of Lower Canada; 8) that adults be familiarized with property and money management and the exercise of offices they are qualified for; 9) that Indians be involved in carrying out public services; and 10) that "Institutions calculated to promote economy, such as Savings Banks, be established among them".[54] These ten recommendations were articulated in three pages, two of which were dedicated to citing evidence that manual labour and industrial schools, including boarding schools, were necessary. The general view of the commissioners was that the goal of the colonial administration and provincial governments ought to be the granting of civil privileges to Indigenous peoples equal to those of white settlers, but that doing so would require more active intervention to radically alter their beliefs, behaviors and social structures. The crux of this intervention would be a moral education featuring basic and religious education, but also education in agriculture and the trades. The Commissioners' view of the requirements of civil rights, as well as their justification for more active intervention and for the justness of colonization more generally, was a theory of natural law reflective of the work of Emer de Vattel.

Contradiction and Correspondence: Natural Law as a Basis for Intervention

      Having reviewed Charles II's instructions that Governors of the colonies not provoke the

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54. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T.

Indigenous inhabitants and instead undertake efforts to instruct them in the Christian religion,

and the Royal Proclamation's declaration that lands unceded by Indigenous tribes would be

protected as their possessions, on the third page of the report, the Commissioners responded to

criticisms regarding land agreements. "It has been alleged that these agreements were unjust, as

dispossessing the natives of their ancient territories, and extortionate, as rendering a very

inadequate compensation for the lands surrendered," the Commissioners wrote.[55] They offered

two justifications for the land transfers. In the first place, the settlement of the country was

advancing and "land was required for new occupants," in addition to which, at times "the

predatory and revengeful habits of the Indians rendered their removal desirable." In the second

place, removal was ultimately inevitable:

> If, however, Government had not made arrangements for the voluntary surrender of the
> lands, the white settlers would gradually have taken possession of them, without offering
> any compensation whatever; it would, at that time have been as impossible to resist the
> natural laws of society, and to guard the Indian Territory against the encroachments of
> the whites, as it would have been impolitic to have attempted to check the tide of
> immigration.[56]

Settlement and the attendant encroachment upon land lived upon by Indigenous peoples was

asserted to be an inevitability, consistent with the "natural laws of society," indeed so natural that

it would have been "impolitic" to attempt to check either. Inasmuch as both Charles's

instructions and the Royal Proclamation had explicitly prohibited the violation of Indigenous title

to unceded lands, the Commissioners suggest that these decrees were unenforceable because they

were counter to the laws of nature. In addition, possession of land was tied to character, the

justification of land dispossession being not only the "natural laws of society" but the "predatory

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55. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE.
56. Ibid.

and revengeful habits of the Indians".[57]

To support this stance, the Commissioners invoked Emer de Vattel's *Law of Nations*, quoting the following passage:

> There is another celebrated question to which the discovery of the new world has principally given rise. It is asked whether a nation may lawfully take possession of some part of a vast country in which there are none but erratic nations, whose scanty population is incapable of occupying the whole? We have already observed, in establishing the obligation to cultivate the earth, that these nations cannot exclusively appropriate to themselves more land than they have occasion for, or more than they are able to settle and cultivate. Their unsettled habitation in these immense regions, cannot be accounted a true and legal possession, and the people of Europe, too closely pent-up at home, finding land of which the Savages stood in no particular need, and of which they made no actual and constant use, were lawfully entitled to take possession of it and to settle it with Colonies. The earth, as we have already observed, belongs to mankind in general, and was designed to furnish them with subsistence. If each nation had from the beginning resolved to appropriate to itself a vast country, that the people might live only by hunting, fishing and wild fruits, our globe would not be sufficient to maintain a tenth part of its present inhabitants. We do not, therefore, deviate from the views of nature, in counting the Indians within narrower limits. However, we cannot help praising the moderation of the English Puritans, who first settled in New England, who, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their Sovereign, purchased of the Indians the lands of which they intended to take possession.[58]

This lengthy excerpt is quoted in its entirety because it outlines the connection between cultivation, colonization and God's will, as manifested or observable in the laws of nature, that the Commissioners employed to justify an interventionist stance towards Indigenous people. Possession of land was associated not only with cultivation but with the *obligation* to cultivate. Vattel, and by extension, the Commissioners, invoked the idea of "mankind in general"; of a group to which all peoples *de facto* belonged, and to whose continuation individuals owe a duty. In his most celebrated work *Law of Nations*, as well as in other essays, Vattel asserted cultivation

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57. This point is also made by in Neu, Dean and Richard Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide: Canada's Bureaucratic Assault on Aboriginal People* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2003), 3.
58. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE.

to be the only means by which "mankind in general" could be sustained, and so not only the means through which lands were possessed or made productive, but the very means of existence of the group. The obligation to engage in cultivation was therefore framed not as a European idea or undertaking, but as obligatory for the survival of the whole of humanity – as natural, obvious and inevitable; resistance was not only disruptive to others but in this sense self-destructive, insofar as Indigenous people were always already part of this "mankind in general." However, Vattel's arguments regarding cultivation and the possession of lands rested on the more general foundation of his reasoning regarding cultivation as essential to self-perfection. In what follows, I will argue that the connection between the pursuit of self-perfection, labour and cultivation and natural law informed the Bagot Commissioners' calls for manual labour and industrial boarding schools, schools that not only integrated labour into education but that systematically separated children from their families and social contexts. While this framework had in common with the positive strategy discussed in the preceding two chapters a focus on the individual as containing, within the bounds of the self, behaviors productive of collective co-existence, here the emphasis was not centrally on conduct but on commerce and on the idea that one is beholden to others for the protection of one's property and for the forwarding of one's prospects through provision of resources and support. Thus, the emphasis was centrally on the individual's pursuit of self-interest.

Vattel's Theory of Self-Perfection

I focus on Vattel here because of the Commissioners' reference to his work, but his thought is representative of, and in conversation with a broader tradition of natural law thinking. Oakley writes that the "central intuition of the natural law tradition" is that humans, through the

correct application of reason, could access norms of justice (natural laws) that were not peculiar to a specific group but applied to human moral behavior and the functioning of the physical world in general.[59] This tradition was far from monolithic, but in the words of Ian Hunter, "… a sprawling discursive genre in which philosophical doctrines of various kinds interacted with diverse theological, jurisprudential, and political doctrines each capable of being treated as 'foundational' for the others, depending on the type of natural law being advanced."[60] Between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, there was significant debate as to whether natural law was imposed by God's will (the voluntarist position) or was in itself rational and good, therefore (potentially) exceeding even the will of God (the intellectualist position).[61] The significance of this distinction reflects the contrast Taylor draws between the *ancien régime* matrix and the Age of Mobilization. In the case of the former, God's will supersedes any other principle (it is at least possible for God to will something that is irrational) and remains potentially inscrutable to reasoning and manifested in ways that are mysterious to the average individual, where in the latter, it is rather our ability to reason, and the standards according to which we reason, that derives from God.[62] Humans manifest a rational order through actions taken in accordance with reason, as in Galileo's representational account of scientific knowledge - "To know reality is to have a correct representation of things - a correct picture within of outer reality, as it came to be conceived."[63]

Vattel followed Leibniz, Grotius and Wolff in his adherence to the voluntarist or

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59. Oakley, *Natural Law, Laws of Nature*, 18-19.
60. Ian Hunter, "Vattel's Law of Nations: Diplomatic Casuistry for the Protestant Nation," *Grotiana* 31 (2010), 112. Hunter goes on to argue that "The historical fate of rival discourses on the law of nature and nations was thus not tied to the progressive philosophical clarification of a doctrine the realisation of whose truth could constitute a single threshold for modernity. It was tied, rather, to indeterminate competition between attempts to project modernities aligned with rival constructions of social order" (Hunter, "Vattel's Law of Nations," 112).
61. Oakley, *Natural Law, Laws of Nature*, 66-68.
62. Taylor: *Sources of the Self,* 143.
63. Ibid.*,* 144.

rationalist conception of "natural law as the rules for 'perfecting' (realizing) the nascent tendencies to rationality and sociability inscribed in man's essence or nature."[64] There is a complex relationship between God's will and natural law in Vattel's work. In his "Essay on the Foundation of Natural Law and on the First Principle of the Obligation Men Find Themselves Under to Observe Laws," Vattel disputes the argument of French jurist Jean Barbeyrac that God "imposes on us an indispensable necessity" of conforming to maxims of reason.[65] If this were the case, humans would not be freely following the dictates of God, dictates he argues are good in themselves, and not good only because God has willed them to be so. Humans follow natural law not because it is available to reason, nor because God wills it, but because it is in our interest to do so. A being beyond us "can only make us his subjects by motives capable of influencing our wills. He might force us through physical action, but this would no longer be a matter of a required obligation, for we would no longer be acting freely. For sure, it is true that regard for a sovereign Master, our Creator, is highly efficacious in placing an obligation on us to practice the duties of morality."[66] By arguing that God has found a way to oblige us to realize his will by making it most highly desirable to do so, Vattel manages to assert the idea of the free will of humans without entirely decoupling human action from the realization of God's will on earth.

For Vattel (following Wolff),[67] the only force that truly motivates humans - the only motivation that does not stem from any other motivation - is our passions or desires, and the most basic of those desires is self-love "which causes us to desire and seek for our happiness or the perfection of our condition, whether internal or external, i.e., the perfection of our soul, the

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64. Hunter, "Vattel's Law of Nations," 113.
65. Vattel, "Foundation of Natural Law," 760.
66. Ibid.," 768.
67. Ben Holland, "The Moral Person of the State: Emer de Vattel and the Foundations of International Legal Order," *History of European Ideas* 37, no.4 (2011), 443.

well-being of our body, and the prosperity of our fortune."[68] The obligation to follow natural laws derives from the fact that actions that are in accordance with natural law are "praiseworthy and useful",[69] the usefulness of an action deriving from whether it supports the individual's pursuit of self-perfection. Self-love must also, therefore, form the basis of society. According to Vattel, sociability is not the first principle of obligation. Individuals cannot seek self-perfection without personal security and the resources to meet our needs.[70] Society is "useful and necessary" to humans because being sociable allows us to pursue self-perfection.[71] Vattel writes in the *Law of Nations*, "Hence it is deduced the establishment of natural society among men. *The general law of that society is, that each individual should do for the others every thing which their necessities require, and which he can perform without neglecting the duty that he owes himself...*" [emphasis his].[72] Vattel puts the individual, and the individual's spiritual, physical and material well-being, at the center of our obligation, or duty, to one another, and of a government's duties to its people. As with Taylor's description of the modern moral order as an order of mutual benefit, within this framework, a collectivity is no longer tied together by a shared connection with something external but by mutual dependencies productive of each individual's personal well-being.[73] The perfection of society consists in there being no obstacles to each individual pursuing their own self-perfection.[74]

Among the activities and characteristics Vattel considers as essential to self-perfection are cultivation, trade, piety, paying taxes, marrying and receiving an education. The centrality of the pursuit of self-perfection and the provision of resources necessary for each individual to

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68. Vattel, "Foundation of Natural Law," 753.
69. Ibid., 760.
70. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 773.
71. Vattel, "Foundation of Natural Law," 754.
72. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 56.
73. Taylor, *Secular Age,* 292, 392.
74. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 774.

freely pursue their physical, spiritual and material well-being explains why cultivation of the earth is foremost among those activities and attributes Vattel deems useful. If it is the duty of the government to ensure that each individual has sufficient resources to meet their needs, it is necessary that there be sufficient labourers and tradesmen available in every essential profession to satisfy those needs, and it is the duty of the government to ensure that this is so.[75] "The state ought to encourage labour, to animate industry, … to excite abilities, to propose honours, rewards, privileges, and to order matters that everyone may live by his industry."[76] Of all those professions, Vattel identifies agriculture as the most necessary because it provides the nation with sustenance.[77] In addition to cultivation, "home trade," or the domestic trade of goods, is deemed important given that the law of nature requires individuals to assist one another and contribute to one another's happiness and perfection; from this and the introduction of private property, arises the obligation to sell that which one has and does not need to others at a fair price.[78] Private property is taken as a given by Vattel, but is also understood to be the condition of interdependence: "since that introduction of private property, no one can, by any other means, procure the different things that may be necessary or useful to him, and calculated to render life pleasant and agreeable."[79] Piety is addressed, but appears to play a supporting role. "Enlightened piety" encourages people to support lawful authority and, where it is observed in the sovereign, their confidence,[80] but it must be a matter of conscience and not commanded.[81] Marriage and the payment of taxes ensure that the nation will be sufficiently prepared to defend itself in that it will

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75. Ibid., 101.
76. Ibid., 102.
77. Ibid., 102.
78. Ibid., 105.
79. Ibid., 106.
80. Ibid., 127.
81. Vattel writes, "…man is essentially and necessarily free to make use of his own choice in matters of religion. His belief is not to be commanded; and what kind fo worship must that be which is produced by force?" (*Law of Nations*, 128).

have a sufficient population adequately provisioned to defend against aggressors.[82]

While it is in our self-interest, according to Vattel, to act in accordance with natural law, in that it is the most efficient path to our happiness, it is not necessarily the case that all individuals will act virtuously. Vattel identifies two primary obstacles to people rationally following natural law. 1) They are unable to discern what natural law dictates either because they "lack the necessary insight" or due to their "passions and prejudices."[83] 2) They are not "enlightened as to their true interests" and are therefore unaware of the benefits to themselves of acting in alignment with natural law: "…often in the midst of passion these motivations do not present themselves to their minds, or do not strike them with sufficient force."[84] One solution is the introduction of civil laws and authorities to enforce those laws.[85] Though imperfect expressions of natural law, they allow its meaning to be fixed such that it may be applied equally to all and provide a means by which those who are "wicked" may be induced through the use of force to follow the laws. A "man of reason" may be brought to adherence with natural law through an awareness of "the obedience which he owes to his Creator; and secondly, the advantages which flow naturally from this adherence."[86] For those who were not a "man of reason," seeming the majority of men in Vattel's view,[87] it was acceptable to issue commands and to punish disobedience,[88] though such an approach would only ever suppress vice and would never be sufficient to inspire virtue.[89] To inspire virtue required a sufficient education in the

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82. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 161.
83. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 777.
84. Ibid., 777.
85. Ibid., 777-779.
86. Ibid., 777.
87. "Secondly, a source of authority is needed to compel a respect for the laws on the part of those who are not amenable to the voices of reason, and which adds to natural obligation, which is too weak for the majority of men, a new positive obligation through the means of penalties attached to disobedience. It is the only motive that can influence the will of the wicked. The evil hate to sin through fear of punishment." (Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 779)
88. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 779.
89. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 123.

moral sciences from a young age.

In Vattel's view, if it is the duty of the government to promote the happiness of the people, part of that duty includes instructing "the people to seek felicity where it is to be found; that is, in their own perfection, - and to teach them the means of obtaining it. The sovereign cannot, then, take too much pains in instructing and enlightening his people, and in forming them to useful knowledge and wise discipline."[90] Vattel asserts that instruction during infancy and youth is most critical as it is in our youth that we "receive the seeds of good or evil."[91] However, the type of instruction that would compel an individual to follow the natural laws would have to inspire "the love of virtue,"[92] which could only be accomplished through the study of morality and the maxims of living happily. This argument related to Vattel's assertion that the principles of natural law could be studied and discerned in the same manner that one might discern physical laws,[93] but also, according to Hunter, to an understanding of national belonging grounded in the customs of his Swiss homeland. A political territory was defined not by borders alone but by the cultivation of national virtues conducive to the preservation and perfection of the nation: "As a result, citizenship for Vattel… entails a distinctive national-moral identity arising from being born in a national patrie where distinctive national virtues are cultivated."[94] Thus was it justified for the sovereign to attend to even the private life of citizens.[95] The cultivation of virtue constituted the very basis of the people.

The Bagot Commission Grounded in Natural Law Thinking

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90. Ibid., 119.
91. Ibid., 119-120.
92. Ibid., 122.
93. Vattel, "Can Natural Law Bring Society to Perfection," 775-776.
94. Hunter, "Vattel's Law of Nations," 118.
95. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 123.

The Bagot Commissioners explicitly deployed Vattel's *Law of Nations* to justify both territorial expansion achieved through agreements between tribes and the Crown and territorial expansion that contravened the agreements their own sovereign had upheld.[96] However, their recommendations, and the justifications given for those recommendations, were grounded in the broader theory of the pursuit of self-perfection and the duty of the government to remove obstacles to that pursuit. The motivation to live in accordance with natural laws and the content of natural law were asserted to be universal - true for all of humanity regardless of custom, national allegiance, physical location and so forth - though it is undoubtedly the case that they reflected what Hunter calls Protestant-republican norms.[97] It was therefore assumed that natural law applied to all of humanity, as has been established above. The commissioners disparaged the state of tutelage they argued the Crown had encouraged among Indigenous tribes and expressed a desire for Indigenous people to be granted civil privileges, though under particular conditions.

> The inquiries of your Commissioners, and their consideration of the numerous opinions submitted to them, have led them to the conclusion, that the true and only practicable policy of the Government, with reference to their interests, both of the Indians and the community at large, is to endeavor, gradually, to raise the Tribes within the British Territory to the level of their white neighbors; to prepare them to undertake the offices

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96. Indeed, the commissioners essentially make the argument that usurpation of land was in the interest of Indigenous peoples: "But the settled and partially civilized Indians, when left to themselves, become exposed to a new class of evils." Valuable blocks of land can't be occupied but also can't be protected against "the encroachments of white squatters" and white settlers become jealous ("Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T.) Also, "If, however, the Government had not made arrangements for the voluntary surrender of the lands, the white settlers would gradually have taken possession of them, without offering any compensation whatever; it would, at that time, have been as impossible to resist the natural laws of society, and to guard the Indian Territory against the encroachments of the whites, as it would have been impolitic to have attempted to check the tide of immigration" ("Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE). And a final example: "If subsequent events have greatly enhanced the value of their lands, it has been in consequence of the speedy and peaceable settlement of the country, by means, chiefly, of the agreements in question, and the Indians are now in possession of advantages which far exceed those of the surrounding white population, and which afford them the means, under a proper system of mental improvement, of obtaining independence, and even opulence" ("Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE).
97. "In fact it allows the cultural and political order of a Protestant agricultural-military republic to shape the theoretical contours of Vattel's nation-state and to imbue his doctrine of popular sovereignty with a distinctive religious and political physiognomy" (Hunter, "Vattel's Law of Nations," 119).

and duties of citizens; and, by degrees, to abolish the necessity for its farther interferences in their affairs.[98]

The commissioners here assert that the policy recommendations derive from the interests of "the Indians" and "the community at large," the "community at large" not yet encompassing "the Indians." Preparation to "undertake the offices and duties of citizens" would be the same preparation for joining the "community at large." While at some point in the future, it may no longer be necessary for the Crown or provincial authorities to interfere in the affairs of Indigenous people, that time had not yet come.

In the quote above, there is an obvious assumption of the superiority of the "white neighbors" but an associated assumption that it is a modifiable inequality. The commissioners take the stance that the Indigenous people of Upper Canada/Canada West are capable of being equal to their white brethren. Those who have received a "good education, are equal, in every respect, to their white associates…".[99] There are additionally Chiefs who are "intelligent, well conducted, religious men, quite competent to manage their own affairs, and very shrewd in the protection of their own interests."[100] However, these comments also point to a disputed point among the letters and policies quoted by the Commissioners in the evidence gathered: whether the honouring of treaties and ability of Indigenous tribes to continue living collectively and separately from white settlers perpetuated a relationship of tutelage or in the long term, would serve the purpose of assimilation. The commissioners quote Sydenham writing to Bond Head in 1841:

All my observation has completely satisfied me, that the direct interference of the

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98. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.

Government is only advantageous to the Indians who can still follow their accustomed pursuits, and that if they became settlers, they should be compelled to fall into the ranks of the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, exercising the same independent control over their own property and their own actions, and subject to the same general law as other citizens.

The attempt to combine a system of pupilage with the settlement of these people in civilized parts of the country, leads only to embarrassment in the Government, expense to the Crown, a waste of the resources of the Province, and injury to the Indians themselves.[101]

Sydenham argues that Indigenous people must either be left in their pre-contact state or be treated as a white subject of the Crown, exercising their rights and subject to the law. He evokes the specter of partial civilization also referenced by commissioners: in a situation where Indigenous people no longer live by hunting and gathering, without the inference of white colonizers, but continue to receive annuities from the Crown, the Indigenous individual lives like a settler but without the motivations Vattel argues cause the individual to seek self-perfection. In Sydenham's view, they get only the vices of civilization: "He does not become a good settler, he does not become an agriculturalist or a mechanic." The commissioners ultimately reject Head's proposal of removal and Syndenham's dualistic stance that Indigenous peoples must be either totally separated from settlers or fully assimilated and in receipt of no special status but concur with the latter's view regarding the centrality of property ownership and independence. As the commissioners assert in the opening section of the report, in the absence of cultivation of their land, Indigenous people have no individual interest and no motivation to change.

Like Vattel, while the commissioners agreed that natural law was universally applicable and accessible, it was not assumed that all individuals and peoples would base their customs on natural law without appropriate education and guidance. More active interventions such as

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101. Quoted also in Peter Jones, *Life and Journals of Keh-ke-wa-guo-nā-ba: (Rev. Peter Jones,) Wesleyan Missionary* (Toronto: A. Green, 1860), 163.

establishing schools and settlements and tying education and other personal transformations to the receipt of "presents" were justified not only through reference to the virtuous nature of those changes but through the argument that it was in the interest of Indigenous people to do so and that it was the duty of the Crown to facilitate the capability of colonized peoples to pursue self-perfection: "…in order to enable [the Indians] to compete with the whites, and to take their position among them as fellow-citizens, some time and more comprehensive and active measures are necessary."[102] In Section I of the report, the commissioners referenced Darling's call for more active steps to civilize and educate and the Colborne-Kempt plan discussed in chapter two, as well as Murray's comment that more attention has been given to maintaining Indigenous people as military allies than "gradually reclaiming them from a life of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."[103] The commissioners voice support for the recommendations of the Report of Executive Council of Lower Canada, which decried "a long and fatal Neglect of those who should have watched over his Improvement, of the proper Means of raising him in the Scale of Civilization…"[104] They also reference the Credit Mississauga in describing tribes that have, under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Indian Department cleared tracts of land, taken up residence in houses on detached lots, cleared land for farms, received instruction in farming and sent children to school.[105] But whereas for Jones, these were sufficient to earn the civil privileges supposedly attendant upon adopting such customs, for the commissioners, this was a sign that the Credit

102. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T.
103. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE.
104. Earl of Gosford to Lord Glenelg, July 13, 1837, Enclosure no. 1, "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council, present the Honorable Mr. Smith, Mr. De Lacy, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Cochran, on your Excellency's Reference of the 7th October, 1836, respecting the Indian Department," in Return to an Address of the Honorable The House of Commons, dated 11 June 1839 for Copies of Extracts of Correspondence Since 1st April 1835, between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governors of the British North American Provinces respecting the Indians in those Provinces (June 17, 1839), 29.
105. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE.

Mississauga and other tribes in Upper Canada who had taken similar steps might be amenable to additional changes yet more destructive of their communities: "it appears that the Indians have now attained nearly the same stage of civilization at which their further progress requires more enlarged measures, and more active interference."[106]

The commissioners assert that while Christianity and religious instruction had been of some help up to that point in preserving Indigenous people against such evils as falling prey to squatters and the jealousy of settlers, this alone was inadequate.[107]

> The chief obstacles to the advancement of the race are, their want of self-dependence, and their habits of indolence, which have been fostered, if not created, by the past policy of the Government; their ignorance or imperfect knowledge of the language, customs, and mode of traffic of the whites, and that feebleness of the reasoning powers, which is the necessary consequences [sic] of the entire absence of mental cultivation.[108]

This established the grounding for the recommendations to come: the continuing cultivation of Christianity, the education of the young and weaning from the habits of their elders, the establishment of schools and in particular, of as many Manual Labour or Industrial Schools as possible. Basic education in reading and writing would be insufficient, for what was needed was to not only train the mind but change the habits, feelings and customs of the children:

> Besides the ordinary routine of a primary School, the young men should be instructed in husbandry, gardening, the management of stock, and simple mechanical trades; the girls in domestic economy, the charge of a household and dairy, the use of the needle &c.; and both sexes should be familiarized with the mode of transacting business among the whites. It is by means of Industrial, or Manual Labour Schools, in which the above branches of instruction are taught, that a material and extensive change among the Indians of the rising generation may be hoped for.[109]

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106. Ibid.
107. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.

Notable here is the assertion that it is essential for children to learn not only agricultural and trade skills, but how to transact business in the manner of European settlers. Manual labour and industrial schools would provide the type of education Vattel called for - one that would promote the agricultural and trade skills seen as so essential to the preservation of the population and to generating a feeling of independence and self-sufficiency. They would also serve the purpose of removing the children from what were understood to be the deleterious effects of their families.

As with Vattel, the commissioners contend that learning self-dependence, efficient work habits, the use of English and the customs of white settlers is most easily accomplished during youth: "This may be a difficult task, as regards the majority of the adults, whose habits have been formed, with whom the time for instruction is passed, and who have become familiarized with their condition, but with the youth it will be otherwise."[110] Such a change called for constant supervision of the kind not possible in a day school. The commissioners refer to supporting letters submitted by Reverend Abraham Nelles, Missionary to the Six Nation Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and Reverend Saltern Givens, missionary to Kanien'kehá:ka at Bay of Quinté who argued that day schools were not attended regularly enough to induce permanent change.[111] Givens wrote, "The only plan, therefore, to secure a systematical education, is to establish a Boarding School among them. The children should be removed to it at an early period, from the injurious influence of their homes, and carefully and thoroughly reared in industrious and religious habits."[112] These "injurious habits" seemed chiefly to be allowing the children to resume activities normal in their home communities but considered deleterious by

110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.

colonizers, for example, in a letter written by Jones and quoted by commissioners, being allowed to "accompany their parents in their hunting excursions."[113] Within the context of the Bagot Commission and the Report of the Executive Committee of Lower Canada, approvingly cited by the Bagot commissioners, boarding schools allowed for separation from the negative influences of Indigenous communities without subjection to the worst aspects of white communities.[114]

Though the commissioners noted that combining labour with education would offset some of the costs of an institution, the primary argument asserted for the proposal was that labour would lead to civilization through the learning of new skills but also through the cultivation of land. The commissioners cite Major Plenderleath Christie's description of the school at Chateauguay in Lower Canada. Christie writes that, "Another great advantage arising from the farm, is the employment which it gives to the Indians, leading them almost insensibly into the habits of civilized life."[115] The act of labour in itself is seen as an initiation into a way of being in the world. Section I of the report references earlier proposals by Kempt, Colborne, Murray and the Report of the Executive Committee of Lower Canada in support of cultivation and of substituting annuities with agricultural implements, as well as a dispatch from Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the governors of Upper and Lower Canada in 1835 in which he suggests that for the "moral and religious improvement of the Indians, and their instruction in the arts of civilized life" the commutation of annuities for "some object of

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113. Ibid.
114. The 1836 report of the Executive Committee of Lower Canada pitches boarding schools as a kind of compromise between removing Indigenous peoples, per Head's recommendation, and subjecting them to the negative influences of wily settlers: "If kept together they are less likely soon to quit their old and adopt new Habits, and their Proneness to Dissipation and Idleness may impede their Progress in Industry; while on the other hand, if dispersed among or near the new Settlements, it will be more difficult to protect them from Fraud, to watch over and aid their Progress, and to provide for the Education of their Children, and they might probably become disheartened among a strange Population" ("Report of a Committee of the Executive Council," Copies or extracts of correspondence since 1st April 1835, 30).
115. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. T.

permanent benefit and utility." [116] By couching the proposals to combine farming with education and for agricultural implements to be distributed in the place of annuities within Vattel's argument for the duty to cultivate, the commissioners linked cultivation of the land with the development of moral virtue and the capacity to claim political rights.

Education alone - the ability to speak and read English, recite Bible verses or do basic arithmetic - or even the performance of civilization in the adoption of the dress of Europeans or display of polite manners was insufficient not only because formal civic participation was dependent upon property ownership but because the absence of private property barred Indigenous people from commercial exchange:

> As the Indian Lands were held in common, and the title to them was vested in the Crown, as their Guardian, the Indians were excluded from all political rights, the tenure of which depended upon an extent of interest, not conferred upon them by the Crown.
>
> Their inability also to compete with their white brethren debarred them, in a great measure, from the enjoyment of civil rights, while the policy of the Government led to the belief that they did not in fact possess them. [117]

Commissioners here reference individual property ownership and cultivation in terms of having an interest in the land, meaning that the individual has invested time, energy and resources into turning the land into something valued commercially and from which they can receive additional resources. The land no longer in itself provides resources, but only through the value it creates, and the individual depends on the land to provision themselves. They therefore also depend on their fellow countrymen for their sustenance insofar as they are only capable of provisioning themselves through the exchange of what they have produced for resources they need. Property

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116. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE.
117. "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE.

ownership, or having an interest in the land, is described by Glenelg in a letter included in the appendices of the report as attachment to the soil. [118]

Communal living, and a community-based rather than individualistic relationship to (rather than ownership of) land was not tenable within the approach to collective formation in development here. The commissioners reference the Report of the Executive Council of Lower Canada which asserted the centrality of individual independence and adoption of "individual Rights in the Lands":

> The Committee are of opinion, that, as a necessary Part of any Change in the Management and in the Condition of the Indians, the existing Institutions and Authority of their Chiefs and Councils (standing on ancient usage alone) must either be greatly modified or gradually but totally extinguished, without which the important Point cannot be attained of teaching the Indians to feel and value personal Independence both in Property and Conduct. [119]

Individuals would be tied to one another not through *de facto* membership in a people but through mutual dependencies - ironically, through the inability to live independently and to secure one's livelihood outside of a network of commercial exchange. In chapters four and five, the basis of collective unity was to be found in latent sympathies awaiting discovery and expression. Here, it was assumed that individuals are not inherently sympathetic but are rather inherently selfish and prone to laziness or taking advantage of others unless their very survival depended on labour and exchange. The individual had to be extracted from a network of support and left with nothing to earn their survival but the labour they could invest in turning raw

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118. "The first step to the real improvement of the Indians is to gain them over from a wandering to a settled life; that they should be attached to the soil, by being taught to regard it as reserved for them and their children by the strongest securities." Tribes should feel secure in their control of their lands ("Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," App. EEE).
119. "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council," Copies or extracts of correspondence since 1st April 1835, 34.

resources into items of value to other individuals.

Conclusion

I have tried to show in this chapter how the Bagot commissioners articulated the concept of the people and the prerequisites for belonging. In the previous two chapters, we saw a competing variant in which individuals were always already part of society (like a block of marble awaiting the sculptor) and needed only to realize their belonging by connecting with a shared moral center. The document at the center of this chapter, the Bagot Commission, demonstrated a second alternative, one I have argued is more consistent with Taylor's ideal type of the innocentizing strategy. [120] Individuals are not naturally given to virtue and solidarity but to the pursuit of self-interest. This can be bent in the direction of virtue, but the most efficient means is through self-interest. Rather than uniting around shared sympathies, individuals are united by mutual dependencies. Vattel's theory of natural law and the pursuit of self-perfection is consistent with this ideal type and, I argue, informed much of the Bagot Commissioners' recommendations.

The Bagot Commissioners referred to Indigenous peoples "taking their place" in society or among the people of the Canadian provinces. Indigenous people were argued to be reasonable and not inherently corrupt. But rather than establishing a context for equity between the colonizing population and Indigenous peoples, this rather was used to establish an impossible situation for those Indigenous individuals and tribes who did not wish to relinquish their sovereignty or adopt European customs and values wholesale. If an Indigenous individual was reasonable and could therefore be made aware of the "obedience which he owes to his Creator"

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120. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 253.

and how it was in their self-interest to obey the dictates of that creator and if they then did not adopt those behaviors and practices associated with natural law, they were clearly committed not to virtue but to vice and it was justified to motivate adherence to the law through force. The natural law framework outlined in this chapter justified taking more assertive, disciplinary and punitive measures if Indigenous peoples would not willingly make changes. For Vattel, those capable of seeing reason and loving virtue would desire the pursuit of self-perfection. If the utility of private property, commercial exchange, the pursuit of self-interest, piety and so forth were laid before an individual and they were unable to see the virtue of these activities, it would have to be for lack of reason or love of vice, a condition argued to be nearly insurmountable after the passage of youth. Those capable only of vice were deemed deserving of measures designed not to inculcate virtue but to curtail vice.

Chapter 7: From Theory to Practice

I began this dissertation by arguing that the most destructive elements of the residential school system were a logical extension of the ideas that informed its design - ideas related to Canadian society and to the emergence of Canada as a democratic state formation, understood not simply in terms of the procedures of political participation but as a sociocultural project. I used Durkheim and Lefort's theorization of the relationship between collective formation and representations of unity to inform my analysis of ideas of peoplehood and society in policies and documents related to manual labour and industrial boarding schools.

In this chapter, we see how these ideas translated into practice. In the final years leading up to the opening of Mount Elgin, and in reports issued by the colonial administration prior to, and during Mount Elgin's short initial period of operation, administrators and missionaries continued to use the language of shared humanity and social inclusion. Previously in this dissertation, I referenced Claude Lefort's argument that the shaping of society involves both the giving of meaning to social relations and the staging of those relations.[1] Here, I will argue that the case study used in this dissertation, Mount Elgin Industrial Institute, demonstrates how manual labour and industrial boarding schools, and later residential schools, allowed white colonizers to sustain their commitment to democratizing ideals of equality, humanism and civic participation while at the same time asserting the superiority of the white colonizing population, dehumanizing Indigenous populations and excluding Indigenous people from civic participation. This was accomplished in two ways. The first was by asserting the framework established in the previous chapter. Missionaries and colonial administrators maintained that the norms and beliefs

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1. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 218-219.

of Euro-Canadians (conceptualized as homogenous in a way that was inconsistent with the reality of Euro-Canadian settler life) were virtuous and superior to those of Indigenous peoples. Those who were themselves virtuous would be capable of understanding this was so, though guidance may be necessary. If guidance was offered and the behaviors and mores of the colonizer were not adopted, that could be taken as evidence of the vicious and sub-human nature of the colonized individual (and it was indeed possible to apply the same logic to categories of white settlers such as traders and impoverished people). Exclusion from civic participation could therefore be laid at the feet of the Indigenous individual. As shall be seen in this chapter, missionaries, colonial administrators and leaders of religious organizations could claim that every effort was made by the colonizer to prepare Indigenous people for inclusion and participation, and it was the Indigenous person's unwillingness to adopt the attributes of belonging that was the cause of on-going inequalities. The second way in which democratic ideals were squared with practices we now view as distinctly undemocratic was in the design of the institution itself. The institution was designed to isolate the individual both as cause of social problems and as subject of curative efforts; as in Gauchet and Swain's description of the modern asylum, the basic subjectivity of the institutionalized individual was acknowledged insofar as the institution was designed to promote the development or return of their reason.[2] In this way, the institutionalized individual was separated from the collectivity but in the name of their ultimate re-integration and thus in the name of their ultimate equality or potential for inclusion.

A second thread I will follow in this chapter will be how the innocentizing and positive strategies for rendering immanent a sense of justice and motivation toward benevolence were demonstrated in Mount Elgin's final planning and early operation. Following the same pattern

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2. Wim Weymans, "Revising Foucault's Model of Modernity and Exclusion: Gauchet and Swain On Madness and Democracy," *Thesis Eleven* 98, no. 1 (August 2009), 41.

observed in previous chapters, in the letters and documents analyzed in this chapter both strategies are in evidence. Evangelical missionaries including Samuel Rose and Peter Jones continued to argue for the inherent equality of Indigenous people and the healing power of salvation. Both adhered to a view of salvation, civilization and civic preparedness as demonstrated by the adoption of the characteristics of what Hunter calls Protestant-republican norms,[3] though both promoted the upholding of agreements made by the Crown and colonial administration related to land and payment of annuities (in other words, they were more inclined than some others to recognize the validity of Indigenous claims). At the same time, Rose, who was Mount Elgin's first principal, enforced a daily routine hyper-focused on habituation, moral discipline, constant vigilance, order and industry. Isolation of children from their communities was seen to be paramount; the families and communities of children were perceived as a source of potential infection from which children had to be protected. Administrators in the Methodist organization and representatives of the Crown were primarily concerned with budgetary considerations and, to the great frustration of Rose, thoroughly disengaged from the day-to-day functioning of the institution, including their fiduciary obligations to it, and to the people whose children attended. Throughout this dissertation, I have tracked two views of human nature as they relate to representations of society and Indigenous belonging; the documents analyzed in this chapter suggest that the functioning of Mount Elgin, as a case study of pre-confederation residential schools, prioritized the positive strategy and a view of virtue as deriving from productivity and useful contributions to society.

Conceptualizing the Institution

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3. Hunter, "Vattel's Law of Nations," 119.

In previous chapters of this dissertation, I have argued for a conceptualization of society not as a given but as itself a generative representation. The idea of society has power. For colonizers in Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century, to be a member of society was to have accepted the norms and mores reflective of God's will (natural law) and to be in a relation of mutual benefit with other members of the collective. In her overview of the contributions of Lefort and Gauchet to the thinking of modern autonomy, Natalie Doyle writes that in order to function, societies must have a representation of unity: "The representation of unity always requires the projection of an 'imaginary community' which allows the social distinctions to be portrayed as 'natural', the particular to be diluted in the universal, and the historical concealed in references to atemporal essences."[4] We have seen for example how society was taken to be the state into which Indigenous people would enter should they adopt European practices. European ways of living, believing and so forth were thereby cast as consistent with being part of society while Indigenous ways of living, believing and so forth were cast as animalistic, a-social and uncivilized. In this way, the act of social institution, and the fact of society's self-institution, is concealed.[5] By rendering such forms of social organization natural, the very process of instituting the social – articulating what society is and producing subjects consistent with this vision – is obscured. In addition to giving the unity of society the appearance of being natural and obscuring the fact of the production of social power, those institutions that reproduce social power are similarly given the appearance of necessity and benevolence. Institutions such as insane asylums and penitentiaries materialize imagined realities by constituting non-conformity as a problem with the individual to be addressed through

4. Doyle, "Democracy as Socio-Cultural Project," 75.
5. Ibid.

rehabilitation.[6]

In recent decades, Foucault's analysis of institutionalized discipline has driven much scholarship on institutions such as the residential school. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault argued that by the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe, punishment had ceased to take the form of a spectacle exhibiting the power of the sovereign and to focus primarily on the body of the offender, and had become instead discreet, focused on the soul, and oriented towards eliminating threats to the society's orderliness and stability.[7] Foucault's analysis of the transformation of disciplinary power centers on the replication of the emerging social order in the formation of the penal institution. Because crime was increasingly conceptualized as an attack on the whole of the social body (and because the crimes for which individuals were punished were increasingly those perceived to target the foundation of the social order, namely, property), Foucault wrote that the whole of the society was present in the punishment.[8] There was an economy to the determination of the punishment insofar as the penalty was calculated in terms of the possibility of replication[9] and introduced grounds for a calculation of costs and benefits among other potential offenders.[10] The example set by the punishment had to relate back to the crime[11] and punishment involved the production of a body of knowledge about the offender "that took as its field of reference not so much the crime committed (at least in isolation), but the potentiality of danger that lies hidden in an individual and which is manifested in his observed everyday conduct."[12] Thus, the "training of behavior" took the place of torture

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6. Chrisjohn and Young, *The Circle Game*.
7. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
8. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 90.
9. Ibid., 93.
10. Ibid., 106.
11. Ibid., 94.
12. Ibid., 126.

and was characterized by the isolation of the offender and a relation of total, undisturbed control on behalf of the "agent of punishment".[13]

The panopticon – an institution constructed to render the institutionalized visible at all times to their custodians – was particularly representative of this approach to punishment and reformation:

> Treat 'lepers' as 'plague victim', project the subtle segmentations of discipline onto the confused space of internment, combine it with the methods of analytical distribution proper to power, individualize the excluded, but use procedures of individualization to mark exclusion – this is what was operated regularly by disciplinary power from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the psychiatric asylum, the penitentiary, the reformatory, the approved school and, to some extent, the hospital."[14]

The emphases on an economy of punishment, control through intimate knowledge of the subject, the inherent disorderliness of the subject and a relation of discreet but all-encompassing control replicated an emerging social order based on economic rationalization, the production of knowledge, the exertion of control via the positioning of the subject, and a pervasive but elusive locus of power. As Foucault argues, the penal institution's exercise of total power and need for secrecy and privacy was blatantly at odds with, and therefore demonstrates a certain truth about the aim of this penal approach, which in his words was "to get all citizens to participate in the punishment of the social enemy and to render the exercise of the power to punish entirely adequate and transparent to the laws that publicly define it."[15] In other words, if this form of punishment was intended to be a demonstration of the judicious, lawful, and transparent exertion of a new kind of collective power, what it instead demonstrated was the extent to which there

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13. Ibid., 129.
14. Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," 199.
15. Ibid., 129.

was, rather than a transparency of power, the concealment of the continuation of sovereign power: "The power that applied the penalties now threatened to be as arbitrary, as despotic, as the power that once decided them."[16]

The lens through which I have been examining the emergence of residential schooling, and Mount Elgin in particular, refocuses this analysis. Throughout his work, Foucault rejected theories of or analytic approaches to collective ways of being that involved rummaging through the contents of the unconscious whether in reference to the individual or the collective. He was resistant to analyses that centered on affect, imaginaries and ideas such as collective consciousness and symbolic representation. For Foucault, the constitution of the social body arises from the materiality of power in conduct, practices, actions, and operations that are performed on bodies - power as it is manifested, exercised, circulated and reproduced physically.[17] Though his work was profoundly influential in unveiling the hidden operations of beliefs, practices and institutions cast as beneficial and necessary, as Singer and Weir argue, Foucault's methodological and philosophical focus on the materiality of relations can result in an eliding of phenomena such as sovereign power that operate through the symbolic and the objects, practices and discourses that embody or give form to symbolic representations.[18] As a result, Foucault's analysis of the disciplinary institution details the material operations performed on the body of the individual and on the social body by extension but does not explore the terrain of how such institutions reflect an understanding of the individual's inner life - of one's subjective relation to oneself and how that relation has been socially constituted in a particular context - or

16. Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," 129.
17. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 89.
18. Singer and Weir, "Politics and Sovereign Power," 443-465; Singer and Weir, "Sovereignty, Governance and the Political," 49-71.

of how such institutions reflect a relation between a collectivity and its legitimating authority.

Gauchet and Swain argue that institutions such as the asylum differed from their medieval precedents in that while they maintained the social exclusion of those considered mentally ill, it was an exclusion founded on the potential curability of the individual and was therefore not a permanent state.[19] The treatment of mental illness required an assumption that a person could contain within them the possibility of illness as well as the possibility of cure, that there were hidden potentials within the self that were to be addressed in institutions such as the asylum.[20] It also granted human subjectivity and the possibility of regaining reason to all, including the inmates of the asylum.[21] It is precisely this attention to the universalization of attributes of humanity and subjectivity that differentiates Gauchet and Swain's analysis from Foucault's. While Gauchet and Swain and Foucault are agreed as to the disciplinary and homogenizing function of such institutions, for Gauchet and Swain, the ultimate goal was understood to be the return of the individual to society while for Foucault, the goal was a permanent state of exclusion. As Wim Weymans writes,

> Gauchet and Swain's focus on collective democratic representations of power helps them to explain why the asylum emerged in its specific disciplinary form. When a democratic society is no longer structured according to a given plan or order, it must organize itself through the modern bureaucratic state which serves as a common point of reference for individuals living together on a basis of equality.[22]

The purpose of the asylum was to reorient the individual's internal subjective compass toward

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19. Gauchet and Swain, *Madness and Democracy,* 25.
20. Ibid., 42.
21. Ibid., 37. Gauchet and Swain write that the central idea implied by Pinel in his *Treatise on Insanity* is that of the enduring subjectivity of the subject. The patient always retains the ability to defend themself against this loss and the distance between the self and illness allows the individual to, "defend himself against what is removing him from himself, but also to remain in proximity with others…"; "…it allows other access to that inner aspect of himself that escapes his own control" (*Madness and Democracy*, 37).
22. Weymans, "Revising Foucault's Model," 42.

that common point of reference, to render the individual "perfectly governable from within."[23] This conceptualization of the asylum is consistent of how individuals such as Samuel Rose saw the purpose of Mount Elgin, though whether the institutions in practice would ever have served to achieve integration of even the most willing into society is questionable.

Final Steps to Opening of Mount Elgin

Between 1842 and the release of the recommendations of the Bagot Commission in 1847, the idea of manual labour and industrial boarding schools had gained traction among colonial administrators and within the Methodist Church; Muncey was approved as the site of the school, and it seemed as if Jones's vision was finally being realized. Yet at the moment of actualization, Jones was locked out of the process and ultimately reduced to the role of selecting potential students from among the tribes he was acquainted with. The decade prior to the opening of the school evinced the kinds of bureaucratic wrangling that would trouble the operations of residential schools for the duration of their existence in Canada.

Though his diaries indicate that during 1842 he was "suffering from another severe attack of disease,"[24] Jones paid a visit to Charles Bagot, who had that year undertaken the investigation that would result in the Bagot Commission, and who was at the time Governor General. Jones wrote to Eliza on October 10, 1842 that he had called upon Bagot to draw his attention to the manual labour school, the removal of the Credit Mississauga to Muncey, and a complaint against Samuel Jarvis, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Upper Canada.[25] On the subject of the first matter, he reported that Bagot suggested calling upon the House of Assembly to give a grant

23. Gauchet and Swain, *Madness and Democracy*, 75.
24. Jones, *Life and Journals*, 409-410.
25. Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, Oct 10, 1842, Kingston, File 6, Box 3, Letters, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

towards the undertaking but Jones suggested instead that "funds might be derived from the

Parliamentary Grant in England for the Indian Department." Both Jones's relations with the

Methodists and his exchange with Bagot over the source of the government's contribution to the

schools point toward the changing nature of the political climate in the province and within the

Methodist church. Politically, Jones's struggles to secure funding over the following years

indicated not only a move towards limiting imperial spending on the colonies, but an increasing

need for accountability in relation to monies that had been spent.

When the Methodist union of the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Conference

dissolved in 1840, Peter Jones sided with Egerton Ryerson and the Canadian Conference.[26] The

government suspended grants to both sides. In the summer of 1844, Jones was granted a

supernumerary relation (an insult, according to Eliza's addendum to his journals)[27] and given the

funds by the Executive Committee so that he could visit England to raise money for a manual

labour school.[28] At the same time, he was appointed to a committee charged with visiting

Indigenous settlements to ask that each tribe designate a portion of their annuities for the

school.[29] A special delegation, including Jones and Ryerson, also visited Charles Metcalfe, who

had been appointed Governor General of Canada in 1843, to secure access to annuities.[30] While

Metcalfe was supportive, the Colonial Office was less so; Lord Stanley indicated that there

would be no imperial assistance and that funds would have to come from annuities and fund-

raising alone.[31] Jones spent the entirety of 1845 and part of 1846 in Great Britain. Though he

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26. Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 95.
27. Peter Jones, *Life and Journals*, 410.
28. Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, June 15, 1844, Kingston, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.
29. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 251.
30. Ibid., 252-254.
31. Ibid., 253-254.

was again stricken with illness during the tour, he gave lectures throughout England and Scotland at a small charge and collected funds where he preached. He left Great Britain having collected £1002.11.10½ after expenses in cash donations, as well as presents of books, clothing, crockery, and cutlery.[32]

Upon his return to Upper Canada in 1846, Jones attended a general council of chiefs and principal men of tribes situated within south-eastern Upper Canada to discuss the subjects of removal and manual labour schools. Represented were the Kanien'kehá:ka of the Bay of Quinté and the Anishinaabeg of Alderville, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Skugog Lake, the River Credit, Snake Island, Rama, Beau-Soleil Island, Owen's Sound, the River Severn, and Bahjewunaung. It is worth noting that in the tally of those in attendance, Chief Meshukwutoo of Bahjewunaung is listed as "Heathen" rather than "Chippeway" because of his refusal to convert to Christianity.[33] Two Odawa individuals were listed as present, though their contributions to the event were not recorded in the minutes taken by Henry Baldwin.[34] George Vardon, Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and T.G. Anderson, Visiting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, were present on behalf of the Crown. In addition to Jones and John Sunday, who were both Methodist missionaries and chiefs, Methodists William Case and Horace Dean attended, as well as John McIntyre, Anglican missionary at Orillia.

Anderson opened the Council by presenting the proposals to be addressed: 1) that the tribes unite in large settlements on land deeded forever to them by written documents; 2) that manual labour schools be established for the children (Vardon added that the locations under

32. 21st Annual Report of the Missionary Society fo the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1845-1846, United Church Archives.
33. Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows on Thursday, the 30th, and Friday, the 31st July, 1846, on the proposed removal of the smaller communities and the establishment of manual labour schools, Montreal: Canada Gazette Office, 1846, CIHM: 59434, 4.
34. Ibid.

consideration were Owen's Sound, Alnwick and Munceytown); 3) that ¼ of the tribes' annuities be dedicated to the establishment and operation of the schools; 4) that hunting be discontinued in favour of cultivating the land; and 5) that monies no longer be paid to whites to construct buildings, but rather to other tribe members in order to keep the money among the Indians. He additionally asserted the Crown's desire to determine who would be Chief, and who would be divested of the title.[35] Anderson reiterated themes observed in the Bagot Commission:

> It is found that you cannot govern yourselves. And if left to be guided by your own judgment, you will never be better off than you are at present; and your children will ever remain in ignorance. It has therefore been determined, that your children shall be sent to Schools, where they will forget their Indian habits, and be instructed in all the necessary arts of civilized life, and become one with your white brethren.[36]

Vardon and Case emphasized the need for Indigenous people to desire the transformations sought by colonizers. Vardon opened his speech by asserting that, "…I see no hope of succeeding, unless the Indians themselves feel the importance, indeed the absolute necessity, of their Children being educated, and that they lend their assistance to us."[37] Case attributed the necessary change of heart to an acquaintance with the gospel:

> Brothers – As one who has seen many years, who was acquainted with you before you received the Gospel; before any religious change had come over your hearts; who has witnessed the favourable influence religion has had upon your hearts, your life, and your temporal condition; as one who has seen the unhappy effects of your wandering habits, it is my most mature opinion that the benevolent plans of the Government are suited to your wants, and I hope you will come to a favourable decision, and act upon their advice.[38]

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35. Ibid., 7.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., 8.
38. Ibid., 10.

The very plan itself was attributed by Case to the words of the Gospel. Congregate, cultivate, consent to boarding schools being built for your children, he said; "These are words of wisdom. They are drawn from the sacred book of Heaven…".[39]

Jones and Chief Shahwundais (Rev. John Sunday), both spoke in favour of removal. Jones's speech is scantily recorded, as it was given in Anishinaabemowin, which suggests the extent of what is excluded from the governmental record of the event.[40] While Shahwundais agreed to removal and dedicated a quarter of his people's annuities to the schools, he closed his speech with a request: "when this change takes place, and these Schools shall be established, I want you to place a good honest man there, who will teach the children good things."[41] Each of the other representatives who acceded to the payment of annuities or to relocation similarly expressed reservations and cautions.[42]

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39. Ibid., 9.

40. The publication cites the notes of Henry Baldwin, of Peterborough, Barrister at Law, to be the source for the report.

41. Ibid., 25.

42. Chief Pahdaush of Rice Lake agreed to removal but stated that he did not know where the deed to their existing land lay, alluding to concerns over previous uncertainties around promises of land being held on the Indians' behalf. In relation to dedicating a quarter of the annuities, he first indicated that he could not make such a promise on behalf of his people without first hearing what they would say. When Captain Anderson prompted him to respond on his people's behalf on the spot, he agreed. Chief Peter Noogie of Mud Lake could make no promises in relation to removal, as Reverend J. Gilmour and the New England Company controlled their tract, but he was not against the idea. He agreed to the payment of annuities towards the cost of the schools, asking for a "first rate man" be appointed instructor. Chief Jacob Crane of Skugog Lake similarly hesitated to make a decision about removal unilaterally, and added that his people had purchased their land, but he agreed to the annual payment of a quarter of their annuities. Chief Joseph Sawyer of the Credit wanted confirmation of the tract that would be given to the people prior to promising removal citing as his reason the constant intrusion of the whites, and his desire to be removed to a location where "we should not be so much annoyed by them as we are now." He agreed to the payment of one quarter of the Credit Mississauga annuities. The Snake Island Anishinaabeg were in favor of removal so long as the islands were secured to them upon removal and agreed to a payment of £50 per year to the schools. Chief Yellow Head of Rama was unwilling to move, having moved once already, and wishing to remain on the place where previous generations had lived. He initially rejected participation in the schools, suggesting that if the Governor General himself had attended, he might have considered the proposition. A note in Anderson's memo at the end of the minutes, however, states that he later changed his answer to indicate agreement. Chief Naaningishkung, the subordinate Chief of Rama, registered a difference of opinion with Yellow Head, asking if they could take half of their annuities with them if half of the tribe chose to remove; he indicated support of the plan for the schools, but deferred to Yellow Head. Only John Aisaans of Beau-Soleil refused both the suggestion of removal, referencing a history of broken promises on behalf of the government and four previous removals; he also indicated that he believed they had money enough for a school where they were, and expressed disappointment that the Governor General had not attended, given the conflicting opinions and short-lived plans Aisaans and his people had been

In the Missionary Society Report for 1845/1846, Jones reported that in addition to Orillia, there had been a general Council held at Munceytown, "the result of which has been that nearly all the Tribes receiving annuities have generously agreed to appropriate one-fourth of their land payments per year towards this desirable object – yielding about £1500 per annum."[43] He additionally reported that the Government had expressed a willingness to aid the Missionary Society in the establishment of three schools – one at Owen's Sound, where it was proposed that the Anishinaabeg and Kanien'kehá:ka of south-Western Ontario remove to – one at Munceytown, and an enlargement of Case's school at Alnwick.[44] The Anishinaabeg at Munceytown had agreed to donate 200 acres of land and £500 towards the erection of the buildings.[45]

Elgin's Approval

Despite what seemed to be general support for the venture, more delays followed. Lord Metcalfe fell ill, and his successor, Charles Murray Cathcart, was preoccupied with military disturbances along the Anglo-American Oregon border.[46] Lord Elgin was made his permanent replacement on January 30th, 1847. Elgin, born James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin, 12th Earl of Kincardine, and son of Thomas Bruce, famous for the raiding of the Elgin marbles, was raised strongly evangelical.[47] In 1842, he had been made governor of Jamaica, but had left in 1846, in

subject to at the hands different agents and members of the Indian Department. However, in the same memo referencing Yellow Head's change of heart, Aisaans was recorded as giving his assent. Chief Waubutik welcomed any tribes who removed to their land. Anderson noted that the previous year, the Owen's Sound Anishinaabeg had agreed to an annual payment of annuities towards manual labour schools. (Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows on Thursday, the 30th and Friday, the 31st July, 1846, on the proposed removal of the smaller communities and the establishment of manual labour schools, Montreal: Canada Gazette Office, 1846, CIHM: 59434, 16-32.)

43. 21st Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1845-1846, x.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Milloy, *Era of Civilization*, 256.

47. Barbara Jane Messamore, *Canada's Governors General, 1847-1878: Biography and Constitutional Evolution*

grief at the loss of both wife and child in childbirth.[48] He was well acquainted with the idea of manual labour and industrial boarding schools. As Governor of Jamaica, he had, in 1843, established an essay writing competition on "The Best Mode of Establishing and Conducting Industrial Schools, Adapted to the Wants and Circumstances of an Agricultural Population" for a prize of £100. In 1845, six of the thirteen submissions were published.[49] In addition, Lord Shuttleworth's paper "Brief practical suggestions on the mode of organizing and conducting day-schools of industry, model farm schools, and normal schools as part of a system of education for the coloured races of the British colonies" had been forwarded to him by Lord Grey in 1846.

Grey and Elgin were in agreement as to the benefits and necessity of responsible government in the Canadian colony, and Messamore writes that Elgin seemed to have a genuine interest in being responsive to the needs and desires of the colonists,[50] though "even as Grey and Elgin supported reform and responsible government, both were committed to preserving a stable constitution in which the monarchy, aristocracy, and popular will would be held in balance. An executive council answerable to an elected assembly does not imply wholesale democracy."[51] They were also in agreement about the necessity of including a programme of practical, industrial, agricultural, and manual training in the curriculum of the colonized peoples of the West Indies.[52] Grey believed that this kind of education "not only makes labour intelligent and orderly, but creates new wants and desires, new activities, a love of employment, and an

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(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 33.

48. Ibid., 34.

49. *Six Essays on the Best Mode of Establishing and Conducting Industrial Schools, Adapted to the Wants and Circumstances of an Agricultural Population: Written for a Prize of One Hundred Pounds, Offered by his Excellency, The Earl of Elgin, Governor of Jamaica, in November, 1843* (London: Cowie, Jolland, & Co., 1845).

50. Messamore, *Canada's Governors General*, 39-41.

51. Ibid., 49.

52. M. Kazim Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education between 1846 and 1895* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1994), 121.

increased alacrity, both of the body and the mind."[53] The idea that manual labour schooling would create a love of, and desire for the values that the school was premised upon was prevalent in Shuttleworth's treatise. While Christianization was, as should by now be expected, a central component of this transformation, Shuttleworth put special emphasis on property ownership and a conceptual grasp of the value of an education in industry. However, alongside this emphasis on rational understanding and willing acquiescence, there was persistent reference to oversight and the subjection of the children to the constant supervision of the school staff: "From sunrise until sunset their life would be under the training and instruction of the master and mistress of the school."[54] Not only would the student's time be entirely occupied with instruction and self-improvement, they would at all times be under the surveillance of a figure of authority within the institution. Elgin was in favor of seeing industrial and manual labor schools in the colonies, as he found the education "now given in the schools is so superficial and so deficient in the characteristics of a moral discipline, that I have little faith in its efficacy as a means of raising the condition of the Peasantry."[55]

On August 18th, 1847, Major Thomas Edmund Campbell, civil secretary to Elgin and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, wrote to Colonel Clench, who was responsible for the Western Superintendency, newly formulated following the recommendations of the Bagot Commission, that Elgin had sanctioned the use of funds allocated for educational purposes by the Anishinaabeg of the Credit and Thames valley (the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation and the Chippewas of the Thames First Nation) and the Lunaapeew at Moraviantown (the

53. Quoted in Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, 121. It was, however, clear that an excessive emphasis on labour in the curriculum would discourage the West Indians from sending their children due to the association of labour with a state of being enslaved (Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, 143).
54. Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, 2.
55. Ibid., 8.

Delaware Nation at Moraviantown).[56] The school was to be "at all times open to the Inspection of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the District" and its purpose was to "imbue the rising generation with the love of Industry and order, and to wean them in so far as it may be possible to do so, from the _____ and desultory habits which they contract while residing with their Parents."[57] Towards this end, the schools should be continually expanded so as to include the greatest possible number of students, and should return the students to their Tribes with "simple and homely tastes and the habit of steady labor" achieved through the means of "economy in management, moderation in diet and clothing, and the carrying out of industrial training under such practical and intelligent regulation as may render the Farm attached to the School productive."[58]

The ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone of the building took place that month, July 17th, 1849. Jones wrote to Anderson three days later to report that the buildings would be completed within six weeks, and the school put in operation by Christmas, and that it had been decided to name the institution for Governor General Lord Elgin in honor of the interest he had taken in it.[59]

Organization of the Mount Elgin

Mount Elgin was situated on an elevation on the west bank of the Thames River, surrounded by, from all accounts, a variety of rich and productive soils,[60] well suited to the

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56. Major T.E. Campbell to Lieut. Colonel Clench, 18th August, 1847, Civil Secretary Office, Indian Department, vol 436, C-9633, RG 10. It should be noted that while Campbell gave the sum of £300, in the Annual Amount Subscribed to the Support of Manual Labour Schools, 1847, the amounts given were Moravians, £37.1, Chippewas of the Thames, £150, and Credit Mississauga, £130.12.6 (267: 163799-163807, Microform, 12,653, RG 10).
57. Ibid. (blank space indicates illegible word).
58. Ibid.
59. Peter Jones to T.G. Anderson, July 20, 1849, London, 405: 806, Microform C-9613, RG 10. I thank Donald Smith for this reference.
60. Report of Samuel Rose, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in

agricultural pursuits towards which the school would be oriented. The school featured classrooms in a two-story building, with apartments for staff above,[61] and dormitories for boarding students. A chapel was planned for from early in the school's history, and added between 1854 and 1855.[62] Rose's report to the Missionary Society for 1854-55 also referenced a Boys' and Girls' school, though it is not clear from descriptions in the documents under consideration here whether these were held in discrete buildings.[63] Unlike Alderville, at which some of the farmland was situated at a distance from the school, Mount Elgin's model farm surrounded the school's buildings.[64] Crops planted on the farm included corn, potatoes, spring and winter wheat,[65] hay, oats, and peas.[66] In addition, they raised cattle,[67] hogs and sheep.[68]

The number of children at the school varied from year to year: the number of boarders ranged from 13-61 and while records of day scholars are incomplete, those accessed for this study suggest there were between 20 and 40 annually (see appendices). Children were sent from the Mississauga of the Credit, the Deshkaan Ziibing, the Anishinaabeg living at St. Clair, the Anishinaabeg, Odawa and Potawatomi living at Walpole Island, and the Lunaapeew of Moraviantown. Rose's report of 1852-53 indicated that the number they were allowed to admit at

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Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, United Church Archives.

61. Joblin, Kingsley, *Servant to First Nations: A Biography of Elgie Joblin* (Downsview, Ontario: Northern Spirit Publications, 2002), 45.

62. Report of Samuel Rose, 30th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1854-55, xxii-xxiii, United Church Archives.

63. Ibid., xxiii.

64. R. Bruce to E. Wood, Indian Department, Quebec, 19th June, 1852, 27th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1851-1852, United Church Archives.

65. Rose to his nephew, May 21, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

66. Report of J. Ryerson, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, pp. xiii, United Church Archives. Ryerson indicated that the students and staff of the school had, at the time of his visit, harvested 20 acres of winter wheat, 22 bushels of oats, 12 bushels of peas, and 12 bushels of potatoes, and sown 27 bushels of spring wheat.

67. Rose to Talfourd, March 13, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

68. Report of J. Ryerson, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xiii, United Church Archives.

that time was 36, and various comments made over the first ten years indicate that the school regularly took more than they were funded to take, at one point even being commanded to let ten children go.[69] In his 1852 report to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Rose wrote that, "We have studied the utmost economy; performed a very great amount of self-imposed labor – the females manufacturing every article of clothing worn by the children, in order to bring the expenses as near as possible to the amount of income."[70] Despite this, he was overbudget. As the ledger also indicates, the school generally employed a male and female teacher, separating the children into classes according to gender, along with a principal, a farmer, and at least one individual to help with the cooking and cleaning at the institution.[71] Rose's letters indicate that when any of these positions were left vacant, it fell to him, his wife, and even his daughter to step in.[72]

At the school, the children were taught to read and write in English, along with geography and arithmetic.[73] According to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly, the national schoolbooks were read, and the children classed according to them.[74] More advanced students studied English grammar,[75] and in the 1856 Missionary report, Rose's successor, Rev. James

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69. The report on Mount Elgin issued April 2, 1857 notes that Wood at this point objected to there being 50 scholars at the school; 10 were sent home. Quarterly Report, Mount Elgin Industrial Institute, Muncey, April 2, 1857, R216-293-8-E, C9634 Microfilm, Reel 9644, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency.

70. Samuel Rose to Rev. E. Wood, General Superintendent of Missions, "Report for the Mount Elgin Industrial School," April 1852, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Correspondence, Canada West, 78.128C, Mic. D.8.2, 23, United Church Archives.

71. Rose to Talfourd, March 13, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

72. Rose referenced his daughter taking over the female teacher's duties for a period in his letter of July 28, 1855, stating that it was not a state of affairs that could be maintained (July 28, 1855: Rose to ?). In a letter written in April, 1856 to E Wood, Rose again noted that his wife and daughter were teaching, but that his wife was worn down and needed a break. Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

73. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54, xv, United Church Archives.

74. 1852, Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly.

75. Ibid.

Musgrove, reported that the teacher, Mr. Falkner, had introduced "rhetorical exercises."[76] While the boys were trained in farming and husbandry, according to the commissioners appointed to report on Indian affairs by Edmund Head later that decade, the girls were instructed in household affairs, management of dairy, needlework and domestic manufactures,[77] which included sewing and spinning, according to Rose's 1852 report.[78] Along with the religious instruction the students received during the week, on Sundays, they attended the Sabbath school held at Mount Elgin where they memorized Biblical verses.[79] Rose expressed a desire to hire a music teacher in 1855,[80] and though this did not seem to have occurred, Ryerson's report on the school notes that singing was also taught.[81] As the Head commissioners noted with regret, the boys at the institution were not taught any trades besides farming and animal husbandry.[82]

By 1863, it had been closed, most likely due to the increasing dilapidation of the buildings and dissatisfaction of attendees and their families, along with the persistently high costs of running the institution. Throughout its lifespan, there was a marked discrepancy between public reports and private exchanges relating to its operations.

Depictions of Mount Elgin

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76. Report of James Musgrove, 32nd Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1855-56, xxii, United Church Archives.

77. Report of the Special Commissioners appointed on the 8 September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada. Sessional Papers, 1858, Appendix 21, Ottawa, 1858, 96.

78. April 1852, "Report for the Mount Elgin Industrial School, in a Letter to the Rev. E. Wood, General Superintendent of Missions," Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Correspondence: Canada West., 78.128C, Mic., D.8.2, 23, UC Archives.

79. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54, xv, United Church Archives.

80. Rose to Talfourd, Sept. 27, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

81. Report of J. Ryerson, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xiii, United Church Archives.

82. Canada, Report of the Special Commissioners appointed on the 8 September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada. Sessional Papers, 1858, Appendix 21, Ottawa, 1858, 97.

The reports Rose submitted to the Methodist Missionary Society on the operations and progress of Mount Elgin for 1850-51 and 1851-52 were cheerful and richly infused with themes of near-extinction, salvation from savagery through conversion and education, and the necessity of willing participation in this process of salvation. In his report for 1850-51, Rose reported that the 34 children at the establishment appeared "happy and contented."[83] Though some had entered the institution illiterate he reported that all could, at the time of reporting, read; their productivity was evidenced by their success in producing hundreds of articles of clothing, as indicated above.[84] Rose submitted that,

> Every effort that can possibly be made is put forth in humble reliance on Divine aid to break up their indolent and irregular habits, and to implant in them a love of order and industry, for unless this can be accomplished, with all the mental, moral, and religious culture that can possibly be given them, they will leave our schools to resume the chase: and, as others have done, wander in idleness, form vicious associations, contract evil habits, and, with their decreased and decreasing nations, fade away before the face of improved and improving society.[85]

These themes were repeated in the report for 1851-1852, which Rose opened by granting the institution world-historical significance:

> …the education of these youths has been regarded by me as a work of no ordinary character; an education solemnly important in its connection with the future, with unborn periods of time; *time* that shall belong to and be occupied by others, and with eternity itself…. From this class is to spring a generation, who will either perpetuate the manners and customs of their ancestors, or being intellectually, morally and religiously *elevated*, take their stand among the improved, intelligent nations of the earth, act their part in the great drama of the world's doing; or through want of the necessary qualifications, to take their place and perform their part, be despised and pushed off the stage of action and

83. 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xi, United Church Archives.
84. Ibid. xi.
85. Ibid. xii.

cease to be![86]

In this opening passage, Rose reiterated the connection established by predecessors such as Maitland, Colborne, Kempt, Jones and Ryerson between education, salvation, and participation in the polity. Standing among the "improved, intelligent nations of the earth" required an intellectual, moral, and religious transformation; religious conversion alone was insufficient and had to be accompanied by a transformation of the sources of knowledge, traditions and values from which these individuals drew. He went on to ask what would "qualify them for the great purposes of their being?" and answered by suggesting that it would have to be an education that was "*moral, religious, intellectual,* and *social*" [emphasis his].[87]

Rose followed this by discussing the obstructions that would have to be removed in order to clear the way for this kind of education. He lamented that students were not received at the school until they had already acquired harmful habits and practices, the removal of which was a work of time, accomplished only through the "sanctifying word" of God: "Hence," he wrote, "every effort is made to make them *believingly* and practically acquainted with his word. To this we go *with them* for our authority for every prohibition, as well as every duty, moral, religious, intellectual, and civil, enforced and required to be performed" [emphasis his].[88] Again, Rose emphasized the necessity of the students willingly adhering to the regulations and practices of the institutions because they understood that institutional directives derived from God's will. The necessity of their instructors modeling this behavior, of going "with them" to this source of authority was extended to the example they would set for others upon their return to their

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86. Report of Samuel Rose, 28th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1851-52, x-xi.
87. Ibid. xi.
88. Ibid. xi.

communities. "There is an increasing desire, on the part of those Indians best acquainted with the workings of the Institution, to have their children admitted… The improved appearance of the children in the Institution, creates in the minds of their old associates a desire to be like them…".[89] In Rose's representation of the school's activities and achievements, desire for participation in Mount Elgin's activities was both the means and the end; through a desire to participate, the students would succeed, and their success would produce among others the same desire.

In an early letter to his brother, Rose was optimistic about the school. He referred to the children of the school as his family, writing "I am thankful to our heavenly Parent that my family are pretty well! I have a much larger family than when you visited us in Dundas. They all at present number 45, and with the opening of Spring expect some 8 or 10 more."[90] He also noted that "not less than 4 languages" were spoken at the school. Of the curriculum, Rose wrote that while the languages and more ordinary branches of education were taught, "what is of the greatest importance, next to the Religion of Christ, and what cannot be learned in most, if in any, of our other Provincial educational establishments – how to work – and to love to work."[91]

By his 1852-53 report to the Methodist Society, Rose assumed a somewhat less positive tone. The Institution had reached "an important epoch": some of the students who had studied were now graduating, but Rose bemoaned the lack of opportunity that awaited them. "But where shall they go?" he asked; "Back to the wretched abodes of misery and filth, to be again associated with, and influenced by ignorance and indolence? Can those who have been elevated intellectually, morally, and socially, again find companionship in the degraded ones they had left

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89. Ibid. xi.
90. Samuel Rose to John Rose, from Mt Elgin, March 7, 1851. Archives of Ontario, 5387/6615. Reference code F775 Samuel Rose Correspondence. MU2105/B277496. I thank Donald Smith for sharing this source.
91. Ibid.

behind…? *Never*."[92] He somewhat obliquely suggested that while there were the means to make available land that could be privately settled by graduates, there was not the will: "Representations to those who have the superintendency of Indian affairs have been made; and we hope, not made in vain…".[93] It would seem Rose had some success as the following year, he reported that the Head of the Indian Department had promised that each youth who had completed their course of instruction and maintained "a good character" could possibly receive from £15 to £20 to support them in settling among their people.[94] However, the report for 1853-54 was focused on a different issue: how to break up the "indolent, irregular, and vicious propensities" of his students.[95]

Order, Isolation and Habituation

While the importance of the desire for transformation was thematically central in Rose's reports and letters, of equal importance was the necessity of order and the need for constant surveillance. In his first report on the school to the Missionary Society, Rose described the daily routine:

> REGULATIONS. – The bell rings at five o'clock in the morning, when the children rise, wash, dress, and are made ready for breakfast. At half-past five they breakfast; after which they all assemble in the large School-room and unite in reading the Scriptures, singing and prayer. From six till nine the boys are employed and taught to work on the farm, and the girls in the house. At nine, they enter their Schools. At twelve, they dine and spend the remaining time till one in recreation. At one they enter School, where they are taught till half-past three, after which they resume their manual employment till six. At six, they sup and again unite in reading the Scriptures, singing and prayer. In the winter season the boys are engaged in the Evening School, and the girls are taught

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92. Report of Samuel Rose, 28th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1852-53, United Church Archives, xi.

93. Ibid.

94. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54, xv, United Church Archives.

95. Ibid.

needlework till nine, when all retire to rest. They are never left alone, but are constantly under the eye of some of those engaged in this arduous work.[96]

Constant engagement in productive activity coupled with constant supervision were the means by which old habits would be broken and the "love of order and industry" referenced above instilled.[97] Rose's 1852 report to Wood cited this state of perpetual watchfulness as his instrument of achieving "the moral and religious improvement of the remnant of the Aboriginal tribes."[98] They watched over the children day and night, in and outside the school room, even during "innocent recreation," ensuring that the first intimation of "irregular practice" was quashed:

> During the year now closed I have endeavoured to keep constantly in view the object contemplated in the establishment of this Institution – the moral and religious improvement of the remnant of the Aboriginal Tribes, who have been led to contribute to the establishment and support of the Industrial Institution…. To accomplish this no pains or labor has been spared; but, while watching over them by day and by night, checking the first development of every irregular practice, and presenting every possible incentive to the acquisition of good and useful knowledge, and the love of virtuous and industrious habit, not only in the School and Lecture room but it the field and by the way side, when employed and when allowed an hour of innocent recreation, an increasing effort has been put forth to keep constantly before them 'whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report,' that they might think on them and be led to imitate them.[99]

In his 1853-54 report, Rose emphasized how religious instruction was integrated into this regime again through the constancy of its presentation, but additionally through recourse to the

96. 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xi-xii, United Church Archives.
97. Ibid., xii.
98. April 1852, Samuel Rose to Enoch Wood, "Report for the Mount Elgin Industrial School, in a Letter to the Rev. E. Wood," Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Correspondence: Canada West., 78.128C, Mic., D.8.2, 23, United Church Archives.
99. Samuel Rose to Rev. E. Wood, General Superintendent of Missions, April 1852, "Report for the Mount Elgin Industrial School," Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Correspondence: Canada West., 78.128C, Mic., D.8.2, 23, United Church Archives.

consequences of ignoring the word of God: "they have by every possible means, been taught the Holy Scriptures, led to the Cross, made to listen to the warning voice of God – laid under the strictest moral discipline, while the blessing of God, the renewing power of Heaven has been unceasingly implored."[100] Through these means "Deep concern in many has been awakened…".[101]

Despite this, Rose's differentiation of simple exposure to scripture from a heartfelt commitment to its message reflected the standard and complicated relationship within Methodism between submission to external authority and elective conversion, as outlined in chapters four and five. While exposure to scripture and the "warning voice of God" may awaken deep concern, this was not tantamount to conversion. He wrote in his report for 1852-53 that the students' "religious knowledge is becoming such as to lead us to hope, that while practicing religious duties, they will become experimentally and savingly acquainted with Christ."[102] Nonetheless, exposure to Biblical precepts and repetition were the chief means through which this end was to be achieved. The unceasing study of scripture was particularly in evidence in Rose and Musgrove's enumeration of the number of verses learned in the industrial school, Bible Class and Sabbath School.[103]

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100. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54, xv, United Church Archives.

101. Ibid.

102. Report of Samuel Rose, 28th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1852-53, xi.

103. Report of James Musgrove, 35th Annual Meeting of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, 1860-61, United Church Archives, xviii. "Over 11,919 verses of the Scriptures were committed to memory, and recited, in English, on the Sabbaths," according to Rose's report for 1854-1855 (Report of Samuel Rose, 30th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1854-55, pp. xxiii, United Church Archives). Musgrove documented the memorization and recitation of 7513 verses by students in the Sabbath school in his 1857-58 report (Report of James Musgrove, 32nd Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1857-58, United Church Archives, xxiii) and in his 1860-61 report, reported that one boy in particular had recited "upwards of nine hundred verses" over six months (Report of James Musgrove, 36th Annual Meeting of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, 1860-61, United Church Archives, xviii).

Another key strategy employed at the school was isolation from family and community. As Rose's comments to his brother quoted above suggest, he perceived the school to be the children's new family and was very loathe to allow the children to return to their parents for visits. In 1855, Rose responded in a letter to Froome Talfourd to what seemed to have been a request that he send a student, Elizabeth Isaac, home to be returned three weeks later. Rose did not have confidence that her parents would send her back, as they had once before tried to remove her.[104] "But to have them only a little while," he wrote to Talfourd, "and just as they begin to learn to have them go away discourages us – and has led me to resolve that unless the parents and Chiefs put a stop to it I shall give up the work." He concluded with the opinion that another runaway should have been punished and made to return.[105] A month later, he wrote, possibly with reference to Elizabeth Isaac again, "I cannot in justice, to the Institution and to the Girl herself, allow the old woman to take her away. We have had no small trouble with her, in cleaning and curing her of her fits. And now that she's well, and doing well, to let her go at large would be her ruin."[106] In the same letter, he declares that if another runaway is not punished by his father and returned, "he is ruined."

In Rose's letters and reports, interactions with family or community were constituted as a

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104. Rose to Talfourd, Aug. 20, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives. Similarly, a few days before this, Rose wrote to another father in Walpole denying his request that his son return to work for him, writing: "Sir, I cannot comply with your request to let your son, Henry, come and work for you. This would lead to the breaking up of the Institution for if one goes, whenever called on, so another, and thus continued interruption would be the consequence. The Governor would blame me. I let Philip go only because he says his mother is a widow and cannot provide for his cattle. But even this will have to be put a stop to. I will make inquiry about your wife, and write you again. § Henry is doing well and when he has finished his education the Government has promised to give some money to enable him to commence farming among his people." (S Rose to ?, Walpole, Aug 16, 1855, R216-293-8-E, C9634 Microfilm, Reel 9644, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency, Western Superintendency 1825-1909, Archives Canada.)
105. Ibid.
106. Sept, 27, 1855, Rose to Talfourd, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

kind of pollution, the effects of which it was the school's task to eradicate.[107] Robert Bruce,

Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, was blunt on this count in the letter that accompanied

Rose's 1851-52 report to the Missionary Society, writing:

> There seems to be good reason to hope that the effort to unite intellectual and industrial education, and to wean the Indian children from the peculiar habits and pursuits of their race, may, if prosecuted with the zeal and judgment, which have characterized the labours of the Rev. Messrs. Rose and Case, be attended with success.[108]

This "weaning" took the form of the practices that have so far been discussed – constant

exposure to Christian scripture and doctrine, an education in subjects such as the English

language and Western practices such as needlework and farming, isolation from their home

communities, and the allotment of private plots to farm upon graduation (never granted, as far as

the author is aware) – and additionally, the requirement that the children wear Western dress.

The commitment of Rose, Bruce and Wood to Western forms of education, the necessity

of conversion, and the importance of acquiring their students early, before habits they perceived

to be negative had formed, mirrored the vision for the schools that Peter Jones had articulated in

the 1830s and 40s. However, their patronizing attitude towards the students and their families,

and their negative assessment not of particular individuals, but of the "Indian race" in general,

did not. As we saw in chapter five, Jones frequently articulated Christian concepts using

metaphors familiar to his Indigenous audiences and worked to maintain central aspects of his

people's heritage such as control over ancestral land. Rose, on the other hand, fell back on a

conceptualization of the characteristics of the "Indian race" to explain what had gone wrong as

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107. 27th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1851-1852, United Church Archives, xi.
108. Ibid., xii.

his tenure as principal of the school drew to a close, and his frustration with the school and its

inhabitants increased. In response to a complaint that appeared to have been made against him,

he wrote to Talfourd, "This I know, they are an ungrateful race! – Five years of toil and sacrifice,

personal and domestic, by night and by day, to save their race merits something better!"[109] Two

months prior, he had expressed his disappointment in a letter to Peter Jones that the Credit

Mississauga had not been in communication with him about sending their children, asking,

"when will our Indian friends understand what is for their interest?" [emphasis his].[110]

Navigating Bureaucracy

The ambivalent relationship some students, parents, and communities appeared to hold

towards the institution should not have been so perplexing to Rose given his own ambivalence

towards the school by the end of his tenure as principal. Though Rose communicated frustrations

towards the students, by far the topic that most consumed his attention in the pages of the one

letterbook held in the United Church Archives was his struggle with the Indian Department to

obtain the resources that had been promised either to himself or to the tribes on whose lands the

school was situated.[111] By January 1855, the date at which the letterbook opens and the

beginning of his fifth year as principal, Rose was clearly running out of patience with his

inability to obtain funds promised for repairs to, and the operation of the school. That January, he

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109. May 15, 1855, Rose to Talfourd, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

110. March 8, 1855, Rose to Jones, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

111. For example, in one of the last letters from Rose in the 1854-1862 letterbook, he continues into an inquiry into lost papers to Lunaapeew land, writing that Col. Clench is deceased and imploring, "What else can the Indians do? Could not an act be obtained making good to title on the Indian Department for the Indians!" (S. Rose to S.G. Chester, April 30, 1857, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives). See also letters between S. Rose and Col. Clench, R216-293-8-E, C9634 and 9644 Microfilm, Correspondence of Superintendents, Western Superintendency.

wrote to Wood:

> One quarter more, and the current year will be ended, and yet not the first 'red penny' from the Dept. toward the support of the Institution or the repairs of the Building, or the erection of the Wing to the Institution! Is this what the Supt. Gen. of Indian Affairs called payment in advance! The parties from whom I purchased the Brick and Lumber for the Wing have not been quite willing to take this kind of payment in advance from me – 'But why should a living man complain?'. [emphasis his][112]

A series of complaints ensued over the following year and a half. In Rose's letters, both the Missionary Society and the Indian Department were to blame for deficits identified by Rose. Funding for a church Enoch Wood had pressed to have built, and for which Wood had requested Bruce sanction contributions towards, was not forthcoming.[113] Employees of the school had not received compensation promised by the Department,[114] and Rose complained that the compensation they were able to offer teachers was so poor that they could not compete with provincial schools for competent instructors.[115] In April of 1856, Rose complained again that he had not that year received any funds from the Indian Department and was owed more than £1,000,[116] as a result of which he had apparently had to take a loan to cover the cost of necessary repairs[117] and to pay again out of his own pocket.[118] The extent of his annoyance with the Department is apparent in his letter to Wood of May 12, 1856:

> I take the refusal of the Gen (?) to give a deuse as a determination not to pay. And if I am to be ___ to the amount of £921 in addition to all my toil and the labour of my family in

112. Rose to E Wood, Jan. 20, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.
113. S. Rose to P. Jones, Feb. 20, 1855, ibid.
114. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, March 13, 1855, ibid. See also S. Rose to F. Talfourd, May 17, 1856 in which Rose complains of an interpreter who had yet to be paid.
115. S. Rose to E. Wood, April 2 (?), 1856, ibid.
116. S. Rose to John Sunday, April 28, 1856, ibid.
117. S. Rose to E. Wood, May 12, 1856, ibid.
118. S. Rose to Mr Chisley (?) of the Toronto Indian Department, May 21, 1856, ibid.

boarding all the men while working at the Buildings, and that too after the voluntary promise of Col. Bruce to pay for 'one wing' and the repairs <u>which he ordered to be made in the old Buildings, when he was here</u>… I shall first seek a decision of a jury and if necessary of a Court of Equity. [emphasis his][119]

Clearly, in addition to the aggravation of not being paid adequately to maintain the functioning of the institution, Rose's frustrations derived from the fact that some of the costs were attributable to administrators who made decisions on behalf of the institution but could not be held responsible.

Rose's frustration with the colonial bureaucracy was also evident in his attempts to mediate between settlers, Crown officials, and the Lunaapeew, Anishinaabeg and Onyota'a:ka (Oneida) of the Thames valley. The conflicts fell into two categories: either Rose was reporting the suffering of people who had not received money or resources, or he was asking for support in staving off the illegal intrusions of white settlers. Between 1855 and 1857, Rose sent letters seeking redress for a wide variety of complaints: there had been delays in the dispersion of funds to the "Indians on the Thames," as a result of which they could not purchase hay, and some number of their cattle had already died;[120] the Onyota'a:ka had not received payment for land they had title to in the United States;[121] the allocation of seed owed by the Crown took place so late that the season for sowing had passed by the time communications were opened with the tribes about the matter;[122] surveys required for land negotiations were not completed;[123] and titles to land were withheld.[124] In June of 1855, Rose sent a particularly desperate letter to Froome Talfourd, successor to Col. Clench, on behalf of the Lunaapeew, Deshkan Ziibiing,

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119. S. Rose to E. Wood, May 12, 1856, ibid. His annoyance is also apparent in the state of his handwriting in this letter, which appeared to have been rendered large, messy and difficult to decipher by his emotional state.
120. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, Feb. 26, 1855, ibid.
121. S. Rose to Burchard (Attorney), March 8, 1855, ibid.
122. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, May 4, 1855, ibid.
123. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, June 27, 1856, ibid.
124. S. Rose to S.G. Chester, April 30, 1857, ibid.

Kanien'kehá:ka and "Powrahwat"[125] at the Thames:

> The Indians here are destitute of food, and the Chiefs beg that you will pay the balance of their account to them as soon as possible. There are some sick ones among them, and some old ones, that have to be provided for immediately, or suffer, if not die! The high price of food puts it out of the power of these poor creatures to provide for themselves and children. I have been obliged to purchase food for the sick and aged out of my own funds.[126]

Rose's tone of helplessness illuminates the position the peoples he lived among faced: subject to the burden of inflation but unable to act without the Crown's approval to access or spend their funds, they turned to the most immediate colonial representative, Rose, who could take no action besides drafting letters and paying for resources out of his own pocket.[127]

The same tone of helplessness marked letters regarding relations with settlers. He described situations in which whites took possession of Indigenous land and resources, expressing frustration that his overtures to Crown representatives had come to nothing.[128] However, while Rose argued for recognition of Indigenous title to their land and resources,[129] he was undoubtedly in support of the Crown's policy of transitioning towards private property ownership, and was inconsistent in the feelings he expressed in relation to Indigenous control over their resources. In one case, a white settler had entered upon Lunaapeew land, burned the encampment of four Lunaapeew, taken forcible possession of their sugar bushes, and then commenced cutting valuable timber.[130] Receiving no response from Talfourd, he had reached out to Jones and the two had settled the affair. Recounting its resolution to Talfourd, Rose mused

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125. It is unclear to which tribe Rose refers in this letter.
126. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, June 5, 1855, ibid.
127. Rose was also tasked with paying out annuities, as in S. Rose to F. Talfourd April 19, 1855, ibid.
128. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, March 8, 1855, ibid. re Lunaapeew sugarbushes; S. Rose to F. Talfourd, May 15, 1855, ibid. re Moravian timber being cut.
129. S. Rose to S.G. Chester, April 30, 1857, ibid.
130. S. Rose to P. Jones, March 8, 1855, ibid.

that, "it appears clear to us, that the completion of the Survey, long since commenced, under Col. Clench, and the limiting of each family in their operations, to their own lot; as well as their being prevented selling timber to white men, is absolutely necessary to prevent future difficulties."[131] Yet, in another case, he was asked by Chiefs of an unspecified tribe to use their annuities to pay off a debt owed to a settler, and to use the remaining balance to help the aged, and communicated his annoyance that what seemed like an entirely reasonable proposition could not be carried out. "For them" he wrote to Talfourd "I could not do either without your authority but must divide it."[132]

Despite a tacit (and at times explicit) recognition of the pressures of white settlement and the stultifying effects of the British colonial administration's bureaucratic structure on Indigenous efforts, Rose reproduced this bureaucratic structure on a smaller scale in Mount Elgin. He was subject to a regimen of recording and reporting, and to budgetary and performance requirements by officers who were disconnected from the reality of the school's operations, and of whom Rose could demand nothing – who could not be held to account where resources they were supposed to provide in return were not made available, or decisions they made turned out to be untenable or damaging. Similarly, Rose, disconnected from the reality of the children's lives prior to arriving at the institution, subjected them to a regime of work, study, and worship and a life in isolation from their families and communities. As we have seen in his responses to parents who wished to remove their children from the school, his decisions about the students superseded, and did not have to take account of their or their families' feelings. The extent to which he replicated the colonial administration's tendency to view the school as a budgetary obligation rather than focusing on the children in their specificity is demonstrated by his

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131. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, March 27, 1855, ibid.
132. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, May 4, 1855, ibid.

tendency to report on "the institution" rather than the children. For instance, a new teacher was predicted to do well for "the institution".[133] Later when the same teacher announced his intention to depart, Rose commented that "The School is doing well and unless as good a teacher is [found] to take his place the Institution will suffer."[134]

Conclusion

Rose's stated hopes for the institution align more closely with what has been described throughout this dissertation, following Taylor's typology, as the positive strategy. His emphasis on a believing acquaintance with God's word and willing dedication to the lessons put before students suggests he viewed the development of personal attributes of virtue as requiring a personal and internal transformation. Rose viewed his duties as principal – the requirement to account for each penny spent, to record and report, to regularize his actions and those of his students, and to heed the demands of his overseers – as an extension of his Christian duty. He reflected on this in a letter to his nephew in 1855: "We are trying hard to lead them all [the students] to serve God, and some of them are trying to do so. We try to follow Christ ourselves that they may take us for examples…. If we neglect God, God will neglect us, when we most need him."[135] His faith had done for Rose what he so wished for it to do for his students. He was a willing participant in a sanctioned set of relations, committed not because an external figure of authority told him to be, but because he believed it was in his interests, and that it was God's will. The hardships and sacrifices he felt he and his wife and family had endured were to his

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133. S. Rose to ?, Aug. 25, 1855, ibid. Similarly his comment that "I cannot in justice, to the Institution and to the Girl herself, allow the old woman to take her away. We have had no small trouble with her, in cleaning and curing her of her fits. And now that she's well, and doing well, to let her go at large would be her ruin" (S. Rose to F. Talfourd, Sept, 27, 1855, ibid.). In another example, Rose reported to Sunday only that, "The Institution is doing well" (S. Rose to John Sunday, April 28, 1856).
134. S. Rose to E. Wood April 2 (?), 1856, ibid.
135. S. Rose to his nephew, May 21, 1855, ibid.

mind providential – the sacrifices of a Christian rather than an employee.[136]

However, his letters and reports underscore the extent to which deference to authority and regimentation infused the bureaucracy surrounding the institution from the Governor General down to the attendees.[137] As such, the actual practices employed at the school reflect the innocentizing strategy described in the previous chapter. The regimentation, individualization, isolation and homogenization, in addition to the emphasis on productivity and preparation for types of labour suited to one's future class position within the social hierarchy all reflect the instrumental rationality of the positive strategy. Students were positioned to relate to the collectivity through their usefulness to it and to one another through the mutual dependencies of economic necessity.[138] One indication of this, in keeping with themes developed in chapter three, is Rose's frequent references to the school as the students' new family and the students' communities and actual families as a source of contagion from which students had to be isolated in order to achieve and maintain well-being. Syd Pauls points out the particular significance of this for Indigenous children whose social system was built on family and ceremonies that were taught through transmission to successive generations.[139] This new family was not a substitute for conceptualizations of family belonging common to either Indigenous or eighteenth-century Anglo-European conceptualizations. The conceptualization of the family of which Rose partook was distinct from that represented by the Family Compact in which one was positioned within the collectivity via one's personal connections and embeddedness in extended kinship relations.[140] In this family context, one was prepared for entrance into society not through

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136. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, May 15, 1855, ibid.
137. Per Bear Nicholas's reference to the "hidden curriculum" of the institution noted previously ("Canada's colonial mission," 19, 21).
138. Vaughan, *Social Conflict and Educational Change*, 16-17, 70.
139. Pauls, "Racism and Native Schooling," 30.
140. Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family," 286.

interpersonal connections but through economic relations.

Weber's "abstract regularity of the execution of authority"[141] suffused the entire network of relations surrounding the schools.[142] Rose represented himself to be a model to the students in his manifestation of faith and moral conduct, but he modeled the subject position he desired the students to inhabit in his subjection to the bureaucracy he was situated in. He was positioned in his church's hierarchy and the administrative hierarchy of the colony just as he positioned the students underneath himself and the teachers he had hired; the inspection of his thoughts and actions was mandated by Methodism's structure of class meetings and personal examination, but also by the colonial administration, whose superintendents regularly visited and themselves reported on the school's operations, and who demanded and reviewed Rose's reports. My purpose here is not to make the argument that missionaries or administrators who worked among the Indigenous populations of Upper Canada and who cared to consider the well-being of the peoples with whom they worked suffered equally within the bureaucratic structure to which they were all subjected. Rather, I wish to show how whether it was the school, the church, or the Indian department, power was manifested less in the form of who specifically commanded or obeyed, than in how the process worked, "the mode of the relation" as Gauchet and Swain argue.

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141. Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* eds. Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 224.

142. "Seeking the origins of hierarchical organizations in technical necessity obscures the political interests of bureaucratic cadres and state servants, while it ignores or overshadows the specifically educational elements of bureaucratic arrangements themselves. For no bureaucracy can function unless those subject to it adopt specific attitudes, habits, beliefs, and orientations; attitudes to authority, habits of punctuality, regularity, and consistency, beliefs about the abstract nature and legitimacy of authority and expertise: orientations to rules and procedures. These attitudes, habits, beliefs, and orientations do not themselves spring into existence out of technical necessity; they are the products of complex and protracted social conflicts. Such character traits… were the conscious objectives of those interested in 'training the people for representative government.'" (Curtis, *True Government by Choice*, 174)

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have argued that analyzing discourses related to manual labour and industrial schools introduced in Upper Canada between 1820 and 1860 using the framework of the symbolic regime allows us to more clearly see how the schools are connected with processes of democratization. The symbolic regime operative in any particular period gives us a representation of division through which we order relations within a collectivity. It gives us a principle of the representability of power that resonates in how a collectivity imagines access to truth, establishes and reinforces law and authorizes claims to power over others. The democratic symbolic in the modern Western European and North American settler context is characterized by dispersion. Unlike the symbolic of the *ancien régime*, in which the discharge of power at every level of the social hierarchy replicated the rendering of power in the body of the sovereign, the democratic symbolic was (is) characterized by its diffuseness. Within the democratic symbolic, no single individual has privileged access to power. The distribution of sovereign power among a population means that any representation of the power of the people, whether in the outcome of a vote or claims to knowledge of the will of the people, will be inadequate in that it is not capable of capturing the diversity of interests, perspectives and desires of the individuals constitutive of the population.

It is in this sense that Lefort and Gauchet speak of the opening of the space of the social. In the period prior to the modern democratic symbolic, society was not known separate from its status as the body politic among western European peoples. The idea that a people might reformulate itself according to ideas from within - according to self-generated conceptualizations of social well-being - was unthinkable, or if thinkable, blasphemous. To know a people was to

know God and Crown. Once collective being is not circumscribed by sovereign power, it becomes a thing to be known and a thing with a logic potentially separate from that of the operation of political power. Again, though, the framework of the symbolic emphasizes how the social imaginary reflects a constitutive division within a particular symbolic regime that impacts not only ideas of the collective but real interactions and relations within a collective. Thus, the idea of the collective as a thing to be known in the abstract, to be studied - as a thing with laws of functioning that have stable effects on the individual that can be known and predicted - is replicated in relations between individuals throughout the collective. The individual is not only known by others as an abstraction within the space of society but related to as an abstraction acting according to principles of order (established by the moral or natural sciences), or in the case where they are not acting according to those principles, known through the lens of pathology and the question of why they are not acting according to those principles.

If in theory, the democratic symbolic spins off a million particles circulating freely according to principles of their own design, in practice the principles of social order imagined by missionaries, jurists, bureaucrats, philosophers, scientists, the colonial elite and so on have locked individuals into circuits of belief and behavior that seem as unassailable as the laws of physics. The very absence of division (between the visible and the invisible, the external and the internal, power and its source) opens the possibility of an undifferentiated sameness. Freedom is demonstrated not by acting according to one's judgment even if the action is non-normative and sociability is demonstrated not by fostering kinship and community relations, as was demonstrated by the dismantling of Indigenous communities via the instrument of the residential schools. This is not because the instituting of democratic social formations in the modern era is inconsistent with its staging but because the democratic symbolic situates the division of

order/disorder within the self and institutionalizes the individual against the chaos of nature (to

call upon Gauchet's framing of the symbolic division referenced in chapter one) by asserting the

self as the agent of order and stability. Gauchet writes that:

> Once we are freed from any external indebtedness, brought back into the circle of identity, and forced to face ourselves, the organizing principle turns out to be the other in ourselves, whether we are dealing with the social relation, the intra-intersubjective relation, or the relationship to reality…. The heart of what makes the human-social possible is the enigmatic ability to divide oneself off from both the self and from the nonself, which structurally speaking is always the same, whether the division relates to power, consciousness, or work. [1]

The work of the manual labour and industrial boarding schools as they were imagined in the

nineteenth century was to generate a subject that would find the principle of order within their

own person and cast out, preferably of their own volition, that which signified chaos and

disorder.

In the earliest decade of the period under consideration here, the colonial administrators

central to asserting the necessity of education and civilization as key to managing relations

between Indigenous people and settlers cannot be considered to have fully left the *ancien régime*

matrix. Figures such as Maitland, Colborne, Kempt and Bathurst were committed to preserving

the Crown as the center of authority and order in the colonies. However, their emphasis on

internal orientations toward the Crown and willing acceptance of markers of civilization such as

private property ownership, and their invocation of society suggest a reorientation of the

symbolic division outlined above. For example, we saw in chapter two Maitland's assertion that

the people of the Six Nation Haudenosaunee Confederacy would heartily embrace the four step

plan he laid out to Bathurst in 1821 once they saw that it was in their interests. [2] He wrote that the

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1. Gauchet, *Disenchantment of the World*, 166.
2. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.

plan would make them "truly Christians" inclined to give up their traditional way of living, and that they would thereby become "useful members of society."[3] Darling argued that the role of the British governmental administrative apparatus in relation to the Indigenous population should be "encouraging their disposition to settle into useful subjects."[4] Dalhousie referenced certain tribes of Lower Canada who were accustomed to "social life" and opposed these tribes to those who "are in no degree civilized" and "live by war and hunting"[5] In the words of these administrators, the social is the space of political power and the individual is the lever by which power would be operationalized.

For colonial administrators, philanthropists, educational reformers and missionaries, educational institutions designed to segregate students and educate them in the beliefs and values of settlers constituted a space within which the individual could be "shaped in the likeness of others."[6] Removed from their families and communities, stripped of clothing and hairstyle that signified their identity, prohibited from using the language and cultural references that constituted their way of understanding the world, the students of manual labour and industrial boarding schools such as Mount Elgin were to be reconstituted in the form of "useful subjects." As Chrisjohn and Young argue, the institutions were designed to, "eliminate as far as possible any external sign of difference between Aboriginal title holders and Euro-Canadian-Come Lately's…. homogenization strengthens the governmental fiction that Aboriginals are 'another

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3. Peregrine Maitland to Henry Bathurst, 29 November, 1821, PRO CO 42/365, Colonial Office Records, Canada.
4. H.C. Darling to Lord Dalhousie, 24 July, 1828, Quebec, in Great Britain, Colonial Office, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834, for, copies or extracts of all such reports from the governors or lieutenant-governors of British possessions in north America, and of the answers thereto, as may throw light on the present state of the Indian tribes resident in His Majesty's dominions in North America, or in any adjacent territories, and also upon the present state of the Indian Department in Upper and Lower Canada," 1834, CIHM series no. 9_01017, 30.
5. Lord Dalhousie to Mr. Secretary Huskisson, 22 November 1827, "Indian tribes (North America, New South Wales, van Diemen's Land and British Guiana) return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834," 6.
6. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 177.

part of Canadian society'…".[7] And such institutions reflect the manner in which the bonds of belonging and connection were forged within the democratic symbolic emerging in Upper Canada in the early nineteenth century.

The transition from the *ancien régime* to the democratic symbolic was not sudden, complete or identical in varying contexts. In the preceding chapters, I have used the work of Charles Taylor and the historical specifics of Upper Canada to explore the philosophical and social underpinnings of this transition in the Canadian context. Within the democratic symbolic emerging in this context, individuals are united not as links in the "chain of being" characteristic of the *ancien régime*, nor via the axis of kinship but *as individuals*, united with others through bonds of abstract connectivity. Taylor describes two sometimes competing manifestations of this - shared sympathies and mutual interdependence[8] - observable in discussions of the form and function of manual labour and industrial boarding schools. For Methodist missionaries such as Peter Jones, all of humanity was to be "united in heart" through a love of God and commitment to Christian precepts.[9] While for Methodist proponents of the schools, the path to salvation was via the discovery and nurturing of inherent capacities, the Bagot Commissioners followed in the direction of earlier colonial administrators in emphasizing self-perfection via pursuit of self-interest. Our passions and desires are not to be dismissed and disparaged but seen as the path to the perfection of our condition, both internal and external. Both approaches framed self-perfection as the path to collective connection and well-being and both cast their particular ideas of self-perfection as universal, the ground of social order and aligned with God's will.

I have gone to pains to point out these variations in part because they are themes in the

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7. Chrisjohn and Young, *Circle Game*, 4.7.
8. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 249-251.
9. Peter Jones to Eliza Field, April 9, 1833, Credit Mission, File 5, Box 3, Copies of Letter Book: 1833-1846, Peter Jones Fonds, Victoria University.

conceptualization of early residential schools in Upper Canada but also because they continue to be invoked in arguments for the benefits or correctness of what Taylor would call "exclusive humanism" in Canada today. If the settler population in Canada believes itself to be past the social imaginary that gave rise to the residential school system, this analysis would suggest otherwise. Similarly, the universalizing oneness of the democratic symbolic raises issues manifested in the residential school system that we have not yet moved past. For Lefort, the symbolic establishes "a division which institutes a common space…" by manifesting a representation of the whole.[10] The modern democratic symbolic asserts the impossibility of such a representation. Power belongs to all and therefore belongs to none; any representation of the power of the people is immediately undone by the jostling of the crowd in the aftermath of any representation of the whole. While this gives rise to the potential for productive conflict and the proliferation of difference, as we have seen, it more often devolves into a drive toward homogenization. As Lefort points out, problems arise within the democratic symbolic where political competition cannot give form and meaning to divisions within society. The result is a vacuum within which individuals can't identify themselves or others and can't identify themselves with others: "In these extreme situations, representations which can supply an index of social unity and identity become invested with a fantastic power, and the totalitarian adventure is under way."[11] If the symbolic division is a mechanism for establishing order in the midst of chaos, the absence of division can feel like chaos. Newly formulated divisions such as savage/civilized could be rendered consistent with an egalitarian ethos in that they suggested the possibility of transformation and salvation in the movement from savage to civilized; when tied to the static characteristic of race they constituted a fixed foundation for belonging and

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10. Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory*, 225.
11. Ibid., 233.

exclusion.

If abstract individualism was the grounds of dehumanization in the sense of treating the individual as a data point or social node in a network not necessarily formed of actual interpersonal connection, the constitution of civilization in contrast to savagery laid the groundwork for dehumanization in the sense of lacking in the feelings and sensibilities of humans; akin to animals and therefore justifiably treated as such. There is some question as to whether the residential school system might have had a different outcome had racism and the framework of civilization/savagery not been operative. It may be the case that the physical brutality of the system and unconscionable number of deaths might have been avoided. I argue that the sociocultural brutality of the system would have unfolded, nonetheless. Manual labour and industrial boarding schools, and later, residential schools, were blunt instruments of similitude. The challenge the settler population in Canada still faces is how to address our culpability for the physical brutality of the system, but also how to come to terms with elements of the democratic symbolic that remain in place. I offer here a few preliminary and inadequate thoughts in that direction.

Contrary to the universalizing ethos of the modern democratic symbolic, it is neither universal nor a necessary good. An important step toward positive change and the pursuit of justice for Indigenous peoples in Canada would be for the settler population to acknowledge the historical specificity of ideas such as possessive individualism and to know that they are created and imposed rather than simply existent. This includes investigating how problems such as racism and xenophobia, the rise of populism, poverty, environmental degradation and social isolation that are often analyzed as discrete phenomena or pathologized and addressed through the tools of psychology are threads in a broader fabric of social disfunction.

Relatedly, an interrogation of the idea of sovereignty, including as it applies to recognizing Indigenous self-determination, is essential to restoring or preserving some sense of humanity within democratic institutions. As was noted in the introduction, democratic institutions have existed in circumstances that could not be described using the language of the democratic symbolic deployed in this dissertation. Alfred argues that respect for individual autonomy,

> …precludes the notion of 'sovereignty' - the idea that there can be a permanent transference of power or authority from the individual to an abstraction of the collective called 'government'. The indigenous tradition sees government as the collective power of the individual members of the nation; there is no separation between society and state. Leadership is exercised by persuading individuals to pool their self-power in the interest of the collective good. By contrast, in the European tradition power is surrendered to the representatives of the majority, whose decisions on what they think is the collective good are then imposed on all citizens.[12]

This is consistent with Singer and Weir's analysis of the operation of sovereign power within the modern democratic symbolic. The dispersion of sovereign power throughout the people, the problem of representation of the will of the people and the consequent opening of the social sphere as an object of knowledge creates the conditions for governance on behalf of state apparatuses to exert power over others in the name of the people, or in the name of having special knowledge of the population.[13] The implication is that the problem lies with the continuing circulation of sovereign power, underscoring the importance of investigating its logic and dismantling the assumption that it is an inevitable feature of social organization.

A second implication of the analysis of sovereign power offered by Lefort, Singer and Weir and Alfred is that its foundation in universality leaves no room for competing claims to

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12. Alfred, *Peace, Power and Righteousness*, 25.
13. Singer and Weir, "Sovereignty, Governance and the Political."

sovereign status. It is no accident that the Bagot Commissioners mused as to whether treaties established between the Crown and Indigenous peoples were inconsistent with natural law and could therefore possibly be nullified. By that time, the idea that there might be a people within the territorial boundaries of British North America with a claim to sovereign status equal to that of Crown was becoming inconceivable. What it might mean for multiple peoples to be self-determining within a shared territorial space is the question we must grapple with, but it will require reimagining sovereignty as the basis of that relationship.

In this respect, there is much for settlers to learn about decision making practices, communication strategies and the meaning of community from Indigenous peoples in Canada and elsewhere. I am not advocating for co-optation, a constant peril for the settler population and particularly the white settler population, when looking to strategies that dismantle circuits of power within settler colonialism. We must recognize the harms of viewing ourselves and others through the lens of abstract individualism and develop the capacity for community-building that lies in seeing others in their full humanity, resisting the desire to impose order on others or assert mastery over others, and forging bonds of care within the communities in which we live. Above all, we must come to terms with the messiness of actual democratic practice and find ways to preserve a space of conflict as necessary and productive.

Appendix A: Coding, Initial Categories

Questions of state (blue)
- "providence" as the government of God
- Accountability
- As "the Missionary of the World"
- As not creating conditions
- Conflict over Church of England
- Includes possibility of withdrawal from "politics"
- Intervention and "care" rather than imperialistic motivations
- Linking of religious teachings to state and citizenship
- Monetary vs. everyday control of institutions
- Oversight (military …)
- Question of when citizenship language arises
- Religion as mediating relation with government

Character (green)
- "savage" as global metaphor for bad conduct etc.
- Ability = okay, but lack of fulfillment of ability
- And legal status
- Appearance
- Immaturity
- Lumped with "destitute"
- Of teachers
- Proximity to image of God
- Question of conduct
- Relationship between conversion and character and conduct
- Relationship between religion and morals
- Relationship of belonging to legal categories such as "mankind"

Natural laws of "society" (yellow)
- Default position of people as in image of God
- Issues of race
- Inevitability of settlement
- "savage" as metaphor for absence of "society"
- "reclaimed"
- Indigenous beliefs as "fictitious" in relation to European beliefs
- Lack of "society" among Indigenous people prior to civilization; from animals to humans
- How not following religious teachings etc. damages "society"

Approach (orange)
- Ameliorating
- Bringing Indigenous people to position from which they can correctly perceive by

establishing an "interest"
- Children as bringing religion to parents
- Combining of benevolence, industry, cultivation
- Education
- Emphasis on people helping themselves
- Establishing "the promise" (e.g., of life after death)
- Guilt, fear of death or evil spirits
- Imitation
- In relation to admitting to lost rights and freedoms
- Indigenous desire for knowledge
- Individualizing
- Institutionalization
- Isolation and control of all elements of existence
- Reparation from whites
- Seeing of former evil ways
- Self-denial
- Settlement/cultivation
- Vs simple conversion to a particular church

Death
- The promise of religion
- Happy death

Education (red)
- And relationship to religion
- Assistance from organizations dependent upon content of teaching
- Training of Indigenous people to train other Indigenous people
- The Lancaster system, Pestalozzi System
- Need for settlement and Christianity first

Institutionalization (purple)
- Establishing of Indigenous organizations
- Bureaucratization
- Obsession with control over Indigenous people reflecting lack of control over whites
- Accounting
- Establishment of coherence of organizations is important
- Use of Indigenous people to raise funds
- Family
- Time
- Systematization
- Role of ministers, teachers, Church elders, class leaders, government officials, etc. as gatherers of information and purveyors of order
- Reports etc. focusing on "the institution" rather than the children
- Emphasis on institutions and their management over their ends

- Questions of "duty" within institutional structures
- Observation

Statements of religious belief (pink)
- Struggles over denominations
- Statement that it doesn't matter

Industrial Schools / Boarding Schools (peacock blue)
- Elgin in particular or Munsee related

Resistance and Contradiction
- Arguments for compatibility of elements of belief
- Peter Jones's own struggles
- Emphasis on character over overcoming prejudice
- Reflexive relation to perceptions of settlers

Appendix B: Coding, Round Two Categories

Numbers included in parentheses after each category indicate the number of times the category was identified in the documents under consideration.

Questions of state
- and question of oversight – military vs… (1)
- appeal to benevolence (1)
- as indicating benevolence (5)
- as predicated on moral judgment (2)
- bureaucracy (2)
- character of Indigenous people as requiring intervention (2)
- civil rights and privileges (25)
- civilized Indigenous people as benefiting only 'their people' (1)
- contract (and precedent) (1)
- control over all affairs (28)
- control over money, land, etc. (2)
- danger of 'half-civilization' (6)
- debt owed (3)
- desire to free selves from financial obligation (3)
- education (1)
- equality with settlers (2)
- expression of desire to do so (3)
- extinction (2)
- freeing of Indigenous people (3)
- government policies as responsible (3)
- historical relationship to Crown (9)
- Indigenous people as 'no people' (13)
- Indigenous people as vs Canadians (11)
- Indigenous people as wards, pastoral care (13)
- lack of fulfillment of promises (5)
- loyalty of Indigenous people, military partnership (7)
- Methodist thinking on state (38)
- missionaries as intermediaries (5)
- monetary vs day to day control (12)
- moral duty (2)
- morality and religious knowledge (9)
- narrative of what was 'done' to Indigenous people (4)
- property (3)
- settlement as part of a natural progression that the government now has to respond to (4)
- Settlers as being out of control of government (7)

- support for (3)
- taking of land (3)
- territory and inhabitants (4)
- thinking on role of missionaries (15)
- relationship to Church of England (4)
- transition from wartime and new focus (9)
- what churches ask of state (3)

Character
- "savage" as global metaphor for bad conduct (1)
- appearance (7)
- character made worse by contact with whites (4)
- character of Christians, teachers and missionaries (2)
- character prior to contact or conversion; "natural" character (47)
- conduct (12)
- explicit description of… (8)
- good character exhibited by products of labor (3)
- immaturity (3)
- in comparison to whites (5)
- lack of fulfillment of innate ability (6)
- lumped with the "destitute" (2)
- of pioneers (2)
- proximity to image of God (2)
- relationship between conversion, character and conduct (9)
- relationship of belonging to legal categories such as "mankind"
- uselessness, laziness, indolence (7)

Natural laws of "society"
- Indigenous people as vs Canadians (11)
    o in Canada *and* among the Indigenous people; state of barbarism vs civilized life; allowing Indigenous people to compete with whites and to take position as fellow-citizens; local legislature will 'rep feelings of settled opinions of mass for whom they act'; Indigenous people don't receive money extended to settlers for things like education; not now part of colonial body politic, for whites interference is neither needed, nor would it be acceptable; when get citizenship under 1857 act break bonds with band and assume… of 'community at large; feelings of country at large sympathizes with squatter, sympathies of country at large are with squatter, interests of the 'country at large' shouldn't be overlooked in favor of 'a small portion of the community', need to stop using non-European languages because as long as they do they are a distinct people dwelling in the midst of their white neighbours
- Indigenous people as 'no people' (14)
    o Peter Jones - those who have salvation were once 'no people'; Peter Jones - schooling will 'make them subjects' of Great Mother; Peter Jones - raise civilized Indigenous people to state of mankind; Peter Jones - no votes are no people; Rose

- take place among nations or be pushed off stage; getting rights = becoming an independent member of society; those educated at Elgin can now take place as 'members of the general population'; proximity with settlers and losing characteristics of Indigenous people; wean from habits of their race; raised to dignity of a man; Macaulay deems have no separate claims to nationality; get rid of chieftainships, make subjects, would make them men; Christian Guardian - once no people; Christian Guardian - fallen and ruined people
- Indigenous people as sub-human (7)
    o representative of reps of 'noble savage'; Christian Guardian - new race; Indigenous people raised via conversion to dignity of human beings; Christian Guardian - remoulded to full stature of men and women; Thaddeus Osgood - comparing to animals before civilizing; Jones, new race; as wild beasts
- Indigenous people as children – (7)

Approach
- ameliorating their condition
- children bringing religion to parents (4)
- conversion as necessary for understanding (God's work, sanctifying of habits) (38)
- discipline (6)
- education (19)
- establishing "the promise" (e.g. of life after death), reward (13)
- failures (7)
- guilt, fear of death or evil spirits (10)
- habit (forming, both good and bad) (13)
- having a voice in the running of the country (3)
- imitation and example (17)
- improvement (1)
- in relation to admitting to lost rights and freedoms (7)
- Indigenous desire for knowledge (16)
- indigenous peoples bringing religion to one another (4)
- individualizing, autonomy (5)
- industriousness (6)
- influence of British culture (5)
- institutionalization, need for stability (3)
- integration with settlers (7)
- involvement with the people (3)
- isolation (from negative influences white and Indigenous, from each other in the institutions) and control of all elements of existence (18)
- language (12)
- need for interference (13)
- reading (1)
- responsibility (4)
- seeing evil of former ways (4)
- self-denial (1)
- settlement, cultivation, labor (9)

- o lack of education and conversion as result of lack of settlement (12)
- o as duty of Gospel (16)
- o establishes link between settlement, interests and self-civilization (12)
- o suggestion that simply having Indigenous peoples settle is not enough (1)
- starting with young (14)
- understanding benefits, performing willingly, personal judgment, choosing, self-help (66)
- vs simple conversion to a particular church, servitude or conquering (13)

Education
- prioritized by state (10)
- as project of church and state (7)
- educational sources (1)
- and relationship to religion (13)
- and relationship to stable state (1)
- and relationship to labour (9)
- assistance from organizations dependent upon content of teaching (4)
- training of Indigenous people to train other Indigenous people (5)
- systems (Lancaster, Pestalozzi, the "infant plan") and models (8)
- need for settlement and Christianity first (2)
- incompatibility of ways of doing things or understanding things (3)
- requiring separation from family, as a discreet activity (10)
- content (what is taught, what it should achieve) (33)
- operations (details re teachers, pay, etc.) (2)
- comparisons to other institutions opening at the time (1)

Institutionalization
- Indigenous people as object (a file, a duty, etc.) (6)
- and religion (as religious duty or project) (3)
- supervision, observation, self-observation (14)
- enumerating, accounting, money as central issue (33)
- reporting hierarchy (23)
- role of ministers, teachers, church elders, class leaders, government officials, etc. as gatherers of information and purveyors of order (1)
- need for authority (2)
- regulations and laws (4)
- regulation of activities, systematization (12)
- establishing of Indigenous organizations (1)
- bureaucratization - reporting, differentiation of tasks, control in somebody else's hands
- (49)
- coherence of organizations as important (2)
- use of Indigenous people to raise money (2)
- control over Indigenous people as reflecting lack of control over whites
- family (4)
- time (2)

- focus on "the institution" rather than the children; prioritization of the institution (8)
- duty within institutional structures (1)
- conflict within and between institutions (13)
- comparisons to military (2)
- efficiency (6)
- getting rid of previous forms of Indigenous governance, etc. (4)
- Bible as best system of morals (1)
- universality of Christianity (1)
- government views of Methodists, government/church relations (4)

Industrial schools, boarding schools or Mt Elgin in particular
- progression towards opening Elgin (94)
- discussions of particular benefits of manual labour schools (28)
- support for boarding schools (3)

Expressions of Indigenous support for the school (3)
- Re previous schools among peoples related to Elgin (1)
  - Details re Muncey (12)
- General running of (2)

Appendix C: Number of Children Enrolled

The number of children at the school varied from year to year, as is indicated in the following

table of the school's number of boarders and day scholars.

Year	Female boarders	Male boarders	Total boarders	Day scholars
May 1850	Unknown	Unknown	13[1]	

Year	Female boarders	Male boarders	Total boarders	Day scholars
1850-1851	10[2]	22[3]	32[4]	20[5]
March 7, 1851	Unknown	Unknown	45[6]	

Year	Female boarders	Male boarders	Total boarders	Day scholars
1852-1853	Unknown	Unknown	42[7]	36[8]
1853-54	Unknown	Unknown	Over 42[9]	38-40[10]

1. Report of Samuel Rose, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xi, United Church Archives.

2. Report of J. Ryerson, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xiii, United Church Archives.
3. Report of J. Ryerson, ibid.
4. Note that this final tally is two fewer than the number reported by Rose in the same Missionary Report.

5. Report of Samuel Rose, 26th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1850-51, xi, United Church Archives.
6. S. Rose to his brother, March 7, 1851, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

7. Report of Samuel Rose, 28th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1852-53, x, United Church Archives.
8. Ibid.

9. 29th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1853-54, xv, United Church Archives.
10. Ibid.

May 21, 1855	13[11]	19[12]	32	Unknown
July 25, 1855	Unknown	28[13]	43[14]	Unknown
Sept. 27, 1855	Unknown	Unknown	40[15]	Unknown
1854-1855	Unknown	Unknown	61 (44)[16]	Unknown
1855-1856	Unknown	Unknown	40[17]	Unknown
July 1 – Sept 30, 1856	27[18]	29[19]	56	Unknown
Oct. 1 – Dec. 31, 1856	27[20]	28[21]	55	Unknown
April 1 – June 30, 1857	21[22]	20[23]	41	Unknown

11. S. Rose to his nephew, May 21, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.
12. Ibid.
13. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, July 25, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.
14. Ibid.
15. S. Rose to F. Talfourd, Sept. 27, 1855, Mt. Elgin Industrial Institute, Copying Book 1854-1862, File 33-4, United Church of Canada Social, Pastoral, and Educational Institutions, 83.065C, United Church Archives.

16. Report of Samuel Rose, 30th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1854-55, xxiii, United Church Archives. Rose also states that of the 61 students taken, at the time of reporting, 44 remained.

17. Report of James Musgrove, 32nd Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Connexion with the English Conference, 1855-56, xxii, United Church Archives.
18. 4 from Thames Chippewas, aged 9-13, 13 from St. Clair, aged 9-17, 5 from Walpole, aged 6-14, 5 from Moravian Town, aged 8-17 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 428).
19. 7 from Thames Chippewas, aged 15-21, 8 from the Credit Mississauga, aged 10-17, 2 from St. Clair aged 18 and 13, 3 from Walpole, aged 14-16, 9 from Moravian Town, aged 10-21 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 427).
20. 4 from Thames Chippewas, ages 5 to 13, 1 from the Credit Mississauga, aged 14, 11 from St. Clair, aged 9-14, 5 from Walpole, aged 8-16, 6 from Moravian Town, aged 8-17 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 425).
21. 7 from Thames Chippewas, ages 15 to 21, 9 from the Credit Mississauga, ages 10 to 17, 2 from St. Clair, ages 13 and 18, 4 from Walpole, ages 10 to 16, and 6 from Moravian Town, ages 10 to 17 (ibid.).
22. 3 from Chippewas of the Thames, aged 5-11, 1 from New Credit, aged 9, 8 from St. Clair, aged 10-14, 4 from Walpole Island, aged 8-16, 5 from Moravian Town, aged 8-14 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 429).
23. 5 from River Thames, aged 15-17, 5 from New Credit, aged 10-13, 1 from St. Clair, aged 13, 3 from Walpole, aged 14-16, 6 from Moravian Town, aged 11-17 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 430).

July 1 – Sept 30, 1857	23[24]	20[25]	43	Unknown
1858	21[26]	20[27]	41	Unknown
Jan. 1 – March 31, 1858	22[28]	22[29]	44	Unknown
April 1 – June 30, 1858	27[30]	21[31]	48	Unknown
July 1 – Sept. 30, 1858	22[32]	20[33]	42	Unknown
Oct 1 – Dec 31, 1858	20[34]	19[35]	39	Unknown
Jan. 1 – March 31, 1859	18[36]	16[37]	34	Unknown

24. 5 from Chippewas of the Thames, aged 5-11, 1 from New Credit, aged 9, 8 from St. Clair, aged 10-14, 4 from Walpole Island, aged 8-16, 5 from Moravian Town, aged 8-14 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 432).
25. 6 from Chippewas of the Thames, aged 13-17, 5 from New Credit, aged 10-13, 1 from St. Clair, aged 13, 3 from Walpole, aged 14-16, 5 from Moravian Town, aged 10-16 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 431).
26. Report of the Special Commissioners appointed on the 8 September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada. Sessional Papers, 1858, Appendix 21, Ottawa, 1858, 96.
27. Ibid.
28. 5 from River Thames, aged 6-12, 2 from New Credit, aged 10 and 18, 6 from St. Clair, aged 11-15, 4 from Walpole Island, aged 9-17, and 5 from Moravian Town, aged 9-15 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 433).
29. 7 from River Thames, aged 16-18, 6 from New Credit, aged 11-20, 2 from St. Clair, aged 14, 2 from Walpole, aged 16 and 17, and 5 from Moravian Town, aged 10-16 (ibid.).
30. 5 from River Thames, aged 6-14, 2 from New Credit, aged 10 and 18, 6 from St. Clair, aged 11-15, 9 from Walpole Island, aged 9-17, 5 from Moravian Town, aged 9-15 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 434).
31. 7 from River Thames, aged 12-18, 5 from New Credit, aged 11-20, 2 from St. Clair, aged 14, 2 from Walpole, aged 10 and 16, 5 from Moravian Town, aged 11-13 (ibid.).
32. 6 from River Thames, aged 6-17, 2 from New Credit, aged 9 and 10, 7 from St. Clair, aged 11-15, 6 from Walpole, aged 10-15, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 12 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 436).
33. 5 from River Thames, aged 12-18, 9 from River Credit, aged 7-20, 4 from St. Clair, aged 14, 1 from Walpole, aged 10, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 13 (ibid.).
34. 6 from River Thames, aged 6-17, 2 from New Credit, aged 9 and 10, 5 from St. Clair, aged 11-14, 6 from Walpole Island, aged 10-15, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 12 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 437).
35. 5 from River Thames, aged 12-19, 8 from New Credit, aged 7-20, 2 from St. Clair, aged 14, 3 from Walpole Island, aged 10-15, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 13 (ibid.).
36. 5 from River Thames, aged 7-18, 2 from New Credit, aged 10 and 11, 4 from St. Clair, aged 12-15, 6 from Walpole Island, aged 11-18, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 13 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 438).
37. 3 from River Thames, aged 12-19, 8 from New Credit, aged 7-21, 1 from St. Clair, aged 15, 2 from Walpole, aged 15 and 16, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 14, and 1 from New Credit, aged 12 (ibid.).

April 1 – June 30, 1859	22[38]	27[39]	49	Unknown
July 1 – Sept. 30, 1859	19[40]	26[41]	37	Unknown
Oct. 1 – Dec. 31, 1859	19[42]	25[43]	44	Unknown
Jan 1 – March 31, 1860	18[44]	23[45]	41	Unknown
April 1 – June 30, 1860	19[46]	28[47]	37	Unknown
July 1 – Sept 30, 1860	20[48]	27[49]	47	Unknown

38. 7 from River Thames, aged 7-18, 3 from New Credit, aged 10-13, 4 from St. Clair, aged 12-15, 7 from Walpole, aged 5-18, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 13 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 435).

39. 8 from River Thames, aged 10-19, 8 from New Credit, aged 12-21, 4 from St. Clair, aged 8-14, 3 from Moravian Town, aged 10-14 (ibid.).

40. 3 from River Thames, aged 8-14, 3 from New Credit, aged 10-13, 2 from St. Clair, aged 13 and 14, 10 from Walpole Island, aged 13-17, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 13 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 439).

41. 11 from River Thames, aged 7-20, 6 from New Credit, aged 12-21, 3 from St. Clair, aged 8-14, 2 from Walpole, aged 5 and 10, 2 from Moravian Town, aged 10 and 11 (ibid.).

42. 4 from River Thames, aged 8-14, 3 from New Credit, aged 10-13, 2 from St. Clair, aged 13 and 14, 9 from Walpole, aged 5-17, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 13 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 441).

43. 11 from River Thames, aged 7-20, 7 from New Credit, aged 11-21, 3 from St. Clair, aged 8-14, 2 from Walpole Island, aged 5 and 10, 2 from Moravian Town, aged 10 and 11 (ibid.).

44. 3 from River Thames, aged 9-14, 3 from New Credit, aged 11-14, 2 from St. Clair, aged 14 and 15, 9 from Walpole Island, aged 6-17, 1 from Moravian Town, aged 14 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 442).

45. 11 from River Thames, aged 8-20, 5 from New Credit, aged 12-21, 3 from St. Clair, aged 8-15, 2 from Walpole Island, aged 6 and 11, 2 from Moravian Town, aged 11 and 12 (ibid.).

46. 4 from River Thames, aged 9-14, 3 from New Credit, aged 11-14, 1 from St. Clair, aged 14, 9 from Walpole Island, aged 6-17, 2 from Moravian Town, aged 13 and 15 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 443).

47. 11 from River Thames, aged 8-20, 6 from New Credit, aged 5-21, 3 from St. Clair, aged 8-15, 2 from Moravian Town, aged 11 and 12, 6 from Walpole, aged 6-17 (ibid.).

48. 4 from River Thames, aged 9-14, 3 from New Credit, aged 11-14, 1 from St. Clair, aged 14, 9 from Walpole Island, aged 6-17, 3 from Moravian Town, aged 9-15 (Civil Secretary's Office, Register of Letters Received, Archives of ON, Reel C-13488, vol. 754, 444).

49. 10 from River Thames, aged 8-20, 6 from New Credit, aged 5-21, 2 from St. Clair, aged 8 and 10, 3 from Moravian Town, aged 11-15, 6 from Walpole, aged 6-17 (ibid.).

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