The "Policy of Aggressive Civilization" and Projects of Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada, 1870-95

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Abstract: The earliest of Canada's post-Confederation residential industrial schools for Native people are examined in light of "the Post-Foucauldian Theory of Governance," which is derived from Foucault's later work on practices governing. John L. Tobias' analysis of the periodization of Canadian policy towards aboriginal peoples is re-examined through this optic. This theoretically oriented analysis identifies three "projects of governance," which are examined in historical detail. Links of Canada's policy for residential schools are traced to the U.S. Peace Policy and other sources, and the roles of the Canadian federal government and Roman Catholic missions are re-examined.

Résumé: Cet article examine les premières écoles résidentielles pour les peuples aborigènes après la Confédération au Canada à la lumière de "la théorie de la gouvernance post-foucaldienne," dérivée des derniers ouvrages de Foucault sur les pratiques de gouvernement. L'analyse qu'a faite Philippe Tobuas de la périodisation de la politique canadienne envers les peuples aboriginaux est réexaminée dans cette optique. Cette analyse identifie trois "projets de gouvernance" dont elle examine les situation historiques en détail. On trace des connections entre la politique des écoles résidentielles au Canada et la "politique de paix" américaine ainsi que d'autres sources, de plus les rôles du gouvernement fédéral canadien et des missions catholiques sont scrutés.

Introduction

The first purpose of this paper is to explore the Canadian industrial schools in context of a formulation that Alan Hunt (1994: 229) has provisionally dubbed the "post-Foucauldian theory of governance."[1] Three projects of governance[2] are examined which I believe to be embodied in the schools which, following a lead by Tobias (1976), I identify as the "civilization project," the "protection project," and the "assimilation project." These "projects of governance," however, are understood very differently from Tobias' formulation.

A second purpose is to indicate the resonance of certain concepts (e.g., "modes of domination," "symbolic violence") derived from the work of Bourdieu (1977: 85 ff.) which resonate very strongly with the post-Foucauldian formulation despite the fundamental differences between the two theoretical approaches. These are differences which may be impossible to reconcile, but Bourdieu's formulation suggests very helpful concepts for the analysis of early industrial schools for Native peoples in Canada, the main topic of this paper.

A third purpose is to explore the founding of the earliest industrial schools as they are represented in government and mission archives. Such research is not particularly easy, and such archives are sorely lacking in the insights that ethnographic data, for example, may provide to supply the voice of Native peoples that is virtually silenced in such archival sources. Here the purpose is to explore the archives from a specific theoretical position grounded in the works of Foucault and Bourdieu.

The overall purpose of this analysis is to introduce a critical and fruitful theoretical formulation into the examination of residential and industrial schools for Native peoples throughout their historical course. In doing so attempts are made to suggest links between the practices and political rationalities of Christian missions and those of the state. Most of those who have examined these schools, in Canada at least, have done so primarily

through descriptive and narrative historical approaches. Their work has been absolutely invaluable, but it now seems to be timely to attempt a more explicit theorization of the subject, focussing on issues of power, domination, and resistance and non-compliance where that is possible on the basis of archival sources.

Historical Context

In 1879, Nicholas Flood Davin[3] (1879) submitted a confidential *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* to the Minister of the Interior,[4] Sir John A. Macdonald, who had commissioned Davin to go to Washington, DC and learn as much as possible about the American policy for Indian administration known as "the policy of aggressive civilization."[5] This policy, outlined in some detail by Davin, had been formulated in the post-Civil War period by President Ulysses S. Grant's administration (see Waltmann, 1971) and was passed into law by Congress in early 1869. One of its key instruments was to be the use of "industrial schools" (not simply synonymous with "Indian residential schools"[6]), in which Christian denominations would play a major role in the day-to-day operation although the schools were to be built by the U.S. government (see also Hagan, 1988: 58-61).

The purpose of Davin's report was to advise Canadian government of American experience with the Peace Policy, and particularly with the Industrial School system mandated under it, and to recommend how the Canadian government might adapt it. Davin's report is a glowing account of the American policy, and he presented detailed recommendations on how the Canadian government might emulate it. While Davin's recommendations are almost completely analogous to the American system there are some differences, in part reflecting discussions that had been going on between government and religious leaders (especially Roman Catholic and Anglican) in Canada in the 1860s and 1870s. Before this time there had already been several mission experiments with residential and industrial schools in which governments had considerably less part than in the schools of the decades after 1879 (see Miller, 1996: 39-88; Nock, 1972). The post-Confederation residential school system are the topic of this paper.

Among the supporting documents accompanying the Order-in-Council[7] establishing industrial schools in Canada, only Davin's report was given a place of prominence. It appears there in its entirety as the centrepiece of the supporting material, which otherwise included only two brief items.[8] Davin's report must therefore be a centrepiece in any analysis of the founding of the earliest post-Confederation Canadian industrial schools, despite repeated claims by both supporters and detractors of the schools that religious leaders in Canada had in effect invented the system virtually singlehandedly. For example, Roman Catholic authors have repeatedly claimed that Bishop Vital Grandin,[9] Archbishop Alexandre Taché,[10] and Father Albert Lacombe[11] (all Oblate missionaries of Mary Immaculate) had created the Canadian Indian industrial school system (see e.g., Levaque, 1990: 68-69; Nowakowski, 1962) because, says Levaque (68), "the government was not doing its part." The reading of available archival materials offered here suggests another interpretation: that the Oblates' specific and distinctive ideas and recommendations[12] on the matter had no *direct* place in the documentation supporting the Order-in-Council, although the Oblates were certainly party to the discussions that lead to the founding of the schools. Davin's report, I maintain, is the *de facto* founding document, in effect the charter document, which specified the terms within which industrial schools functioned for almost a century. This is so despite the minor role assigned to it by outstanding scholars such as J.R. Miller (1996: 101-103).

Members of the Oblate order[13] had indeed been deeply involved in correspondence and discussions among themselves and with federal and territorial government officials (including the Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald and other ministers of the Crown) for at least ten years preceding the Order-in-Council[14] which created Canadian industrial schools. Davin's report is best seen as the common ground negotiated by the principal parties[15] in the 1870s, with the *exclusion* of some key demands of the Oblate order. It should be pointed out that three Oblates (Archbishop Taché, Bishop Grandin, Fr Lacombe) were named in the Order-in-Council to specific functions in the newly created industrial school system.[16] Nicholas Flood Davin (an Anglican of Irish origin) was known to Archbishop Taché, who is said to have liked him, despite Davin's connections with the Orange Order, possibly because Davin's ideas on education were consistent with the archbishop's own. I do not wish to argue that Davin, rather than the Oblate order as claimed by such authors as Nowakowski (1962) and Levaque (1990), was the "true creator" of industrial schools. Both had a part, but the specific legal and policy formulation which led to the foundation of the first government schools after Confederation was Davin's. In any case, it is seldom appropriate to identify individual creators for cultural practices of this magnitude. The alternative view here is that the schools developed within a complex history of well-established cultural practices toward Native

peoples in Canada and the U.S. They were the product not only of extended political discussions but (more importantly) of less overt cultural processes which can only be elucidated by critical social analysis.

The post-Confederation Canadian Indian Industrial schools were neither simply a Roman Catholic creation, nor a missionary creation, nor even a Canadian state creation, but were the outgrowth of an array of policies and practices on a continental scale deeply intertwined with other U.S. and Canadian cultural projects regarding Native peoples. These schools must be seen as a site for the contestation and negotiation of policies and practices derived from multiple sites within the U.S. and Canadian social formations.

As Davin (1879:1) recounted in his report to Sir John A. Macdonald, U.S. policy provided for the appointment of the Peace Commission,[17] which was charged among other duties with administering the Policy of Aggressive Civilization, a subsidiary formulation of the Peace Policy (also known as the "Quaker Policy;" see Utley (1984: 133). The Peace Commission[18] recommended several major points of policy and administrative practice, some of which found clear counterparts in Davin's report and in the Canadian government's first significant policy changes concerning Indians since the *Indian Act* (1876).[19] Among the chief policy recommendations of the U.S. Peace Commission, according to Davin's description, were recommendations that:

> the Indians should, as far as practicable, be consolidated on new reservations, and provided with "permanent individual homes;" that the tribal relation should be abolished; that lands should be allotted in severalty and not in common; that the Indian should speedily become a citizen of the United States, enjoy the protection of the law, and be made amenable thereto, that, finally, it was the duty of the Government to afford the Indians all reasonable aid in their preparation for citizenship by educating them in Industry and in the arts of civilization. (Davin, 1879: 1)

Davin prefaced his description of the policy with the revealing comment that "the industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as that of *"aggressive civilization"* (Davin, 1879: 1; emphasis added)—namely, that centralized residential schools teaching rudimentary education along with basic "industrial" skills and trades (such as carpentry, agriculture, blacksmithing and shoemaking), which were to be instrumental in applying the policy of aggressive civilization. The schools were to be instruments of "civilizing aggressively."

The bulk of Davin's report is devoted to the economic and political rationalization of the Industrial school scheme and to his strong recommendations that Canada adopt what was in effect a policy of aggressive civilization modelled very substantially on that of the United States, if not in name[20] or complete detail. Canada's policy may not have been aggressive in name, but it was certainly aggressive in practice.

Theorizing Governance

With Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 102) I reject the "fantasy of conspiracy... [which] haunts critical social thought." Critical theoretical analysis of state and mission relations in early industrial schools is important for three reasons: (1) that these relations were among the most powerful in the ruling of Native peoples; (2) that the post-Foucauldian theory of governance offers considerable insight into the nature of these relations; and (3) that critical anthropology can offer a valuable long-term historical view of relations of ruling.

Since the state itself is a cultural project (Corrigan and Sayer 1985: intro.), projects of governance must be seen as located at various sites within the Canadian social formation which may or may not be specifically linked to state operations. This means that we must look for a variety of cultural projects of governance, which are identified here following leads in important work by Tobias (1976). Unlike Tobias, however, who gives prominence of place to state policies, we seek these projects not simply in the rationalities and activities of the state, but in those of non-state organizations which are engaged in governance, understood as any rationality or activity that seeks to "conduct the conduct of others" (cf. Foucault, 1979 [1991]; Gordon, 1991; Hunt, 1994: 229-232). Tobias in my view over-emphasizes the role of the state. Governance in the theoretical view adopted here is not simply a function of the governments and the state, but it is also a function of social and cultural rationalities and practices located in multiple sites in the non-state sector of a social formation. In Hunt's (1994) original articulation of the post-Foucauldian theory of governance, governance exists wherever there is a "relatively persistent set of often conflicting practices which select and construct some social object that is acted on in such a way as to control, regulate, restrain, limit and direct the activities of the selected object of governance" (230). These "relatively persistent sets of practices" constitute "projects of governance," "the discourses and practices toward control of others with regard to social "objects" or targets that are discursively constructed" (230). This means that governance cannot be understood outside of

a more general sociocultural analysis of power relations. The basic concepts here are derived ultimately from Foucault's (1978 [1991]) seminal essay on governmentality and the theoretical developments based on it which have been identified as forming the post-Foucauldian theory of governance by Hunt (1994: 229-230). Foucault's (1975 [1977]; 1979 [1991]:101-102) analysis of "discipline" is an integral part of this formulation, as are all practices and discourses by which moral regulation is mobilized. The post-Foucauldian theory of governance is embodied and developed in the work of a variety of authors.[21] Elements of Bourdieu's (1977: 183-196) concepts of "symbolic domination" and "symbolic violence" (see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 111-112, 167-168, 170-172, 194-195) resonate strongly with Foucault's formulation as we apply it to mission-run industrial schools in Canada, despite the very different conceptual frames of the two theoretical approaches. There are affinities too with Norbert Elias' (1994) analysis of civilizing practices.

Church-run Indian residential or industrial schools embrace features of state-linked organizations as they are conceived here, as well as political rationalities and practices of governing which have no direct link to state-centred policies and practices. They comprise, together with the activities of the state in the same schools, a complex mesh[22] of relations of ruling located both in the action of the state and in the actions of collectivities, institutions or organizations with more or less explicit relations to it. Our analysis must therefore pay attention to aspects of governance in state and state-linked locations.

Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: Projects of Governance

The complex history of state and non-state policy regarding Native Peoples in Canada since the establishment of British colonial rule in New France (1759) and the American War of Independence (1776) may be understood in several ways. Tobias (1976), for example, divided that history into three broad historical periods each of which, he maintained, was identified by a particular government policy commitment. He first identified a period (until about 1815) of "Protection"[23] typified by such governmental measures as *The Royal Proclamation* of 1763, which treated Native peoples as separate and sovereign nations under the protection of, and bound by treaties of amity and concord to the British crown.[24] Secondly, Tobias (1976: 14-22) identified a period from 1815 to about 1900 typified by policies for the promotion of the "civilization" of the Native peoples, and thirdly a period after 1900 typified by government concerns to "assimilate" the Native population (22-26). Tobias' formulation therefore relied on (a) on a clear historical periodization of policies towards Native peoples, with (b) a heavy emphasis on policies of governments and the state. I find both aspects of his work to be problematic, despite the insight that it offers for this analysis.

Tobias also maintained (but only briefly) a position which is both self-contradictory yet more satisfactory position when he stated near the beginning of his paper that "protection, civilization, and assimilation have always been the goals of Canada's Indian policy" (13, emphasis added). This I find much more acceptable if we are to understand "civilization," "protection," and "assimilation" as projects of governance in the sense provided by the post-Foucauldian theory of governance. Attempts to identify discrete historical periods in Canadian government Indian policies are grossly over-simplified. Christine Bolt (1987: 35), although she speaks of the U.S., maintains a position on this point with which I can largely agree—that "when the colonial era closed [i.e., after the American War of Independence], all the major ideas, policies and paradoxes that would dominate Indian policy and reform until the 1930s had emerged," although I would add the qualification "until the present." Her view applies equally well to Canada. Prucha (1976: chap. 7; 1981; 1988: 43), Satz (1975: chap. 9) and Surtees (1988: 88-89) deal extensively with the concept of "civilization" in U.S. and Canadian government policy, and Satz (1975: chap. 8) deals with the role of "protection" in U.S. policy. Their discussions resonate strongly with the views proposed here, despite their different theoretical commitments.

The perspective maintained here is based on Tobias' work but differs from it in key respects. I believe that in the history of Canada's dealings with Native peoples there were no projects of governance limited by historical period. These projects of governance are present *throughout* that history and are articulated in different policies and practices at different historical moments. How they relate in any historical instance can only be made clear by critical theoretical analysis. These projects may appear to be quite dissimilar at different moments in their history and may from time to time (even often) be in tension with each other, if not indeed in outright contradiction. They are to be discerned in *both* the state and non-state (e.g., church) arenas as elaborately interconnected and mutually reinforcing strands of political rationales, practices, routines, projects and programs of action.

The three projects of governance[25] recognized on the basis of Tobias' (1976) work (the "Protection Pro-

ject," the "Civilization Project," and the "Assimilation Project") are reexamined here through the optic of the post-Foucauldian theory of governance. These projects include not only government policies and practices, but policies and practices of state-linked organisations. While such a formulation is certainly not *sustained* in Tobias' work, it is compatible with Tobias' own insight that protection, civilisation, and assimilation "have always been the goals of Canada's Indian policy" (13). The view proposed here avoids the oversimplification of seeing these elaborate projects as goals distinctive of historical periods, or of seeing them as located primarily in rationalities and actions of the government. These projects of governance were negotiated and contested in complex ways throughout the whole of Canada's administration of First Nations peoples.

In this reading, the protection project has normally entailed dividing practices by the state and other agencies which are embodied in (1) discourses around aboriginal demoralization and political or cultural disintegration; (2) in discourses and practices organized around such legal formulations as the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763, the *Indian Act* of 1876 and its revisions, the Enfranchisement acts, the treaty system, numbered identification systems of individuals; and (3) in strategies for the physical and social isolation and separation of Native peoples, notably in the reserve system, residential schools, industrial schools, and in policies of sedentarization.

The civilizing project has typically consisted of discursive and practical strategies by the state and other agencies which combine elements of both "cultural synthesis" and "cultural replacement" (see Nock, 1972; 1988). It is clearly observable in practices for schooling, Europeanization, sedentarization, the inculcation of agriculture as a main source of subsistence, the introduction of such policies as landholding in severality, and labour discipline, all presented in the guise of directed culture change. Its discursive core is that of "citizenship," embodied as rationalities and practices in state-building projects organized around the rapid and effective disciplining of Native peoples as a compliant citizenry. It consisted significantly in Christianization as one of its chief instruments, as an integral part of state and state-linked discourse in Canada and the U.S. Christianization was conceived as rapid social transformation, as conversion of Indian persons in both religious and secular senses. These appear to be virtually (and explicitly) synonymous in, for example, Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy and in Davin's report of 1879.

The assimilating project was discursively constructed around the dismantling of Indian nations as corporate entities through a series of dividing practices, especially in the detachment of individuals from national and cultural loyalties other than those to the state. A good example may be noted in the Canadian enfranchisement legislation of the 1840s-60s, later consolidated in the *Indian Act* of 1876. On the face of it, the assimilation project may appear to be primarily a project for state expansion and consolidation, but the project was fostered by practices outside the immediate operation of state government, notably in mission practices of governance in which the goals of the missions are entangled in, if not even synonymous at times, with those of the state.[26]

All three projects of governance are thoroughly enmeshed with each other. For example, the treaty, reserve, or school systems include elements of all three projects, and cannot be isolated from each other. To put it another way, individually identifiable strategies or practices (e.g., sedentarization, schooling of particular forms, Christianization) simultaneously played roles in all three projects.

Industrial schools, in this analysis, were designed to protect in that the schools were intentionally located *off* reserve lands, sometimes at a considerable distance from Native communities. This contrasted, at least in the 19th century, with day schools and most residential schools, which were located *on* reserve lands but far enough away from communities so as to isolate the young from the influences of traditional communities. Both were intentionally located away from non-Indian settlements as well, so as to minimize influences from the influences of non-Indian settlers. All three types of school took separation and isolation as a key strategy. The distinctions between them became sufficiently blurred over the century of their existence that they became collectively known as "residential schools" after Duncan Campbell Scott's reorganization of aboriginal schooling in the 1920s took separation and isolation as a key strategy.

The industrial schools of the late 1800s were principally designed to civilize by means of the "pedagogy of work," by religious catechesis and religious conversion, and by Europeanization.[27] The teaching of basic literacy and numeracy was a much more secondary matter in the off-reserve industrial schools than in the on-reserve residential schools. This distinction was quite sharp in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The pedagogy of work and basic literacy played a role in both, in different ways. It was the basic pedagogical instrument for the industrial schools, with much less attention to numeracy and literacy.

The principal element of rationality of both the missions and the state was that disciplined habits of work

would effectively prepare industrial school inmates for full participation in the emerging Canadian society and economy. The discipline of work played additional roles in the rationalities of both missions and the state, in both cases related to the "disciplining" of school inmates (see Foucault, 1975 [1977]).[28]

Industrial schools were designed to assimilate by explicitly attempting to eradicate cultural difference, especially those which were antithetical or inconvenient to goals of governments and the missions. Combined with strategies for what can only be described as a ransacking of traditional forms of solidarity, including family and local community, these rationalities sought to extend the regulation of the state over Indian peoples by hastening their incorporation as subjects, and ultimately as citizens, of the Canadian state. The ransacking of traditional histories and their replacement with externally generated scripts[29] comprised strategic elements in the disciplining of the Native peoples as new entities within the Canadian state and social formations.

The three governance projects occurred simultaneously, and found multiple expressions in the daily routines of the schools, as well as in the elaborated political rationalities that may be identified in archival evidence of the strenuous negotiations and contestations between representatives of the missions, the territorial government, and the federal government that preceded and accompanied the founding of the schools. These recur throughout their operation.

Cultural projects of governance of the magnitude and tenacity that we are dealing with (250 years or so) can not be fruitfully dealt with by an atomizing approach, for example by attempts to assess the impacts of individually and narrowly defined policies viewed in isolation, of even of specific policy "programs" (that most beloved governmental concept). The identification of major, enduring projects of governance requires investigation of the practical routines and rituals ("practices") of governance as well as the "political rationalities" (see Burchell, 1991: 122, 125; Miller and Rose, 1990), those politico-legal, administrative, and ideological and conceptual discourses ("policies") which seek, if only partly explicitly, to verbalize, legitimize, define and embody these projects in various forms of relations of ruling.[30] Governance projects are articulated and domesticated not only in political rationalities of the state, but in multiform practices within the normal, taken-for-granted fabric of social formations.

This formulation could be reversed almost equally well by arguing that the investigation of particular policies and practices (the usual approach of historians and social scientists), is understandably tempting in an attempt to render immensely complex (even opaque) social relations manageable analytically. It requires investigation of connections to the larger social formation within which the policies and practices are embedded and interconnected, especially to other long-enduring state projects of governance, and to the longer-term social dynamics of which a particular practice may be but one moment.[31] It is essential to problematize academic practices in our discussion of these issues, for they too are rooted in the same large cultural discourses which generate state and state-linked relations of regulation and power that they seek to investigate.[32]

Canada's Version of the Policy of Aggressive Civilization

In Canadian historical and social studies there has been a certain (not entirely justifiable) tendency to view Canada's aboriginal policies in distinction from those of the United States. A conventional view is that American and British North American policies markedly diverged at the time of the American War of Independence, when the British North American Indian administration quickly moved to a civil administration while the American Indian administration continued under military administration (as had been the British practice previous to the War of Independence)[33] (see e.g., Allen, 1992; D.G. Smith, 1974: xvi, 18-20). While the civilian and military differences between the two Indian administrations are undoubtedly important, it is misleading to think of the two administrations as having been on totally divergent courses since the late 18th century. In addition to a wide repertoire of analogous policies and practices deriving from a degree of common history, there are many instances of overt collaboration and indeed imitation between the two administrations, and between non-state organizations such as Christian missions, throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The Policy of Aggressive Civilization is a notable and hardly rare example, but so were the use of residential and industrial schools, both secular and religious, long before this particular policy was formulated.[34]

The civilization project (to name but one example) had a long prior history in the United States and Canada, in both state and state-linked policies and practices.[35] Their particular juxtaposition in the U.S. Peace Policy of the 1860s and 1870s (the policy for the pacification of the American West, especially the Indian Territories) and the "Policy of Aggressive Civilization" as one of the key features of The Peace Policy[36] marked a notable point of intensification for the civilizing project, as well as a notable conjunction of U.S. and Canadian policy. The civi-

lization project from the late 1860s in the U.S. and since 1879 in Canada became aggressive, that is to say assertive, determined, and thereby potentially (and in many cases actually) belligerent, hostile, pugnacious, violent and truculent. Where it was not overtly violent, it constituted a parade example of what Bourdieu (1977: 183-196; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) call "symbolic violence . . . the gentle, hidden form that violence takes when it can not be overt" (1977: 195-96). Church-run residential and industrial schools had a specific, state-designed part to play in these policies in addition to their own agendas for control of Native peoples during the settlement of the West, especially after the U.S. and Canadian treaties of the 1870s and 1880s. Mission activities among U.S. and Canadian Native peoples thereby achieved a prominence and legitimacy under state mandate that they never had before.

Understanding the nature of state-linked practices of governance in missionary-administered industrial schools is an essential task for understanding the historical course of development of the relations of ruling and North American Native peoples. It will be the task of yet further research to place such state-linked practices of governance in context of the complex bundle of other sociocultural features of mission schools, especially those which entail nonstate (in this case purely religious) practices of governance. The civilization project became aggressive in the U.S. by the end of the Civil War period (1865) for several reasons. After the Civil War there was a determined U.S. commitment to the opening of the Indian Territory and the West for settlement. In the formulation of Ulysses Grant's administration this involved a pacification of the West (hence "Peace Policy") (see Prucha, 1976, chap. 3-4; 1981; 1984: Vol. 1, Pt. 5). By the 1860s, aboriginal societies had experienced the ravages of European contact in the form of sharp demographic decline and calamitously rapid social and cultural change. Such events were employed discursively from the 1860s through the 1930s under such constructions as "the vanishing Indian" as a legitimation for the opening of the West and the military management of the Indian population. The legitimation is apparent in such other discursive constructions as "Indian social disintegration," "Indian cultural decadence," and "Indian demoralization." Among the policies and practices legitimated by these constructions was the Policy of Aggressive Civilization, including its key practice of educating Indian children in church-run residential and industrial schools at a distance from home communities, specifically by the pedagogy of work.

U.S. policy explicitly asserted that the civilization of Indians would best take place on reservations, and that the work of civilizing would be most effective if placed in the hands of religious authorities. This arrangement embodied a complex assembly of ideas, including the specific U.S. government intention that conversion and civilization would go hand in hand,[37] for both bodies of ideas imply radical transformation of individual persons. Religious conversion became the very prototype for civilizing, and education became the strategic medium for both. President Ulysses S. Grant undoubtedly seems to have accepted the postulate that "education and conversion would go together" (Bolt, 1987: 76), and his policies achieved this by increasing state funding to already existing mission residential schools and by appointing religious civilians as Indian agents in the wake of his prohibiting the allocation of civil list positions to military officers. While many Americans, including denominational supporters, were uneasy at the ostensible infringement of the traditional American constitutional division of church and state, by 1876 religious groups controlled about nine hundred government appointments in civil posts within the Indian administration (Bolt, 1987: 76), in addition to the large number who staffed state-supported, missionary-administered Indian schools.[38] The appointment of missionaries to civil posts in aboriginal administration was discontinued in the U.S. within a decade or so, but effects of the policy lingered.

In his report to the Canadian government, Davin's (1879) report summarized the key elements of the U.S. Policy of Aggressive Civilization as follows:

> The Industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as that of "aggressive civilization." This policy was inaugurated by President Grant in 1869. But, as will be seen, the utility of industrial schools had long ere that time been amply tested. Acting on the suggestion of the President, the Congress passed a law early in 1869, providing for the appointment of the Peace Commission. This Commission recommended that the Indians should, as far as practicable, be consolidated on few reservations, and provided with "permanent individual homes;" that the tribal relation should be abolished; that lands should be allotted in severalty and not in common; that the Indian should speedily become a citizen of the United States, enjoy the protection of law, and be made amenable thereto; that, finally, it was the duty of the Government to afford the Indians all reasonable aid in their preparation for citizenship by educating them in industry and the arts of civilization. (1879:1)

Davin reported that after a period of eight years' experience of the application of these principles, certain further elements of the policy were adopted (in 1877), including a provision "that titles to land should be inalienable for at

least three generations." Again, since it was found "that the day-school did not work, because the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school . . . Industrial Boarding Schools were therefore established, and these are now numerous and will soon be universal" (Davin, 1879: 1). Clearly, the Peace Commission and the "policy of aggressive civilization" entailed a complex interconnected array of policies and practices of governance located in the activities and agendas (political rationalities) of both the federal government and the missions. It is striking to note that just two years after the setting up of industrial schools under the Aggressive Civilization Policy in the United States, a Canadian government delegation was in the United States studying the situation with the aim of emulating the U.S. project, and that in both cases religious organizations were assigned to be the principal executors of Indian industrial schools, "the principal feature of the policy of aggressive civilization" (Davin, 1879: 1).

Davin's views concerning aboriginal people are revealing: "the experience of the United States is the same as our own as far as the adult Indian is concerned. Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little at farming, and at stock-raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all" (Davin, 1879: 10). The emphasis in the early industrial schools was on just these matters—basic agricultural and domestic training and personal habits. It is in the imparting of these that potent strategies for governance are located. For Davin, as for so many of his contemporaries, "the Indian race is in its childhood" (10), and this suggested for him as for so many others the creation of a policy of civilization "that shall look for fruit, not after five or ten years, but after a generation or two" (10). Davin went on to say that considering the Indian race as being collectively and individually in childhood "is of course a mere truism and not a figure of speech when we take charge of the Indian in the period of infancy. There is, it is true, in the adult, the helplessness of mind of the child, as well as practical helplessness; there is, too, the child's want of perspective; but there is little of the child's receptivity; nor is the child's tractableness always found. . . . The Indian is a man with traditions of his own, which make civilization a puzzle of despair" (Davin, 1879: 10-11). One strongly suspects that Davin meant that the civilizing of aboriginal peoples was a puzzle of despair to those who sought to civilize them; a puzzle of policy and practice, and a despair only in the sense of finding the elusive best way. History has shown the reverse to be true—that the schools were indeed a puzzle for the Native peoples, a puzzle of misrecognition so characteristic of relations of domination and wide-scale cruelty, and that they were undeniably a source of personal and community despair.

Davin went on to say that "the Indian has the suspicious distrust, fault-finding tendency, the insincerity and flattery, produced in all subject races. He is crafty, but conscious how weak his craft is when opposed to the superior cunning of the white man . . . he realizes that he must disappear" (Davin, 1879: 10-11). It is precisely on such views that the whole Aggressive Civilization Policy and the Industrial School concept was based in both the United States and Canada.

The conviction that Indians were children, individually or collectively, justified the need for them to be "civilized" on the one hand, and the need for their civilizing to be viewed as a problem of guidance, training, direction, schooling—a problem of pedagogy—and of being "disciplined" in the sense meant by Foucault (1975 [1977]; 1978 [1991]: 101-102; see Rabinow, 1984).

Understood in Foucault's terms, industrial schools were a powerful instrument of intense surveillance and individuation of a population (see Gordon, 1991: 8)—of disciplining it to be other than it was, and of disciplining it in the sense of inculcating specific forms of self-regulation within Indian children in the interests of both state-building projects (for example by producing obedient, law-abiding citizens), and of the churches (by producing faithful, moral, and virtuous Christians) by means of practices of individuation and surveillance. Images of the "law-abiding citizen" and the "virtuous Christian" had come to be practically synonymous.

In certain important respects, residential and industrial schools were indeed an aggressive form of intercultural domination, although it must be said that this is not the only issue involved. The case could clearly be made that such an aggressive structure is "symbolically violent" (Bourdieu, 1977: 183-196) sense. The practice of schooling Indian people in this way is "euphemized" (191). It is a case of structural and interpersonal domination "disguised under the form of enchanted relationships" (191), in this case of religious and moral rectitude. It is justified as being for the essential good of the people being dominated as well as for the good of the state. It is made respectable and acceptable by placing the task of "civilizing aggressively" in the hands of religious agents who are thereby complicit as *de facto* collaborators of the state and its projects for the assertion of political sovereignty, although the economic and political realities underlying that relationship are obfuscated and masked so that they are hidden, "misrecognized" (see Bourdieu, 1977: 76; Wacquant, 1991: 50-2). Further research must ask how, in the case of the policy of aggressive civiliza-

tion and its adaptations (with their key role for denominationally-administered industrial schools), religious organizations became executors of government policies in an area that government ministries were unable or unwilling to execute themselves, for various fiscal, organizational, and political reasons. The reasons why religious organizations were willing to be so aligned also remain to be made clear, at least in detail. Such questions are seldom asked in a research context because so many academics take the answers to be self-evident. They are not self-evident, and the links can only be made clear by systematic critical analysis.

U.S. aggressive civilization policy and its Canadian counterpart both gave high prominence to denominationally administered industrial schools. To some extent these policies homogenized the aboriginal population, and in effect created a new Indianness defined in the policy makers' terms. All of these may be understood as elements of what Foucault (1975 [1977]; [see Gordon, 1991: 8] called "totalization"). The aggressive policies and their associated practices contributed to the individuation of Indian peoples by fragmenting traditional modes of integration and solidarity through practices which involved intensive surveillance over its members. Such practices required that Indian people interact with their governors as individuals who had little corporate, or sometimes even personal, identity except that given them by their administrators.

In aggressive civilization policies of the 1870s, the process of becoming civilized and the process of becoming schooled became virtually synonymous. Both became enmeshed and even confounded, or as Bourdieu and Wacquant would say (1992) "misrecognized" in ideas of "being converted." Rationalities and routines designed to accomplish any or all of these with all possible haste and completeness (i.e., aggressively) are a particularly clear case of what we may call "intensive governance," analogous to what has called "intensive administration" in another context (D.G. Smith, 1993).

Christianization and Civilization

Christine Bolt (1987: 19) is quite clear that the concepts of education, religious conversion and the adoption of civilization were considered to be necessary counterparts, as much by officials of the state as by missionaries, in the period in which the policy of aggressive civilization was initially conceived in the U.S. She points out (76) that President Ulysses S. Grant's administration was convinced that education, religious conversion, and the process of being civilized were so deeply related that Grant and his government premised the entire policy of aggressive civilization and its prominent role for industrial schools on it.

On the connection between missionaries' concepts of the connection between christianization and westernization Robin Fisher has claimed that "the missionaries did not separate Western Christianity and Civilization, they approached Indian culture as a whole and demanded total transformation of the Indian proselyte. Their aim was the complete destruction of the traditional integrated way of life. The missionaries demanded even more far-reaching transformation than the settlers and they pushed it more aggressively than any other group of whites" (Fisher, 1977: 144-5). This assertion requires some historical contextualization and qualification. In the industrial schools agendas of missions and secular agencies of governance appear to have been remarkably alike and intertwined. It seems unlikely on theoretical grounds that christianization could ever be separated from westernization, nor mission practices ever be bracketed from the culture which produced them. It must be said that in terms of explicit missionary methodologies,[39] christianization and westernization were frequently seen as separate and even incompatible goals, especially in the period before the mid 1850s. In the case we are dealing with, they were deeply intertwined only *after* about the mid-1850s, and were as aggressively pursued in state policy as in mission policy.

In the Northwest Territories of the 1870s and 1880s, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate provided most of the Roman Catholic missionaries and the bishops for the emerging Missionary Vicariates[40] (later dioceses) of that area. Their mission policy only after the mid-1850s and especially after the 1870s came much closer to merging the processes of civilization and christianization than in most missionary policies, and indeed their explicit goal was rapid "cultural replacement" if we follow Nock's (1988) terminology, or "cultural destruction" if we follow Fisher's (1977). Cultural replacement as a missionary goal became fully possible only after the sturdy link of collaboration with the federal government in the Indian industrial school was forged in the late 1870s and early 1880s, in part because the goal of radical cultural replacement served government interests and goals as completely as it did mission interests. While missionaries did not acquire the goal of cultural replacement from state discourse, the convergence of mission and state discourses provided a mutual intensification to state and mission projects.

Theoretically, the convergence of state and mission concepts and practices in the industrial school project is of considerable interest because these schools can readily be seen to combine the Christian notion of pastorate which

Foucault (1978 [1991]); see Gordon 1991: 8-14) calls "the shepherd-game") with the secular concept of citizenship which Foucault (1978 [1991] calls the "the city-game" (see Gordon, 1991: 8-14; Foucault (1978 [1991]): 101-102) identified this potent combination of practices of governance as that which generated the kind of disciplining that is identified here in the governance practices of Native populations in Canada.

In the previous period (to about 1855-60) the Oblates were more concerned with creating devout and faithful Christians among the Indian peoples than they were with the civilizing process (McCarthy, 1981: 56-57; Whitehead, 1988: 16), although the impossibility of bracketing mission practices from their source cultures must be recalled. The Oblates' approach was to change in only a few short years, however, for the founder of the Oblates (Bishop Eugène de Mazenod) found it necessary to issue additional instructions on the conduct of foreign missions and to have them added to the *Constitution and Rules* of the Order in 1853.

Bishop de Mazenod's "Instruction on Foreign Missions" (see Champagne, 1975: 164-177 for the complete French text and annotation)[41] gave considerably more stress to the civilizing aspect of missionary work than hitherto, although the content of the Instruction was stated in rather general terms, probably in order to accommodate the wide variety of situations encountered by a rapidly growing missionary order. By the 1850s it had representatives in the Orient and Africa as well as in the Americas and in many European countries (see Champagne, 1975: 164, n. 1). In the section dealing with the methodology of foreign missions in general, the *Instruction* asserts:

> Furthermore, far from considering the work of forming native peoples in the necessities of civil life alien to their programme, the members of the Society [the Oblate Order] will, on the contrary, have an excellent means of contributing to the good of the mission and making their apostolate more fruitful. This is why they neglect nothing which will assist nomad tribes to renounce the customs of their wandering life and to choose for them locations where they may learn to build houses, to cultivate the land and to familiarize themselves with the first arts of civilization. (Champagne, 1975: 175; translation mine)

Obviously, religious instruction and conversion had by this point become conceptually and practically closely entwined with the civilizing project. The particular means to be employed by the local missionaries were not specified in detail by Bishop de Mazenod's 1853 *Instruction* (Champagne, 1975: 175). The Oblates in North America appear to have accepted the strategies for missions already developed by the Jesuits, with whom they associated during the 1850s in Oregon (see Champagne, 1975, 1983; Quéré, 1958; Whitehead, 1988: intro.), and to have been familiar with the Peace Policy, for one of their number[42] was appointed as a government officer under its provisions in a U.S. Indian community.[43]

Some of the elements specified in Davin's (1879) Canadian adaptation of the U.S. Policy of Aggressive Civilization were close parallels to those specified in Bishop de Mazenod's 1853 *Instruction* (e.g., discouragement of nomadic ways, persuasion of Native peoples to settle permanently and to occupy permanent housing, acquisition of skills in the "arts of civilization," selection of lands and locations for Indian communities on their behalf, allotment of land in severality rather than as common property). Secular and mission concepts of how to handle "the Indian problem" intersected in Davin's report as in so many other locations. They became interlocked in complex, mutually reinforcing strands of practices such that it is difficult to disentangle them historically and analytically, precisely because they were elaborately interconnected throughout nineteenth century cultural politics. Discovery of their common interests by missions and the state in Indian matters and in education in both Canada and the U.S. became particularly strong in the 1860s and 1870s (see Prucha, 1973, 1979, 1981 for an analysis of the U.S. situation).

Native peoples were to be taught how, according to de Mazenod's 1853 *Instruction*, to keep peace with neighbouring groups and among themselves and in their households, and "by [becoming accustomed to] much work and the exercise of intelligence, to save and even to increase their family savings" (Champagne, 1975: 175; translation mine), but the *Instruction* specified another important mechanism for the work of missions:

> given that the prosperity of civil society is intimately connected with the instruction of the young, there must be in each mission, wherever it is possible, a school in which, under the wise direction of a master, the children may learn, along with Christian doctrine, secular knowledge which is useful to learn concerning the arts of contemporary living. (Champagne, 1975: 175; translation mine)

For Oblate missionaries in Canada, at least after the early 1850s, mission methodology included among its main instruments the inculcation of work and the work ethic, the schooling of the young and catechetical and other forms of instruction for adults. Strategies for the civilizing

of aboriginal peoples were thereby discursively conjoined with religious instruction and conversion. It is not possible to consider the these as synonymous, however, for there were elaborate theological distinctions (and hence political rationalities and regimes of practice) among different mission ventures and at different historical moments.

In most cases, the churches and missions were the principal providers of education for Indians, as they were for much of the general population in early Canada. Religious residential and day-schools for Native peoples have had a long history (see e.g., Satz, 1975: 260-270; Titley, 1986; Whitehead, 1988: 55-63). Some of these schools were administered by mission organizations of denominations other than Roman Catholic, as were industrial schools.[44]

Since education had long been a priority in Roman Catholic social policy, it is hardly surprising to find an active exchange of ideas among Oblate missionaries and others concerning schools for Indians in the Old Northwest Territories, but it is simply unsustainable to claim (e.g., Levaque, 1990: 68-69; Nowakowski, 1962) that the Oblates (especially Archbishop Alexandre Taché, Bishop Vital Grandin and Father Lacombe) created the Indian Residential School system and "presented it as a plan to the government" (Levaque, 1990), and had that plan accepted by the federal government at face value, as if the Oblates had created the system single-handedly. An inspection of archival materials shows that the first post-confederation industrial schools and the political rationales which legitimated them were the outcome of what can only be called hard-fought negotiations between mission groups and the state (with a notable absence of aboriginal peoples' representation) and that these schools were erected on a core of political rationalities and well-institutionalized practices already established on a continental scale. It is quite evident from the archives that governments as well as missionaries of all denominations were aware of educational ventures among native peoples elsewhere in the world.[45] We are dealing with the analysis of cultural practices of considerable scale and historical continuity.

It is certainly apparent that the Oblates had been intensely involved in discussions about, and experiments in, Indian schooling from their arrival in Canada in the 1840s, and that from the 1850s onwards these discussions were given a particular impetus by Bishop de Mazenod's reference to the priority to be given to mission schools in his *Instruction on Foreign Missions* of 1853. They made many representations to the federal government during the 1870s after confederation, as they had with the preceding North West Territorial administration, but it is possible to show that several of their own distinctive recommendations were not adopted in the schools policy as passed by Order-in-Council in 1883. While these recommendations were not incorporated into the schools plan, the Oblates had undoubtedly been active in education, and specifically in forms of it which predated Davin's formulation by several years. By the early 1870s, for example, the Oblates had established a large model farm at St. Albert, where the purpose was to produce not only Christians and "*savants*," but agriculturalists who had taken the crucial step toward civilization by abandoning nomadic hunting and gathering.[46]

Schools of various types[47] had been a standard accompaniment of Roman Catholic missions since their inception in Canada in the seventeenth century (see e.g., Choquette, 1992; J.R. Miller, 1996: 39-60), but the specific form of state-supported schools administered by missionaries (now usually referred to as "residential schools") were a creation of several specific historical circumstances of the post-Confederation period. These schools undoubtedly represented a major historical consolidation of the power of the missions in general and their role in education in particular, but at the same time they were an important component in Canada's projects for state-building in the West. The industrial schools must be understood as a joint venture in governance by the missions, the federal government (especially the Indian Affairs administration) and the territorial legislators, in which their interests were negotiated so as to coincide, if not completely then at least on strategic issues of common interest. It remains for us now to identify some details of how religious missions in Canada came to be linked with those of the state-building projects of early post-Confederation Canada.

The Intersection of Mission and State Policy and Practice

While it may be possible to disentangle the policies and practices of the state and the missions in the case of the industrial schools for clarity of literary exposition, it may not desirable to do so, for then a sense of their immensely complex ambiguities and of their inherent imbrication runs high risk of being obscured or even completely lost. These ambiguities and entanglements are a crucial part of their power base, difficult to perceive in its totality and difficult to challenge. There is a point at which the attempted clarifications of social analysis must yield place to the inherent "fuzziness of practical logic" (see Bourdieu and Wacquant: intro).

Secondly, the very real temptation, because it is an almost unquestioned practice deeply habituated and

unproblematized in historical and social analysis, is then to ask "which came first?", or "which has priority?", or "which is dominant?" All such questions avoid the recognition that policies within both the missions and government ministries in the nineteenth century are deeply racinated in cultural concepts which transcend and include them both; that neither "came first" or "dominated," and that their entanglement transcended the Canadian state formation. These practices were of a continental scale, situated in cultural practices already established historically prior to the state formations articulated by the War of Independence in the U.S. and by Confederation in Canada.

Another position that will be less than politically acceptable to all, but which faithfully reflects the role of aboriginal residential and industrial schools is this: we may take it as axiomatic that Indian industrial schools were neither a unique case of governance projects among Indians, nor simply a scheme of oppression for Indian peoples alone. They were but one part of a complex array of state-building and state-linked governance enterprises of educating and civilizing on this continent which sought to govern and regulate populations of disparate origins and territories of several kinds. This does not diminish in any way the conclusion that there are distinctive qualities to the situation of aboriginal peoples, nor does it deny in the least that the effects of the projects were experienced in a particularly acute destructive and disintegrative way by them. If anything, the realization that the industrial schools were closely interlocked with many other projects of governance gives the situation of the aboriginal peoples an even more emphatic poignancy.

Industrial schools in Canada were administered by missions on an annually renewable contract with the Indian administration, in direct imitation of the practice established in the U.S. under the Peace Policy. The contracts were not with the individual teachers, but with the mission organizations to which they belonged.

It is essential to make clear that industrial school teachers were severally government appointees,[48] not simply mission employees. Recommendations for each teacher's appointment by mission authorities could be (and were) declined by the government. Teachers could be discharged *by the government*, especially on such grounds of lack of qualifications, a point that of friction that never disappeared in the government/mission school relation.

Inspectors for the industrial schools were government employees, who inspected and reported on an annual basis regarding the compliance of the missions as corporations in terms of their contracts, on their maintenance of schools as state property, and on the performance of individual teachers as individual state appointees. Such a contractual relation ensures the development of a complicated social and administrative relationship.

Viewed from the position of the Native peoples, the interlocking of their situation with larger schemes of governance was probably as opaque to most of them as it was to the missionaries in the schools. The understanding and experience of Native peoples with industrial schools must be heard, but there are issues regarding the interlocking of their situation with others which a critical theoretical historical anthropology would be able to elucidate.

The question must inevitably arise as to whether the missionaries of the time fully realized—or perhaps realized at all—the consequences of mission and state collaboration when they became enmeshed in projects of state-building and sovereignty. It is not yet clear whether many missionaries found the link between church and state embodied in the industrial schools (or its pedagogical practices and policies) to be problematic.[49] Records show that at least some missionaries were quite aware that they were in some sense acting on behalf of, or in conjunction with, the state—whatever else they thought they were doing and despite disclaimers of that collaboration by others,[50] or whether they found the collaboration problematic or not. We should expect that the majority of missionaries were probably not aware of the convergence of mission and state projects and discourses, for the dynamics of such discourses which promoted "misrecognition" of the relation were undoubtedly as powerful and effective for the direct participants as for the Canadian public. In a revealing statement dated about 1895, some eleven years after the first industrial school mandated by the Canada's version of the policy of aggressive civilization was actually built, Rev. Fr. A.M. Carion OMI stated in a report from Kamloops Indian Residential School in British Columbia:

> We keep constantly before the mind of the pupils the object which the government has in view . . . which is to civilize the Indians and to make them good, useful and law-abiding members of society. A continuous supervision is exercised over them, and no infraction of the rules of morality and good manners is left without due correction. (in Cronin, 1960: 215)

A clearer statement of the missionary role in the civilizing and assimilation projects in a school designed to isolate (protect) its inmates and of its implications for governance, surveillance and discipline in industrial school pedagogical practice could hardly be imagined.

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Abbreviations

AD = Archival and published materials in Les Archives Déschâtelets, Édifice Déschâtelets, Order of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa.

EG = *Écrits Grandin*, MS of entire corpus of the writings of Bishop Justin-Vital Grandin; Centre des Récherches, St. Paul University, Ottawa.

NAC = National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Notes

1 Hunt has admitted that this appellation is "too clumsy to stick" (I agree), but he claims that it serves to delineate a field of study (in this I agree).

2 "Projects" denote "the discourses and practices directed toward the control of others, with regard to social "objects" or targets that are discursively constructed" (Hunt 1994: 230).

3 Nicholas Flood Davin (1840-1901), of Irish origin, was called to the bar in England in 1865. He practiced as a journalist and parliamentary reporter for several newspapers in England and Ireland. He emigrated to Canada in 1872 where he wrote for various newspapers and wrote political pamphlets and was called to the bar in Ontario. He ran for the Tories in Ontario in 1874. In 1879, John A. Macdonald delegated him to write the report on industrial schools. After defending George Bennett in 1880, accused assassin of George Brown, the high-point of his legal career, John A. MacDonald appointed him secretary of the Royal Commission on the Canadian Pacific Railway. By 1883, he had moved to Regina, there becoming editor of the *Regina Leader* and became a Justice of the Peace in 1886. After winning the Conservative nomination for Assiniboia in 1887 and re-election in 1896, he became a vocal defender of self-government in the North West Territories. His parliamentary career was less than brilliant, although he rose to speak over one thousand times in 1897, several speeches being lengthy. Davin committed suicide in Winnipeg in 1901. For a substantial biographical sketch see Thompson 1990: 248-253 and for a full-length study see Koester (1980).

4 The Minister of the Interior was the minister responsible for the administration of Indian Affairs in Canada at this time. The post was held by Sir John A. MacDonald simultaneously with the posts of Prime Minister and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.

5 The earliest use of the expression "aggressive civilization" seems to be traceable to President Ulysses S. Grant's Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano (see statement by Delano in Prucha, 1976: 30).

6 "Industrial schools" after 1884 were indeed "residential schools" (the students resided in them). Located intentionally *off* the reserves, their pedagogical practice placed a heavy emphasis on the teaching of crafts and trades and on the pedagogical value of work itself, supplemented by some conventional study in reading, writing and arithmetic. There were also "residential schools," which taught school subjects located *on* the reserves, and which were an important element in the fulfilment of treaty obligations. The two types of schools were clearly distinguished by government and the missions in the late 19th century. In later times in Canada (after the 1920s), what we now know as "Indian residential schools" incorporated important features of both types of school, for the distinction between them in administration and policy and especially in public usage became gradually obscured.

7 The archival copy of the Order-in-Council by which the first three Indian residential schools were established is accompanied by a letter of recommendation from Hector Langevin representing the Committee of the Privy Council dated July 13, 1883, by a supporting recommendation from Edward Dewdney (Commissioner for Indian Affairs for Manitoba and the North West Territories) to Sir John A. MacDonald (Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs) dated April 16, 1883, and by Davin's report of March 14, 1879 (marked

"confidential"). Davin's report, printed in small typeface in galley proof and probably never generally circulated except as a confidential internal government memorandum, occupies 18 pages of the Order-in-Council (total 32 pages) which is otherwise handwritten in large copper-plate script (see NAC Series RG2 A1A, Vol. 436, File 1650). An additional supporting document from Sir John A. MacDonald as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs dated July 13, 1883 is found in NAC Series RG2 A1B, Vol. 3059, File 1650 (601-B). Bishops Grandin and Taché are mentioned briefly by name in these documents as chief administrators of the two Roman Catholic schools authorized to be built. A third industrial school (Battleford) was assigned to the Anglican missions in the order-in-council.

8 A letter from Hector Langevin representing the Committee of the Privy Council which had referred the matter for council deliberation, and a letter from Edgar Dewdney, then Commissioner for Indian Affairs for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (see documents referred to in note 7).

9 Bishop Vital-Justin Grandin OMI (1829-1902). For a biographical sketch, see Huel (1994), and for the placement of Grandin's career, policies and missionary methods in historical perspective see C. Champagne (1983).

10 Archbishop Alexandre-Antonin Taché, OMI (1823-94); for a substantial biographical sketch, see Hamelin (1990: 1000-12).

11 Father Albert Lacombe OMI (1827?-1916); for a biographical treatment see MacGregor (1975). A somewhat contentious work, this biography nevertheless avoids saccharin hagiography.

12 Bishop Vital Grandin, in the official government translation (dated April 5, 1875) of a letter to David Laird (Minister of the Interior) dated probably early in 1875 (NAC Series RG10, Vol. 3622, File 4953, Reel C10108) mentions some of these distinctive ideas: that the way to "civilize" the Indians was on "model farms" as well as in "asylums for orphans"; that the government should cede large tracts of land to the missionaries for this purpose which the missionaries could eventually give to Indians as "dower rights"; that the government should give the Oblates "paternal authority" over Indians on these farms until the age of majority (22 for boys) or until the age of marriage; that a powerful means of "civilizing" Indians would be a policy of strongly encouraging their marriage to Métis persons, who were already "semi-civilized," etc. He continued these and similar suggestions in a series of letters to David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories, January 25 and April 2, 1880 and in another of uncertain date (see EG Vol. 22, pages 192-195, 196-198, 199-203); see also Champagne, 1983: 186-188 for a discussion of a number of these letters).

13 Especially Archbishop Alexandre Taché of St. Boniface, Bishop Vital Grandin of St. Albert, and Fr. Lacombe.

14 In the official government translation dated April 5, 1875 of a letter from Bishop Vital Grandin to David Laird (Minister of the Interior), Grandin said that he had discussed residential schools in meetings with John A. MacDonald and with Hector Langevin in June 1873 (NAC Series RG10, Vol. 3622, File 4953, Reel C10108).

15 Principally the Roman Catholics, largely through the Oblates; the Anglicans; and the Methodists. Other denominations (e.g., Presbyterians) were involved, but after a few years' of operation of the schools only the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans remained active in this field of mission activity.

16 See note 7 above.

17 For discussions and interpretations of the American Peace Commission see Bolt (1987), Utley (1984: chap. 3-7) and Prucha (1973; 1975; 1976; 1979; 1981; 1984: Vol. 1, Pt. 5, chap. 19-25), and especially the careful reconstruction of the Commission and its mandate by Keller (1983). Documents relating to the foundation and work of the Peace Commission from 1867 until its termination in 1881 are provided by Prucha (1975: documents 72-81, 85).

18 A committee of citizens and statesmen, The Peace Commission, was appointed to advise on the Peace Policy. It was headed by an aboriginal person, Colonel Ely S. Parker, Chief of the Seneca and Grand Sachem of the Iroquois Confederacy, who was Ulysses S. Grant's first Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Utley 1984: 130), and included several eminent Christian clergy.

19 There are parallels too in the first *Indian Act* (1876), which consolidated legislation affecting Indians inherited from the British (and to some extent French) colonial regimes and of the governments of Upper and Lower Canada.

20 The expression "policy of aggressive civilization" does not occur frequently in Canadian administrative or political usage, although Davin's report is explicitly modelled on it by name and explicitly uses the expression. The Canadian administration clearly committed itself to a policy of promoting the "civilization" of the Indians, as is clearly seen in the especially frequent use of this expression in the period after 1876 and in policy, legal and administrative practices as those promoting enfranchisement for Indians as early as 1857.

21 See for example, Burchell (1991); Burchell et al. (1991); Curtis (1992); Dean (1991; 1999); D.G. Smith (1993); Donald (1992); Gordon (1991); Hunter (1988); Hunt (1996; 1999); Rose (1989; 1996); Rose and Miller (1990); and R.S. Smith (1985).

22 Sarah Suleri (1992: intro. chap 1) refers to this kind of enmeshment as "imbrication," a suggestive metaphor derived from the language of basketry and textiles.

23 "Protection" here is defined from the policy point of view, if not exactly the perception and experience of the Indian peoples.

24 For a brief discussion of the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763 and for extracts of the original text see Smith, Derek G. (1974: xiv-xvi, 2-4), Cumming and Mickenberg (1972: 85-88, 167-169, 223-225, 291-294, etc.) and Morse (1989).

25 "Governance is exercised where a relatively persistent set of often conflicting practices select and construct some social subject that is acted upon in such a way as to control, limit, and direct of the selected object of governance" (Hunt, 1994: 230). It is embodied not only in the governing activities of the state but in any regulative activity seeking to "conduct the conduct of others" (see Foucault, 1978 [1991]; Gordon, 1991: 48; Hunt, 1994: 229-230). Curtis (1992) provides a particularly useful and nuanced reading of

Foucault's insights which differs somewhat from those of Rose and Miller.

26 A Roman Catholic priest, principal of the Kamloops Indian Residential School in the 1890s, stated in a report: "we keep constantly before the mind of the pupils the object which the government has in view, which is to civilize the Indians and to make them good, useful and law-abiding members of society" (see Cronin, 1960: 215).

27 In this light, see Jaenen's (1992) treatment of educational practices as a key element in the policy of Francization in New France. I take it as axiomatic that education is never politically neutral in a colonial context, that it always bears a notable burden of the colonializing process.

28 That is to say (see Foucault, 1975 [1977]), as means for accustoming the school populations to surveillance and individuation, and for their formation into new totalizations (populations with identities as determined by those who rule).

29 See Cullen Perry (1992) for a valuable analogue of this claim.

30 A rigid conceptual distinction between policy and practice may be deeply problematic, for "policy" is implicit in stabilized routines and rituals of practice, just as "practice" is partly a product of its legitimating concepts. A useful distinction between "political rationalities" and "practice" is particularly helpful here (Gordon, 1991; Miller and Rose, 1990; Rose, 1996).

31 Historical scholars such as Braudel (1973), Delumeau (1983) and others have argued persuasively for the treatment of particular social phenomena over long historical durations; see Robert Darnton's (1985: 257-63) discussion of the methodological issues in such historical methodology as "histoire des mentalités" or that of the "Annales School."

32 This is a minimal statement of the kind of reflexivity called for by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992).

33 The decision that Indian administration should come under civil administration in British North America was issued by Royal Instruction in 1796 (see "Additional Instructions Relating to the Indian Department, December 15, 1796" and "Letter, Lord Portland to the Duke of York Regarding Military and Civil Administration of Indian Affairs, 21 February 1800" reprinted in D.G. Smith 1975: 18-20).

34 Indian residential schools had a long history in both the United States and Canada. Native people from Canada were sent to American schools on a trial basis, for example to the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, as early as 1876 (see Szasz and Ryan 1988), and the Canadian federal government seems to have been fully aware of the various experiments in Indian schooling in the United States.

35 To mention only Canadian examples: Sir Peregrine Maitland's "civilization" programs for Native peoples during his tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada 1818-1828, in which Christian missions and "school houses for instruction and industry" were an integral part. This was so in Sir James Kempt's plans for Indian policy in Lower Canada in 1829 and Sir George Murray's instructions (1830) on Indian policy while he was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in Westminster (see e.g., Allen, 1992: 178-182). Such schemes were opposed by Sir Francis Bond Head in his tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada beginning in 1836, who was fiercely opposed by the Methodists and the Aborigines Protection Society (Allen, 1992: 183). The Rev. Egerton Ryerson prepared a comprehensive policy involving a prominent place for mission-administered Indian "Industrial Schools" (his words) in 1847 (NAC RG 10 Series, Vol. 6811). All of these were significant forerunners of Davin's (1879) Industrial School plan.

36 It is truly ironic that a Policy of Aggressive Civilization should be the centrepiece of a Peace Policy, unless one realizes that "peace" rather than being a noun in this context appears to connote "active pacification" (verb trans.), hence "aggressive civilizing" (verb trans.) as the means to accomplish it. There is surely at least ideological irony at in the commissioning of Christian religious groups for the execution of such policies, but significantly this commissioning is the source of the "misrecognition" (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) of the inherent "symbolic violence" (see Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) in the policies.

37 Missionary theorists debated whether christianization preceded civilization or vice versa, and their positions were various) (see Burridge, 1985, 1991; Campeau, 1987; Champagne, 1983; John Webster Grant, 1984; Whitehead, 1988:13-18). In state policy in nineteenth century Canada and the U.S. they implied each other, the formulations being as various as (but not always identical to) those of the missionaries.

38 Religious control of civil posts was abolished in the U.S. by the 1880s (Bolt, 1987: 79).

39 For example, Jesuit policy in 16th-century New France first distinguished and separated christianization and civilization but only later merged the two (Burridge, 1985, 1991; Campeau, 1987; John Webster Grant, 1984). Oblate mission practice and method probably did merge the two, but not so much in the earliest period (say before the 1860s), when the Oblates had no set missionary method (Whitehead, 1988: 13-18), but their main emphasis seems to have been more (or at least as much) on christianization than on westernization. See Claude Champagne's (1983) observations on "Francization" and the Oblate missions in Canada, and Surtees (1988: 83-85) and Jaenen (1996: 45-61). Simple generalizations about the relation of the two in mission work are not possible. These are grounds for claiming that Robin Fisher's characterization requires contextualization and qualification.

40 Missionary Vicariates were missionary regions under the pastoral care and administration of a titular bishop, but did not constitute dioceses in the canonical sense.

41 Bishop de Mazenod's *"Instruction"* (Champagne, 1975: 164-177) consisted of three main sections: a general preamble (165-166), followed by Part 1 ("Concerning Foreign Missions in General") (166-171) which laid out certain methodological principles for missions, and Part 2 ("The Directing of Foreign Missions") (171-177) which laid out norms for the direction, supervision and conducting of the affairs of the Oblate foreign missions wherever in the world they were located.

42 Rev. Fr. Eugène-Casimir Chirouse OMI, who worked in the Tulalip area on the Northwest Coast; other Oblates who had worked with him in the U.S. later established the Oblates as a strong mission force in British Columbia (Rev. Frs Louis

D'Herbomez, Paul Durieu—both later bishops—and Fr Charles Pandosy, among others) (See Whitehead, 1988: 5, 9, 13, 25).

43 In addition to Claude Champagne's excellent study of the history of Oblate missions, further sources on mission strategy among the Oblates in the formative period from 1845 to 1870 may be drawn from a careful interpretive reading of a number of sources, including those of other scholarly Oblates such as Carriére (1957, 1963); J-E. Champagne (1946); Lamirande (1957, 1958, 1963); Waggett (1947). Quéré's (1958) doctoral dissertation on Monseigneur de Mazenod contains a historical treatment of the order's work in Canada. A copy (possibly the only one in Canada) is available in the AD BC/331/.Q43M2/1858. These works are based extensively on unpublished records of the order and on recognized published sources. They are as essential to consult as the indispensable works of established non-Oblate scholars of missionary methods in Canada such as Burridge (1985, 1991), Jacqueline Gresko (1975, 1982, 1986, 1992), John Webster Grant (1978, 1980, 1984), J. Miller (1996), and Whitehead (1988: intro).

44 For a history of schools for teaching manual crafts and skills in Southern located on model farms administered by the Methodists see Whitehead (1988: 5, 8-9, 55); and for an excellent detailed history of the pre-Confederation industrial and residential school experiments in English Canada see J.R. Miller (1996: 61-88). In 1847, the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, a noted Methodist educationalist serving in the Education Office of the Government of Upper Canada, made a lengthy report to the Assistant Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs located in Lower Canada at the latter's request, providing suggestions "as to the best method of establishing and conducting Industrial Schools for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian Tribes." A typewritten script of this report (three single-spaced foolscap pages) dated May 26, 1847, Education Office, Toronto, to George Vardon, Assistant Superintendent-General, Indian Affairs, Montreal, is to be found in the AD HR/6503/.C73R/4. The original is located in the NAC RG10 Series, Vol. 6811.

Ryerson's (1847) report remarkably foreshadows Davin's (1879) report of 32 years later. Ryerson's scheme thoroughly conjoins basic literacy education with industrial pedagogy and Christian missionization. He recommended that schools for Indians should "be called Industrial Schools; they are schools of more than manual labour: they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these." The Indian education system that he advocated should be "a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic... agriculture, kitchen, gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements." Ryerson's report stated that "the North American Indian cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization... except in connection with, if not by the influence of, not only religious instruction and sentiment but of religious feelings... The theory of a certain kind of educational philosophy is falsified in respect to the Indian: with him nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character without the aid of religious feeling... Even a knowledge of the doctrines and moral precepts of orthodox Christianity, with all the appliances of prudential example and instruction, is inadequate to produce in the heart and life of the Indian, the spirit and habits of an industrial civilization, without the additional energy and impulsive activity of religious feeling. The animating and controlling spirit of each industrial school should, therefore, in my opinion, be a religious one."

45 For example, the Oblates were well aware of the activities of *Les Écoles d'Orient* in Africa, and for a time attempted to get particular papal approval for their school plans in Canada (see Champagne, 1975, 164; 1983). They knew at first hand the Jesuit activities in Indian mission schools in the western U.S. (see Champagne, 1983; Quéré, 1958; Whitehead, 1988: 13-18) since the Oblates and Jesuits had collaborated for a time while the Oblates were in Oregon (Lamirande, 1958, 1963; Waggett, 1947).

46 See letter from Bishop Vital Grandin to Father Aubert, December 7, 1872 (EG, Vol. 14, p. 539), and his "Report on the Vicariate" presented to the Oblate General Chapter in 1873 (EG, Vol. 13, p. 245).

47 For example, small, occasional day-schools provided by missionaries as they had the time; "residential schools," similar to the former (i.e., small "domestic" schools with only a few pupils, not the large centralized and isolated schools that are now associated with this term) where pupils lived and studied for irregular periods of weeks or months at a time because their parents were nomadic or lived at a great distance; small orphanages, etc.

48 Industrial school teachers were not government employees, but they were government appointees. Their appointments were made on the recommendations of the missions, but their qualifications for consideration as appointees were defined by the government.

49 Archival research in AD for documents which would indicate, even indirectly (e.g., by censures or admonitions from superiors, etc.) that any of the Oblate missionaries had difficulties with the nature of the industrial schools or their pedagogical practices. Since none have so far been found, we assume either that these matters were not at issue among the missionaries of the 1870-90 period, or that they did not feel free to express concerns on these matters even at a personal level (e.g., in personal correspondence). The strongly apologetic stance prevalent in Roman Catholicism in the latter part of the last century, let alone internal sanctions in the Oblate order, probably encouraged the reverse (i.e., a defence of the industrial school system whenever criticism arose, from within or without the order).

50 See for example two relatively recent examples, Nowakowski, 1962; and Levaque, 1990.

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