

Landscapes of Conversion: The Evolution of the Residential School Sites at
Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, Ontario

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA) in Humanities

The Faculty of Graduate Studies
Laurentian University
Sudbury, Ontario, Canada

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Please be advised that this paper contains information and details on Residential Schools that may be distressing. If you experience any emotional difficulties invoked from memories of residential schools after reading this thesis please do not hesitate to get help or call **1-866-925-4419 for the 24-hour National Indian Residential School Crisis Line.**

THESIS DEFENCE COMMITTEE/COMITÉ DE SOUTENANCE DE THÈSE
Laurentian University/Université Laurentienne
Faculty of Graduate Studies/Faculté des études supérieures

Title of Thesis Titre de la thèse	Landscapes of Conversion: The Evolution of the Residential School Sites at Wiikwenkoong and Spanish, Ontario		
Name of Candidate Nom du candidat	Harvey, Jennifer		
Degree Diplôme	Master of Arts		
Department/Program Département/Programme	Humanities	Date of Defence Date de la soutenance	February 7, 2019

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Abstract

This thesis explores the history of the Society of Jesus and its efforts at missionary work from the 17th century in New France to the 20th century in Canada and the use of architecture and landscape development to settle and convert Indigenous peoples into Euro-Christian communities. The Jesuits focused on using Indigenous children to aid in the conversion of Indigenous societies and their efforts resulted in the residential school complexes of the 19th and 20th century in the villages of Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, Ontario. Using illustrations, photographs and written descriptions of former student experiences the atmosphere of the physical environments in Spanish are depicted. The ambitious land and architecture strategies of the Society contributed to the failure of the Spanish Indian Residential Schools. The thesis concludes with a discussion regarding the former sites of the Jesuit residential schools in Northern Ontario and the current discourse on Canadian residential school buildings and sites in the media.

Keywords

Indian Residential School, Indigenous children, First Nations, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Indigenous architecture, assimilation, conversion, Wiikwemkoong, Wikwemikong, Society of Jesus, Jesuits, Jesuit architecture, Jesuit landscape, agriculture and Christianity, architecture and Christianity.

Acknowledgments

A sincere thank you to my Supervisor Dr. Susan Paterson Glover for her knowledge, patience and commitment to excellence.

Thank you to Dr. Patrick Stewart for being a member of my thesis committee and your encouragement, guidance and interest in this project.

Chi-miigwetch to Dr. Cecil King, the external examiner, for taking the time to be involved in my thesis project.

Chi-miigwetch to Jerry Otowadjiwan for introducing me to the architecture of a Sweat Lodge and for sharing the knowledge of your culture.

A heartfelt thank you to Greg Schraeder for his friendship and for sharing his personal photographs and stories over the years. Chi-miigwetch to the former students of the schools at Spanish and other residential schools who have shared their experiences, especially Rosella Kinoshameg.

The writing of this thesis was made more challenging by becoming a mother to my daughter Eliot in the midst of research, but it also brought understanding that would be otherwise unattainable. She made the idea of losing a child to any form of government control concrete and unbearable.

A huge thank you to my parents Susan and Ken Harvey for looking after Eliot when needed so that this thesis could be written and for keeping me going through this process.

Thank you to Gwendlyn Goulet for your help at the Spanish Public Library.

Thank you to Father Paul Robson, S.J. of Holy Cross Church in Wiikwemkoong for being so welcoming and for taking the time to help. Miigwetch Steven George, I enjoyed our conversations and appreciate your knowledge and interest in the history of the area.

Thanks also to Ms. Mader, for sharing her story about the property she owns and for allowing me to wander the grounds.

Merci beaucoup, Theresa Rowat, directrice, Archive des jésuites au Canada.

And last but not least, a thank you to my colleagues at the McEwen School of Architecture who took the time to ask about my thesis, listened, offered encouragement, shared insights and leads for further understanding the architecture of residential schools.

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Preamble: Building Up to a Thesis

I was sitting in the ruins of the Holy Cross Mission on the fourth of August 2018, waiting for the Debahjehmujig Theatre production of “Tales from the Sugar Bush” to begin. It was great to see the site animated and occupied; every other time I had been there I was the only visitor or had arrived just after other people had left, usually on a week day. But that night, chairs were set out, a set was prepared, people were arriving to see the play and the site was alive. For the first time, I could really get a sense of scale in the shell of a building that had been built by local Indigenous People and members of the Society of Jesus over one hundred and fifty years previous. In the background, the beat of the Wikwemikong Pow Wow drifted up from the celebration near the shore...drums and powerful song floating through the empty windows of the stone ruins.



Figure 1. Tales from the Sugar Bush Performance Set, Wiikwemkoong Ruins, August 2018

I bought a copy of *Where Stories Meet: An Oral History of De-ba-jeh-mu-jig Theatre* and sat beside my mom who had joined me on my part pleasure/ part research mission. I opened the book and the first thing that caught my eye was Thompson Highway's name in the table of contents. I had been having a difficult time, in the last throes of 'righting' my thesis...questioning why I had chosen this subject and how on earth was I going to finish it. In my moment of self-doubt, the answer found me in the ruins of one of the buildings that I was researching. The answer was that the subject had chosen me.

I am a non-Indigenous settler scholar and landscape architect who grew up in Espanola, Ontario, an area populated by Anishnabek living on and off reserve—on treaty (and as I learned), non-treaty land. When I went to school in the '70s, '80s and early '90s we did not study Indigenous culture in school and I didn't have much interaction with the culture either. I went to school with Indigenous students, had friends and classmates who were Indigenous, but sadly I did not learn much about the culture.

In the late '90s I attended the University of Guelph for the undergraduate Landscape Architecture program, and I made the decision to enrol in Helen Hoy's "Introduction to Native North American Literature" course, because I love to read and I wanted to know more about Indigenous culture. On the first day I had to choose a book to study for a group assignment and I chose Thompson Highway's play *The Rez Sisters*, not knowing anything about the author or the play. To my surprise on one of the very first pages of his work I read words about Manitoulin Island and Espanola. For a person some distance from home, it was a pleasant surprise even though the words about Espanola were not flattering—it is a paper mill town after all and they tend to smell bad, but they were familiar sentiments.

Later I chose to write an undergraduate thesis for my final year called “A Community Design for Moose-Deer Point.” Moose-Deer Point is a Potawatomi Reserve just south of Parry Sound Ontario. I read books written on traditional Indigenous culture to understand Indigenous relationships to the land and walked away from the finished project knowing I had so much more to learn—not just about one unique Indigenous culture but so many individual nations. I enjoyed working on the project but recall being shocked by racist comments and the paternalistic attitude of my thesis instructor at the time. Through working on the project, I realized that design with Indigenous communities needed to be a collaborative effort; my supervisor at the time felt otherwise. His belief was that we needed to tell the communities what to do. I got a lousy grade on my final project, but I left with my integrity intact.

After graduation from Guelph I worked for the federal government and engaged in projects with Anishinaabe people in Dokis First Nation and Haudenosaunee peoples from Akwesasne First Nation. I had the privilege of learning about sites through Traditional Knowledge¹, learning about traditional engagement protocols through a Smoky Fire Ceremony and opening and closing prayers on Six Nations territory.

In 2013, I travelled to Tanzania and directly experienced benefits from being a white woman that made me uncomfortable, and for the first time I considered what that meant. For the

¹ Traditional knowledge does not have a universal definition but includes the collective knowledge of traditions used by Indigenous people to sustain and adapt to their environment, according to the Assembly of First Nations. It is passed down through the generations and may include (but is not limited to) different forms of knowledge such as storytelling, arts and crafts, spirituality and teachings (https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/env/ns__traditional_knowledge.pdf).

first time, I was directly seeing how my “white skin” gave me privileges, whether I was being ushered to the front of a line or driving in a safari vehicle, noticing that other than the drivers, the other people in safari vehicles were also mainly white. It made me reconsider my life in Canada, living on treaty land and the benefits I had received but had not considered previously.

A few months afterwards I applied to the Master’s in Interdisciplinary Humanities at Laurentian University where I met Dr. Sharla Peltier, at the time a fellow student. She invited me to a virtual classroom on Indian Residential Schools (IRS) that she was participating in through her work as an Aboriginal Speech and Language Pathologist in a local school board. During the session, I saw the photo of school depicted in figure 1. There were similar images depicting a large isolated school separated by a fence from the surrounding landscape and in some pictures, the families of the students as well. That moment was the impetus for the thesis that followed.

Many of the photos showed sites that were clear-cut, with the sublime² Canadian landscape relegated to the boundaries. I was surprised, expecting the large schools to have maintained some of the natural vegetation around the sites to act as wind barriers and for shade, at a bare minimum. As seen in the background, water was often used as a barrier to further separate schools from local communities. I had an interest in children’s play stemming from my

² In 18th century landscape aesthetic terminology the “sublime” was used as an antonym to the “beautiful,” first appearing in Edmund Burke’s *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756)(Mitchell 43). Beautiful referring to the smoothness, gradual variation and gentle rolling hills of the English countryside and sublime referring to the “awful, the rugged, and the wild—mountains, chasms, and ferocious beasts” according to William J. Mitchell et al. in *The Poetics of Gardens* (1989)(43).



Figure 2. *Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School*. Library and Archives Canada / PA-182246.

student work at Guelph, and private sector work where I had visited playgrounds in the Ottawa area. I was curious about attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and the connection of the disorder with the sterile playgrounds I had seen...hard surface, single basketball net in the middle. Often the only greenspaces were on the fringe of the sites where children were not allowed to play. These photos of the residential schools struck a chord with my own experiences. I revisited the subject of children's play through my practicum project in the Humanities MA program and produced an essay titled *The Curricula of the 20th Century Montessori and Bauhaus Schools and Their Influence on the Montessori School of Sudbury and Laurentian Architecture Laurentienne*. Richard Louv's book, *Last Child in the Woods: Saving Our Children from Nature Deficit Disorder*, explores the connection between modern society and the disconnection of children from nature. It discusses the benefits of natural landscapes in alleviating anxiety, depression and other childhood issues. I wondered about the experiences of the children in the

residential schools who at home would have had access to nature but at school it was removed from the immediate surroundings by the demands for agriculture and surveillance.

My knowledge of children's play led me to so many questions—about the landscapes of the Residential School System and how the landscape exacerbated or provided relief to the children attending the schools. How were the sites chosen, and why? How were the landscapes developed, utilized and experienced by the children at the schools? Were there auxiliary sites that were part of the schools? How were the sites controlled? How are the sites viewed now? Is there a possibility for future projects whereby the sites can be used in the healing process? What role can designers fulfill in the process?

The year after beginning my Master's program, I began teaching as a sessional instructor at Laurentian Architecture Laurentienne, now the McEwen School of Architecture at Laurentian University. As part of the second-year studio that I have taught for four years, I try to impart my love of and knowledge of the natural world to architecture students. My Master's thesis project expanded to consider how the architecture of the Residential School System was used as a tool to replace the traditional architecture of children's home communities with the concepts inherent in Settler architecture. At the same time my project contracted from the ambitious desire to look at all the IRS schools across the country to focus on the schools that were closest to where I grew up. Participating in building birch bark canoes with Métis Elder Marcel Labelle led to a new understanding of the spirit of what are considered inanimate objects in the Western view, enabling me to understand objects in a different way—as vessels of Spirit.

There is one experience (of many) that I had during the course of my thesis that helped to shape the way I think about architecture, landscape and worldviews. In the autumn of 2014, I attended a Sweat Lodge ceremony with Elder Jerry Otowadjiwan. I arrived early and Jerry was

kind enough to share his knowledge with me. Over the course of the morning and afternoon we built the Sweat Lodge and I listened to Jerry as he told me the meaning of the structural elements, the orientation and the ceremony. I wore a skirt, which I was not accustomed to but was required. Wearing a skirt may seem a small inconvenience, but skirts are not part of my wardrobe on a daily basis and it felt really awkward to me, particularly because this would normally be the kind of work I did in the comfort of jeans. I have since come to understand from remembering a story that Jerry told me that in part, skirts convey feminine energy and are traditional protocol for Jerry's Sweat Lodge ceremony.

The time came for the ceremony and I entered the lodge, sitting in the symbolic south door (refer to figure 3). It was an intense spiritual experience and very different anything I had experienced. I enjoyed sitting on the ground and feeling connected to the earth and sharing the experience even though I felt awkward at times. Having spent time in the United Church as a child, I was used to an inner reflection on my relationship with "God." Surrounded by people speaking my language, listening to stories of "Jesus," sitting with a large group of people but allowed to remain within my own thoughts. I would eventually break away from Christianity...attending church was not enforced after a certain age. However, I am acutely aware of the role of Christianity in daily culture as a Canadian and I would say my relationship to the church is best described as "complicated."

In some ways the Indigenous worldview or as Dr. Patrick Stewart refers to it "viewoftheplanet," (Indigenous Architecture through Indigenous Knowledge: Dim sagalts' apkw nism' [Together we will build a village] (2015)) is closer to my own than the Western worldview although of course, I cannot carry the same understanding or understand the Indigenous perspective fully because I am from outside the cultures. I have a deep respect for

SWEAT LODGE 11/01/2014 WITH JERRY, JACK, TERLA + TAINMY

11/02/2014

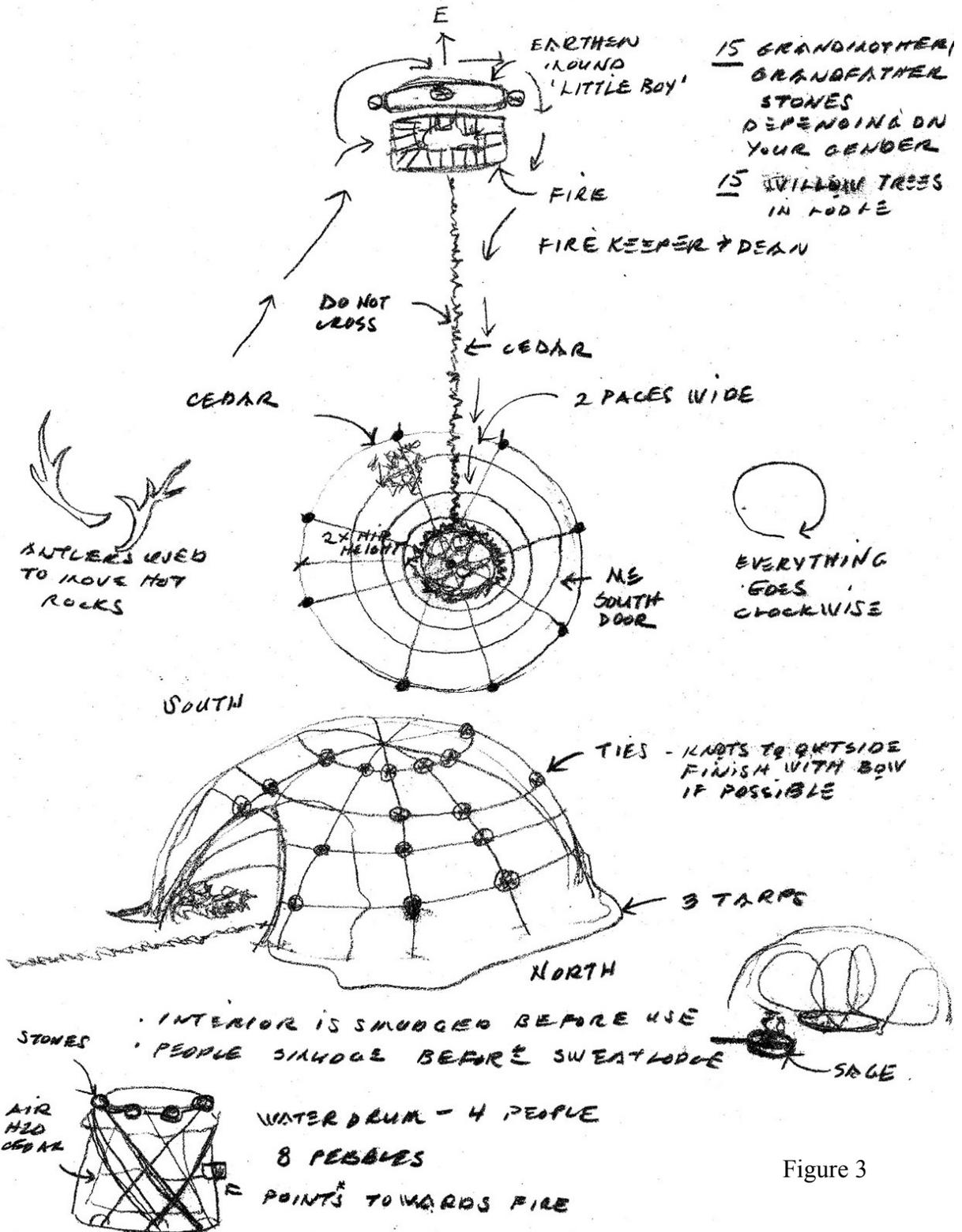


Figure 3

Indigenous spirituality and practices. The experience of building the lodge with Jerry furthered my understanding and connection to the ceremony. In contrast to a large church, a Sweat Lodge is a small intimate space. It was dark and hot and communal. Before going in I was concerned about those conditions, being somewhat claustrophobic and heat intolerant. I found the environment comforting rather than threatening as I crawled in and found my place. I do not yet speak Anishnaabemowin, so I could not understand most of what was said. I was expected to speak out loud and I felt uncomfortable—vulnerable I should say. The experience was valuable—I appreciated the chance to work with Jerry and I respect the Sweat Lodge ceremony. Being a cultural outsider however, even though I had contributed to building the structure, did not ensure I would understand what happened inside the ceremony. While in many ways I felt I was open to the experience, I realized that my upbringing and Western understanding of spirituality limited my ability to fully participate—not understanding the language was disorienting—and because I was used to the rather impersonal religious architecture and ceremony of the Christian church as a youth, it limited my ability to fully partake, no matter how willing I was. But involvement in building the Sweat Lodge did connect me to the ceremony in a way that I would not have experienced, had I arrived late and not had the time with Jerry to talk about the significance of the structure.

When one emerges from a Sweat Lodge in a path that follows the movement of the sun, one is reborn. In contrast, the linear nature of a Christian church symbolically takes one from birth, to death along its central axis. As Murray A. Rae posits in *Architecture and Theology: The Art of Place* (2017), “Architectural vista makes the future available to us, at least in part” (217). Rae also interprets the experience of a church, particularly one with a baptismal font placed near the entrance to the church: “The journey from baptism towards the future, eschatological

reconciliation with God is represented in every church in which the baptismal font is sited somewhere close to the entrance and at the start of the long central aisle. The aisle is an invitation to pilgrimage that leads to the sanctuary and to the altar where the meeting of God with humanity is celebrated in the Eucharist. The Eucharist recalls Jesus' death, but is also looks forward to the eschatological consummation of the kingdom of God" (Rae 217-218).

Throughout my research I have been asked why I am interested in the subject by both Indigenous People and non-Indigenous people. It is not an easy area to research because it takes an emotional toll and the subject hasn't been explored from the approach I was taking. The stories of children who attended the schools brought tears to my eyes and anger to my very core that this was part of Canadian history...a part that despite all the books that had been written, was largely untold.

At many times during this project I have questioned why I chose this subject and my answer is that I wanted to contribute my skills and knowledge learned from almost 20 years of practice to what we know about the residential schools at Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, Ontario. I come from a European Settler background with some of my ancestors having arrived in North America in the 1630s. I am not Roman Catholic like the Jesuits I studied. I am a non-Indigenous female landscape architect and sessional professor...what purpose did I have to dig into an area that seemingly had nothing to do with me? People questioned my motives. I had a sincere interest in these sites because they played such a role in a major chapter of Canadian history with their effects still rippling through society, and as a landscape architect I felt a responsibility to add to the discussion and to share the knowledge I gained. So many non-Indigenous Canadians still remain uneducated about the residential school system and there are so few research papers that discuss the schools and children's experience at Spanish and Wiikwemkoong that I wanted

to add to them. Hopefully I will have achieved that goal at the end of this thesis, but that is for readers to decide.

Currently, my thesis feels like one half of a conversation; I intend that the conversation will proceed, with more voices than my own and most importantly with former students of the schools. Once the thesis is complete I plan to complete a PhD that builds on the knowledge I have gained in my Master's program and I look forward to future collaborations with the communities affected by the Spanish Residential School. The former students of the residential schools at Spanish at the time of its closing are now in the age range of the mid-60s to the mid-70s. The students from the earliest years would be in the range of 100 years of age and older. Without the school buildings, the former students are the best resource to fill in the missing information about the school—but that can only be done in a collaborative process that includes necessary ethics approvals from the research institution and the subject communities. Stories that are as personal as the experience of a residential school require time to first build relationships in a community. I had to rely on published accounts, which are a good way to learn more about the former schools, both the positive and negative aspects, but don't always provide the kind of site-specific experiential detail that I was seeking.

In the late winter of 2016, I proceeded with the support of Dr. Patrick Stewart and Jerry Otowadjiwan, committee members for my thesis who agreed that the subject matter was worthy of research. I was optimistic that this project was necessary to further my own understanding of the sites, schools and experiences and that in the future I would be able to continue the research through community engagement.

In the chapters that follow, I introduce the thesis and explore the methodology that I used during my research in the first chapter. Chapter two covers the history of the Jesuits, their

formation in Europe and their strategies regarding architecture, landscape and education. The rise and fall of their missions in 17th century New France are discussed as well as their movements including what became of them after the 1773 suppression of the Order, until 1800 when the last Jesuit died in Canada. While the discussion covers an almost 200-year span, it is important because it contains the history of their first attempts and failures at creating a residential school system. When separating children from their parents failed to indoctrinate Indigenous children into Euro-Christian Society, the Jesuits then focused their attention on creating model Christian villages for Indigenous converts. Architecture and the conversion of wilderness into agricultural landscapes were the major focus of the Society of Jesus evangelization strategies in the 1625-1800 time period. The seeds of their involvement in the Canadian Indian Residential School System began in this first period of contact and colonization.

Chapter three explores the return of the Jesuits to British Canada and their strategies to figuratively rebuild the Jesuit name and literally rebuild the Society's architecture legacy. The arrival of Jesuits in Lower Canada is first considered and then focuses on their move into Upper Canada to form missions and engage in the educational system, exploring the 19th century schools in the village of Wiikwemkoong, Manitoulin Island and culminating in the 20th century residential schools at Spanish, Ontario Canada which are discussed in Chapter four.

Chapter five considers the former residential school site at Wiikwemkoong it exists today as well as the sites in Spanish. The existence or absence of buildings and their uses, the changes in the landscape and the meaning and value found in the sites as numinous places are contemplated, particularly in relation to the Calls to Action in the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC). Chapter six concludes the discussion with an

introspective discussion on architecture, and landscape, current theoretical analysis of how these places are viewed and considerations for future commemoration.

Preface

Hated Structure: Indian Residential School, Shubenacadie, N.S.

by Rita Joe

If you are on Highway 104
In a Shubenacadie town
There is a hill
Where a structure stands
A reminder to many senses
To respond like demented ones.

I for one looked into the window
And there on the floor
Was a deluge of a misery
Of a building I held in awe
Since the day
I walked into the ornamented door.

There was grime everywhere
As in buildings left alone or unused.
Maybe to the related tales of long ago
Where the children lived in laughter, or abused.

I had no wish to enter
Nor to walk the halls
I had no wish to feel the floors
Where I felt fear
A beating heart of episodes
I care not to recall.

The structure stands as if to say:

I was just a base for theory

To bend the will of children

I remind

Until I fall.

Architecture and the built environment is a kind of a slow violence.

-Eyal Weizman (de Sousa, *The Architecture of Violence*).

Chapter One: Introduction to Landscapes of Conversion

The Indian Residential School system of Canada was used as an aggressive means to assimilate Indigenous children into dominant Euro-Christian society. While the system in Canada was officially implemented in 1879, the roots of the system began much earlier when French missionaries attempted to separate youth from their Indigenous communities to educate them in colonial settlements in the 17th century. The Society of Jesus was one of the religious organizations that attempted the conversion of the Indigenous people in North America, on what is known to Indigenous peoples as Turtle Island.

The Jesuits went farther than the other religious orders in their endeavours to indoctrinate Indigenous people into a Roman Catholic Christian belief system. By learning the language of the people and living with them in sometimes remote places, the Jesuits sought to gradually bring their idea of civilization into Indigenous communities in Wendake, the homelands of the Wendat people. For nomadic people, such as the Algonquin, Innu (Montagnais) and Ojibway, the Jesuits planned model Christian villages in New France based on the model they used in South America, hoping to turn the hunter-gatherer societies into sedentary agricultural societies. Little physical evidence remains of the original 17-18th century works of the Jesuits in either education or religious architecture; however, some important sites have been turned into tourist attractions. Long after the Jesuit were gone, and because of the Jesuit attention to siting, most of the landscapes they had developed continued to be occupied by religious architecture, though still others are lost to industry because their sites were useful for commercial purposes.

Jesuit success was directly dependent on the political, social and economic conditions of the era in which they worked. While the early attempts at settling nomadic people and Christianizing semi-sedentary people were largely unsuccessful in the 16th and 17th centuries, it

did not deter the Society of Jesus from returning in the 19th century to continue their mission work, which would culminate in the Jesuit-designed residential schools that were located in Spanish, Ontario Canada and that were jointly run with the all-female Roman Catholic order, the Daughters of Mary. The school at Spanish was the only Jesuit-run Indian Residential School in Canada.

The Indian Residential School system has been studied from many important lines of inquiry; however, less attention has been paid to the role that the design of architecture and landscape development have played in the attempt at assimilation. This thesis explores the planning, architecture and landscape strategies of the Jesuits to assimilate the Indigenous people into the dominant Euro-Christian society, through methods developed over five hundred years of missionary work, adapting when they experienced success or failure.

Architecture and landscape are entities that change over time as agents of humanity. Buildings and land are subjected to the forces of religious beliefs, society, politics and economics, time and natural processes. Buildings and landscape can convey a changing worldview of a culture or alternatively represent the status quo at a certain point in time. In their construction and even in their ruination are reflected the evolution of a society. Whether the physical buildings remain or not, connection to these spaces will remain in the enduring history of landscape and concept of place.

The Indian Residential School System is a terrible mark in Canadian history. In the time since the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) established 1 June 2008, much attention has been brought to the existence of the schools and the genocide of the Indigenous peoples of Canada. The sites of the former residential schools such as the locations in Spanish become witness to what is essentially a crime scene, although the ability of the buildings

to act as evidence is now remote due to absence or ruination. Unprotected, the landscapes of the former schools become less able to convey the history of the place.

In Spanish Ontario, the boys' school known as St. Peter Claver's school in its early years and as Garnier College in its last years was demolished in 2005. The girls' school remains in a ruined state across the road, having suffered a tragic fire in 1982. The land where the boys' school once stood was purchased by the Town of Spanish and is now the site of a memorial to the former students of both schools. Some remnants remain of the former school—rows of trees mark the boundary where the school stood and a pillar stands sentinel where it has since the school was built in 1913. A slight rise of land in a circular form helps to tell the visitor where the former driveway and entrance to the school were. However, this is a landscape under pressure from the forces of development and natural processes. In the few years since I began this project, changes have occurred that further remove evidence of the school's existence. The trees that mark the boundary and enable the visitor to understand where the school stood are in decline and eventually will cease to exist. The stone wall is crumbling and while it does not seem under threat of removal currently, when the trees have gone, it may go too, as damage to the wall is likely without the careful attention to the mechanical removal of trees.

Reading about the lives of students and staff in Spanish, Ontario and looking at photos of the residential school sites were an important part of learning about the site; however, being on the land gives a different knowledge that cannot be gained through remote means. Being on site gives a tenable and haptic knowledge to the history of the place that an intellectual understanding cannot achieve.

These sites are important reminders of the past but also important agents of the present. Reunions have been held on the site, drawing former students from as far away as the United

States, offering an opportunity for people to reconnect to friends and try to disconnect from their childhood experiences and move on. Some former students still visit the sites every year as part of their journey.

As the light is being shone on a dark chapter in Canadian history and more people seek to understand their history, the sites of the former residential school system are under threat of destruction. Out of 140 buildings, approximately 17 of the residential schools remain standing—many sites have been abandoned and have grown over (Parry). As Canadian society struggles through the process of reconciliation, what role can these sites play in the evolution of understanding between Indigenous Peoples and the Settler population? Can the landscapes of dislocation, intended to convert Indigenous peoples, become landscapes of reconciliation or are they destined to become landscapes of erasure? The two sites researched in my thesis show that there is a strong connection to these places even where only traces remain. The ruins of the former school in Wiikwemkoong have become the stage for cultural revitalization. The site in Spanish is a space that is in transition as a small community works on healing and a country faces a troubled history.

1.1 Methodology

Architecture and landscape and the experiences derived from them, are influenced by a wide range of cultural, social, economic and political influences. Often my research was wide in scope because my subject matter encompassed so many different contributing factors and it included modes of knowledge and research approaches beyond the more conventional text-based research in humanities disciplines. After I decided to focus on the former schools at Wiikwemkoong Unceded Territory (Manitoulin Island) and Spanish, I conducted site visits and

spoke with local people. Site visits offer sensory information that texts do not and cannot be underestimated in their value to research.

I put in a request to The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, in Montréal, Québec for any correspondence, plans or sketches relating to the design of the buildings at Wiikwemkoong or Spanish. One valuable resource for information on Holy Cross Mission was the journal by Nicholas Point S.J. the Jesuit architect of the Holy Cross Mission church.

In addition to site visits over a period of 24 months, I read and completed the recommended training provided by the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2; CORE). I carefully reviewed the publications provided by the Manitoulin Anishinaabek Research Review Committee. In May 2017, I applied to the Laurentian Research Ethics Board for approval to conduct research with former students of the residential school. The project was received positively by the Board with recommendations for proceeding with the research; however, I was unable to obtain the required permissions within the timeframe of my thesis. Projects of this nature require time to develop relationships in the community and I am hoping that my current research may open doors for a collaborative project in the future.

I also took many photographs of both sites. Due to the changing nature of landscape, I am glad that I did because major changes have occurred over the course of my thesis to the former St. Charles Garnier College site.

Finally, as previously mentioned I also attended a performance by the De-bah-je-mu-jig Theatre group within the ruins of the former boys' residential school building in Wiikwemkoong. For me it was a powerful testimony to the resilience and power of Anishnabek storytelling, continuing to reclaim a place that was once used for conversion to Christianity.

1.2 Literature Review

The literature review followed the evolving nature of my research. Initially I pursued an overview of the Residential School System in Canada and as my focus narrowed to the schools at Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, my research turned towards learning more about the Society of Jesus, their formation, architectural and education strategies, and relationships with Indigenous peoples of what is now known as Canada. Due to the overrepresentation of Western scholarship in the literature, I sought out works by women as well as Anishinaabe authors in an attempt to balance out the views represented in my research. I did not want to repeat the words of Western philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Edward Said—other scholars have interpreted the residential schools through their works. I am interested in the Indigenous experience and interpretation of these places. Few works focus on the architecture of the Jesuits in colonial North America; fewer still considered the changing landscape. Often a single sentence or paragraph was all that related to the concentration of my thesis.

As a non-Indigenous researcher, I wanted to prepare myself for this project and to ensure that I started my project in a good way. I began by reading: the second edition of *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012) by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (2012) by Margaret Kovach, and a *Deeper Sense of Place: Stories and Journeys of Collaboration in Indigenous Research* (2013) edited by Jay T. Johnson and Soren C. Larsen. These works highlighted approaches and challenges for non-Indigenous researchers while conveying prospective methodologies that can be used to help ensure that research is conducted in a way that is, in the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith “respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful” (Smith 9). Smith provided clarity on previous experiences of Indigenous people with academics and the linkages of research to European imperialism and colonialism.

Her discussion on spatial experience through an Indigenous lens rather than a Western lens was also useful (55). Kovach's work stressed the importance and discussed the nuances of storytelling and the responsibility the researcher has to ensure that individual stories are treated with respect (96-97). In her work, she emphasized the significance of the relationship between researcher and research participant and that the relationship, if not pre-existing, needs to begin with sharing our own story, starting with "self-location"(98). Johnston and Larsen underline the importance of context and place in Indigenous ontology and the experience of place, that include dreaming, memory and spiritual journey, concepts not generally found in Western thought of place knowledge (10).

J.R. Miller's book, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (2009) and *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879 to 1986* (1999) by John S. Milloy, were both useful for their historic overviews, and discussions of commonalities between schools and the changing political context during the course of the schools. Miller's book was particularly useful because it discusses the very first impetus for the idea of a residential school system for Indigenous children in 17th century New France as well as some details about the schools at Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, Ontario.

As I narrowed my focus to the Jesuit-run schools at Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, I began to research the Jesuit Order in more detail. Most of the written history on the Jesuits is related by members of the order and requires a careful, questioning approach. Works such as William Bangert, S.J.'s *A History of the Society of Jesus* (1972), James Brodrick, S.J.'s *The Origins of the Jesuits* (1960), and Martin P. Harney S.J.'s *The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries* (1962), created an awareness of the Jesuit worldview, and history, as well as alerting me early to the heroic, romantic rhetoric that infused much of the writing produced by its

members from the inception of the Order through to the end of the 19th century. Francis X. Curran S.J.'s book *The Return of the Jesuits* (1966) described the historic timeline, places and movements of the new Order, post-suppression, in North America.

The Children of Aataentsic (2000), covering the history of the Jesuits in New France to 1660, by Bruce Trigger, was a useful interdisciplinary study that included consideration of archeological findings. His descriptions of the early Jesuit settlements were particularly valuable in understanding how the layouts of Sainte-Marie I reflected Jesuit culture and practices. The illustrations from the archaeological digs combined with research from the *Jesuit Relations* depicted the compound divided between the Jesuit and French Christian section and the Indigenous Christian section.

Takao Abé's book *The Jesuit Mission to New France: An Interpretation in Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in New France* (2011) was useful in describing the Jesuit attitudes towards the people they sought to evangelize and their understanding of unfamiliar cultures were reflected in their writing. Abé's work alerted me to the Jesuit practice of writing more than one version of a letter with the intent that one was for public consumption, written for an audience in Europe and another might include a direct representation of the situation of the mission written for only a member of the Society. His work was useful because it described the criteria that the Jesuits used to evaluate a society for evangelization, as well as highlighting the degree to which their observations were limited by their male, Euro-Christian gaze (50). He was the only author that mentioned architecture as one of the ways by which the Jesuits judged a culture. His observations on the demonization of natural features and non-Christian healers and temples was also enlightening as it related to New France because I was able to put Jesuit writing into context. Furthermore, while the early reductions of New France have been previously linked

with Paraguayan *reducciones*, Abé's research showed how interconnected the early Jesuits were, that in fact the Jesuits of New France had access to the writings of their fellow Jesuits all over the world. I gained a new understanding of Jesuit rationales for establishing missions and Jesuit Euro-Christian bias in understanding Japanese culture and religion. Nevertheless, the huge cultural differences separating Japanese settlements and the Indigenous villages of New France limited the value of comparison between Japanese Jesuit institutions and Jesuit institutions in Canada.

Karen Anderson's book *Chain her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (2012) offers a rare look at the lives of Indigenous women in 17th century New France. Within a period of thirty years after prolonged contact with Euro-Christians, the role that Huron-Wendat women played in their communities were drastically altered, more so than for their male countrymen.

A recurring trope in publications discussing Indigenous society after contact with Europeans is the "disappearance" or destruction theme. *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (2013) is a valuable reference by Kathryn Magee Labelle that counters the common assumption that the entire Wendat Nation was lost after the fall of Sainte-Marie. Rather than experiencing a loss of culture after 1650, the Wendat adapted by joining their allies and kept their cultural identity intact.

The Catholic Calumet (2012) by Tracy Neal Leavelle was a useful study because it considers the relationship between the Society of Jesus and the Indigenous groups living around the Great Lakes region. In her work she considers the complex reasons for the cross-cultural exchange between European and Indigenous cultures such as spiritual power, military alliances

and material wealth. I realized that there were many factors for cross-cultural communication and that there were benefits for both groups in the early period of contact.

The *Jesuit Relations (Relations des jésuites)* were compiled and published annually between 1632 and 1672. They are often consulted for research on the early missions of the Jesuits. Due to the vast amount of material they represent, I used them sparingly when I needed clarification from other sources. The Society of Jesus is an all-male religious order that has documented their activities since their inception in the mid-seventeenth century. The challenge for researchers is that they often documented the lives of men in their writing and paid much less attention to the presence of women. The translated and published letters rarely discuss Indigenous women or non-Indigenous women unless they were particularly remarkable in their piety or difficult to deal with.

Some of the most referenced resources in my thesis about the Jesuits in Canada in the nineteenth century are the volumes in the *Early Jesuit Missions in Canada* series. The series is published by individual translators and the Canadian Institute of Jesuit Studies. Letters and memoirs written by Jesuits in the series have been specifically selected and are translated from the original French. These works have been edited so that the French terms—*sauvage* and *Indien* have been replaced by *native*, *native person* or *person*. While the substitutions soften the English translation for twenty-first century readers, it does change the effect of the writing, in that the Jesuits appear to be more considerate of Indigenous culture than their contemporaries. Also, reading the translations of documents that were originally in French makes it easier for the reader to forget that the writers were indeed from France and that for them, it was not Holy Cross Mission as it is known today, but *Mission Sainte-Croix*. Not only did the Jesuits learn to speak Anishnaabemowin but conversations were also carried on in French in Wiikwemkoong until it

was requested and required that students in the village be taught English in the mid-nineteenth century. As a researcher whose primary language is English, these translations are extremely beneficial and conducive to exploring the subject, but the loss of the original languages makes it easier to overlook some of the nuances of the history. The power of translation is that it can shape histories, by injecting a more moderate and modern tone into a work that the original language more accurately reflects. One has to constantly remember that the version that is being read has been chosen specifically for content and edited for legibility, with language chosen for modern readers.

Donald J. Auger's *Indian Residential Schools in Ontario* (2005) published by the Nishnawbe Aski Nation was informative for its overview of schools, including its chapter on the schools in Wiikwemkoong and Spanish. Shelley Pearen's book *Four Voices: The Great Manitoulin Island Treaty of 1862* (2012) as well as Cecil King's *Balancing Two Worlds: Jean Baptiste Assiginack and the Odawa Nation 1768-1866* (2013), provided insight into the 19th century world of Wiikwemkoong. Through their work the tensions in the community between the Society of Jesus and the Indigenous culture were acutely felt through the different viewpoints represented. King's writing provided an important Indigenous perspective of the life and times of Assiginack, a unique and controversial personality.

Currently, information on the Spanish Residential School is limited to three books, along with archival information, photographic material and newspaper articles. Memoirs by authors Basil Johnston (*Indian School Days*, 1989) and Wilmer Nadjiwon (*Not Wolf, Nor Dog*, 2012) are essential first-hand accounts for understanding the varied experience of the schools from former students. Basil Johnston's work provides a nuanced account of the school that includes both devastating and lighter details of life at the school. Johnston and Nadjiwon

attended the school in different decades, so their works provide an opportunity to hear from former students from two different periods of the school's history.

The Jesuit Residential School at Spanish: "More than Mere Talent" (2004) by David F. Shanahan, published by the Canadian Institute of Jesuit Studies, is currently the most extensive history of the schools at Wiikwemkoong and Spanish. Providing detail on the daily lives of the Jesuits, schedules at the school, political pressures, administrative aspects of running the school and the history of the buildings and site—it is an important work in some ways, however it must be used with caution because some of the views expressed have proven controversial.

Other print material includes various newspaper articles that discuss former student experience and cover the schools' history. To my knowledge, no memoirs exist for the St. Joseph's school in Spanish, beyond what is found in newspaper articles and brief mentions in Shanahan's book. Newspaper articles in local papers such as the *Sault Daily Star*, the *Sudbury Star*, the *Mid North Monitor*, and the *Manitoulin Expositor*, were a valuable resource for information on both the life and aftermath of the residential school buildings in Spanish and for the individual experience of former students.

Discussions in my thesis about Jesuit architecture were informed by *Landmarking: City, Church & Jesuit Urban Strategy* (1997) and *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy* (1990) by Thomas Lucas, S.J. as well as *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (2004) by Evonne Levy. While Lucas discusses a few Jesuit institutions in the United States, he does not discuss earlier mission structures in New France. Few books discuss colonial urban Jesuit mission architecture in North America and fewer still discuss the rural mission architecture of the Society of Jesus. Nicholas P. Cushner's *Why Have You Come Here?* (2006) is one of the only books that dedicates a full chapter to the contemplation and purpose of Jesuit architecture in the New World.

The 1966 edition of Alan Gowans's *An Architectural History of Canadian Life* remains a valuable reference for his observations on Jesuit architectural history and is informative because of his descriptions of the effects of architectural design . He includes useful images of the former Jesuit complex in Québec City as well as insightful speculation on what reactions these buildings would have generated from visitors. The work of Harold Kalman *A History of Canadian Architecture* (1994) is regarded as the most comprehensive work since Gowans's volume. Kalman considered Indigenous architecture and Settler architecture in his work, providing important historic data. James P. Ronda's "The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France 1637-1663" (1979), provided some added detail to the creation of, and elements and life in, Sillery.

Wiikwemkoong village history is an area of challenge as a comprehensive book has not yet been written on the subject. St. Joseph's School for Girls in Spanish is also difficult for the same reason; there has not yet been a dedicated study devoted to the subject. Unlike the journals and letters kept by the Jesuits, no such archive has been discovered for the Daughters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. It is hard to believe the few documents in the government archives is all that exists of a school that existed for almost 60 years. I was not able to locate any books about the Order, only web-pages that described their establishment.

In 2015, I read the *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Volume One: Summary*. There are 94 Calls to Action, however only a couple deal directly with my research subject. Under the heading "Commemoration", are Calls to Action 79 to 83 which state:

79) We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal organizations, and the arts community, to develop a reconciliation framework for Canadian heritage and commemoration. This would include, but not be limited to:

i. Amending the *Historic Sites and Monuments Act* to include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis representation on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and its Secretariat.

ii. Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous History, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history.

iii. Developing and implementing a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canada's history.

83) We call upon the Canada Council for the Arts to establish, as a funding priority, a strategy for Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists to undertake collaborative projects and produce works that contribute to the reconciliation process.

There are Calls for Action that pertain to missing children and associated burial sites; however, it is interesting to note that there are not any specific calls for action pertaining to the actual buildings or individual sites themselves beyond 79 iii. My approach to my thesis was governed by what I read in the TRC report. I hope it will add to the reconciliation process, as it adds to the documentation of the Spanish Residential Schools.

Indigenous authors such as Basil Johnston and Lawrence N. Gross provided invaluable perspectives to counter the Euro-Christian worldview and history sources for this project. Basil Johnston's *What the Wampum Belt Tells Us* (2005) provides a counter narrative to the colonial

perspective of historic encounters—an Indigenous interpretation of events handed down through oral history and recorded on a Wampum Belt.³ Gross’s *Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing and Being* (2012) provides insights into the Anishinaabe worldview that is necessary to better understand the work of Johnston’s *Indian School Days*—his discussion of the Anishinaabe comic vision and comic mind is particularly enlightening.

A number of works were useful in thinking about architecture and landscape in the public sphere. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan’s books *Landscapes of Fear* (1979) and *Space and Place* (1977) provided insights into the experience of place from both a historic context and a changing one, as our reactions to place and space change through the course of our lives. French philosopher Gaston Bachelard’s *The Poetics of Space* (1994) first published in 1958, considers the intimate spaces of Western houses and provided a discussion about individual space to counterpoint the communal spaces of the residential schools. To think about concepts of dwelling, particularly related to children’s needs, helped to shape the understanding of the alien buildings of the residential schools. Although her research is based in British Columbia Canada, geographer Sarah de Leeuw’s articles furthered my understanding of the role of geography and power of place in the residential school system.

Biographies of former residential school students such as Bev Sellars’ *They Called Me Number One* (2013), and *Up Ghost River* (2014), the story of Edmund Metatawabin presented

³ Wampum Belts are “records of major events to aid with recollection” (King 13). David Armour described them as made from cylindrical purple and white shell beads with designs on the Belts that “trigger memories and solemnize past agreements” (David Armour qtd. in King 13). The meaning of the Belts are passed on verbally through tribesmen generation after generation.

more information on the experiences of residential schools other than Spanish. Documentaries such as *Muffins for Granny* (2006) and the *Demolition of the St. Michael's Residential School* (2015) pulled me into the traditions of oral history and listening to the voices and reactions of the varied experiences of the people on film furthered my overall understanding of the sites.

Archaeologies of Placemaking (2008) provided a series of essays that conveyed a range of reactions to monuments and attitudes towards preservation and commemoration of Indigenous history. As a landscape architect, I appreciated the conversation surrounding placemaking for public interpretations and representations of historic sites and events. Patricia Rubertone highlights the role that interpretation plays in the way that sites and events are perceived and remembered (13).

1.3 Experiential Research: Site Visits

Site visits to both the Holy Cross Mission in Wiikwemkoong and to the former school sites in Spanish, Ontario were key to imagining the former site experiences and connecting on a different level to the places that I was studying. An additional bonus to physically being on site, were chance meetings of people who were also interested in the sites or knowledgeable about various aspects of the landscape. Often informal discussions with people interested in my thesis led to information that would not otherwise have been available. The benefit of working on a research in smaller communities, particularly on sites such as Spanish and Wiikwemkoong, is the wide community experience and interaction with these places. The accessibility of the locations enable me to visit these spaces often and each time I set foot on the grounds I gain new insights.

One difficulty in researching the village of Wiikwemkoong is the lack of written texts on the history of the village from an Indigenous perspective. The majority of the written text is from non-Indigenous, Euro-Christian male authors. Given the time frame of a Master's thesis, this was a major impediment to learning more about the residential schools and community life of the Anishinaabe in the village.

1.4 Drawings, Plans, Photographs, Post Cards, Artwork and Documentaries

Drawing and diagramming have been an important research tool. While text is perhaps the most relied upon research tool in the humanities, drawing offers a different method of inquiry and often offers a fresh way to think about a subject.

During the course of my project, it was rare to read a source with more than a paragraph on the architecture of the residential schools. It is apparent that architecture and the development of the landscape were rarely considered as a specific part of the assimilation and conversion process. Jesuits trained as architects were the most reliable contemporary commentators on architectural works and village layouts. Ironically, Nicholas Point, S.J. did not discuss his design inspiration for the Sainte-Croix church, and offers little in his memoir beyond the practical details of construction. Details for building layouts are not given in any of the letters, memoirs or books on the residential schools in Wiikwemkoong or Spanish. One has to be on constant alert to pick up a few details to piece together an idea of the building components. Schematic drawings of Garnier Residential School for Boys were obtained at the very end of my thesis from the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR). These drawings show a rough floor plan of the three levels of the school and their use at the time; they do not provide any further detail.

If architectural drawings cannot be found for the girls' school at Spanish in the local archives, the Jesuit archives or the national Canadian archives, then the memory of former

students becomes all the more necessary to know the layout of the buildings, what the rooms were used for and to attest to the character of the buildings. Over time, buildings were adapted to use, but memories from the students and staff will be vital to enhance our understanding of the experience of the buildings.

The availability of photographs to help understand and explore buildings and a school culture no longer extant were invaluable. Photos loaned from the private collection of Greg Schraeder, combined with the various photo albums published online by the Shingwauk Project Archive, helped to give a more rounded impression of what daily life was like in the institutions in both Wiikwemkoong and Spanish, Ontario. When viewing these photos, as with a text that is written, it is always important to consider the purpose of the photo and the photographer.

Artwork such as Carey Newman's *Witness Blanket* provide thought-provoking testament to the importance of the material culture of former schools and associated buildings. Encountering physical pieces of the buildings, furniture and people, create a haptic connection to places—it is no longer a theoretical thread that can be ignored. The essay “*Numinous Objects*”: *The Ethnohistorical Complexities of a Residential School Bass Drum* by Carolyn Bartlett led to an awareness of the spiritual value of objects associated with residential schools. The concept of “numinosity” is not a common one in the Western understanding. Before reading Bartlett's work I did not really consider the importance of things that might be found on the former school sites or the memories of school that handling such objects might encourage in former students—that pieces of residential schools have the potential to hold both good and bad memories. It made me reconsider Newman's work in a new light.

Much of the information available about the schools—whether it is Wiikwemkoong history or Spanish history—is inaccurate. Often reporters get the two schools mixed up, calling

the boys' school the girls' school or getting the location of the schools wrong. There are also documents written as local history projects that require caution because of misinformation. Due to the conversion, adaptability, reuse or loss of architecture, histories often get confusing as a building that was created for one purpose changes over time in name and in the use of the building. Landscapes are constantly evolving with natural and human influences and while they can be the most lasting elements of a site, they are also the most vulnerable.

1.5 Serendipitous Conversations/ Experiences

One aspect of my thesis that I particularly enjoyed was the chance meeting or planned meetings with people connected to the schools at Spanish. Quite often, I would find myself looking for a specific element and a person would just happen to walk through the door of a library for example that could tell me what I needed to know—a staff member at my daughter's daycare was related to the contractor that took down the former Garnier College building. A glance out of my car window would unexpectedly reveal the location of one of the statues from the grotto or I would notice something in a drawing that I had not noticed before. On November 17 of last year I was driving into teach at the McEwen School of Architecture and the CBC article about Carey Newman's visit with his father to a residential school site came on the radio. While it might seem inconsequential to some, these little moments slowly revealed what I needed to know when the time was right and kept me moving forward with my research.

Chapter Two: Jesuit Foundations and Conversion Through Design

Although the Indian Residential Schools in Wiikwemkoong and Spanish were created hundreds of years after the first arrival of the original Jesuit Order in Canada, the architectural and landscape strategies used for conversion and assimilation were based on the 16th and 17th century methods and experiences of the Society of Jesus. During the development of the Society of Jesus in Europe, the Jesuits devised architectural and educational strategies to maintain faith in Roman Catholicism or alternatively to aid in conversion to their religion. When the Jesuits travelled overseas, they had to adapt their methods to Indigenous cultures and alter their processes of evangelization, eventually focusing on creating villages for Indigenous Christian converts. Their attempts at separating Indigenous children from their parents in order to educate them in a residential school setting began in this period, elements of which echo in the nineteenth and twentieth century residential schools in Wiikwemkoong and Spanish Ontario. During this period until the last Jesuit passed away early in the nineteenth century, the Jesuits owned property and significant architectural holdings in what are now known as the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in Canada.

Founded in 1541 the members of the Society of Jesus were considered to be the “shock troops” of the Pope in the fight against Protestantism (Grant 5). The members of the all-male order were expected to go where they were needed on a moment’s notice. The operations of the Society, methods and strategies were influenced by the early experiences of Ignatius Loyola, the main figure associated with the foundation of the original group of men. Based on Loyola’s beliefs and previous military experience, the Jesuits took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience (Bangert 14). They preached on street corners; worked among the poor and in hospitals with the sick.

After the Society was officially sanctioned by the Pope during the Protestant Reformation (1517-1648), the Jesuits set to work building colleges, chapels and churches. Using a new and highly decorative style of architecture, the Jesuit churches stood in sharp contrast to the plain façades of the Protestant buildings. Following the strategy of Loyola, the first General of the Society, they chose central locations whenever possible in the great cities of Europe as shown by the work of Thomas Lucas, S.J. in his books *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy* (1990) and *Landmarking* (1997). Due to their vows of poverty, the Society needed access to patrons and financing to fund their missions. Because of their Counter-Reformation position, they would also be the enemy of Protestants as well as non-Catholic intellectuals. Although the Jesuit building strategy was a costly endeavour, it was considered acceptable because it was for the “Greater Glory of God.”

The Jesuits were generally from the upper classes of Europe, well-educated and refined and because of these traits, the Order was called upon to provide education in European centres soon after its inception. Although they took a vow of poverty, the Jesuit’s architecture and movement in upper class society gave them an air of affluence that undermined the image of impoverishment (Martin 39).

Controversy tended to follow the Jesuits because of their relationship with the Pope, and the different strategies used by the Society to gain favour with the elite of a society, attracting the ire of the older Roman Catholic Orders as John W. Grant posits in his book *Moon of Wintertime* (1989, 4-5). Jesuits would clash with Franciscans, Dominicans and Sulpicians over the course of their existence. The Jesuits did not always follow the desires of politicians or merchants in their goals for Indigenous peoples and when the members of the Society became too embroiled in global politics and economics it would spell their demise as an Order.

The seventeenth century was a time of world-wide European exploration and the Jesuits (as well as the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians) were called upon to accompany ships as they travelled to different lands, meeting people who were previously unknown to them (Harney 258). Encountering different spiritual beliefs created serious challenges for the Jesuits who believed that the inhabitants of the lands needed to become Catholic in order to save their souls and to be assimilated into the colonizing European society.

Prior to this, in the 1540s, missions established in India (1542), Japan (1549) and South America (Brazil 1549) followed a similar trajectory. The Jesuits followed the methods of Europe—they secured land, often in secret, in the centres of the major cities in Japan and India to build colleges to educate the future leaders of society. The Order built magnificent churches to attract patrons and to speak visually to the uneducated and unconverted for the European colonists (Lucas, *Landmarking* 5). To evangelize Indigenous Peoples in South America and North America, the Jesuits preferred to create Christian communities isolated from the European settlers (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 468).

New France would be challenging for the Jesuits. France was only interested in what the new lands could supply for commerce and was less interested in the conversion of the Indigenous People. Christianity was made a condition of trade under Champlain however and the Jesuits would travel to Wendake (Huron) in an attempt to convert the Wendat (Huron) people who followed a semi-sedentary agricultural lifestyle. The Wendat were seen as a promising field for Christian conversion; unlike nomadic groups such as the Algonquin, Innu or Ojibway, the Jesuits considered the Wendat closer to a “civilized” people.

Kathryn Labelle’s work *Dispersed but not Destroyed* (2013) and Tracy Leavelle’s *The Catholic Calumet* (2012) depict a complex relationship between the Jesuits and the different

Indigenous cultures in North America based on social, economic, material, spiritual and militaristic needs. Although the Jesuits lived in villages with the people they wanted to convert, they were not used to hard labour and were considered a burden. Their all-male, celibate lifestyle was very unusual to the Indigenous cultures whose social structure was based on kinship networks. As described in Karen Anderson's work *Chain Her by One Foot* (1993), the influence of Euro-Christianity on Indigenous cultures, drastically changed the lives of Indigenous women within a thirty-year period and left a permanent mark in their status.

Not only did the Jesuits want to impose a Euro-Christian lifestyle on Indigenous People, they expected an acceptance of permanent European style buildings as well. Traditional Indigenous dwellings were steeped in cultural significance and based on available materials shaped by climate and geology. Traditional dwellings supported kinship networks, spirituality and the nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyles of the different Indigenous Nations.

During the 17th century, the Jesuits would try to establish Christian Indigenous reductions (settlements) in New France based on Paraguayan reducciones. There were attempts to form such communities at Sillery (1637) and Lorette (1674). The Jesuits also attempted to create a European-style Christian village with the fort at Sainte-Marie (1639-1649) in Wendake. Due to the massive cultural differences and traditional lifestyles of the various Indigenous Nations, none of these early communities would be considered a success.

The Jesuits worked in New France, disrupted by various political events until 1773 when the Order was suppressed due to political pressure on the Pope by Spain, France and Naples (Bangert 411). Although the Jesuits gained some Indigenous converts, their missions in New France were not considered fruitful because they were never successful in making a permanent

conversion of large groups of Indigenous people. When the last Jesuit died in Canada in 1800, all Jesuit buildings and possessions were taken over by government and other religious institutions.

2.1 The Society of Jesus: Architecture and Urban Strategy in Europe

Art and architecture had a new role in the 17th century, in that it was executed to popularize “visible truths” about the church and the state, according to Henry A. Millon, in *Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (9). The art of the Renaissance (late 14th century to early 17th century approximately) is described as “simple, self-contained and self-sufficient” and the art of the 17th to mid 18th century is alternatively described as “orthodox, persuasive” and “high-powered propaganda.” In the 1600s, more than in the previous era, public artworks were designed to be large and elaborate to display the glory of the patron. Church façades and interiors were the first architectural features to use these new 17th century principles.

Renaissance buildings were uncomplicated. The outside lines of the building matched the interior floor space. The exterior mass and form conformed to the interior shape and the buildings were meant to be viewed from all four sides. Doors and windows were cut into the walls with a large amount of space on each side and were visible. Renaissance architecture is defined by its use of symmetry, classical details, and mathematical relationships between elements that results in a calmness and simplicity. The compositional rules of Vitruvius were followed, and inspiration was taken from existing ruins.

The Baroque style of architecture that followed the Renaissance style originated in Italy, and became a prominent feature in European cities and in the New World for 150 years until approximately 1750. It is characterized by its use of classical orders in an unorthodox way with dynamic oppositions, interpenetrations of spaces and the resulting dramatic effect from the

combination of sculpture, painting, the decorative arts and architecture. Windows were often hidden to create an unknown light source. Millon's book uses the example of *S. Maria della Consolazione* in Todi, Italy, begun in 1508, as an example of Renaissance style architecture (refer to figures 2.0-2.2).

Ignatius Loyola was a strategist in the development of buildings that represented the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits carefully analysed a population, and then found the best location and manner to proceed. Loyola referred to securing a convenient site as the *commodo luogo* and referred to it more than one hundred times in his work (Lucas, *Landmarking* 20). After the site was secured, by whatever means necessary, the Jesuits worked to raise money to build their structures.

As Lucas discovered in his research, Ignatius wrote over six thousand letters in his lifetime; however, surprisingly only a fraction of these letters dealt with spiritual matters. There are however, approximately 1739 letters that refer to siting, strategy and financial matters relevant to the Society's urban missions (Lucas, *Landmarking* 136). Ignatius set his sights on works that would have a lasting effect over less stable mission selections. He sought large numbers of people rather than individuals, unless of course those individuals happened to be influential and wealthy, in which case, they could also overlook the fact that patrons were women. Working with the children of the elite in societies could result in long-term systemic change in the eyes of the Jesuits.

"Great nations such as the Indies, important cities, and universities which are generally attended by numerous persons who by being aided themselves can become labourers for the help of others" constituted the ideal target locations, as Lucas writes (*Landmarking* 22). A preference for urban settings was clear in Ignatius' strategic planning, more desirable because urban sites

offered the greatest diversity and Ignatius felt that it was “where the greater fruit will probably be reaped through the means that the Society uses” (Lucas, *Landmarking* 195). Crucial to the Jesuit strategy, in consideration of the vow of poverty, was access to wealth via a large population while also providing a forum for apostolic deeds. Being able to educate and shape the ideas of a society’s youth through education also helped the Jesuit vision because the youth would one day be the leaders.

At various times, houses in a rural area were offered to the Jesuits but were never occupied for very long. The distance that the Jesuits had to travel to reach a population was limiting and while at times rural sites were taken in lieu of more suitable sites, eventually there was a decided preference for central urban locations to create college complexes that consisted of a church, Jesuit residence, large lecture halls, meeting rooms and theatres (Lucas, *Landmarking* 5). These campuses would become the archetype for Jesuit missions around the world, for the most part.

María Rivo-Vásquez writes that even though the Society was limited by various circumstances, they were particular about “orientation, dimensions, configurations and iconographic elements” (83). The Jesuits had a set of preferred settings for their churches—in all the major cities they wanted central locations in close proximity to political and social centres. Salubrious sites were preferred with room for expansion, with a healthy atmosphere and pure air.

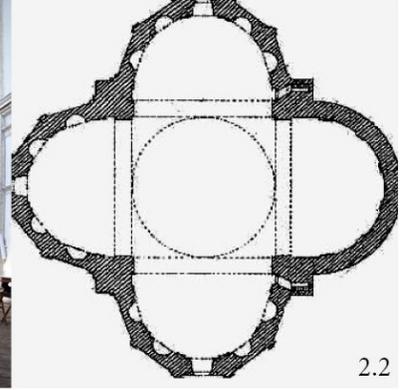
The original Jesuit Il Gesù church (1575) in Rome is considered to be in the Baroque style, a term first used in the late 19th century. Baroque means “absurd or grotesque” according to E. H. Gombrich in *The Story of Art* (2006), and it was a term used by critics that felt classical forms should not be combined (294). They believed that ignoring the strict rules of ancient



2.0



2.1



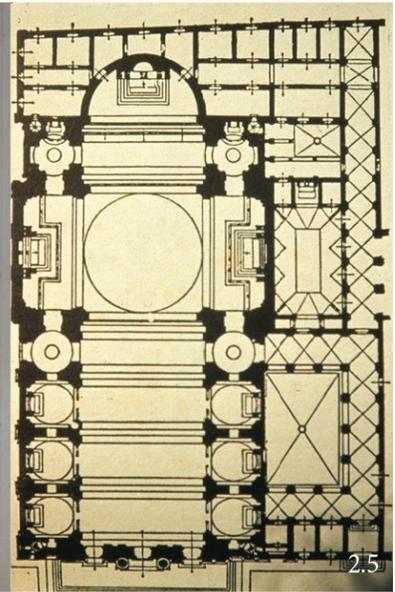
2.2



2.3



2.4



2.5



2.6

Renaissance church- Santa Maria della Consolazione, Todì, Italy (figures 2.0- 2.2).

Baroque churches emphasized the visual with ornate architecture, curvature, colour and sculpture. The church of the Society of Jesus, Il Gesu was a monument to the Counter-Reformation (images 2.3-2.6).

Protestant churches placed hearing above seeing with an emphasis on preaching and plain interiors.

architecture, showed a lack of taste. Il Gesù was considered revolutionary for its time—shaped like a cross it had a high cupola unlike the rounded and symmetrical forms of Renaissance churches. The façade of Il Gesù is ornate and heavy looking; however, upon entering the church, the ceilings in the nave soar overhead (refer to figures 2.3-2.6). The nave where the congregation assembled looked towards the main altar, situated at the end of the oblong with small chapels on each side of the nave. Gombrich reminds us that it was a “simple and ingenious way of planning a church” that has been used often (295). It successfully combined the medieval features of churches (oblong shape with emphasis on the main altar) with Renaissance planning that featured roomy interiors with light entering from a dome, states Gombrich.

Teaching was not in the original vision that Ignatius had for the Society of Jesus, but it quickly became the focus because it aided the Church and the image of the Society of Jesus (Harney 192). Architecture and education worked together to convey the status of the Society. The Jesuits believed in the power of education to reform the morality of a city, a humanistic tradition in the Renaissance. Requests for colleges came from the elite of society with financial support and provided social validity for the Society. Not all requests were accepted; each was carefully considered within the criteria of the Jesuit’s strategic plan and in consideration of manpower. Luce Giard’s work points out the Society often used colleges as a base of operations. In her work on the pre-suppression Order, she describes the goals of the colleges thus:

In the first place, the college will be seen as a place of knowledge, a center of intellectual productivity and learned exchange. Next it will be described as a place where the public image of the Society was established, thanks to the implementation of an artistic curriculum that exalted a post-Tridentine version of the Christian tradition. Finally it will

be considered as a place of living faith that inspired “Marian Congregations” (Sodalities of Our Lady) and both urban and rural missions (Giard 2).

Giard’s work, points to three kinds of social and theological-political climates in which the Jesuits chose to establish their schools. The first was in places that had Catholic monarchs, where political power suppressed religious differences and where there was faithfulness to Rome. The second was where non-Catholic denominations had been established but where the Jesuits hoped to maintain Catholic populations for a future *Reconquista*. The third situation was outside Europe where Christianity was being introduced by European imperialism.

The colleges established the public image for the society and the colleges worked towards achieving the goals of the Society. When determining where colleges would be founded, the first consideration was for “persons of high rank who have public offices,” then for “great nations” and then “important cities” according to the *Constitutions* (Part VII) (Giard 5). Urban locations were useful to the members of the Society for the formation of scholastics, extern students. The benefits to the population of the town were also considered. The male students were educated and instructed in Catholicism and in turn they often educated their families by encouraging them to follow the faith. The colleges had a defensive role against heresy and an offensive role to maintain Catholicism in areas where the local clergy were considered unfit and where there was a threat from Protestantism. Apart from teaching, the Jesuit colleges provided three main functions. The first was as a centre of learning; beyond teaching students, the buildings often housed an astronomy observatory, a museum for a range of curiosities, a room dedicated to physics with accoutrements to explore the field, pharmacies with prepared and stored medicines that were at times used for commercial purposes (Giard 7). While it varied between institutions, they also contained book collections, devices and artifacts.

The members of the colleges were required to write letters to acquire information from outside the Society, as well as to maintain unity among its members. In this way, knowledge of the international world was provided as well as news of local issues. The letters and *Relations* were vital in providing information to the colleges about missions and peoples outside of Europe including flora and fauna, languages and customs.

The second function of Jesuit colleges was to provide centres for artistic endeavours, considered parallel to the acquisition of knowledge. The arts programs illustrated and celebrated human experience in historical, social, cultural and religious dimensions, Giard posits. Theatre was important for musical and acting to present art that reiterated the need for moral conduct and a Christian life. These events supported the Ignatian goal to keep the members of the Company engaged in contemporary life in order to reform members of society who came to the events. The colleges presented both the work of students as well as the professors—song, stagecraft, plays, music, poetry and ballet were some of the artistic productions supported by the colleges.

Artistic achievements included church architecture and décor and illustrated books. Giard writes “To the development of representational art and the construction of buildings, we must add the iconography and stage decoration prepared for public festivals...” (18).

The third function of a Jesuit college was as a centre of spirituality. Beyond the Christian educational components included in the *Ratio studiorum*, an additional institution promoted religious devotion—the Sodalities of Our Lady (also known as Marian Congregations). Membership in the Sodality initially was open to the better students and later the Sodalities were open to a wide range of people in society. Members of the Sodality were involved in catechism classes for young children, performances with Biblical themes, they prayed in front of religious statues, and participated in processions. In large cities, the Sodalities often had their own

buildings that included their own chapel. Everywhere the members of the Sodalities participated in processions, pilgrimages, devotions to the saints—particularly to Mary. Giard writes that these events were “characteristic of baroque piety, thus promoting the practice of such expressions of devotion and cultivating the taste for them” (28).

Before he had finished writing the “Constitutions” (the guidebook for the order) Loyola included the education of the young one of the primary goals for the Jesuits, declaring that the work particularly proper for the Society was teaching the catechism to children and the ignorant, lecturing on philosophy and theology in universities and the instructing of youth in grammar schools and colleges (Harney 192). Large numbers of the members were assigned exclusively to the teaching of youth and it made the Jesuits the first religious order to adopt the education of the young as a special ministry to attain its goal—the glory of God and the salvation of souls (Harney 192, Martin 48). Martin asserts that the decision to establish colleges was made by dignitaries and not Jesuits, sometimes out of concern for heresy and at other times to gain or maintain support for the Society and at times to prevent creating enemies (16). Jesuit colleges were a fundamental part of the Jesuit strategy in France and required huge amount of human and financial resources.

Colleges were considered a means to reform morals, destroy heresy, Christianize society at large, and to the Catholicization of France (Martin 19). A properly founded college required a church large enough to hold a congregation of considerable size and comfortable enough to permit sermons, offered classes in Christian doctrine, provided the sacraments of confession and communion and housed priests to catechize and perform sacraments. A fundamental weakness in the Jesuit plan was the need to recruit new members to the Society which delayed the creation for a college for several years which displeased the ruling elite who provided patronage.

Buildings were a vital component of the Jesuit strategy. The Society desired buildings that combined function, comfort, convenience, utility as well as beauty (51). Louis Cadret S.J., described the college at Verdun, France as follows: “The bishop has spent a great deal of money, as much in buying the site for the houses as in the building of the classrooms, which are furnished and beautiful, and in the buildings of the rooms for us, including a large, beautiful, cheerful, and pleasant refectory, a beautiful and comfortable kitchen, two large and beautiful gardens and, more important, a large, spacious, and magnificent church, so that no college in the province of either France or Aquitaine has one so large or as beautiful” (52). Martin’s work on the Jesuit education system in France also reveals Jesuit concerns with placement of colleges in cities; for example at Lyon the location was considered inconvenient because it was too close to the river. William Creighton, S.J. argued that it should be moved to the centre of town for safety.

Although the Jesuits took vows of poverty, they did not generally endure impoverished conditions and the evidence that they tended to indulge themselves is well-illustrated and best documented by their buildings, classrooms, residences and churches of the colleges according to Martin (146). Oliver Manare S.J. wrote about the open space in the Jesuit house located in a crowded university sector of Paris: “Ponce Cogordan claimed that entering the courtyard was like going into the country, for vineyards and gardens surrounded it” (Martin 146). The property at the time was already quite large, the Jesuits nevertheless wanted to increase the property by purchasing two additional houses at the cost of 12,000 livres and make the garden larger than that of the Franciscans, revealing again the competition between orders. Lucas wrote “Gardens were highly prized, and the purchase of a suburban villa for rest, recreation, and the care of the sick very frequently followed the foundation of the downtown centre” (1990, 35).

At Lyons, Pedro Perpinyà described the Jesuit rooms as “quite large...Each has a library, enclosed and covered by woodwork, nine to ten palms wide, seven to eight tall, like a little room within a room. In the interior of each library is a table, and the walls are fitted with well-arranged shelves, so that in this narrow space you can have quite a large number of books; you can comfortably sit, read and meditate” (qtd. In Martin 146-147).

In the beginning, no uniform plan for teaching was employed because the curriculum was adapted to suit the traditions of the local people. But eventually there was demand for a common code of studies and methods from teachers and superiors which would culminate in the creation of the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum* (often abbreviated to *Ratio Studiorum*), Latin for “The Official Plan for Jesuit Education.” After fifteen years of experiment and scrutiny the first official *Ratio Studiorum* was issued in 1599 under the supervision of Claudio Aquaviva (Harney 194). Their main cause in Europe was teaching and arguing against the Protestant cause; hundreds of thousands of young men had been trained in over 621 Jesuit colleges by the time the order was suppressed in 1773 (Harney 201).

The primary value in the *Ratio* was the organization of studies but also more importantly was the education of the whole man on a Christian basis (Harney 195). Ignatius and the subsequent authors of the *Ratio* strived to create balance between philosophical speculation and humanistic studies, seeking the best features of the education of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The lower classes would gain a cultural training and the higher classes would train the intellect according to the best thought of St. Thomas and Aristotle (Harney 195). The Jesuit focus initially was secondary and higher education because due to their own training, they were much better suited to these levels; however, history and circumstance would dictate otherwise (Harney 197). While the Jesuits preferred to teach mature students that could already read and

write, occasionally they needed to found a college that taught the very young to satisfy pressures from outside the order as a condition of founding a college (Martin 58). At times the colleges also housed boarding students which was an undesirable situation for the teachers but was tolerated to avoid creating ill-will in communities.

Jesuit colleges were comparable to other colleges during the Renaissance but unique to the Jesuit education was “a humanist, classically oriented curriculum and the morally disciplined religion of the Catholic Reformation” (Martin 61). Jesuits faced opposition in France but in 1553, colleges were seen as a way to gain favour with leaders of society. Provincial Paschane Broët suggested to Ignatius Loyola that establishing colleges would be cause “for those who complain and oppose us to be quiet and for many others to do us favors” (Martin 63). This sentiment persisted with the growing number of colleges increasing the Society’s fame which in turn caused a demand for Jesuits to populate them. Colleges led to the aggrandizement of the Society of Jesus directly by producing future members and indirectly by producing young men who would fill positions of authority in society, potentially increasing the power of the Jesuits (Martin 63). A shortage of qualified staff at colleges made following the rules and regulations of the Society difficult because the directions and protocols increased, becoming more complex as the number of Jesuits increased (Martin 110).

According to the *Constitutions*, Jesuits could not physically punish students, so they hired a “corrector” to perform this duty (Martin 62). This regulation, Martin asserts, caused difficulties in France because Jesuits believed they needed to retain the power to punish so that the students would respect and fear them.

2.2 Jesuit Architecture and Landscape Strategy in New France

In 1534, the same year that Loyola was taking his vow of poverty and chastity, Jacques Cartier landed on the shores of what is now known as Canada, during his voyage to find a northern passage to Asia. He erected a large cross at modern-day Gaspé and gave the inhabitants who discovered him, their first introduction to Christianity along with a mass baptism (Grant 3). They would not have any further contact with the religion for 70 years, until the arrival of Champlain in the early 17th century. Planting the cross and flag signified the practice of the French (also the Spanish and English) of laying claim to land that the explorers regarded as not belonging to any other Christian country, based on the European law of *Terra Nullius* (Jaenen 2). Jaenen wrote “This theory argued that uninhabited, or at least uncultivated lands, needed to be brought under Christian dominion.” A population of Indigenous People did not negate a claim of *terra nullius*, because they only “occupied” the land, claiming no ownership. The Final Report of the TRC notes that “True ownership” was recognized only when the land was cultivated in European-style agriculture (TRC 46). This was part of a larger doctrine known as the Doctrine of Discovery which was based on the concept that the Christian god had give the Christian nations the right to colonize lands, provided they evangelized Indigenous People, which was a concept intertwined with European concepts of civilization. In the Euro-Christian view, Christianity was necessary in order to be civilized. The Roman Catholic church viewed itself as the “guardian of a universal world order” which was built on the traditions of the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire was Christian and considered “civilized” therefore to be civilized was to be Christian. As the TRC states, the “civilizing mission” was fueled by European beliefs of cultural and racial superiority.

Based on the history of a Wampum Belt, Basil H. Johnston (13 July 1929-8 September 2015) described Cartier's visit (to what is now Montreal) in *The Wampum Belt Tells Us...*, through the words of Abeedaussimoh, a *mazhinawae* (keeper of the Wampum Belt):

Cartier and some of his men went ashore and planted a cross on the crest of a high hill, claiming all the land for the King of France and naming the place Mont Réal.

Here the *mazhinawae* put his finger on the image of a cross.

“You know,” he said, “the Houdenassaunee were ruffled by the erection of this post. To the Houdenassaunee and to many other people of Turtle Island, a post in the ground is a mark of death, the mark of the grave of a dead person. What the white-skin, bearded aliens did was a sacrilege that bodes evil and ...death. It's a bad sign” (Johnston 78).

When Cartier went back to France he took two of Chief Donnacona's sons with him to France for a year. Basil describes their return and their explanation of the cross thus “They told their father why the stick-wavers, as they called the French, erected the cross. They said that the cross was an emblem meaning that France was claiming ownership of all the land. When he heard his sons' explanation, Donnacona declared that the Houdenassaunee would never allow the White people to take their land” (79). After hearing what his sons had told him, Donnacona sent Cartier and his men away immediately. Through the words of the *mazhinawae* we get a glimpse of what these moves in the landscape signified to many of the Indigenous Peoples of Turtle Island.

The Jesuit experience in Canada can be considered in four separate phases that were heavily influenced by political disputes occurring between the French and English. The first phase (1611-1613) began with the presence of Jesuits during the founding of Acadia and Québec in the first decade of the 1600s. The second phase was the return of the Jesuits in 1625 until the suppression of the order in 1773. The third was when Jesuits went underground in Canada as a

result of the suppression to 1800 when the last Jesuit died in Canada. The fourth phase stretches from the return of the new Order in 1842 and includes the Residential School experiences until 1962, for the purposes of this paper, although the Society of Jesus continues as a religious order.

When the colony of Acadia was founded in North America in 1604, there was a reluctance from both administrative and other religious figures to have Jesuits working among them; Huguenot outfitters refused to supply them. With the support of the Marquise de Guercheville, the Jesuits had a purchased share in the expedition and Fathers Pierre Biard and Énemon Massé reached Acadia in 1611 (Grant 4). Massé visited Mi'kmaq camps, learning the language and the culture of the people.

Prejudice was strong against the Jesuits and eventually the tension would cause the Jesuits to choose a site separate from the other Frenchmen. They worked in Port Royal in Acadia among the Mi'kmaq and Welastekwewiyik only until 1613, their work being transitory due to the destruction of the mission by the English from Virginia (Leavelle ch. 2, 18).

Although they worked there for only a short time, their experiences and observations gained while living among the Mi'kmaq, studying the language and their way of life, would become the template for missionary work to follow in New France. Briard and Massé believed that the seasonal migration of the people interfered with religious instruction and that some level of French Catholic civilization would have to be introduced (Leavelle, ch. 2, 19). The Jesuits held the Franco-European belief that a settled life was most compatible with Christianity. After the loss of the Acadian mission, the Society would wait for twelve years before they returned to



Map 1. Sites of Interest in the Provinces of Ontario (Upper Canada) and Quebec (Lower Canada)

the new territories in 1625. Massé was committed to the people he had met and while at home in France he campaigned, awaiting his return to the Mi'kmaq (Grant 6).

Samuel de Champlain, one of the founders of Acadia, established the settlement of Québec in 1608, envisioning a new society that was French in culture and Christian in religion, where Indigenous People could be converted (Grant 6). John Webster Grant suggests that Champlain was looking for wealth and was drawn to the St. Lawrence where the furs were better than in Acadia and where the river landscape was more conducive to control. Christianity became synonymous with trade under Champlain and religious conversion was written into trade agreements with the Wendat for example. Champlain once again entreated Mme de Guercheville to buy the habitation and sponsor Jesuits; she, however, declined and instead a reformed branch of the Franciscan order known as the Récollets arrived in 1615. As previously mentioned, the Franciscans believed in absolute poverty and members of the order were not allowed to own property. They were considered qualified for work in the New World because of their reputation for social service; however, despite their popularity in France, the order was unsuited to the unique economic climate of Québec, being unsuccessful with the company of merchants who controlled the colony or the Huguenots (Grant 7-8). Due to their vows of poverty they were also unable to meet the required demands of gift-giving with First Nations. The Récollets reluctantly collaborated with the Jesuits because they had already had ideological disagreements over Christian methodologies in Japan and China (Abé 97, Grant 8). The Jesuits had wealth that the Récollets did not, including their own ship that created some independence from the trading company according to Grant. The Jesuits realized that the trading alliances with the First Nations peoples made mission work possible and endeavoured to control how the fur trade operated, knowing that the prosperity of New France depended on trade. They were politically successful

because they considered needs of the company and ensured that their policies were in step with company requirements, something the more narrow-sighted Récollets were unable to achieve (Trigger 468). Returning in 1625, the Jesuits ensured that there were no Europeans living among the First Nations that were not part of their mission by the end of that first year. No new interpreters were sent into the fields to replace those living with the Nipissing or Algonquin peoples until they could be replaced by Jesuit laymen; even the *couriers du bois* were exchanged for Jesuit employees (Trigger 469). The Jesuits would replace European workers in the field with lay assistants and *donnés* (laymen who served the Jesuits) so that “un-Christian” French habits would not be transferred to Indigenous villages.

In 1626 Father Jean de Brébeuf was sent to visit Wendake. An agricultural society that was more sedentary than other Indigenous groups, the Wendat (Huron to the French) were considered a promising field for both trading furs and Christianization. Brébeuf spent the winter with the Wendat learning the language and culture. The other Jesuits worked with the Innu and Algonquin.

In Québec, the Jesuits used their political clout to change the management of the settlement. In 1627 a new company of One Hundred Associates was formed. It excluded the Huguenots who had previously slighted the members of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits realized that the fur trade was key to reaching Indigenous peoples for conversion; rather than fight the establishment, the Jesuits adapted their ways to work with the economic structures of the colony. Unfortunately, the promising situation for the French had to be aborted in 1629 when the English gained Québec and the Jesuits were forced to leave.

After the French regained Québec through the treaty of St. Germaine in 1632, Jesuits returned and came regularly from France after 1633 (Harney 254). When Québec and Acadia

were returned to France once more, trade was considered subservient to settlement and Christianization; however, the trade monopoly of the One Hundred Associates was paralleled with a religious monopoly in each settlement (Grant 26). Traders and missionaries were to work in tandem for France and Christianity. Québec was first offered to the Capuchins, but they turned the opportunity down so the mission was then offered to the Jesuits who were eager to reconnect with the Innu, Algonquin and Wendat. Fathers Brébeuf and Massé (who had originally sailed from Dieppe with Champlain) returned in 1633, anxious to return to the Wendat Confederacy 700 km (435 miles) west of Québec.

During the second phase of the Jesuit mission in New France, Brébeuf, Daniel and Davost were immediately sent to the Wendat territory upon their arrival. Champlain explained to them that the Jesuit role was not to promote trade with other tribes (a crime that another Frenchman, Étienne Brûlé had committed that resulted in his death at the hands of the Wendat) but to instruct them, saying that if the Wendat loved the French they would allow the Jesuits to live among them. Champlain made this a condition of the renewal of the French-Wendat Alliance (Trigger 480). The Jesuits pressed for exclusive missionary rights in Canada, wanting to be able to work without interference from other orders like the Récollets and Capuchins, who had differing opinions on mission work. When the Jesuits resumed their work at Québec, the Récollets were not allowed to return for three years; however, the Jesuits were able to maintain a religious monopoly for several decades (Trigger 467).

The Jesuits quickly established missions along the St. Lawrence River to contact the migratory hunting and gathering groups, the Algonquins and the Innu, both of whom had been trading with the French before the establishment of Québec (Leavelle ch. 2, 20). Paul Le Jeune would accompany the Innu for the winter of 1633-1634, but he found the travel too difficult and

the living conditions intolerable. After a trying journey he returned convinced that stability was a necessary condition to achieve Christianization (Grant 26). Writing about his work in the *Jesuit Relations* (1632-1673), which would serve as propaganda for the mission work, Le Jeune shared “vivid tales of strange peoples and places” with the French public who were fascinated by the mysterious and were experiencing a religious revival in France (Leavelle ch. 2, 21).

Trigger explains that the priests, their laymen and donnés were guests of the Wendat, officially confirmed in a council held on 22 July, 1635. Champlain reiterated that the Jesuits were a sign of French goodwill. At this time, he also made it clear that the Wendat were to become Christian as part of the alliance, within four years. Additionally, the Wendat were to send their young boys to be educated at Québec by the Jesuits in a residential school (to be created), for a period of one year. Champlain claimed that being Christians would make them victorious over their enemies and promised that Frenchmen would come to live with them and marry their daughters (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 496).

The Jesuits kept the Innu separate from the French, teaching them in their own language and only abandoned this practice when forced by the government in 1660 (Trigger 468). Using the indigenous language of the people was not only convenient for the priests, but this method reflected the attitude of the order towards conversion in general. As Trigger writes, the Jesuit approach was not a matter of convenience, but reflected the attitude of the order to the whole question of conversion that, as Abé points out, was a practice that began in previous missions to India and Japan. (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 468, Abé 82). Father Francisco Javier (Francis Xavier), a contemporary of Loyola and one of the founding members of the Society of Jesus, noted the success of Father Henrique Henriques with the people of India after he was able to master the Tamil language.

2.3 Expanding the Field and Planting the Cross

The focus of the Jesuit efforts remained on the strategically located Wendat territory to which Brébeuf returned in 1634. During the first years the Jesuits were dependent on the Wendat for communication with Québec and France as well as their daily survival. Under Brébeuf the Jesuits would work in selected villages, living among the people they wished to convert, eventually attaining private accommodations more suited to their religious lifestyle. When Jérôme Lalemant became the Superior in 1638 he implemented a new policy of centralization, resulting in the fortification of a French settlement called Sainte-Marie. He saw it as a necessary endeavour so that the Jesuits could say their prayers more regularly and so that missions could be planned more systematically.

The Jesuits were at first welcomed as emissaries of French friendship and valued as part of the Wendat-French fur trade alliance. But diseases associated with their arrival in the 1630s and 1640s severely reduced the Indigenous populations and eventually made them targets of suspected witchcraft, as the priests remained healthy amidst the dying Wendat. At the end of the 1630s, attacks from the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) also became a concern. Often threatened with violence, the Jesuits needed to maintain a delicate balance that centered around Wendat cultural concerns as well as economic prosperity and their alliance with the French. When Lalemant and Brébeuf began reaching out to the Petun, Neutral, Ojibway (at Sault Ste. Marie), and Nippissing peoples, it annoyed the Wendat because it was seen as a threat to trade (Grant 28).

Sainte-Marie would fall to the Haudenosaunee in 1650, and two decades of work would be lost along with many lives including those of the Jesuits. Martyrdom removed the most experienced members of the Jesuits and many others would leave in an exodus to France. Surviving Wendat sought refuge at *Gahoendoe* (Christian Island) where the second Sainte-Marie

was constructed. The Jesuits wanted to relocate to Manitoulin Island (known as *Île de Ste. Marie* to the French and *Ekaentoton* to the Wendat) to join the Jesuit mission that was started in 1648 among Algonquin speaking peoples. Father Poncet had been sent to the large island in October 1648 to set up a mission called St. Pierre by Father Ragueneau, but he left the island the following year. The island was more remote, but contact could have been maintained with the Neutral and Tionnaté and the fur trade could have resumed. Despite the fertile soils and promise of good fishing, the Wendat did not want to relocate there because maize crops would have been unpredictable at the range closest to their coldest tolerated climate and were unwilling to gamble on the stability of their main food source (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 771, Labelle 54).

Labelle's work on the life of the Wendat after the dispersal of 1650 counters the popular narrative that the Wendat were destroyed as a people. Labelle states that the Wendat used their relationships with their Anishinaabe trading partners, with whom they had an official coalition for over one hundred years, to seek shelter and protection, moving in response to commercial and geopolitical motives (Labelle 82). The Wendat dispersed with groups moving west to Michilimackinac, and east towards Québec City. The Wendat spent 20 years relocating before finding permanency in the 1670s (83). Labelle asserts that the Wendat culture was not lost within new cultures but rather they maintained their roles as diplomats as well as their agrarian lifestyle. The relocation of the Wendat meant that the Jesuit Fathers followed their converts and gained a foothold in Anishinaabe communities that were less familiar with the Black Robes (as the Jesuits were known among First Nation peoples).

Between 1640 and 1647, major changes occurred within Wendat society with the Jesuits playing a leading role. Twenty-five Jesuits worked in the areas of present-day Ontario and Quebec until 1648-1649 when the Haudenosaunee lead a series of attacks on Wendake, burning

fifteen Christian villages, killing many of the warriors and taking the women and children into their own communities (Harney 255). Five of the Jesuit fathers were killed during this time—Jean de Brébeuf, Noël Chabanel, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier and Gabriel Lalemant. They are revered as martyrs by the Society of Jesus. The late 1640s would see the destruction of what was considered a successful mission (by the Jesuits) due to a community socially weakened, having suffered spiritual division from Christianity and physically weakened by disease and destruction at the hands of the Haudenosaunee. After the dispersal of the Wendat Confederacy, the Jesuits would begin missions among the Haudenosaunee amidst tense relations that would see most of the missions abandoned by 1708. The principal station during 1640-1682 was Tadoussac but 24 Jesuits established missions in Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimackinac, and Green Bay.

After the distribution of the Wendat, some of the Jesuits returned to France while others attempted a mission among the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca) beginning in 1654 ending by 1658 with the French returning to Québec. The Jesuits would try again in 1667 returning to Haudenosaunee territory, but by 1674 would be evicted, returning once more in 1702-1709 (Grant 48). The relations between the French and the Iroquois were tense and most missions were abandoned by 1708. A notable exception is the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier established in 1667 in a Kanienkeha'ka (Mohawk) community. The mission moved four times in its history to avoid European contact and for reasons economic, political and agricultural; Kahnawake (“on the rapids”) is currently located in Laprairie, Quebec. It was surrounded by Fort St. Louis (1725) and the fort still partially encloses the mission. Saint Kateri Tekakwitha (born 1656, died April 17, 1680) patron of the environment and ecology, and the first Indigenous saint is from this community (kateritekakwitha.net).

In 1665, Jesuits would also head to the south shore of Lake Superior to create the Saint-Éspirit mission at what is now known as Green Bay, Michigan. St. Ignace was founded by Father Jacques Marquette at Michilimackinac in 1671, founding a base from where Jesuits would head out throughout Northern Ontario. In 1672 Father Albanel reached James Bay for a brief tenure. The prairies were also investigated in the early 18th century; no Indigenous Christian communities resulted but there is a memory of the Black Robes' visit (Grant 98). While Jesuits were expanding their territory, other areas were lost, for example the Gentlemen of Saint-Sulpice (band of diocesan priests founded 1641) took over religious affairs in Montréal from the Society in 1657, when the leadership became unsatisfied with the religious services available from the Jesuits (Choquette 79-80). The movements of the Jesuits are more difficult to follow after the dispersal of the Wendat. History has focused on the Wendat chapter, perhaps because it was so well documented by the French, and so much time and energy invested in the mission, although arguably with little success to show for it.

The Jesuits would struggle due to political challenges and changes from 1650 to their suppression in 1773. The loss of Jesuit records due to the suppression and subsequent destruction of historic Jesuit documents presents a challenge for researchers. The Seven Years War (1756-63) resulted in the cession of New France to England in the Treaty of Paris (1763). In 1770, Swedish writer Pehr Kalm (1716-1779) published *Travels into North America* in which he describes Jesuits living with Indigenous converts in Tadoussac, Lorette, Becancourt, St. Francois, Sault Ste. Louis and elsewhere in Canada, and one or two Jesuits living outside Indigenous villages with potential for conversions (291). In his writings Kalm also describes the considerable possessions of the Jesuits which will be discussed later. Under English control,

French Jesuits would struggle with the loss of Society owned land and without new recruits after 1763, the last Jesuit would die in 1800.

2.4 Jesuit Education, Architecture and Indigenous Missions Strategy

The first Jesuit school in Québec was created in 1635, with the Jesuit belief (as with the Récollets) that the long-term hope for conversion was with the young, even though it was the Elders and adult males who were responsible for decision making in Wendat society. The College of Québec was founded in 1635, a year after the Wendat mission on Georgian Bay began, with enough donations available to support it. Separation and isolation for the progress of the children was key to obtaining the Jesuit goals. The Jesuits proposed that the children of the Innu go to France for two years and that the Wendat children should go to Québec for at least a year (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 522).

Le Jeune knew that the Indigenous people would not tolerate their children being scolded and physically punished, which he considered essential for their education (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 522). Having Wendat children in Québec essentially made them hostages, also ensuring the Jesuits would be treated well. The Wendat were not in agreement, even though educating their children was a condition in their alliance with the French. A few boys were sent after their mothers protested, even though Champlain had promised the same number of French men in exchange to protect the Wendat. Although approximately 20 boys were expected to fulfill the request, only three were sent and of those only one was prepared to stay. Father Daniel reprimanded the Wendat leaders for breaking pledges made to the Jesuits and as a result two additional boys were left behind. Tragically, the experiment was not a success as two of the boys died (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 523-524). The Jesuits had one adult Wendat convert named Pierre

Ateiachias who entered the boarding school in the late 1630s. Ateiachias pointed out to the Jesuits that children were not listened to in his culture, but rather it was the elders of the community whose opinions were sought. His presence and conversion resulted in the Jesuit's rethinking of their focus on the conversion of children. Unfortunately, Ateiachias drowned before he was able to return to Wendake to evangelize his own people (Miller 48). Richard Carney in his article on pre-confederation Indigenous schooling states that although there is a perception that the Jesuit and Ursuline Indian Residential schools of the 17th century continued to exist into the 19th century, both the Jesuits and nuns had abandoned the idea of such institutions by 1700 due to Indigenous resistance to such institutions (16).

A Jesuit Seminary was established in 1663. Le Grand Séminaire was for men who were joining the priesthood and le Petit Séminaire was for educating students that planned to attend the seminary. The religious orders were the only organizations that could afford to build on a grand scale in New France (Gowans 1). The arrival of more artisans from France to New France in the latter part of the 17th century and the influence of the Jesuits, meant that traditional features of religious architecture were used to construct churches in Québec City and Montréal (refer to figure 2.7, 2.10). Most often, churches were built in the shape of a Latin Cross with steeples where the nave and transept met. The Jesuit Church built in Québec City was the second church on the site and existed from 1666 to 1807 when it was destroyed by fire, an example of classical French monumental architecture (Clerk 1). The college (1648-1878) and the church were the first large and important buildings that were constructed in Quebec (Gowans 196). In 1647, the Jesuits built a stone parish church in Québec, later named the Cathedral of Monseigneur de Laval. As Gowans recounts Laval's reaction to the church: "...it was fine enough for him to write to Louis Quatorze in 1672 and say enthusiastically, 'There is a basilica

here; it is large and magnificent!” (19). The basilica, college (1648) and church (1666) created a complex which dominated the cityscape. When Richard Short entered the conquered city with Wolfe’s army in 1759 he drew the exterior of the Jesuit Church and College and captured the remains of the interior of the Jesuit church (refer to figures 2.7 and 2.8). The Jesuits had brought a new architectural style to Quebec (which was essentially medieval in character) which would be called “The Jesuit Style” and then eventually be called “Baroque” by art historians in the nineteenth century. Gowans states that the plans for the building in Quebec came from an architect of the Order who would send plans and special workmen to supervise the work by local artisans. There were however changes in scale, proportions and details so that the buildings were suited to the local community, by which we can assume he refers to the European community. According to Gowans, the proper Jesuit façade was not completed until approximately 50 years after the church was initially built, so that they could have the funds to enhance the front of the church with columns, pediments and scrolls like the mother church in Rome. Gowans further asserted that the baroque principle of tension and release was built into the Quebec church. He describes it thus:

On the outside, everything about the Jesuit church seemed strained and taut. The hill you had to climb to approach it; the steps, built as if to flow out against you; the façade, squeezed between the College and tower, and its niches, plaques, and oculus, jostled and crowded against pilasters and cornice; the main door, so small and narrow for such a large building—they all worked together to create a feeling, in successive stages, of tension and discomfort.

But once through the door, the tension was instantly released. Suddenly you came into a great interior space, filled with air, light, and colour. Where all outside had



Figure 2.7 Jesuit College and Church in Quebec, engraving by Richard Short 1759.



Figure 2.8 Interior of Jesuit Church in Quebec, engraving by Richard Short 1759.

been cramped and barren, here all was open, and rich with brilliant ornament (20). Gowans's comments on the structures aid in the understanding of how impressive these buildings would have been to visitors when they were first constructed. Gowans asks "For what could be more unexpected than to come upon this transplantation of the mighty Baroque style of Europe in a tiny colony like New France?" (20-21). The large structures would have indeed been startling in contrast to the surrounding landscape. Pehr Kalm remarked on the religious buildings he encountered in 1749 while travelling in New France. By the time Kalm arrived, the Jesuits had considerable holdings in both cities, including a large seminary in Montréal (refer to figures 2.9, 2.10 and 2.14). He dined and visited the Jesuit complexes in both Québec and Montréal. In Québec he attended a service in the church where he kneeled the entire time because the church did not have benches. He described the Jesuit house as follows: "magnificently built, and looks exceedingly fine, both without and within; which gives it a similarity to a fine palace" (Kalm 288). It was so large that Kalm determined that 300 families could live in the Jesuit house. The Jesuit college was surrounded on two sides with orchards and kitchen gardens that were experienced via fine walks (Kalm 289). The gardens included some of the old growth forest trees (that predated the arrival of the French) and fruit-trees. Kalm remarked on the considerable possessions given to the Jesuits by the French King including a fine church in Montréal with a neat little house that included a pretty garden within it (290) (refer to figure 2.9, 2.10 and 2.12). His writing is quite useful as he remarks on the differences in climate between the two cities, Montréal having a milder climate where pears could be grown.

Along with his comments on the architecture and possessions of the Jesuits he commented on Jesuit conduct. He wrote "The Jesuits are of great use to their king; for they are frequently able to persuade the Indians to break their treaty with the English, to make war upon

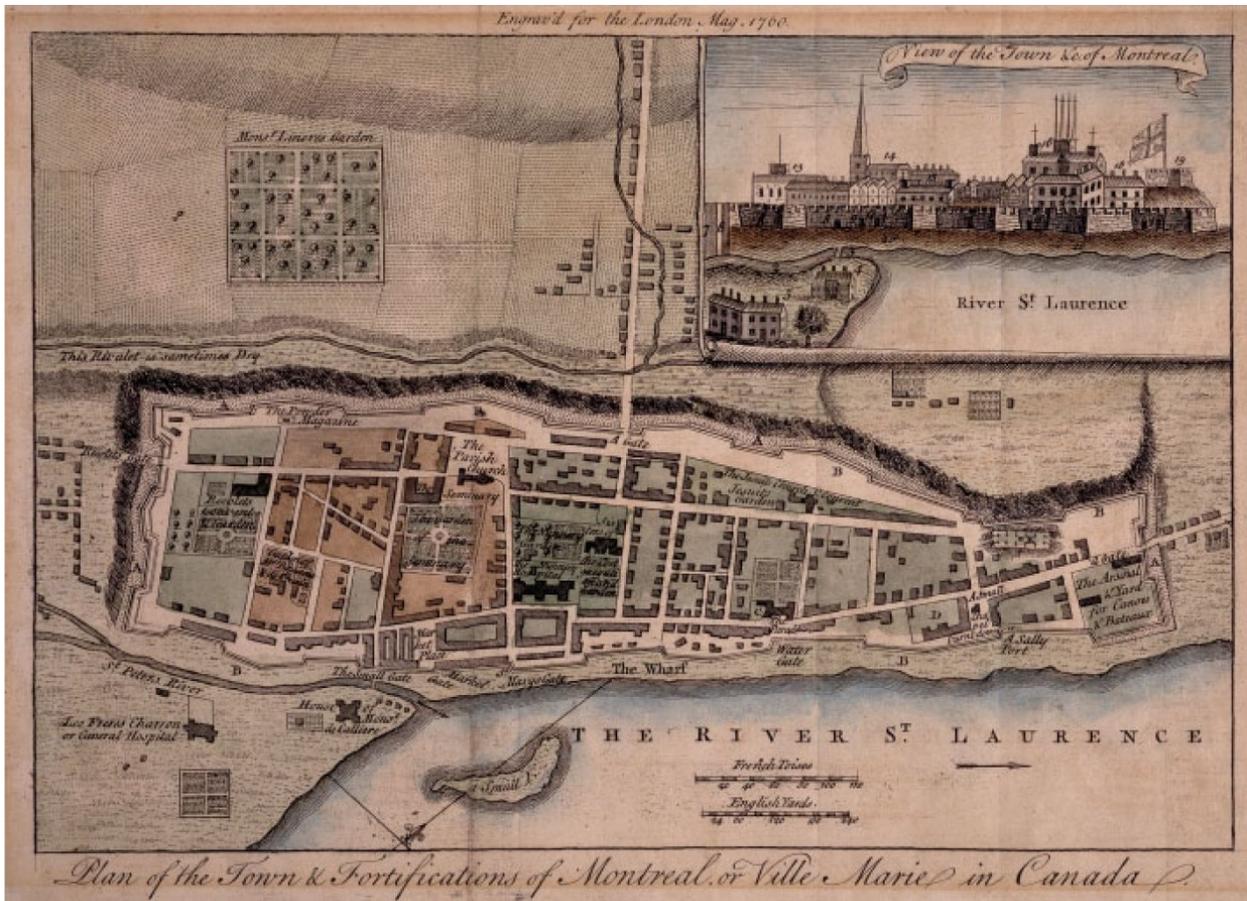


Figure 2.9 Plan of Montreal or Ville Marie in Canada, 1760. Image shows the Jesuit land holdings and gardens and the Seminary and associated gardens

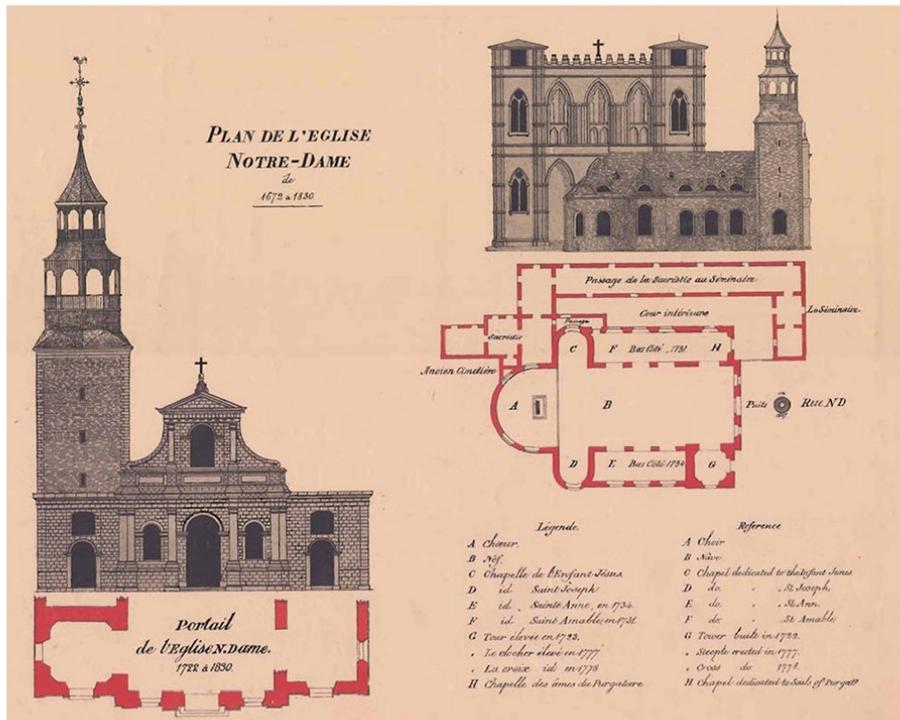


Figure 2.10 Elevation and plan of Montreal Basilica 1722-1830.

them, to bring their furs to the French, and not to permit the English to come amongst them” (291).

By the time Richard Short arrived in 1759, the church in Québec had been shelled but the church, even in ruins, still attracted visitors. Gowans posited that “dramatic surprise” was the essence of the Baroque style and what would have been more surprising to colonial visitors to Quebec than a Baroque style European building? By this time the college had been rebuilt (1741) and there was little left that was Baroque about it anymore at the time; however Gowans stated that the medieval and the Baroque traditions continued to determine characteristic Quebec architecture (21).

2.5 Planned Jesuit Christian Communities: Sillery, Lorette and Sainte-Marie I

In 1637, while Jesuits were working among the Wendat, the Jesuits would try to establish an experimental Christian village for the Innu and Algonquin neophytes 10 miles west of Québec, based on their notion that stability was the key to Christianity. St. Joseph de Sillery was created based on the same idea as the Paraguayan reductions—divide the Indigenous people from the Europeans and evangelize them, or as Nicholas P. Cushner wrote in *Why Have You Come Here?* (2006), “isolate and indoctrinate” (152). Paul Le Jeune hoped that the village would inspire Innu to settle and take up agriculture. The Jesuits purchased 8,820 acres for a village and a farm, choosing a site below Cape Diamond a league and a half from Québec, on a sandy bay that was often used by the Innu (Ronda 5). The village was named St. Joseph de Sillery (1637-1669) after its benefactor Noël Brûlart de Sillery. In July work started on a Jesuit residence. Inspired by the reductions of Paraguay and Japan (as Takao Abé posits), it was hoped that Sillery would be an example of a civilized Indigenous Christian community that would attract

Indigenous settlers. Food was already being imported from Europe, and with First Nations close to starvation, agriculture was presented as their only hope (Grant 27). They invited the Algonquin and Innu to take up farming during a time when a lack of game for hunting made conditions favourable for acceptance. Acceptance of the village did not necessarily mean an acceptance of Christianity however. Traditional religion remained active but out of the view of the Jesuits.

The village was granted special trading privileges from the Company of New France that were usually given only to French *habitants* (Ronda 6). In 1640 the Jesuits were joined by the Hospitalier Sisters, or Hospital Nuns, who opened a hospital at Sillery after a fire destroyed their building at Québec. In the *Relation* for 1642-1643, Barthelemy Vimont reported that there were 35-40 Christian families with many more non-Christians living in the village. At the time there were four one-room houses “built on the French plan” with two additional houses under construction and one planned for the spring (Ronda 7). Most residents chose to live in their traditional bark cabins however. European-style homes required money and workmen to construct. At the height of the village’s popularity in 1646, 120 Christian Indigenous People lived there but by the 1660s the Jesuits were mostly caring for French settlers (Cushner 152).

The village layout consisted of two wings, with the Jesuit residence and the hospital at the centre. The Innu lived closest to the Jesuit house and the Algonquin reportedly lived on the hospital side. Built in 1647, St. Michael’s church was viewed as a “primary means to maintain piety and proper worship in the village” (8). The Innu and Algonquin remained involved in their traditional economies; this factor combined with the fear of attack meant the agricultural fields were not well developed.

The acceptance of Christianity also brought severe changes to moral codes and conduct, resulting in public displays of punishment, particularly towards women. One woman fled after having an argument with her husband and was subsequently hunted down, chained to a post without food for four days. Ronda's work does not mention if this was in a public forum. However, from the work of Karen Anderson, we can assume that it probably was. Anderson wrote "By the mid-1640s, not more than three decades after the French first arrived among them, many women had already been subdued, rendered docile and obedient... There were fewer incidents reported of how this or that woman forced a male relative to leave her longhouse, or to give up Christianity and return to traditional practices. Now, instead we read about how women were chained, beaten and even starved if they ran away; about how women were publicly chastised if they didn't obey their husbands" (4).

Ronda describes the incarceration of women as well as their public floggings by village officials. Women had become the scapegoats for Christians and these punishments widened the gap between the Traditionalists and the Christians (Ronda 13). At least one Jesuit defended the punishment as vital to teach the Indigenous people the principles of European justice and government.

The Jesuits achieved limited success as the village never grew into a substantial town. Fires often destroyed buildings—one fire in 1656 started in the Jesuit residence and then razed neighbouring houses. Many of the villagers did not remain year-round. Haudenosaunee raids in the 1640s and 1650s along with disease outbreaks left few inhabitants by 1663 and most of the land was given to French colonists (Leavelle ch. 2, 22). Ronda quotes a Traditionalist who said "go then thou Frenchman, that is right, go away into thine own country. Embark in the ships, since thou art a Frenchman. Cross the sea to thine own land" (15). Ronda concludes his

discussion on Sillery by saying that the village experiment failed because it “demanded cultural suicide.”

Located 10 miles west of Montreal, on the Jesuit lands of St. Michel, the mission of Notre Dame de Lorette was considered more successful than Sillery. In the years 1669-1674 it was populated by over 300 Onondaga Iroquois in a quadrangle formed by thirteen cabins with a chapel in the centre. Drinking was not allowed in the village and no Europeans were allowed to settle there (Ronda 15).

La Prairie de Madelaine, 100 miles east of Sillery, was the third mission village. All three villages were created in the manner of a European town with a church, a school and agricultural lands. The local government was in Indigenous hands and the Jesuits expected the people to adopt the Christian system of monogamous relationships.

The new paradigm was rejected however after the cultural changes caused social problems and shocking changes in violence against women. Christian Indigenous males denounced non-Christian women and demanded that they be imprisoned by the French; as a result of this aggression women were publicly flogged (Cushner 152). This unacceptable behaviour caused a schism between the traditional culture and the Christians. While the villages were viewed as useful basecamps, the requirements of the Christian culture were rejected. The Wendat, Haudenosaunee and Innu would not successfully adopt the new culture.

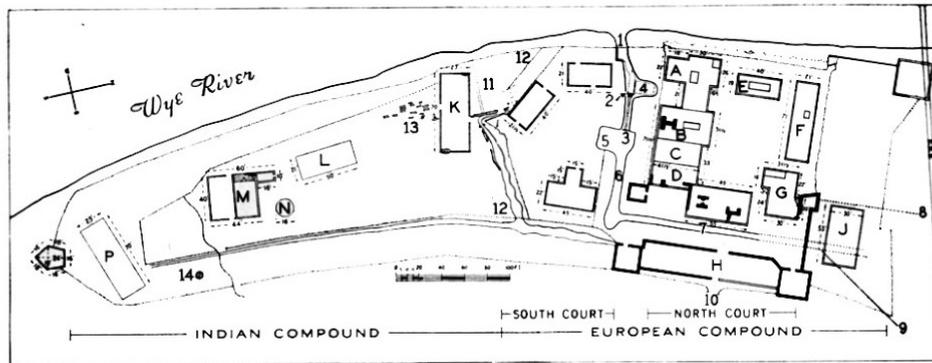
As Cushner suggests in his work, unlike the Jesuits elsewhere, in Florida for example, the Jesuits in New France were not considered vital to the political or economic processes of government—as long as Indigenous Peoples were willing to supply furs and trade, it did not matter if they accepted Christianity or not, so essentially the Jesuit missions did not have political backing to support their work (Cushner 155).

While Sillery was being created, another mission style village was planned in Wendat territory. In 1639 Wendake, Jérôme Lalemant envisioned a European-style Jesuit residence that would become the nucleus of a village of converts, hoping that Indigenous Christian families would leave their villages and settle around the settlement he called Sainte-Marie I (1639-1649). In 1641 he expressed a desire that a reduction would be created but it was not mentioned again in his writing (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 665, 685). In 1639, the Jesuits had abandoned their residences in Ossossané and Teanaostaiaé but by 1643 they were re-established.

The most comprehensive information on Sainte-Marie comes from Bruce Trigger's work *The Children of Aataentsic* (originally published in 1976) that examines previous archeologic work by Kenneth Kidd (1941-1943) and Wilfred Jury and Elsie Jury (1947-1943) (669). Trigger discloses that the Wendat did not move to the vicinity of Sainte-Marie as Lalemant hoped. Consequently, in the villages chapels were enlarged instead of abandoned for Sainte-Marie, crosses were once again erected in the landscape and old kettles were hung on poles to serve as bells. Christian cemeteries were consecrated, and funerals performed in them. The establishment of cemeteries in each village means that few graves were found during the excavations of Sainte-Marie. Not having a centralized location was a serious inconvenience to the Jesuits as they continued to travel among villages. Sainte-Marie was intended to be the headquarters for the Jesuit missionaries in Wendat country and as archaeologist Kenneth Kidd suggested the settlement was intended to become a model farm to introduce First Nations to European farming practices and customs (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 685), Lalemant having used the Paraguayan reduction as an example. But Trigger posits that the main reason was to attract the French and to make European lives easier in the New France. The settlement would grow from a single hut into a



Figure 2.13 Modern Reconstruction of Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, National Historic Site of Canada



PLAN OF SAINTE-MARIE I

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| A—Dwelling | F—Dwelling | L—Huron longhouse |
| B—Chapel | G—Dwelling | M—Hospital |
| C—Carpenter-shop | H—Barracks | N—Algonquin dwelling |
| D—Blacksmith-shop | J—Barn | P—Huron longhouse |
| E—Cookhouse | K—Indian Church | |
| 1, 2, 3—Locks | 7—North-south water channel | 11—Escape tunnel |
| 4—Loading basin | 8—Drinking water aqueduct | 12—Ditchworks for defence |
| 5—Landing basin | 9—Aqueduct | 13—Christian cemetery |
| 6—East-west water channel | 10—Gateway | 14—Well |

Figure 2.14 Archaeologist Wilfrid Jury's plan of Sainte-Marie I, Illustration by J. Griffith and P. Buchanan

fortified French settlement built to endure an attack from the Haudenosaunee or Wendat (refer to figure 2.13).

At times Sainte-Marie would have had the equivalent population of Québec. At the height of its history during 1648-1649, the fort would have 18 priests and 46 lay assistants. Lalemant intended the fort to be self sustaining and to be able to feed all of the French working in Wendat country, to help cut costs and provide a secure food supply via an attached farm. Lalemant essentially wanted to “provide enough services so that the Jesuits could live as Frenchmen in the Huron country” (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 666). Until the Jesuits could develop a formal reduction, the missionaries wanted to provide services for Indigenous converts, care for the sick but also provide a private religious retreat separate from the public for personnel (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 666). Sainte-Marie was a gathering place three times a year for all Jesuits to confer about their work and encourage each other as the number of Christians increased in the villages and more resident clergy and missions were required (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 687). The Jesuits were however under orders not to expand until they were successful with the Wendat.

As Trigger writes in his 1976 work, the *Relations* tell very little about the construction of Sainte-Marie. In May of 1640 Lalemant wrote that the French were working on a house that was suitable for their needs but whether they were building new or enlarging an existing building is unknown. In 1641, the Jesuits had a Wendat longhouse constructed to house Indigenous Christians that came to Sainte-Marie and they performed their devotions in a chapel described as “poor” by French standards (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 667). However, it was “regarded by the Huron as one of the wonders of the world”; this language would be used by Nicholas Point two-hundred years later to describe (with undertones of scorn) the reaction of the Anishinabek towards the Anglican Church in Manitowaning. The chapel in Sainte-Marie was said to be more

elaborate than what the Hurons had previously seen and that the “splendour” was considered useful because it enhanced Indigenous respect for Christianity (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 668). Some of the building materials may have come from Ossossané from a chapel building that had been abandoned after a new one had been built in a Wendat longhouse.

Before 1642, a hospital was built away from the priest quarters so that both men and women could be treated. Worship for Indigenous Christians was held in a separate church, not in the Jesuit’s private chapel. A cemetery was consecrated near the church and a cabin (1641) was provided for Christian visitors but a separate facility was created for non-Christian visitors. There was a desire for Indigenous People to be buried within the Christian cemetery, and some would travel a long distance to achieve burial. Sainte-Marie was fortified by 1649 but referred to as a fort as early as 1642.

The buildings of Sainte-Marie were enclosed within a complex structure approximately 800 feet (244 metres) and 200 feet (61 metres) wide at the north end. Gently curved to follow the Isaraqui River (Wye River) on the west side, it grew narrower to the South to avoid the swamp that sheltered the site to the east (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 669) (refer to figure 2.14). The southern half of the site was referred to as the ‘Indian Compound’ in Trigger’s work. The Indian compound was separated into inner and outer courtyards, surrounded by palisades. The inner court enclosed a longhouse as indicated by post molds uncovered through archeological research. The archeological record also indicates two large European-style buildings most likely a hospital and a church (70 feet (21 metres long) by 27 feet (8 metres) wide) (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 671). The cemetery was located to the south. The Wendat traditionally had a scaffold burial, including items that the deceased person would need in the next life. The Jesuits tried to suppress the traditional custom of burial with objects, however the archeological work of Wilfred Jury and

Elsie Jury, shows that the priests were not entirely successful (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 671). The outer courtyard in the Indian compound was separated by palisades and flanked along the east by a ditch. The outer court yard had a pentagonal blockhouse. As indicated by the available research, the architecture of Sainte-Marie was both religious and militaristic. The separation of the two areas may also indicate the socio-political climate of the Jesuits who did not welcome the Indigenous or Indigenous Christians into their “private” compound, the Catholic missionaries not having been assured of friendship and at times having their lives threatened by the Wendat.

As Trigger contends, through the layout of the Jesuit settlement one can “see various expressions of Lalemant’s concern for authority and discipline” (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 672). Non-Christians were forbidden entry into the inner court and non-Christians were not allowed to stay overnight, emphasizing the importance of Christianity in relationships with the French. When the French lived within Wendat villages, villagers had access to their quarters, whereas in Sainte-Marie, there was a separate church for the Jesuits in the European section—meaning that the Jesuits did not have to share their chapel and had private space for Jesuit devotions. It is possible that privileged male converts may have been admitted into the Jesuit living area. The construction of the church made a complete break between the Jesuit living space and part of the settlement available to converts. Trigger posits that “the creation within the heart of this mission of an all-male, European section, completely separated from the world around it, gave physical embodiment to Lalemant’s concern to maintain the detailed forms, as well as the spirit, of religious devotion among the Jesuit missionaries” (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 672).

The mimicry of European architecture and spatial arrangement provided a presumed stability to the Jesuit presence in Wendat country and helped Lalemant to set a more rigorous tone for religious discipline. Brébeuf wrote that their religious practice was being enforced just

as in the great colleges of Europe and that the punctual observance of all the rules was increasing day by day; this could have also been a veiled criticism of Lalemant who was notorious for his emphasis on ritual and forms (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 672).

The northern half of Sainte-Marie contained a greater number of buildings than the southern half and was more complicated in its layout. The complex layout and the prohibition of non-Christians in this area may have been defensive, a lack of familiarity with the Jesuit compound may have made it more difficult to locate them during an attack. We know from Trigger's work that an understanding of much of the physical layout of Sainte-Marie is open to interpretation and often there are countering opinions between archeologists; for example, there is debate about what underground channels were used for and how an outer wall was constructed (*Aataentsic* 673, 680). We do know that underground wooden water mains ran from springs located on ground that rose to the north. In the north-west corner was a stone bastion. A small south-western bastion was covered inside and out with a layer of white plaster. Over time wooden walls were replaced with stone walls, some were never finished and there is evidence that others were built in haste. In spring of 1647, there was a growing concern with the defense of Sainte-Marie and stone fortifications began after the arrival of Pierre Tourmente. Later that year, a small cannon and a number of soldiers were dispatched the following year in 1648 (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 677). The cannon was taken to Gahoendoe (Christian Island) to Sainte-Marie II and it was found in the 1900s. In early 17th century French settlements, there was care taken to site buildings to ensure good drainage. The many cellars under the main buildings at Sainte-Marie I along with the ditches may have provided drainage and controlled the supply of drinking water (Trigger, *Aataentsic* 681). This also aligns with the Jesuit preference for salubrious sites.

It is interesting to note that in 1648 funds were available for a Jesuit college in Wendake where Indigenous youth could have been educated instead of sending them to Québec or Trois-Rivières, but it was not constructed, perhaps due to the increasing threat from the Haudenosaunee.

Crops were grown within the walls of Sainte-Marie I, most likely to protect them from bears, deer and other wildlife that would eat or otherwise destroy crops. Perhaps the enclosed nature of the gardens also protected the villagers from enemies. There were vegetable fields to the north, possibly to the north-east or on the fertile flats across the river which required a boat to ferry people back and forth. Farming was limited because there were no horses or oxen to plough fields. The Jesuit farming methods would have been closer to the Wendat style of farming. Maize was an easier crop to grow than wheat, so European cereal crops would not have been necessary.⁴

When the time came to flee the Haudenosaunee, Sainte-Marie I was burned to the ground so that it could not be used by the people who caused harm to the Jesuits and Wendat who then fled to Saint Maire II on Gahoendoe. As previously mentioned, a second Sainte-Marie was built on Gahoendoe. The description of events as described in Kathryn Magee Labelle's work, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, offers insight into the role of women in the difficult decision to move to the Island. Although it was not recorded by the Jesuits, Labelle reports that oral history claims that the Wendat women held a council to discuss and strategize what the communities

⁴ Tales of an apple orchard near Sainte-Marie where 200 years later it is reported that the military garrison at Penetanguishene were able to obtain their trees. There were claims that those trees and other pioneer orchards were started from the "old Jesuit orchard" (Trigger, Aataentsic 681).

should do in the face of danger and dislocation. Although not as obvious as the public displays of men, the Wendat women's discussions were central to decision making, negotiations and were able to persuade the men to move to Gahoendoe (Labelle 160). From the women's council, ten Wampum Belts were produced and presented to the Jesuits. These Wampum Belts represented the voices of the women and children and were symbolic gifts asking for the Black Robes to have compassion towards the most vulnerable, having lost a disproportionate amount of men in the community to the conflicts of the time. The Wampum Belts were additionally meant to inspire the spirit of Father Echon (Brébeuf) hoping that the spirit of the deceased Jesuit would help to inspire his brethren. The Jesuits would not have been allowed to go to Gahoendoe without the consent of the women.

The relocation of the Wendat was hardest on the women who were saddened to have to move once more. An unnamed Wendat was recorded as saying to a disheartened woman: "I see very well that your regret at changing your village comes from the love that you bear to the Fields which you have here, and which you cannot transport so far." (Labelle 159). Women were in charge of building the villages and working the fields in the area, while the men spent more time away hunting. The women's connection to place would have been stronger than the men's because they spent more time in the village and more physical energy working in the landscape.

After the dispersal of the Wendat, Jesuits continued to work in Canada with various degrees of success and acceptance from Indigenous Peoples. During the 18th century, increasing criticism of all the Roman Catholic orders from philosophes like Voltaire was directed towards the Dominicans, the Franciscans and the Society of Jesus. All three orders would lose prestige in the anti-clerical temperament of the Enlightenment but because the Jesuits were the most famous of the orders they received most of the censure. Eventually, the growing pressure on Rome, from

European leaders in Spain, Portugal, France and Naples, resulted in the 1773 abolishment of the Society of Jesus, suppressed by Pope Clement XIV.

The Jesuit holdings were seized in some countries, their libraries sold or destroyed, and valuable paintings confiscated. Jesuit churches and schools were turned over to other orders or to secular bodies. However, the papal brief was not uniformly enforced. In Canada, the Jesuits were told secretly of the suppression, but it was not imposed, nor was it enacted in America. The Bishop of Québec refused to implement the order and the Jesuits kept their name, habit and property; however, Britain refused to allow Jesuits and Récollets to recruit new members. Without French priests arriving to replace aging Jesuits, the order gradually reduced and eventually died out by 1800 (Meehan and Thériault). When the last Jesuit died, all the material wealth and buildings of the Society were taken by secular or other religious organizations (refer to figures 2.9 to 2.12).

Conclusion

Considering the early missions of the Jesuits and their failure to convince Indigenous peoples of the value of Euro-Christian style villages and dwellings, we can surmise that human relationships to land and to architecture are based on complex social, spiritual, economic and climactic considerations. The dwellings of nomadic peoples like the Ojibway, Algonquin and Innu developed in form to follow the function and available materials as they moved through the landscape. The dwellings of the Wendat and Haudenosaunee peoples also followed function and were different in layout because of the more sedentary nature of their lifestyle. The larger and longer style dwellings reflected the matrilineal nature of the society and the agricultural focus with many families sharing one building with room to store food. The women in the agricultural

societies were in charge of the most important food source with these societies relying less on the hunt for subsistence. For this reason, Indigenous women were more affected by the decision to move a village because they felt a deeper connection to place—where they raised their families and where they worked to feed their families (Labelle 159). For the Wendat, even the remains of the dead were too highly respected and revered to be left behind when villages relocated so moving the bones of the ancestors was attended to during a ceremony called the Feast of the Dead. As Labelle's research shows, many Indigenous societies would not consider a transfer of land without consulting the women of their communities; however, post-contact discussions of territory with the Europeans would rarely include women. The dispersal of the Wendat was hardest on the women who would lose status as they joined Anishinaabe allies who were patrilinear in social structure or lose political power altogether when in unallied Haudenosaunee society (Labelle 160). Land and territory were demarcated by geographic features rather than imaginary lines. Place names reflected landscape features, figures from story or from historic events. The decision to trade land was not made without the consent of women.

Although the European settlers sought to recreate the architecture of their country in a new land, it was not always feasible or functional. For example, the stone buildings of the Europeans without any kind of insulating features were unbearably cold in the winter. The architecture and landscapes that represented the European ideas of family, community and spirituality were radically different from those of the Indigenous Peoples the Jesuits encountered, and tried to convert to Christianity. The acceptance of the architecture of the Europeans would have been an acceptance of a completely different way of dwelling in the world. European houses reflect an individualism that contrast with the communal nature of Indigenous dwellings.

Houses reflect a nuclear family dynamic whereas the Wendat traditional dwellings reflect the communal and kinship nature of Wendat society.

While the early Jesuit missions cannot be considered successful, many of these initial methods would be tested once again in the 19th century. These first experiences showed that despite heavy investments of human and financial resources, the Indigenous Peoples would not easily be converted into Christianity. The Indigenous Christian villages were unsuccessful in creating a settled population from nomadic peoples and attempts at education that separated Indigenous children from their parents were dismal failures that most often resulted in child deaths from European disease. For the few that were converted, they found themselves caught between two cultures.

Chapter Three: Restoration and Return

The Jesuits maintained a connection to North America through the writings of their predecessors. While the order remained underground until their restoration, the early missions were not forgotten. The new order of Jesuits was anxious to reconnect with the Indigenous Peoples with whom the initial Fathers had developed relationships; however, without contact for at least 40 years, the Jesuits returned without any knowledge of what to expect or any financial resources. In their minds, they were returning to save Indigenous Peoples from certain extinction from Settlers. The Jesuits would revert back to the methods of the original order upon their arrival by quickly starting to regain former mission areas, to obtain property in the largest centres in Quebec on which to build. The Canadas were now under a Protestant flag which initially hindered their movement because the Church of England dominated the religious landscape. Once the Jesuits were allowed into Upper Canada to work on Indigenous missions, they quickly set about rekindling relationships with Indigenous Peoples that they had known previously. The relationship had now changed from previous centuries in that the Jesuits were not guests within the Indigenous communities, but rather were agents of colonization.

The Treaty of 1836 created an Indigenous territory on Manitoulin Island which provided an attractive situation for the Jesuits to once again attempt to create a model Indigenous Christian village. The Jesuits used education as a vehicle of conversion, creating residential schools in Wiikwemkoong beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. With government policies in place to support their methods, the Jesuits would finally separate Indigenous Children from their communities in an attempt to evangelize them in government sanctioned Indian Residential Schools in Spanish, Ontario in the early to mid-twentieth century.

Pope Pius VII reinstated the Society of Jesus in 1814, under pressure to restore an order which was known for its dedication to evangelization and education. The new Society of Jesus is described by Grant as having an “old certainty about ends tempered with the old flexibility about means,” still willing to go where needed whether in the field or in an educational institution but having learned to play it a little safer so as not to invite a new condemnation (Grant 80). The Order remained as ultramontane as their predecessors in matters of faith and discipline resulting in suspicion from French patriotic circles (Grant 81). By 1830 the Society was ready to return to previous mission areas abroad.

Yet in 1828 the Jesuits, who were viewed as counter-revolutionary, would be banned from classrooms in France and due to the July 1830 revolution, they would be expelled from France altogether (Curran 58). The Jesuit histories do not specifically cite a reason for their banishment from France; it is reasonable to assume that suspicion lingered that the Jesuits might try to regain power for the Catholic Church in a country that had fought a revolution to take power away from the monarchy and the church. The timing was ideal to relocate French Jesuits to Kentucky in America, where their services had been requested since 1815 by the Bishop of Bardstown (Curran 57). Bishop Flaget’s request was fulfilled with four Jesuits who arrived in 1831 but the Jesuits would leave the state again by 1846. Father Pierre Chazelle was one of the Jesuits who arrived in Kentucky and acted as Superior of the mission, also overseeing St. Mary’s Seminary. St. Mary’s Seminary was located in what is described as the “backwoods” of Kentucky and not in a major urban centre. Chazelle had realized the limitations of the Kentuckian field much earlier in the latter years of the 1830s. In July 1839 Chazelle sought a more suitable position for the Jesuits. He travelled to Canada where Bishop Ignatius Bourget offered the Jesuits a college run by Sulpicians in Montreal. Chazelle was emotionally stirred by

the Jesuit history in the Canadas and he pointed out the opportunity to the General of the society, to return to the place that had been so well documented in the *Jesuit Relations* (Curran 90).

Bourget would get his request fulfilled in 1842.

When the Jesuits returned to Canada in 1842, they were interested in locating and reconnecting with the places and people from the early missions. Of keen interest was finding the site of the 17th century Jesuit Martyrs. Before they could return to the former home of the Wendat, they first went to Québec and were dispersed to their former mission of Laprairie, while they awaited an invitation to Upper Canada. Many Jesuit letters describe delight at finding spaces that were once inhabited by the Old Order—a ruin, a building or other artifact connected to the early Fathers. The letters of the individual Jesuits reflect a connection to place that had changed from the 17th century. I noticed in the 19th century readings that to some, it was the “Fatherland,” and revered as the place of martyrdom for the priests who had gone before them and that during their travels they often reflected upon the landscapes associated with their martyred compatriots. While some priests would work in populated areas, still others would venture out to what was considered the wilderness to work with Indigenous populations. Like their predecessors, these Jesuits were often isolated for long periods of time, exposed to harsh climatic conditions and dangerous travel.

Architecture would play a major part in the missions of the Jesuits in British Canada and the European urban strategy would once again be implemented in the fledgling urban centres of Canada, with new churches and colleges constructed as funds became available. Major churches would be based on the old forms and the “Jesuit Style” would be transformed into the Baroque

by the emerging field of art history.⁵ The New Order, like the Old Order, would be courted by controversy; living in a Protestant country amplified any continuing suspicion of the ultramontane Jesuits.

3.1 The Jesuits Return to British Canada: Architecture

Upon their return to Canada, the Jesuits found it under a new constitutional regime called “the Union.” Upper Canada (what is now the Province of Ontario) and Lower Canada (what is now the Province of Québec) was headed by a Governor and a legislative Assembly. English was the official language and French had lost its standing under The Act of Union (1841) (French was not restored until 1848 when Article 41 was repealed due to francophone protest). Lord

⁵ Evonne Levy discusses the evolution of the term baroque architecture in her work *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (2004). In the nineteenth century, Jesuit architecture was widely discussed in the developing field of art history. Jesuit architecture during the 1840s was characterized as an art of mass manipulation. “Jesuit architecture and the Catholic Baroque in general *have* often been considered an art of propaganda,” Yvonne Levy posited (Levy 2). Political controversies swirled around the Jesuits in the nineteenth century and coincided with the beginnings of art historical definitions of style “...giving rise to a tenacious and overtly politicized rubric, the Jesuit Style.” The label of ‘Jesuit Style’ would be overridden by ‘Baroque’ in the 1880s. (Levy 16.) A conspiracy theory that Jesuits were intent on world-wide dominion was grounded in their success internationally in social, cultural and political spheres. The Jesuit Style of architecture was considered the artistic means invented by Jesuits to achieve imperialistic ambitions.

Durham had the task of settling “the Canadian problem” and recommended making two separate cultures into one country—assimilating the French Canadians into English society (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 6). The Union of the two territories was considered as a solution to Upper Canada’s economic problems. Cadieux describes the dire situation in Quebec created by poor crops from 1837 that discouraged French-Canadian farmers who began to move into urban populations and caused thousands of people to emigrate to America. Within a decade 40,000 people had left the British colonies (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 6).

The new order of Jesuits arrived in Québec 2 July 1842. Montréal was the capital city of British Canada from 1844 to 1849 and was undoubtedly the intended focus for the Society of Jesus to begin a new mission in what would become a major Canadian city. Although they were also anxious to start work in the settlement of Québec, they were instead dispatched to the village of Laprairie, located across the water to the south of Montréal (on the site of a former Jesuit mission) shortly after their arrival, to fill a vacancy left by Fr. Michael Power, who left for the Toronto diocese. The Jesuits were at the mercy of their Roman Catholic liaisons because they arrived without money and without property so they went where they were sent. Laprairie was a former Jesuit mission so the missionaries were anxious to return; however, in a population of 4036, only 2052 were Roman Catholic. The name Laprairie came from the rich pasture land in the area. It was previously called Saint Francis of the Meadows until 1670 (*Sancti Francisci Xaverii a pratis*). The location had been carefully chosen by the former Order for its prominence and beauty but when members of the Order returned, a contemporary church stood on the site where the first church had been built by the Jesuits. Although Canada had a lot of available space to build and sites to choose from, buildings were constructed on the foundations of previous buildings (as in Europe) for convenience or because people were already connected to the site

through worship in the former buildings. For the restored order of Jesuits, reconnection to the Old Order through place appears to have been an important spiritual strategy for the members of the Society. It was also a material gain of their former holdings.

Laprairie still fulfilled the siting and location still fit the strategy of the Society—it was not in a major city but in close proximity. In a letter to his Superior, Fr. Tellier described the village as follows:

...situated on the delightful banks of the little cove, one can see a kind of immense amphitheatre unfolding: to the east, the shore of St. Lambert, completely lined with houses: to the west, the Sainte-Catherine shore: and towards the north, the vast concessions that constitute its suburbs.

In front of the village, you can contemplate the broad St. Lawrence that seems to be an arm of the sea, and hear the rapids of the Sault with their great foaming waters, constantly in turmoil...Île Saint-Paul, the domain of the Sisters of the Congregation, is picturesque and covered with green fields. It is opposite St. Helen's Island, where one part of the English garrison is lodged. It is between these two beautiful islands that the people of Laprairie are able to get a view of Montreal (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 97-98).

The blue mountains of Vermont, Boucherville and Saint Hilaire enclosed the landscape to the south. As in previous centuries, Roman Catholic crosses were planted on high points, claiming religious territory with their presence. On 6 October 1841, the Bishop of Nancy (Mgr. de Forbin-Janson) blessed a cross on Sainte Hilaire, the highest mountain in the diocese of Montreal. The cross was immense at a height of 100 feet (30 metres) with arms placed 15 feet (4.5 metres) from the top that were 30 feet (9 metres) wide. The entire cross was covered with tin and held in place

with twelve large chains attached to the rock. Together with the height of the 1100 foot (335 metre) high peak, the cross rose 1200 feet (366 metres) above the St. Lawrence River (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 98). A trail up to the cross had the Stations of the Cross positioned along the way. An open space inside the Cross was provided with ladders so visitors could climb to the top of it. After all the effort to build the cross, the huge structure dominated the landscape for only a short time, a mere five years before it was destroyed in a storm (McGill University).

Laprairie, although a beautiful site, was criticized by Tellier because the village had no economic or political importance and was therefore a curious choice for Jesuits who were used to being in the circles of the elite of society. Perhaps it was his European bias for cities, or he did not recall the methods of the former Jesuits who tended to isolate Indigenous people from Europeans and would settle places like Laprairie away from European towns. Nevertheless, the attractive siting of the church and associated buildings, the picturesque setting and proximity to the city, and the promise of a college, made it a desirable location for the Jesuits to settle.

From the translations of 19th century letters written by numerous members of the Society of Jesus in the two volumes of *Letters from the New Canada Mission* (2004), I gleaned quite a bit of information about the Jesuit's movements and attitudes towards their new missions, members of the original Order and their methods of education and evangelization. The Jesuits tried to locate former missions and pockets of Indigenous people that they had historic connections with or could evangelise in Quebec. The mission of Saint-Régis was located 10 miles further up the St. Lawrence River, where it had been relocated in the middle of the eighteenth century to avoid the drawbacks of the city. A village of Haudenosaunee and Algonquin was located in Sulpician seigneuries on the shores of the Lake of Two Mountains (Oka), where the Ottawa River began—about twenty miles from Montréal. Father du Ranquet

and Brother Jennessaux were sent to the Sulpician mission to learn the Algonquin language, reengaging in the methods of the former Jesuits in preparation for more rural missions (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 70).

Opportunities in Montréal would arrive for a Jesuit mission four years after the Jesuits arrived. In Fr. Luiset's letter to another priest of the Society, dated 1 October 1846, a wealthy property owner in Montréal proposed a piece of land for Jesuit building projects. Luiset describes it as "...a superb lot situated on a small hill in the very centre of the city that offered all the advantages one could desire. This generous offer was accepted, and now that the site for the college is assured, all we have to do is find the resources to build it" (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 275). Luiset's letter indicates that previous offers for a site had been turned down, including offers from the Gentlemen of Saint-Sulpice for a plot of land near the city. Near the city was not close enough. There is no way to know if an offer of land on the outskirts of the city was indicative of ulterior motives on behalf of the Saint-Sulpice order, to keep Jesuits from competing with them in the centre of the city.

Due to disease in the city and the dismal economy of the Union, the Jesuits gathered materials to build the college that they envisioned but were delayed in building; they were not receiving money from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and they were getting very few alms for their work.⁶ The Sulpicians granted them lodging for professors but they had no place to hold classes. Three years after acquiring the property for the college, they opted to build

⁶ The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was founded in 1822 in Lyon, France. The association's mission was to financially support Catholic religious personnel in international missions.

on the proposed college land, not far from where they were staying on the side closest to the residence. After pressure from the public they rented a building that could house twenty children, their desired limit until the college was built. Without a Jesuit church they had to use Saint Patrick's Church. Within three months they had 56 day students.

In 1850, Fr. Larcher would describe the Montréal site as follows:

The spacious area on which it is built is, in the opinion of everyone, one of the finest and perhaps the best situated site that we could have chosen even if we had the freedom to do so at the outset. If within the limits of Montréal one includes the future suburbs, the streets of which have all been laid out and are being improved every day by new buildings, our College is rising in the middle of the city on a hillock from which you can see the streets and the house of the city spread out at your feet in a veritable panorama. Even from the recreation yard, but especially from the upper floors that are starting to rise, the eye looks down over the roofs of the buildings and beyond to the beautiful surface of the St. Lawrence and right out to the border of the United States, across a 30 to 40 mile radius, where the graceful summits of several small mountains, standing alone in the vast basin of the river, form without any recourse to fiction “a horizon that is a sheer delight to the eyes” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 2, 141)

As the date of Fr. Larcher's letter indicates, the Collège-Sainte-Marie was founded in 1848 but the dedicated college building was still not completed in October of 1850. In his letter the priest gives more details about the building construction—due to “an accidental feature of the ground,” (here I assume it has something to do with unsuitable soils such as wet or clay soils) a deep foundation was needed. The result was that the four-floor left wing stood on a rather high base, facing the street with the Holy Name of Jesus displayed over the front door. Larcher wrote “If

the sight of this magnificent façade is a delight to Catholic eyes, it seems—by a singular epithet—that it is also beginning to offend some envious people. The other day a Protestant newspaper called it *The Jesuits' Bastille*.” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.2, 142).

From the garden, in the northwest corner of the construction that overlooked a quieter area of the city, there was a view of *Mont Réal*, which gave the city its European name. The small mountain was forested and provided some shelter from winter winds. On a plateau adjacent to the mountain was a children's playground. Larcher reveals that on the property were the remains of a former orchard and the site was still covered with lawns and old trees.

The other major settlement in Lower Canada was Québec City, where the early Society had held property. The Jesuits were put in charge of a Sodality that was started by their predecessors. The Sodality owned a chapel and a residence, so this was a favourable situation; however, no mention is made of where the residence is. Many documents from the early Jesuits were lost in Québec. Fr. Félix Martin expressed confusion at the location of the original Jesuit residence, Notre-Dame-des Anges, that was not located in the city itself but rather a mile outside the city: “I cannot readily find any reason for this fact. I believe that it was the very first plot of land that was given to them; they came from there to celebrate Mass at the little garrison and for the citizens of the city that was just starting to grow.” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 284). The only trace left of this residence at the time was a mound formed by the ruins on the bank of the river. The chapel was a simple structure containing a single room, at the foot of the cape. As the city moved up, the military took over the lower plateau and the chapel moved to higher ground. The church built by the early Fathers stood where the Cathedral was in 1846.

The college, originally built by the Jesuits, still stood opposite the Cathedral. Funded by the Marquis de Gamache, whose son was a Jesuit, the large building formed one entire side of

the square, modified over the years since its construction. Originally the fathers had eight to ten acres in the centre of the city. The original church had been destroyed to make a marketplace and the college in the nineteenth century was turned into barracks (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 285). Father Martin entered the barracks and the Society's monogram was still displayed over the interior doorway.

Would not one be led to think that the English did not want this possession to be declared invalid, and that this trace of the original owners should serve as an eloquent claim. The house formed a vast square 200 by 224 feet. I looked in vain for any further sign of its initial shape. What memories this enclosure awakened! What a strange contrast it makes with everything that we meet today in that area. One's heart bleeds at the sight of such a metamorphosis." (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 285)

Images created by Richard Short in 1759 clearly show a Baroque Church and large adjoining college (figure 2.7). Another image by Short provides an image of the interior of the church at the arrival of the British after the war (figure 2.8). It is interesting to note that these major buildings are barely mentioned in the former works on the early Jesuits.

The interior of the Jesuit cathedral was certainly ornate. The Society's emblem is clearly marked on the ceiling. However, when the new Order arrived, this church was long gone and only the college could be found. When it was constructed, the cathedral and college were located in Upper Town (Kalman 61). Work began on the college in 1647 and the church was started in 1666. The church was built on a cruciform plan 100 feet (30.5 metres) long by 30 feet (9.2 metres) wide. Although Kalman remarks on two towers at the entrance to the church, only one is visible in Short's engraving (figure 2.7), the other having either been removed or incorporated into the college by the time of the engraving. It is unknown what the original design of the

church façade was, but the ornamentation in 1759 is thought to have been added around 1730 by Chaussegros de Léry over a previously plain face (Kalman 63). The interior was described by French Jesuit Pierre-François Xavier de Charlevoix who taught in the college from 1709-1713. He wrote: “It is very much ornamented on the inside; the gallery [un tribune] is bold, light, and well-wrought, and surrounded by an iron balustrade of excellent workmanship, which is painted and gilded. The pulpit is all gilt, and the work both in iron and wood is excellent. There are three altars, handsomely designed, and some good pictures. There is no vaulting, but the ceiling is handsomely ornamented...” (qtd. in Kalman 63). Although Martin is confused by the location, the church and college were still prominent on the skyline of Québec in a 1666 image. The loss of this church and college must have still been a bitter memory to the New Order who now had to begin from nothing to rebuild their reputation for ministry and education in Canada from literally the ground up.

Martin also describes the Old Lorette church, originally built in 1674 under the care of Fr. Chaumonot. It was built in the image of the Lorette church that Chaumonot had visited in Italy. “The saintly missionary wanted to place before the eyes of his native converts the image of the monument in Loretto he had personally visited with so much devotion in Italy. He built a chapel with the exact dimensions and with all the details of the Holy House of the Blessed Virgin. Several Jesuits died at Old Lorette whom their contemporaries had known and whose memory is still held in veneration.” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 285). The original Jesuit residence was gone by that time and Martin mentions that they didn’t have any successors. In the chapel Martin found a silver reliquary that had been sent by the Canons of Chartres in 1674. It had the shape of the Blessed Virgin’s robe and both its surfaces were adorned. After the discussion of the Society’s works, Martin laments the decline of the Wendat Nation.

Several other precious objects preserved in the sacristy witnessed to the lively interest that a large number of generous souls once attached to this mission. But Alas! This poor Huron nation gradually became extinct and died a slow death. They had already completely lost their language from living so long among the French. Their nationality also disappeared. Their blood became mixed, and it is taken for granted today that there is no longer a single family with purely Huron origin. Their name however will live on in history. The Church found some heroic hearts among them, and their conversion, which had cost our early Fathers so much sweat and blood, will always be one of the glories of our history. (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 286)

The original church constructed in 1772 was damaged by fire in 1862, according to the Parks Canada website. The current church is an 1865 reproduction built on the ruins of the earlier church. Many interior furnishings and objects date back to the seventeenth century.

3.2 Nineteenth Century Education in Lower Canada

When the Jesuits returned to British Canada, primary education in the 1840s in Lower Canada was not functioning well and school subsidies had stopped four years earlier in May 1836. The number of schools plummeted from 1,665 schools to only 365 by 1841, which led the Unionist Government to act by voting in a new school law (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 14). Schools were organized by parishes and overseen by school commissions according to the law of 1846. By the end of the Union in 1866, there were 3,589 primary schools with 178,961 students. 103 convents offered instruction to 18,098 pupils.

Secondary education prior to 1840 had not lost momentum and the old seminaries in Québec and Montréal were still extant and in addition seven colleges or séminaires opened

between 1800 and 1830 (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 15). Established in 1821, McGill was the only university in Montreal until it was joined by a French-speaking institution called the École de Droit au Collège Sainte-Marie (Montréal 1851-1867). In 1848 Loyola College was founded (at Collège St. Marie) and became a distinct institution by 1890 (Meehan and Thériault). Le Collège des Jésuites evolved into Université Laval. Québec would have the first French-Canadian university in the *Séminaire de Québec* which obtained a Royal Charter in 1852 and was authorized by Rome in 1853. An additional English university was opened in 1856 by the Anglicans in Lennoxville called Bishop's University.

From a letter written by Father Félix Martin (1 June 1843), we know that the members of the Society were welcomed to Montréal, but upon their arrival they were penniless, and their future seemed bleak. The Bishop had no means for their support either. Other institutions feared the return of the Jesuits. "Some institutions associated with education, however, did not hide their fears when they saw us settling in the same territory," Martin wrote (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 72). He indicated that their presence in the Laprairie area aroused old prejudices against the Black Robes among the Protestants. "Our presence in this area aroused, on the part of the evil and Protestant press, a new outburst of hatred toward the clergy." The English *Montreal Herald* republished the *Monita secreta* (exact dates unknown but estimated earlier in 1843).⁷ Martin included the following lines from the *Herald* in his letter:

⁷ The *Monita secreta* was published anonymously in 1615 Poland but is attributed to an ex-Jesuit Jerome Zahorowski who was expelled from the Order in 1613. It was an alleged code of conduct, purported to be written by Acquaviva that told of a secretive but effective Jesuit Order who was

There is one thing that should fill the minds of Catholics, as well as of all Protestants, with alarm, grief and indignation. It is the fact that there are Jesuits in Canada. The Jesuits are men whose annals are written in letters of blood, whose history, right from its beginnings, has produced nothing but scenes of violence, greed, and profligacy, whose dominant passion is thirst for power; whose doctrine and teaching do not recognize any divine or human law which opposed their ends. Yes, this Society has been re-established in Montreal, to become the most diabolical curse. It has covered the earth with carnage, has plunged it into superstition, has corrupted morality and slowed down progress (qtd. in Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 1, 73).

It was the intention of Bishop Bourget that the Society of Jesus would take over the Collège de Chambly located eighteen miles from Montreal. Founded in 1628, by the time the Jesuits arrived it was in a state of disrepair. Martin who was trained as an architect, described it as existing "...only in name. It was a ramshackle building and quite inadequate. Its location so far from the city was an obstacle to its development. The idea of its coming to Montreal could not be taken seriously." The Jesuits did not accept the offer, much to the disappointment of the Bishop of Montreal, who then had to look for another place for the Jesuits.

An opportunity arrived when Fr. Power was called to the Toronto diocese and was consecrated the Bishop of Toronto. His departure left the parish of Laprairie open. More suited to the Jesuit strategy, Martin described it as a "very beautiful village opposite Montreal."

(Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 75). The Jesuits took over on a provisional basis. Fr. Superior

seeking the "will to power and knowledge" within the disciplined Society of Jesus (Bernauer 2-5).

Chazelle and two fathers assisted him while the others were busy organizing retreats and missions. They found many souvenirs of the early Jesuits in Laprairie including a painting with a life-sized portrait of Fr. de Brébeuf.

A proposal to build a college in the English Boston diocese and to establish a mission for Indigenous people was offered to the Jesuits; the funding was already in place. With such an opportunity, it is surprising the French Jesuits in Montréal turned Bishop Fenwick down; however, they did, citing language issues and adding that they did not want to leave Canada so soon after their arrival. It seems that the Jesuits were focused on regaining their old missions from the seventeenth century and were not prepared to divide their small numbers to begin new missions. The Bishop of Montréal also wanted to see the Society of Jesus establish a college in his city. Undoubtedly the challenge of building a Jesuit institution in the English city attracted the Jesuits and was deemed worthy of their attention. On 15 January 1843, Frs. Martin and Paul Luiset went to live at the Bishop's residence.

In his letter dated 1 June 1843, Martin notes that elementary education was making progress (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 74). The parish of Laprairie had formally told the Bishop on 3 September 1842, that they “demanded” to be authorized to build a college at their own expense, to open a boarding school with they would entrust to the fathers of the Society of Jesus. The proximity to Montreal, the beautiful location and the regard of the people of Laprairie, would have made the parish very attractive to the Jesuits and reflected the original Jesuit siting strategy from the mid 16th century.

The Jesuit movements in Lower Canada are relevant because they show that although the Jesuit Order had been rebuilt, the old strategies of building and education remained strong impetuses in the Jesuit goal of evangelization. While the Jesuits continued to work in Lower

Canada, a group of Jesuits had been dispatched to Upper Canada, a place where the Society wanted to return to begin where they had left off, as missionaries to the Indigenous Peoples of the Great Lakes region.

Chapter Four: Reinforcement, Resistance and Retreat

In 1843 Father Pierre Chazelle and Father Pierre Point settled among the French-Canadian population at Sandwich (Windsor) in Upper Canada. During the 1844 to 1852 period, the Jesuits settled in five locations in Upper Canada: Walpole Island, Manito Minis (Manitoulin Island), Sault-Sainte-Marie, Pigeon River and Fort William (now Thunder Bay).

In 1844, the Jesuits' first assignment in Upper Canada was Walpole Island in what is now known as Lake St. Clair. In 1831 two settlement options had been presented for a group of Ojibwa. Sarnia was the first option for those wishing to follow the European way of life, and Walpole Island was offered for those who wanted to retain a traditional lifestyle. Methodists and Anglicans had attempted and failed in their conversion attempts on the island prior to the Jesuits.

The Indigenous Christians on Walpole Island were scorned by the Traditionalists who considered themselves the "noble fragments" and model for the "Red Race," and who kept ancient traditions such as feasts, sacrifices intact (Morrison 54). For the next five years, the Black Robes would attempt to battle people who had an "incredible aversion to Christianity." Chazelle noted, "There are a good number who are sorcerers or conjurers by profession, but every Chief is also a conjurer, in the same way that elsewhere spiritual and temporal power were once united. Their authority comes from the Great Spirit" (Morrison 54). When Father Dominic Du Ranquet felled numerous large oaks in a burial area to build a chapel, he was ordered before the council. The council told him he had dishonoured the most beautiful part of the island by cutting down ancient trees which the people respected and in doing so he had mocked their ancestors (Morrison 55). The priest tried to make amends by attending a calumet ceremony and he must have had some success because by 1845-1846, the number of Catholics had increased to sixty. Neophytes began to build houses near the chapel, to clear fields and fence them in, in the



Map 2. Manitoulin Island and Environs

European way (Morrison 56). In 1846 the mission was joined by forty Potawatomi from the Indiana frontier. For five years, the priests would battle for souls in what they considered to be a fight with the Prince of Darkness himself, often over the beds of the dying (Morrison 55). In March 1849 when Fr. Du Ranquet and Brother Jennessaux were away, the chapel was burned to the ground and the Traditionalists made no secret that they were responsible, threatening to do it again if a new church was built. The Jesuits abandoned Walpole Island in the fall of 1850.

Jesuits arrived in Wiikwemkoong a few months after Fr. Du Ranquet arrived at Walpole Island. Seen as a strategic location due to the proximity of several missions along the canoe route to the north-west, it had several advantages; the people were disposed towards the French Canadians and their religion and when the Holy Cross mission began the missionaries were largely free of the influence of European settlements. Their only competition was from an Anglican church in Manitowaning. To compete they set up a model farm and boarding schools, that as John Webster Grant writes, brought them more “grief than satisfaction” (81).

While Fr. Du Ranquet was working on Walpole Island, Fr. Jean-Pierre Choné joined Fr. Jean-Baptiste Proulx on Manitoulin Island. Proulx was a secular priest and the first to live in Wiikwemkoong beginning in 1836. After having worked six to seven years on his own, he was overloaded with work and unable to manage both the mission at Wiikwemkoong and visit other Indigenous camps scattered around the north shore of Georgian Bay. He acquired assistance from the Society of Jesus, returning with Choné in 1844 who was followed by Fr. Joseph-Urbain Hanipaux the next year. When the Jesuits arrived, the church was a log structure, not large enough to hold all the Catholics for a church service. Proulx had built a stone house at his own expense and turned it over to the Society of Jesus for French Jesuits.

The return to Manitoulin Island was a return to a place that formerly had a Jesuit mission and still had memories of the Old Order. Odawa Minising (Manitoulin Island) has had a long history of intermittent occupation by various Indigenous groups, since time immemorial. Father Antoine Poncet, considered the first Jesuit missionary to live on the Island, arrived in 1648 just before the Wendat dispersal. When the Jesuits arrived in the 19th century, the settlements on the Island were the most recent occupation in its history. The people living on Manitoulin in the 17th century were scattered by Haudenosaunee raids. Some Odawa returned in the 1670s, joined by Father Louis André and other Jesuit missionaries, and stayed for about ten years. David Shanahan, in *The Jesuit Residential School at Spanish* (2004), reports that the entire island was burned over at the end of the seventeenth century in an attempt to rid the landscape of disease (14). We know from oral Indigenous history that the Island was burned and deserted for a length of time in order to cleanse the land of contagious illness (Pearen, *Exploring* 4). After that the written record remains blank until 1713 when an Odawa Chief Le Pesant returned from Detroit (Morrison 60). The land was not entirely deserted during this time however—other Anishinaabe (Ojibway) continued to use the north side of the Island as well as the eastern shores of Lake Huron (Morrison 60). In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, summer villages at Sheguiandah, La Cloche Island and Maimonekekong (Maple Point) and other locations continued to be inhabited.

The most recent permanent community began in 1826 when it was resettled by Odawak from Michigan—by this time the trees had grown back after more than a century after the fires, and fish and game were plentiful (Shanahan, *Jesuit* 14). In the 1820s a group of Odawa returned and settled around the bay on which Wiikwemkoong was built. In 1833 three Odawa families came from Quebec to settle at the current site and establish a village, they were soon joined by

several Ojibwas from what is now known as Coldwater, Ontario (Cadieux, *Letters MI 4*). In 1843, 1200 people were settled on Odawa Minising (Odawa Island). The adaptation to a European style village life was less difficult for the Odawa people who made up the majority of the population in Wiikwemkoong, Wikwemikonsing and Sheshigwaning. As a society they had already been semi-sedentary for hundreds of years. However, the Catholics and Anglicans had a much more difficult time attempting to convert the Ojibwe into a life of farming.

The number of Christians was a distinguishing factor that enticed the Jesuits to relocate to Manitoulin Island. The majority of Odawa from upper Michigan had already been baptised and others had been christened by Proulx (a member of the Austrian Leopold Society). Fr. Proulx reportedly refused to let the Catholic children attend school in Manitowaning, an experimental government village officially established in 1839. Most likely Proulx's objection directly related to its Anglican school teacher. There was hostility towards the new village from the Catholics at Wiikwemkoong and it was clear that a separate Catholic school was needed. In 1841 the Holy Cross Mission opened a school; however, there was a lack of interest and the school had fewer children in it than the Manitowaning school, although numbers fluctuated during the year. Superintendent Anderson noted in December 1842 that the attendance was irregular at schools due to interruptions from maple sugar, fishing, planting and harvest seasons as well as other temporary absences that he did not expand on (Shanahan, *Jesuit 16*). Shanahan cites a report written late in 1843: "At one time as many as seventy pupils were present, but more frequently from five to twenty; and at some seasons, not one. The number at Manitowaning school had not exceeded forty-five, but it had never fallen below twelve" (*Jesuit 16*).

Fr. Choné arrived 9 July 1844 followed by colleagues who would help him take on the responsibilities of the mission in 1845. A distinct rivalry developed between the two villages

based on religious lines. Wiikwemkoong village was segregated from Manitowaning by land, however Catholic and Protestant Anishnabek occupied both places and both villages were intertwined financially. The Jesuits would do their best to keep the people of Wiikwemkoong segregated from the Euro-Christian settlers and traders, going so far as to teach as little English as possible, until it became more desirable to teach in English as requested by the Anishnabek and probably more significantly by the government, as they were trying to get more funding for their project.

Choné disclosed in a letter that the Bishop of Kingston would put Manitowaning under the spiritual protection of “Our Founder, St. Ignatius of Loyola.” Choné wrote about Manitowaning to Superior Clément Boulanger, Provincial of Paris, describing Manitowaning as follows “In this Protestant village called Manitouaning [sic], which we shall call Saint Ignace from now on, there are presently some blacksmith’s forges, shoemakers, shipwrights, carpenters, etc. who are under the direction of some English and Scottish people. Girls learn to sew there. This is a source of all sorts of dangers of corruption in faith and in morals” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 133). St. Ignatius is known as the patron saint of Catholic soldiers and educators. I assume that St. Ignatius was chosen as a protector of the Catholic inhabitants to protect them from the “enemy” Protestants in the Anglican enclave. One of the requests in Fr. Choné’s letter was to ask the Father Provincial if one of the “good souls” who loved the mission could stage a lottery to raise funds to build the church. Indigenous People who wanted to settle in Manitowaning could have a house built for them and could attend workshops to learn a trade. With fear of competition from Manitowaning, Choné wrote “I am hoping that Saint Ignatius will come to the help of his children and drive out the wolves who are ravaging the flock that has been put under his protection.” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt.1, 133)

Proulx left the village in 1845, not long after the Jesuits arrived, and the reason for his departure is unclear. Upon Choné's arrival in Wiikwemkoong, the first task he undertook was to complete the house that was started by Proulx for the Jesuits, in conjunction with the English Government's agent in Manitowaning, who was put in charge of the project. Rumor spread soon after the Jesuit's arrival that he would ask the people for their land and that priests were growing rich everywhere, as Choné indicated in a 2 February 1845 letter. Although the English Agent had building plans given to him (presumably from Choné), the Jesuit priest described his involvement thus: "I move around among the natives and the English agent without meddling in the building of the presbytery," perhaps to appear less interested in the building and to allay fears that he was there to acquire land (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 1). In 1844, there were 527 Indigenous people living in the Wiikwemkoong village and only three were not baptised. In Manitowaning there were twenty-six Indigenous Catholics.

In contrast to the Roman Catholic clergy's stone house, the Anishinabek house in the 19th century was still commonly a tent or cabin in the form of a truncated cone, constructed with fir poles planted in a circle and covered in bark. A small stone fireplace was vented by a smoke hole in the top of the structure. In Wiikwemkoong however, according to local interpretive signage in the village, some people had been living in log cabins since the 17th century. The log cabins had large fireplaces that could hold logs 3 to 4' in length to keep occupants warm through cold Canadian winter nights.

In September of 1845 the Jesuit house was still not built. Four walls had been constructed by Proulx, and although Choné didn't have enough money to pay workers, he was still hoping to get a roof on by that winter. By the end of 1846, the house had not been completed and the man who was renting a house to the Jesuits wanted it back for himself, after having agreed to rent it to

them for a year. Despite not having a house to dwell in, Choné was adamant that the village needed a church and he planned to get the materials in 1846 with the build beginning in 1847. The priest was hoping to receive financial aid from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. He cited the difficulties: “to develop religious ceremonies, but even to stage them with some semblance of dignity” was almost impossible without a proper church (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 14). He asked for 15,000 dollars (francs) with the intention of getting the Indigenous people to cooperate with the build, anticipating it would cost more if they had to bring in workers. In his next breath however, he is concerned that the village would break up due to lack of game and the loss of land. In his eyes the people had traded agriculture for freedom and clothing. In 1845, there were still no fields cleared and other obstacles to food production included the expense of farming equipment (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 15). He proposed that having men who knew blacksmithing and how to repair axes and guns would enable them to make their tools instead. He justified the need for a large boat and nets to aid fishing and to find salt. The profit from the fish would then enable the people to buy shoes, clothing and fishing equipment. It would provide benefits for both the Indigenous people and the priests, because in Choné’s view, more influence could be held over the Indigenous people, who were then quite independent from the church.

The building of a mill at Manitowaning was also a source of concern. Captain Anderson had asked each Indigenous sugar trader to pledge five dollars in product towards the building of a mill that would be constructed closer to the English village than to Wikwemikong. In the eyes of the Jesuit, the mill would put the people in his community at a disadvantage in comparison. He was mostly likely concerned that he would lose some of his flock to the other village because of the opportunity, and he therefore proposed that the Society build their own mill. “If we were

to achieve this plan, it would cut the grass from under the government agent's feet. It would deprive him of a number of subscribers, and would show our people that the protection of Providence is very much worth the honor...of their religion" (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 16). One of the advantages of his plan was that people would work on the church and sow wheat for the next year. After some defections to a place in between Wikwemikong and Manitowaning, the priest was also looking for an incentive for people to move back to the village.

A request that was a staple of most letters from the new Canada missions was the hope for more men. Even though Choné was isolated, he was still aware that other missions—such as Madura, China and Madagascar, would be getting missionaries. He lamented the fact that while he had been in Canada for three years, no new missionaries had arrived there. He may have been expecting more French Jesuits to arrive because they had been expelled from France in 1845. The Jesuit was hopeful that they would get to build a chapel in Manitowaning, built on land that belonged to a Catholic Chief living there who was already asking for donations (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 13).

Fr. Joseph Hanipaux's letter (6 October 1845) described the location and condition of the Wiikwemkoong church that was 50 feet (15 metres) long and 25 feet (7.6 metres) wide, and although it was only seven years old, it already looked ancient. Perhaps to emphasize the necessity of Choné's request, he described the Saviour residing there in a tabernacle without a door (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 27), a cloth thrown on the box where the sacred chalice was kept in a church that was unlocked. He mentions that the door to their house was never locked either and they had no thefts so far. "In the meantime, it is said that our house belongs to all the people there; they enter, they rest there, they come and go according to their

pleasure, often without reason except that it is their pleasure,” Choné wrote. Reminiscent of the conditions of the Jesuits in the Wendat mission, this would have been inconvenient for the religious men to try to keep Jesuit traditions and methods alive with constant interruptions, although there is no mention of having to share their space with women as in the early missions.

4.1 Nicholas Point S.J.’s Plan for the Holy Cross Mission

Choné would gain a valuable asset for his building proposals in Father Nicholas Point (Mission Superior 1848-1855). Point was experienced in mission work and had already assisted Father Pierre-Jean de Smet founding various missions in Oregon, the Rocky Mountains and along the Missouri, consciously modelling them on the Paraguayan reductions (Morrison 61). From his experience in previous reduction experiments, Point believed that the Indigenous peoples needed to learn “good work habits, as an essential precondition for true piety and ... for life in the reduction” (Morrison 62). Nicholas Point, Jesuit Superior in 1852 expected the Indigenous peoples to obey his every command (Morrison 63). Point would not be a popular figure in the village or with the other Jesuits.

In 1849, the Jesuit residence was now built (partially paid for by Fr. Proulx), and was the only stone house in the village, the other dwellings either traditional Anishnabe structures or log houses. Point wrote in his memoirs about the site chosen for the Jesuit house:

It faces south (this is not unimportant in a cold country). It overlooks one of the finest bays on the island, an immense resource, especially for fishing. The house is built on a fertile slope with a timbered summit, shelter for the gardens and orchard from all harmful winds. And, these advantages are or can become with little work those of almost all the village, built like an amphitheatre in two parallel rows (Point 147).

Point described the view from the site: “Now look to the East. Is this not the best view of Lake Huron? May we not say that these waters become one and the same with the sky? When the winds fall silent or a celebration requires a meal to fishermen, this view is like an image of eternal peace to the fishermen” (Point 148). The reference to “fishermen” could indicate the Jesuits themselves from the biblical references of Matthew 4:19 and Mark 1:17. Point described the sawmill on the creek, fields recently cleared from forests, the crops in the fields and the domestic animals grazing in the forest. “What is more appropriate than to shout: Long Live Civilization!” he asked (148).

Nicholas Point was trained as an architect and he designed the Holy Cross Mission Church (refer to figures 4.0-4.1). An accomplished artist, he would also contribute to the interior decoration of the church (refer to figure 4.3). A more impressive church was seen as a necessity in the village. In a list of matters written about by Fr. Hanipaux in 1848, he wrote: “Think about building another church, all the more since our present chapel is perhaps the lowliest structure in the village, whereas the Anglican church in Manitowaning is held to be a world wonder by all who see it.” (Pearen and Lonc, *Letters Wikwemikong* 71) He was referring to St. Paul’s Anglican Church in Manitowaning, the construction of which began in 1845 and was completed in 1849. Due to the high costs and length of construction time a stone church would require, a wooden structure was constructed instead for a total cost of \$2400.

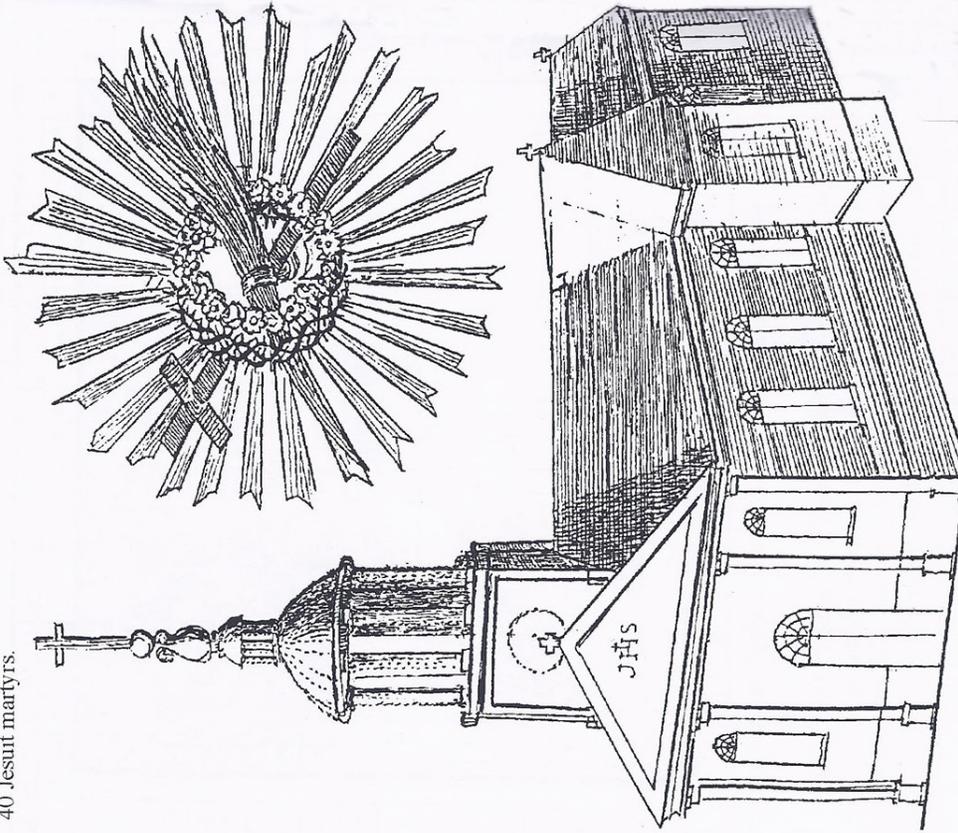
A History of a Diocese (Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, 2014) indicates that the current Wiikwemkoong church was built on the site of a former church from the 1670s when missionaries came to the island; however, I have not come across another reference to a church in the late seventeenth century in any of the Jesuit records I’ve seen. Normally, a historic reference to a previous church, particularly a former Jesuit church, would have been celebrated

by the Jesuits at Wiikwemkoong. From my discussions with Steven George (who lives in Wiikwemkoong and has an interest in the local history), I understand that the original seventeenth century village was located inland three to four miles from the bay.

Before the construction began, the chosen site had trees planted where the future columns would be, and a large cross marked the place for the future altar. On 31 July 1849, the cornerstone of the church was carried by the chiefs and blessed by the priest who helped to place it on the foundation on the feast day of St. Ignatius of Loyola. On the large stone, twelve of “the most qualified chiefs” had inscribed their names.

Point wrote: “Our main means for leading the way was the completion of our church (100 by 40 ft. structure). The necessity last year of replacing workers from outside forced our neophytes to do a whole range of things that even the most optimistic among them thought were beyond their ability. Hence, we now have the hope that they will finish the church themselves this year if we supply them with meals and pay them enough to avoid inconveniencing their families excessively.” The costs for the church from 1848 to 1852 were listed as \$2993, a small sum for a stone church as compared to the cost of the wooden structure in Manitowaning (Point 31). The donation of time from the Indigenous peoples of Wiikwemkoong made it possible for a stone structure to be erected. Without Indigenous labour, the vision of Point would not have been realized. Point kept records of those involved in the church build, listing the people either as Ottawa or Otchipwes (Ojibway). In his memoir he lists the Ottawa as 1,689 individuals donating 20 days each and 838 Ochipwes having donated 18 days each. It is interesting that he kept track of the work of the two groups; while I can’t be positive about what his intent was, it is reasonable to think that it was to introduce a bit of competition between the two groups and/ or, a list to

Emblem placed in the middle of the vault of the main nave--for the canonization of the 40 Jesuit martyrs.



Holy Cross Church built by the natives of this Reduction under the guidance of the missionaries. Begun on July 31, 1849 and completed on July 26, 1852.

figure 4.0

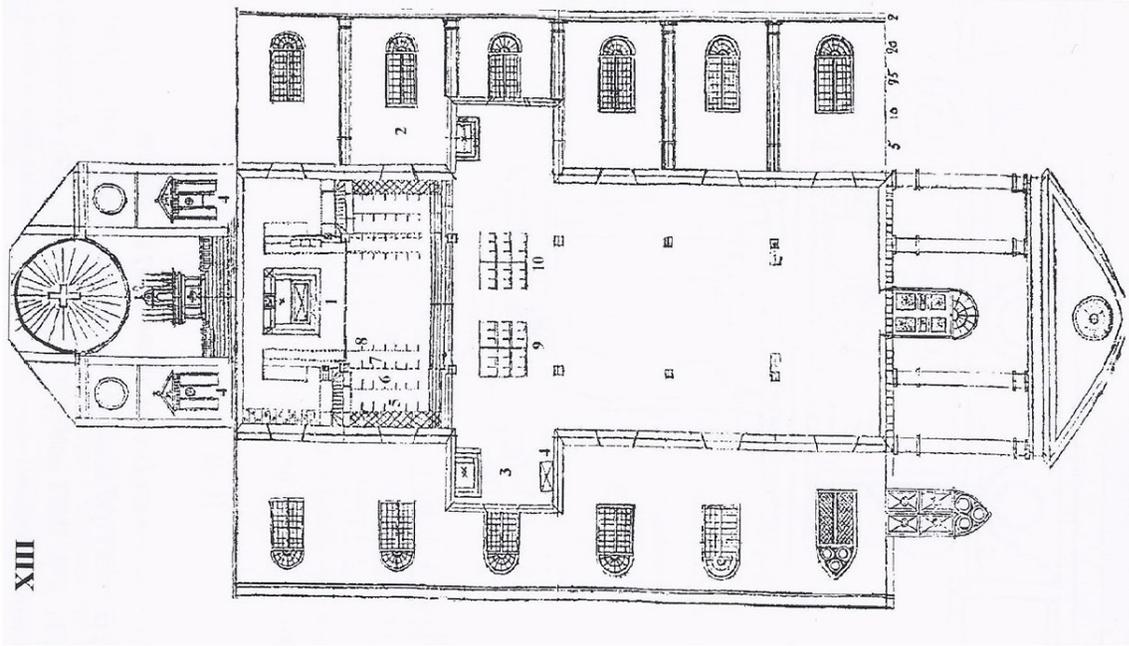


figure 4.1

know who was “worthy” of more aid in times of need. In a note on work from 21 July to 7 August 1850, Point notes that when money was substituted for food, the church project was forgotten and led to defection from the Temperance Society, when he was away. The master mason Jos Dollard was not working as fast as the Jesuits wanted and when the Indigenous people worked on the church they worked faster and were paid only one third of what the supervision under the master mason cost.

The inspiration for the design of the church is not discussed in Point’s memoir. It is not Baroque in style like Il Gesù, but I believe is more related to the Greek Revival style. With the large triangular pediment over the door and the symmetrical columns, it is a perplexing design for a rural village such as Wikwemikong. As drawn, the church was imposing. With the architectural features Point has shown, it would have been visually strong and quite a spectacle from the bay below. Greek Revival was popular in the 1840s in other places in Canada. If the scale of the doors shown on the drawing is in proportion, the main doors would have been at least twice the height of a human being. However, from the drawings by Indigenous artist Michael Metosage, the decoration that Point shows in his drawings, had not materialized by 1853, if the date on the drawing is correct (refer to figure 4.5). The face of the church was left massive and unadorned. Nicholas Point does not discuss the aesthetics of his design, rather he keeps to the facts and figures in a business-like account of the creation of the church. Father Nicholas-Marie-Joseph Frémiot provides a lengthy description of the completed church in his letter dated 7 August 1852:

On arriving at Holy Cross, a more grandiose monument met my eyes and attracted all my attention and I want to speak about this vast and magnificent stone church, built

completely by the Natives. It bears witness to the most remote nations what the true religion of Jesus Christ is able to do for *civilisation* and for the happiness of mankind.

It is built in the form of a Cross, a hundred feet in length by forty feet in width and sixty at its arms. At the end of the Sanctuary a transparent painting pierces the clouds: it is the apparition of a Cross to a *non-Christian* Native. He can be seen in his ancient Native garb, struck with amazement at this luminous Cross that is held up by angels. In front of him is his calumet, still smoking, and not far from the place his canoe on the shore. This is a painting done by Fr. Nicholas Point, the Superior of this mission.

But not satisfied with being a painter, he has also tried his hand at sculpturing. He constructed a double tabernacle that turns back and forth, one for the Holy Ciborium, the other for the Monstrance. On its façade you can see the three principal symbols of the love of Our Lord in the Eucharist, symmetrically arranged. I refer to the Lamb as immolated, protecting the book with the seven seals, the Pelican, nourishing its little ones with its own blood, and the Phoenix arising with new life from the flames of the sacrifice.

Starting from the arms of the Cross, three steps bring you to the level of the Choir, beyond which, three more stairs, crowned with a railing, lead you into the Sanctuary. In front of the two sacristies, surmounted by tribunes adjoining the Sanctuary, are two confessionals. In front of these, in the direction of the length of the Choir, are four benches arranged in the form of an amphitheater and reserved for the Chiefs, for the singers, and for the altar boys.

At the head of the nave on the Epistle side, opposite the altar of their patron, we find the girls of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, and on the Gospel side, opposite Saint Joseph's Altar, the young men of Saint Michael's Sodality. The Master and the Mistress

of the school supervise these respective Sodalists in such a way that the little children are placed on the inside and on the steps of the chapel. In the rest of the nave, a beadle and some ushers maintain their proper behaviour.

On both sides of the vestibule there are two kinds of chapels. In one, you can see the baptistry, and in the other the things needed for funerals. Above the vestibule rises a lovely bell-tower, whose square base supports an octagonal colonnade, surmounted by a dome on which there is a second colonnade, and then a second dome, with an arrow and a large twelve-foot Cross. The Cross, the arrow and the upper dome are covered with tin that reflects brilliant rays of religious splendor far over the waves.” (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 2, 317-318)

Many features of the original ornate interior as described by Frémiot can be seen in figure 4.9, with the exception of the paintings described. Point stated that the church would have cost twice as much if it had been built by the “Whites.”

Looking at the drawing that Nicholas Point created for the church at Wikwemikong and comparing it to Il Gesù in Rome, which is the first Society of Jesus church designed by architect Giacomo della Porta in 1575-1557, one can see that there are few components that reflect the much older church, mainly the fact that there are six windows on each side of the church, perhaps symbolic of the twelve disciples. The church windows are so high, that it is only possible to see the tops of trees and the sky through them, keeping an inward focus to the building, looking forward to the front of the church. The large windows of the Jesuits’ residence would have had a spectacular view over the waters of the bay. The Jesuit residence was not built on the site chosen by Nicholas Point, but further to the east than indicated.

In Point's drawing, the front of Holy Cross, like that of Il Gesù, has elements of classical architecture—four half columns carrying an architrave, over an arched front door, and two windows on either side of the entrance. The design however recalls more of a Greek design than Baroque and the dome on the bell tower references Roman architecture as well as the arched windows. In Ontario from 1830 to 1860 a Classic Revival style of architecture was popular. In Metosage's drawings, the rather plain façade depicted does have space for the decorative elements shown in Point's drawing (refer to figures 4.0 and 4.5).

Why the façade of the church was not completed in the style intended by Point is as yet unknown but perhaps as in other Jesuit projects, they were waiting for more funding to finish the final decorative elements. The bell tower was added in 1899, well after the death of Point (refer to figure 4.7). From a practical point of view, the bell tower entrance now in existence would be preferable in a Canadian winter. Instead of winter winds entering directly into the main body of the church, the temperature would have been tempered somewhat by the enclosed entry space. I wonder if the front may have been changed to reflect the local style, more like the church in Manitowaning, the Greek Revival period in Canada having been abandoned by 1860.

The church in Wiikwemkoong, like many Jesuit churches, does not face the Canonical east, but rather the entrance faces south-east towards the bay. In the 1928 photos taken from the bay the church is the focal point, even though it is removed from the water, some distance. It is interesting that the churches of the Society of Jesus were so ornate when the members themselves took vows of poverty. The Jesuits at Wiikwemkoong recognized the value of ornament and included sewn ornaments, pictures, emblems, great books that spoke to the eyes of the unlettered.

Point drew a layout for the entire Holy Cross Mission (refer to figure 4.2). The undated plan of the Mission reflects the Jesuit desire for “order, propriety and decency.” In an 1850 letter written by Fr. Frémiot from a previous visit to Holy Cross, his description of the village was as follows:

Holy Cross village leaves something to be desired in the eyes of an observer. The 648 inhabitants throw up their houses here and there, without any symmetry whatever, on the hill that looks out onto the *Baie aux Castors* (Beaver Bay.) I hope, within a few years God’s help, that Immaculate Conception village will be more regularly arranged. We will not have any of the nuisance of rocks and stones covering the ground as at Wikwemikong and Manitowaning, for it would be difficult to see them in the darkness of the forests we are levelling (Cadieux, *Letters NCM* pt. 2. 132).

Point’s plan is based on a perfect square and completely ignores the topography of the area. Squares are a significant shape—they are considered a symbol of perfection because each side is equal. The Church is the central element of the plan with houses located just outside the church grounds, separated by a wall but connected by linear green spaces. The church in the drawing is set back from the property edge with the Jesuit house closer to the street than the church. The approach to the church looks to be lined with what I interpret as trees. In reality this would have formed a small plaza in front of the church if it had been built to the plan.

If the trees had not been included, the visitor’s eye would have naturally been drawn into the open space of the cemetery. The Jesuits intended that the cemetery adjacent to the church

A missionary setting out from Holy Cross



Figure 4.3

V Educational Plan adapted to the needs and abilities of the people of Holy Cross

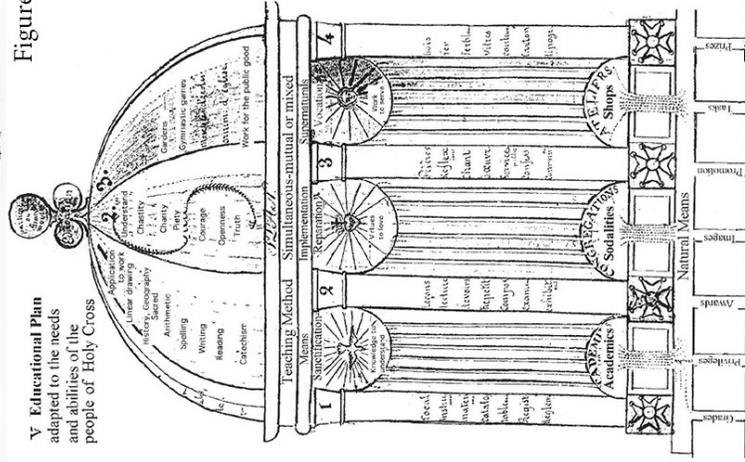
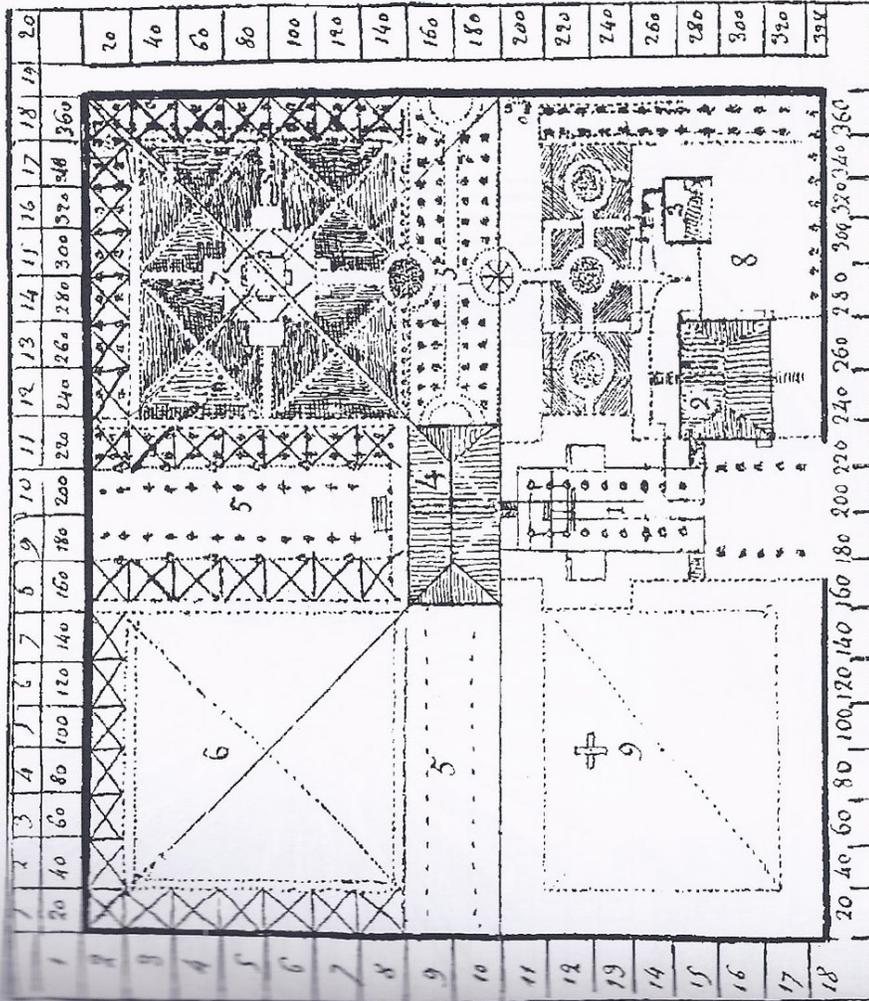


Figure 4.4

Ground Plan Buildings, courtyards, and gardens at Holy Cross



Scale is in feet. The black border encloses the buildings, courtyards and gardens that are off the roads

- 1-Church 2-Jesuit residence 3-Small house for other uses. The existing stables are not shown here because they will be moved elsewhere.
- 4-Proposed residence for boarders 5-Walkways 6-Field 7-Community walkway 8-Community courtyard and gardens 9-Cemetery Figure 4.2

work as a reminder of heaven. It looks as though the Jesuits wanted to provide ample recreation space as well with community walkways, gardens and a courtyard, all of course as close to the church as possible and enclosed within the perimeter of a stone wall. A large amount of space is set aside within the property and green space appears to cover almost half of the depicted space. What is not shown on the plan is any reference to topography or ground conditions. This area is known to have underground springs and the church was built without a basement for this reason. This garden is reminiscent of the garden at the Jesuit College in Rome. As previously mentioned, the entire plan is based on a perfect square with all elements placed in relation to the intersecting diagonal lines. It is unclear what many of the numbers in the small squares mean on the outside perimeter of the wall.

Of particular interest to me as a landscape architect are the gardens indicated that are centred on the church and extending north up the slope. Gardens were a significant symbol of status in earlier centuries. While there was little discussion in the Jesuit documents regarding gardens in New France, landscape architect Ron Williams states that gardens would have had an important role in the physical and moral landscape of the settlements (Williams, *Landscape* 61). Each garden would have been functional, providing food, but gardens of the elite such as the governor and intendant would have been symbols of “power and prestige.” Williams posits the gardens of the religious orders responded to spiritual needs as well as the recreational needs of students and patients. These needs led to three main types of gardens that Williams defines as functional, official or institutional/ convent. Functional gardens included “fruit” gardens and “kitchen” gardens. These gardens would also include medicinal and flowering plants.

Official gardens are in evidence from the first drawing of Champlain’s habitation. On every plan of Quebec City from 1685 to 1760, a garden is indicated on the cliff edge 30 m west

of the governor's residence and is called the Jardin des Gouverneurs (Governor's Garden) (Williams, *Landscape* 62). There are few physical traces left of the numerous gardens in Quebec that often included fountains and water basins. I believe that these fountains would have been an important source of water in the landscape for people, not just decorative elements.

Williams notes that there were many religious institutions in Quebec City (the Seminary, Hôtel-Dieu Hospital, monasteries) and each consisted of either a single building or a complex of buildings in the form of a quadrilateral with one or more court yards (63). Amazingly, some of these gardens can still be seen with their original layouts reminiscent of the Middle Ages and Renaissance—ordered and disciplined in their design. Cloister gardens (similar in intent to the ones shown in Point's plan) would have been used for contemplation. Path networks in religious gardens often led to focal points such a fountain, a statue or a flowerbed (Williams, *Landscape* 64). The same design pattern is evident in Point's plan. An interesting note in William's book states that the gardens of the religious orders were often used as a cemetery for their members; however, in Wiikwemkoong the Jesuits were buried in the main cemetery, although it appears that the graves of the Jesuits are clustered together. Unfortunately, gardens can be quite transitory, changing with community needs and workforce. If the elaborate gardens that Point drew did in fact exist, the only remaining elements that can now be seen in the landscape are fruit trees and shade trees.

There is no indication that Point's plan for buildings or gardens was implemented exactly as drawn. Design is an iterative process and rarely does a building or a landscape conform exactly to the initial vision of the architect or landscape architect. This plan was very ambitious considering the lack of machinery available at the time and represents many hours of labour to execute the plan as drawn. The sizes of the buildings altered with the changes to government

policies and the amount of religious personnel required to run the schools, shops and mills. If the outer numbered squares represent lots for houses, it is in stark contrast to the pattern of settlement that Fr. Frémot described with houses scattered in the landscape.

The traditional Anishinabek houses were flexible in more ways than one, allowing the people to move freely but also to alter their dwellings seasonally or if families became larger. Anishnabe dwellings represented communal space. European homes represented more work, were less flexible, were more expensive and did not represent the same values as Indigenous housing. Often, they had individual spaces. The labour and expense to build the homes most likely made it less enticing for people to continue their nomadic movements. In many ways the flexibility of the Indigenous people and their preference to move baffled the Jesuits. Though the Jesuits moved from place to place as well, they did not see any parallels in their lifestyles with Indigenous peoples. The Jesuits lamented that Indigenous people became attached to material goods, but is this not a by-product of living in a European house? By staying in one place, material possessions accumulate because there is no need to move on a regular basis.

The architecture of the Holy Cross mission not only changed the landscape, it changed cultural dynamics. Places became gendered, competition among the people was encouraged during the building of the church, the permanent houses were meant to discourage the nomadic traditions of the people. Convents were proposed to keep women from leaving the village. Orphanages were proposed to keep children away from the Protestants in Manitowaning.

Point's plan for the mission was based on the presumed acceptance of agriculture; however, the production of maple sugar was one of the major traditional economic practices for the people of Manitoulin, and the other was fishing. Both practices were discouraged by the

priests because they felt it exposed the people to tuberculosis and because the return wasn't worth the effort expended. People were also out of the village for periods of time and therefore away from Jesuit influence. In the opinion of the Jesuits the economic gain was then spent on alcohol and "useless goods" (Morrison 62).

The first items on the Jesuit agenda upon arrival, was to first provide a good school, next was a church and third was a farm. Without the farm, the Jesuits felt that the "meager life" of the people in the Reduction would not be an incentive to entice conversion to Catholicism (Point 78-79). "Remember that our Chippewas who came from L'arbre Croche had been raised on meat", Point wrote. "From all points of view, it is farming that provides a more certain and more lucrative harvest, it is the only activity that confers on them the right to own property in the islands that the government left them. This reason is so crucial that it has persuaded us to sacrifice all our resources in favour of the farm" (Point 159). There was resistance to their efforts however. In an undated document included in Point's memoirs, he wrote about the Christian benefits of having people in the Reduction;

As we see it, i.e. if intelligently managed and enclosed within the limits of the Reduction, farming removes our people from morally dangerous occasions, brings them closer to the church, schools, workshops, stores and consequently fosters piety, learning, industry, comfort, and indirectly affects the production of sugar and fishing by relegating these two branches of commerce to their true limits, be it time or be it place.

Because of the way these two activities are currently carried out under the stimulus of trade, fishing brings only vices to the village, and the extraction of sugar brings only fatal sickness, especially to the young women. So, insist on more farming in the neighbourhood of the Reduction, from which everybody seems to want to move. No

farming, then no Reduction; no Reduction, then no salvation for the native people” (Point 187-188 emphasis in text).

Agriculture was certainly not anything new to the Odawa people, as Jean-Baptiste Assiginack knew. Assiginack was a controversial figure of the time period—he had fought for the British and acted as an interpreter for the government, but as Cecil King’s book *Balancing Two Worlds* (2013) indicates, he was first and foremost loyal to the Anishnabek and acted in what he felt was their best interests. Liked by neither the Protestant minister or the Jesuits, Assiginack was critical of the attempts to lure the Anishnabek into agriculture. He had grown up in Waugonawsiki (Arbre Croche); he knew that the soil was not fertile in Manitowaning and the growing season was too short on the island (King, *Balancing* 233). The situation in Wikwemikong was not much better but the Jesuits continued on with their plans, even though at times their own reports of the situation conflicted in their writings depending on who they were communicating with and the social climate of the time. Fr. Hanipaux acknowledged in his letters that agriculture was difficult on the Island and in Holy Cross the ground had many rocks and roots that had to be dealt with.

The Jesuits encouraged people to farm in proximity of the village. Joseph Urbain-Hanipaux explained that keeping a “...compact reduction around us will permit the children to go to school and encourage everyone to attend church,” also making life easier for the priest who wouldn’t have to travel as far (Morrison 62).

Keeping the people close and the Reduction compact was of the utmost importance to the Jesuits; they did not want fields being created out of their reach and certainly no houses were to be built. Cadieux and Toupin summarize the Jesuit plans for the village as follows : “This way of proceeding responds to a fundamental exigency and defines the character of the traditional mission. It corresponds, so to speak, to a theory of “concentrating” the field of action rather than

“extending it.” There is a logic here in which one easily perceives the natural benefits: the children have access to the schools, everyone has access to the church, and over-all surveillance is easier” (*Letters 1853-1870* 47). Cadieux and Toupin write that “It is in this context we need to recognize and understand two fundamental principals for Jesuits: mobility and obedience. They are characteristic of the apostolic approach specific to an Order dedicated to the conquest of new spiritual spaces” (53). Another negative impact on the Jesuits from these activities was that there would be few workers for Jesuit projects and less interest in the projects when fishing was more lucrative, not to mention there was freedom from the pressure of Christian village life.

4.2 Education and Residential Schools in Wiikwemkoong, Manitoulin Island

Robert Carney’s article “Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation: The Early Experience”(1995), provides a useful discussion of pre-Confederation schooling from the 1620s to the early to mid-nineteenth century. Carney posits that it was not the Roman Catholic orders that began residential schools, but rather the Anglican and Methodist churches along with new state agencies that instated custodial and instructional institutions (17).

The start of formal education began in 1807 Upper Canada, when the Upper Canada Educational Act was passed providing \$400 per year each for eight grammar schools for the children of settlers. The schools were located in district centres and under the patronage of the Church of England and governed by the elite of the colony. The male-only schools followed an academic and classical curriculum and because the schools charged high fees, the students were small in number. The curriculum was for elementary and secondary students and not intended for Indigenous students. John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806), the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, envisaged a school system that would follow in the footsteps of the English public

boarding schools, but with the exception of Upper Canada College, they didn't become institutions for the upper classes. By the mid 1850s, there were fourteen schools in operation but often arrangements were ad hoc with students crowded into teacher's houses or in rented spaces that included jails, taverns, courthouses and temperance halls (Carney 17). Indigenous students did not attend the grammar schools until the 1860s and attended as day students. Most Euro-Canadian children did not attend school during this early period and those that did attended day schools. The curriculum was based on British culture, rarely considering the backgrounds of non-Euro Canadian children.

Carney describes the inception of nineteenth century Indigenous formal education beginning with schools in Grand River. When 2000 Iroquois followed Thayendanege (Captain Joseph Brant) to Canada as part of the United Empire Loyalist migration, they settled on the Grand River in Upper Canada, with the support of the British military. Carney reports that they were granted twenty pounds per year for a teacher that was to be chosen by the Mohawks. The Mohawk opened several day schools beginning in 1786, installing their own teachers using prayer books and primers in their language. Many schools did not last long however, as the promised grants didn't arrive. Carney's article is interesting because it describes the importance of education to the Mohawk and the lengths that they were willing to go to secure a school for their children. In 1822 Thayendanege's youngest son John Brant travelled to England to get support for a school and a permanent Anglican mission for Grand River (Miller 73, Carney 23). The intention was to provide basic reading, writing and math in a day school format. Robert Lugger, an Anglican missionary arrived in 1827; he began to set up schools with the most notable being the Mohawk Institute in Branford established 1829. In 1831, Lugger proposed turning the Institute into a "Mechanic's Institution," where adults could be educated. He was

unsuccessful as the common belief was little could be done with adults and the focus should be on the children (Carney 24) . In 1833, vocational programs were introduced and in 1834 fourteen children (ten boys, four girls) were provided with room and board, turning the Mohawk Institute into the first Indian Residential school (IRS) in Upper Canada. It was the model for other IRS institutions in both programming and physical layout well into the 20th century. The Mohawk Institute had an English-only policy; an 1843 petition from Mohawk communities to teach reading and writing in Mohawk as well as English was denied. The Mohawk Institute had a long-term influence in the Indian Residential School System.

The Methodists became involved in Mohawk and Ojibwa missions in Upper Canada in the 1820s. While ignoring requests that Aboriginal culture be respected in the schools, they did respond to requests from Peter Jones, an Ojibwa convert who dedicated his time to education. He believed that residential schooling should be in the English language along strict Christian lines. His hope was that the schools would be run by Christian Indians. His preference for the residential school format was clearly stated in February 1835 when he stated that “all the [Indian] children be placed entirely under the charge of the teachers and missionaries; so that their parents shall have no control of them” (Carney 25). In 1839 a school was established in Alderville (Alnwick) and in 1849 at Mount Elgin (Muncey), for Indigenous students. As Carney writes, “Christian indoctrination permeated everything that went on these places.” The Methodist schools were based on the American Protestant model for manual training that was considered the most appropriate type of education, dating to the early 1800s.

Carney describes the schools as being dominated by religion and morality rather than by academic studies, with work ethic emphasized. In all aspects and frugality, punctuality, regularity and discipline were considered virtues. The Indigenous children were given English

names and some Indigenous family names were exchanged for those of patrons. Traditional clothing was replaced by European apparel or by uniforms. Cleanliness was of utmost importance and the division of male and female students was strenuously enforced. The labour of children helped to lower the cost of the institutions (Carney 26).

Alderville and Mount Elgin followed the manual labour model of curriculum in 1848 and 1851 respectively(Auger 5). In the 1840s the general opinion was that boarding schools were the preferred option for teaching Indigenous students. In a 1847 report prepared for the Legislative Assembly in Canada, the policy for the education of Indigenous students was to “raise Indians to the levels of whites” by confirming Christianity among them, by establishing them in settlements, by providing efficient schools for Indian children, preferably institutions where they would be under the “entire control and management of Teachers” away from parents who allowed their children “to do as they please” (Carney 26).

Dr. Egerton Ryerson was the Chief Superintendent of schools for Upper Canada for over thirty years (1842-1876) and his opinion in the 1847 report was in opposition to the day school forms of the Mohawk Institute and Alderville. He believed that Indigenous children should be in boarding schools separated from their parents as well as white communities. The proximity of children to their communities was not conducive to Ryerson’s methods. He firmly believed that these institutions should not teach “white man’s trades” but concentrate on learning the basics in school along with agricultural skills. While he thought schools for white children should follow the day school format without the involvement of religious group he believed that the opposite was true for Indigenous students. “With him (the Indian) nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character and condition without the aid of religious feeling” (Auger 6). He believed that the residential school system should be a partnership between the federal

government and the churches, because if left up to the provincial government and local authorities, the education of Indigenous students would be ignored. By 1858, both the Alderville and Mount Elgin industrial schools were determined to be failures because attendance was sporadic, the children were older, the parents did not approve of the schools, funding was insufficient, and they had not fulfilled Ryerson's objectives (Auger 5).

The return of the Jesuit educational programs to Upper Canada in 1843 were in direct contrast to the then contemporary view of Indigenous education as previously discussed. They encouraged the admission of Indigenous children into the public or separate day schools to be instructed alongside Euro-Canadian children. Their preference for day schools was apparent in the schools at Walpole Island, Fort William and Wiikwemkoong.

When Fr. Jean-Pierre Choné arrived in Wikwemikong in 1844, he had an advantage due to the past historic relationship of the Order with the Indigenous peoples who favoured the French missionaries (Grant 81). By 1856 there were two day-schools at Wiikwemkoong which received favourable reports from the government (Carney 27). Point drew up an Educational Plan for Wiikwemkoong and it depicts various elements of the Catholic faith along with educational methods, organized over a drawing of the cupola on the church (refer to figure 4.4). No explanation from Point exists to inform the reader as to why he chose to draw up his plan in this way, but it certainly draws a literal connection between the church and education. Classes were held between nine and four each day under the guidance of a schoolmaster, Indigenous school mistress and two ushers. A few older boys boarded at the parish rectory, but the majority of students were day students; this format continued until the late 1860s. Carney emphasizes the contrast between the Protestant organizations that only taught in English and the Jesuits who taught in the local language and with expectations were for a reasonable competency in English

and French (27-28). In this way they trained future teachers to ideally help with their missionary work.

Father Nicholas Point drew up a diagram for the course of study as adapted to Holy Cross and based on the works of Cassiodorus the Great, founder of the first Catholic University in the sixth century (Point 42) (refer to figure 4.4). It is interesting to note that Point's diagram includes not only lists of subjects, but it is drawn over a picture of an architectural feature also in his drawing of the church. Point stated that:

The objective for the native people of Manitoulin Island is an average lifestyle acquired on the land by moderate work; in other words, by the development of the local resources for the profit of the family. The means to arrive at this objective: reading, writing, a little spelling, arithmetic, history, singing, line drawing, all applied not only to morals and religion, but also to the development of the available resources. Well implemented, this plan will produce a comfortable attachment to the paternal house and will lead to the objective (42).

Point was probably inspired by Cassiodorus the Great's ability to make monastery water mills run, without exposing the monks to outside influences. Because the monks did not lack any products, they were not tempted to leave. This is the end goal that the Jesuits had for what they considered the preservation of the Anishinaabe in the village. In self-sufficiency, they could limit the potential for their flock to come into contact with other undesirable influences, particularly those of Manitowaning.

By 1852 the school was staffed by two teachers and two assistants. In 1854 it is reported that all instruction in the school was in Anishnaabemowin because the Jesuits believed that under the terms of the 1836 treaty, there would not be any white settlement on the Island and therefore

there wasn't a need for the Anishnabe to learn English. It was also more convenient for the French priests. The Jesuit adherence to a day school format and Indigenous language instruction resulted in less financial support for the Jesuit run schools. While Protestant schools received funding through government grants, band funds, contributions from the churches and from philanthropic organizations, the Jesuits in 1857 received only fifty pounds per annum for a single teacher that needed to be divided among four teachers. No fuel or lodging allowances were provided (Carney 28). The discrepancy between the funds received in Wiikwemkoong and the nearby Protestant village of Manitowaning were a constant source of complaint from the Jesuits until 1868 when the federal government contributed funds to build two boarding schools at Wiikwemkoong. The Jesuit day school strategy was successful for attendance and academic performance. However, when the opportunity arose to obtain funding for boarding schools, the Jesuits took advantage of the grants.

An 1858 Department of Indian Affairs Report described the population of Wiikwemkoong as 580 in number, all belonging to the Roman Catholic Church in a village that was prosperous despite not being as well situated as Manitowaning. The "Indians appeared respectable" and the church services were well-attended, and the schools were crowded with "clean, healthy, intelligent children of both sexes numbering 125 in the School Register" (qtd. Shanahan, *Jesuits* 17). The average attendance was 45 days for the boys and 56 days for the girls per quarter.

The difference in funding between Manitowaning, where Anglicans were paid 60 dollars per year to teach a few white children, compared to the Jesuits at Wiikwemkoong who received 50 dollars a year for two teachers and two assistants to teach a large number of Indigenous students, was unfair. In 1857 Marie Mishibinijima and Marguerite Itawegijik, who were acting as

assistants at the schools, left for the Ladies of the Sacred Heart convent in Montreal without any funding from the mission (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 20). The Jesuits proposed a joint venture between themselves and the government to establish two “superior schools” in addition to the two schools already in existence. The boys’ superior school was intended to educate young men who would then return to their villages to teach in elementary schools to aid in the government’s goals in the assimilation of Indigenous peoples. Teaching of English in the new schools would take precedence and would be the main language in all schools. The education of girls would focus on preparing them for a domestic life. Education was considered essential to modernization in European minds and the opportunity to educate the young of an entire society so that they could move towards a more settled lifestyle and Christian way of life was a task the Jesuits felt they could accomplish.

In 1858 the Pennefather Report sought input from all missionaries in Canada who worked with Indigenous peoples. Frs. Joseph Hanipaux and Martin Férard, Jesuits at Wiikwemkoong, spoke of the need for industrial boarding schools. Hanipaux was the Superior of the Wiikwemkoong mission at the time and Férard was on assignment preparing an Ojibway dictionary. According to Shanahan they represented the very best of Jesuit training and ability, and they turned it towards the future of Indigenous children. The Jesuits defended their choice of teaching in the Indigenous language, which was a concern to the government officials. They explained that because Manitoulin Island was declared a space specifically for Indigenous people, teaching English would only encourage them to leave the Island where they would be “the victims of intemperance and debauchery” (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 19). However, as Jesuits were eager to follow government policy they began to encourage the use of English, perhaps hoping to secure more government funding for their mission.

In 1858 the Jesuits used the local language as an efficient way to evangelize the Wiikwemkoong community, rather than out of respect for the culture, Shanahan posits (20). The Jesuit approach to education clearly informed the ideas of the missionaries at Wikwemikong. The members of the Society had experience in living among “uncivilized” people and had the necessary devotion and endurance for what they saw as hardships and privations of life in remote villages. However, life in colonial Upper Canada would still have been challenging for men coming from France in the nineteenth century.

The Society proposed that the missionaries operate the schools and the Department of Indian Affairs supervised them. The Department of Indian Affairs was to provide two new school houses, books, maps and materials necessary and winter fuel (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 21). For children outside the village, the government was to pay for food, lodging and clothing. To ensure attendance at the schools, the Department would have to resort if necessary to “coercive measures” for those children. For children between the ages of seven and twelve it was believed vital that they be separated from their families and “be governed by a discipline suited to them” (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 22). While the government agreed with the Jesuit belief that children should be separated from their parents, it was not prepared to finance a project on the scale proposed.

Despite the Jesuit’s proposal, the Department of Indian Affairs was not in favour of such a large Jesuit project on Manitoulin Island. Included in the Pennefather report was the recommendation to close two existing industrial schools that had been run by the Wesleyan Missionary Society at Alderville and Mount Elgin. They represented a poor return on investment for the Crown (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 22). The report recommended opening industrial schools through the country that would accept boarders as well as day students that wanted to attend. Instruction was to be in French or English. Indigenous languages were recognized as being

useful for spreading Christianity to adults, but they were not to be used for teaching, as the commission believed that to achieve assimilation, the “peculiar dialects” of the Indigenous peoples needed to be discouraged (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 22). The recognition of the importance of language to culture is reflected in the statement “So long as they continue to cling to them [languages], they will remain a distinct people dwelling apart in the midst of their White neighbours” (qtd. Shanahan, *Jesuits* 22).

A government recommendation that the Manitowaning school be closed benefitted the Jesuits because an English instructor was then appointed to Wiikwemkoong for \$243.35 per annum; classes began on December 4, 1860 for older children but classes for younger children continued in Anishnaabemowin as did as masses. English instruction was provided by Brother Jennesaux at no further cost to the Jesuits.

A proposal was made for a new girls’ school and a women’s religious order was invited to run it. In September 1861 the foundations were laid for a new building and a year later, the nuns from Daughters of the Heart of Mary⁸ arrived from the United States. The sisters did not receive any monetary assistance of any kind. The nuns began by teaching in a log cabin on the edge of the village, operated with their own funds and donations they received (Auger 159).

In 1868, not long after the new school was built, the schools were deemed too small for the 90 boys and 66 girls attending. The only financial support from the government was the approximately \$240 dollars that was given to Brother Joseph Jennesaux for the English

⁸ The Daughters of the Heart of Mary are a religious women’s organization founded in 1790 France during the Jesuit suppression by former Jesuit Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière and Adelaide de Cicé.

instruction provided to the children. Jennessaux taught the children, assisted the doctor, acted as an interpreter. That year, the government awarded \$750 to enlarge the existing school buildings; it was, however, redirected to finance two completely new buildings. Two schools that were two storeys in height and 60 feet by 30 feet in dimension were ready for use by November of that year. It is interesting to note that the funds that paid Brother Jennesaux came from the Indian Land Management fund. The money was taken as a commission by the government on the profits from the sales of previous Indigenous territories. Jesuits continued to use funds for what they determined to be priority projects. In 1875 a grant of \$1000 was intended to expand the girls' school but it was used instead to build an addition on to the convent for the Sisters and to repair roofs (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 24).

In 1875, a grant was provided for more teachers; however, even then not all the teachers were being paid for their work. In the Annual Report for 1875, the government expresses the opinion that the large grant would increase the scale that instruction could be offered, with a special emphasis on the teaching of English. The report reads: "... more attention will now, it is to be hoped, be paid to the instruction of the children in the English language, without much material progress cannot be hoped for, as the inability of the Indians to speak or read any but their own language places them at a disadvantage when brought into competition with White men; while the knowledge of English not only opens to them a wide field of literature, but by enabling them to read the public prints will enlarge their ideas and stimulate them to qualify for enfranchisement, so as to be upon an equality with their White countrymen" (qtd. Shanahan, *Jesuits* 25). Education was expected to encourage the assimilation process. English would advance the government objectives where using their own language, maintaining their culture and traditions was considered 'antagonistic' to the process.

In 1876 the first Indian Act was passed which consolidated several pieces of colonial legislation such as the 1857 Gradual Civilization Act and the 1869 Gradual Enfranchisement Act. In 1877, approximately ten percent of Ontario's Indigenous children (ages seven to twelve) were attending Indian Residential Schools (Carney 37). Carney cites the following reasons that Indigenous parents sent their children to the schools: to affirm trading, continue military and religious relationships, to gain European language training, to obtain technological and vocational skills, to get treatment and care for the sick, orphaned or physically impaired children. The reasons changed over time from the seventeenth century, where the focus was on relationships, to the nineteenth century when the goals were to acquire skills.

Prime Minister John A. MacDonald commissioned Nicholas Davin to study the Industrial boarding schools in the United States and in western Canada. Davin travelled to the American schools, speaking with staff. In the "Report on Industrial Schools for Indian and Half-breeds," known as the Davin Report (1879), Davin recommended that the government provide funds to Churches that would operate or were already operating boarding schools. The boarding schools were not expected to interfere with the day-mission schools. (Auger 6). Parents of the children who were to be sent to boarding schools were to be "induced" with extra rations. Auger states that the most important message that came out of the Davin Report was that the schools in the United States were used as a "vehicle to force assimilation." The Davin Report stated "...if anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young. The children must be kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions" (12).

After 1879 the Indian Residential and Industrial School system in Canada was based on the Davin Report, which promoted using contracts between the government of Canada and the churches of Canada. It did not ask Indigenous people for input, but the officials determined their

plan to be the best way to indoctrinate young Indigenous children (Auger 6). Education and Christianity would aggressively assimilate children in schools away from the influence of their parents and communities. Although there were precedents (dating from the 17th century) that the removal of children from their parents would not be successful, the notion persisted. While the churches believed that their work was benevolent, the Indigenous parents did not see any value in sending their children away to be educated. Children at home were educated in many different ways; it was just not the system recognized by Euro-Canadians. Yet, as resources became strained for hunting and fishing, the value of attaining an education became more desirable.

Major infusions of funds were regarded with suspicion by both the Jesuits and the Indigenous peoples. In 1877, an \$1880 share of the Municipal Loan Fund was consistently refused by Wiikwemkoong because it was believed to be a lure by government to take ownership of their lands retained in the 1862 treaty. The Jesuits also saw the money as a “snare to defraud them of the reserve”; however, in September of that year the funds were assigned to the boys’ school to receive more boarders (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 25). It was also the year that Fr. Dominique du Ranquet arrived to act as Superior, starting a major drive to raise funds for the schools. This policy, accepted by the Canadian government, benefitted the Jesuits as money began to finally flow into their institution, no doubt a large reason for the rapid expansion. In the Annual Report for 1880, there was a total of 78 pupils—34 boys, 44 girls. The boys were taught weaving, tailoring, shoe-making, farming and baking. The girls were trained in what was called the domestic sciences—weaving, sewing, housework and other skills that were considered “proper to their condition” (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 27). Two hours a day and Saturday afternoons were devoted entirely to recreation. The schools had playgrounds that were “furnished with suitable games and gymnastic appliances” although the principal Fr. Charles Bélanger does not expand to

describe what games were considered suitable (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 32). The boys' playground was divided in two for younger and older boys but again, no reason is given as to why or the age groups in each. The play halls were used during the winter evenings and inclement weather.

In 1881 the average attendance was between 80 to 100 students and in 1884 it dropped to only 59 students. No opinions about the reduced attendance is offered by writers, I wonder to what extent fear of illness or other concerns might have played in the higher absenteeism. In 1884 official government inspections of the schools began. The progress of the Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary was noted. With the infusion of long-awaited government funds, the construction continued with larger newer buildings replacing older ones. That same year there was a growth in absenteeism, a problem that had plagued the schools since they began, which may have been indicative of problems between the Jesuits and the local people.

In 1885, the schools received an unfavourable report from the Inspector of Schools. Within days of the news of the report, on January 18, 1885 a fire destroyed the boys' school, followed four days later by a fire that destroyed the girls' school, representing a significant financial loss to the mission. While the fire at the boys' school may have been considered an accident, the girls' school fire was not. Neither building was insured, and it is possible both fires were set deliberately. The fires did not prevent the building of structures to replace them. In July 1885, a new girls' school was started as 34,000 bricks arrived from Owen Sound for a new three-storey brick structure. The Jesuits complained of the slow progress in receiving funds. Fire would continue to threaten the schools after their rebuilding, but in October 1888 an attempt to burn the girls' school was caught early, resulting in the expulsion of two pupils (perhaps what the students were hoping for).

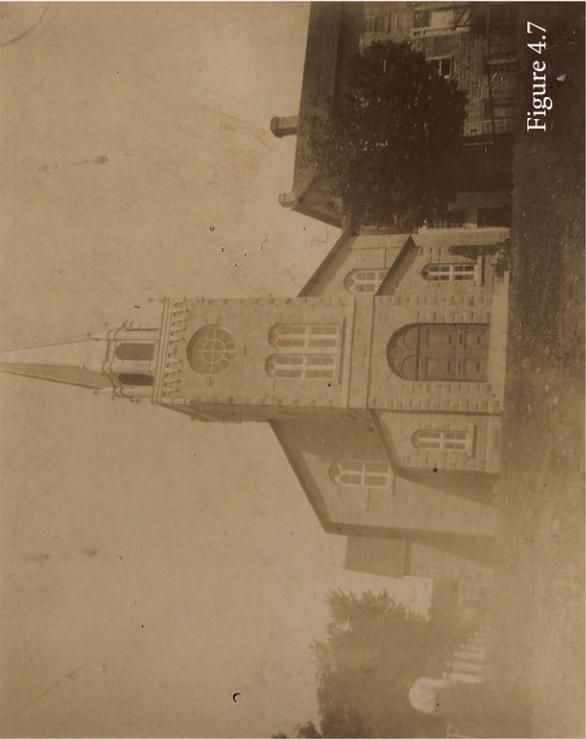


Figure 4.7



Figure 4.8



Figure 4.9

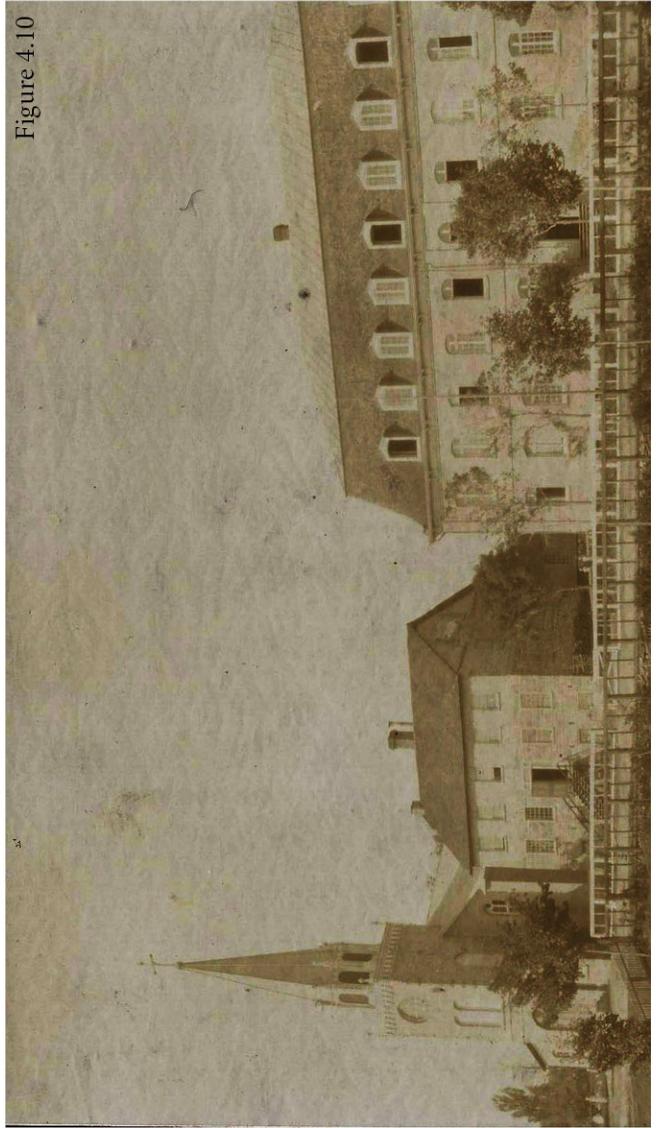


Figure 4.10



Figure 4.11

Funds continued to increase for the schools. In November 1886 a new boys school opened that drew students from a wide area of Ontario. With increased funding came increased government involvement.

Major amendments to the Indian Act in 1884 (and most significantly 1894), provided the official recognition of residential schools and empowered the government to enforce the commitment children of school age to a boarding or industrial school until age 18. Changes also allowed the schools to use annuities, interest and monies to maintain the children as well as the buildings. It was now Canadian law that Indigenous children must attend school, or their guardians would suffer the consequences, unlike other Canadian children. Shanahan posits that this element of coercion further discriminated between Indigenous children and white children (*Jesuits* 29). Provisions were made to enforce attendance at the schools by withholding annuity payments for parents who did not send their children to school.

By March 1895, the government controlled the admission and dismissal of students at the schools. The Jesuits could accept as many students as they wanted but the Department limited the per capita grant to a maximum number of students, determining the numbers without consulting the Jesuits. In 1895, ten boys arrived from the St. Regis Reserve and the per capita grant was extended to 90 students. With the 1894 amendments to the Indian Act, the Wikwemikong schools stopped being a local missionary outreach program to the local area and became part of the governmental educational system controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 29-30). The bureaucracy in Ottawa determined the scope and mission of the Wikwemikong schools because they supplied the financing which was agreeable to the Society of Jesus and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, as long as their vision agreed with the government's.

By 1900 the average attendance was 115 boys and girls, but the per capita grant covered only 90 students for \$60 dollars. The following year, the grant covered 110 students, but the Jesuits simply continued to increase the numbers of students, maintaining a financial gap between the grant and their enrollment. By 1911 the per capita grant had risen to \$100 dollars and covered 140 students however enrollment had reached 148 pupils (77 boys and 71 girls)(Shanahan 30). The schools could accommodate up to 170 children. Obviously, the Jesuits had built their schools with a goal for enrollment.

In the annual report for 1910, the complex of buildings was described by the principal of the school, Charles Bélanger, S.J. (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 30-31). The boys and girls were accommodated in two separate institutions 200 yards apart with two separate staff supervised by one principal. The boys' school included rooms for classes, study, wardrobe, and a play-hall enclosed in a two-storey frame building, 50 feet (15 metres) by 90 feet (27 metres) in dimension. In the missionary's residence that was 112 feet (34 metres) by 90 feet (27 metres) three-storey stone building was a sick-ward, kitchen, dormitory and staff quarters. The refectory, bakery and shoemaker shop were located in what is described as an old stone mission building that was 43 feet (13 metres) by 33 feet (10 metres) in size (I wonder if this perhaps was the original residence for the Jesuits, built partially by Fr. Proulx) that was connected to the main building by a passageway (refer to figure 4.10). It would make sense because in former situations the residence and church were connected. The girls and staff were housed in two 132 feet (40 metres) x 46 feet (14 metres), three-storey frame buildings that were located further up the hill. The girls' class rooms, recreation hall and dormitory were described as "spacious and airy" (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 30). The schools and dormitories matched the recommendation in the Davin report that living space and educational space should be separated. Although from Metosage's drawing from the

early 1850s, it would appear that the schools in Wiikwemkoong were always separate spaces, with the church complex in the centre, separating the two spaces with the dormitories north of the church and the school to the south (refer to figure 4.6 and figure 4.11). In Davin's words "Experience has demonstrated that it is better to have the dormitory separated from the school. The school is now, therefore always erected about, ten rods from the dormitory. Thus the children are kept from spoiling the building" (2).

A few yards to the southwest stood a two-storey, 40' (12 metres) by 50' (15 metres) frame structure used for a washroom and the necessary equipment, as well as a storeroom, bakery and other unspecified uses. Towards the shore of the bay the blacksmith shop and paint shop were combined in one building. Even closer to the shore were a saw mill, planing mill and carpentry shop. In connection with the farm were three barns varying in size from 80' by 40', 110' by 40' and 75' by 35', with each having a spacious stable in the basement (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 31). There were piggeries, henneries, sheds for agricultural implements and various vehicles, woodsheds and ice houses. As Shanahan writes, "For all intents and purposes, the Industrial Schools at Wikwemikong appeared to have become a permanent part of the local community. The Jesuits had been working in the area for almost seventy years and had established themselves as a vital part of the political and social life of Wikwemikong" (31).

Attempts to cut costs by the Department of Indian Affairs would fail and by 1910 the scheme proposed by the Jesuits would be adopted almost in its entirety. The schools were financially stable and the amendments to the Indian Act ensured student attendance, that carefully regimented their daily lives. Bélanger described the classroom as being governed by the official program for Indian Schools. Classes were held from 9:45 to 11:45 am and 1:30 to 4 o'clock pm with a short recess in the middle of each period. The boys were allotted one hour and

fifteen minutes for study every day with two and half hours on Saturday and two hours on Sunday. The girls in contrast, were given one hour of study every day, a difference of almost four hours less. A library was attached to the institutions for supplemental reading. Letter writing was encouraged.

Farming was determined to be the future for Indigenous children and working on the farm and in the gardens was undertaken by even the smallest pupil, according to their abilities. Farming was the most common industry taught to the older male students with some learning carpentry. At the time, three were learning shoemaking. Two hours a day, the students were employed according to their gender and ability in various types of labour which included sweeping, scrubbing, sawing, splitting firewood, working in the dairy, gardening, feeding livestock, helping in the kitchen or out on the farm (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 32). The laundry work was done at the girls' school with the help of the Indigenous women with the older girls receiving training in hand-sewing, machine sewing, dressmaking and cooking. Fr. Bélanger reported that the students generally accepted the chores, mentioning that the girls in the village appreciated the "zeal" of their teachers because they would return even after they were officially finished school to get additional lessons in crafts such as sewing or crocheting.

The health and sanitation were, according to Bélanger's opinion, good. He mentions the replacement of the old soft wood floors (pine perhaps) with hardwood so that a damp mop could be used instead of a broom. The bay was used for bathing as long as the weather permitted and in the summer heat, it was a daily event. The boys' dormitory was supplied with a bathroom. Interesting that the girls' dormitory did not have a bathroom, as the convenience for the girls would have been even greater than for the boys.

Without a significant way for the Jesuits and nuns to enforce attendance, parents often kept their children at home to help with chores and work. If children were doing the same work for the schools as they would have been doing at home, I can understand why parents would be reluctant to send their children to the schools. Absenteeism was a problem noted as far back as 1876 in an annual report. The need to make schools more attractive to the children was stated to combat irregular attendance. It is easy to imagine that long hours sitting in a school room would have been difficult for youngsters used to activities like maple sugar production, planting, berry picking and harvesting, which were also necessary for the survival of their families. The same complaint had been made as far back as 1842 by Captain Anderson in Manitowaning, leading Du Ranquet to complain that there was no way to prevent absenteeism almost forty years later.

On February 5, 1911, the girls' school in Wiikwemkoong was burned to the ground (refer to figure 4.8). As before, plans to rebuild began immediately. A strike in the summer of 1911 by local construction workers created conflict between the religious orders and the village, a reflection of tensions that had built up over the decades of living together. On June 7, the Jesuit Provincial Superior in Montreal commanded the work carry on. Just three days later, a telegram arrived that halted work immediately. A final decision to move the schools was later announced on July 15th, 1911.

Julien Paquin, S.J. was given the job of finding a new school location. He stated that the strike had given the Society time to rethink their plans to rebuild at Wiikwemkoong(Shanahan, *Jesuits* 49). There were four main reasons for the move provided in Shanahan's book (50). It was argued that Wiikwemkoong was difficult to reach for children coming in from other reserves and for their parents who might want to visit them. The Jesuits did not own the land on which their buildings were located, although the farm had been donated to them by the community, and they

could not profit from their sale, therefore, the financial investment by the Society was unwise because it was being put into improvements on land that the Jesuits and nuns did not own. The ongoing resentment towards the Jesuits was cited as a cause; it was felt that the Jesuits were enriching themselves at the expense of the Indigenous community. The Jesuits also believed that the advantage for Wiikwemkoong children was unfair to children from other reserves and that it would be better for children to travel to a neutral location. Realistically, it was an opportunity for the Roman Catholic religious orders to move away from the close supervision of the Wiikwemkoong community and escape their interference.

When Paquin was writing to the Department of Indian Affairs he listed slightly different reasons for the desired move (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 50-51). He stated that the location on Wiikwemkoong was not central for the various bands of Indigenous groups that students were drawn from and that the access to the Islands was too difficult. The closest railway at the time was 60 miles away at Cutler and the closest dock for regular steamer service was eleven miles away at Manitowaning. The second reason was that the present site was too cramped by the topography, streets and Indigenous-owned property to properly expand the institution and grounds. The fact that the school was located on reserve was the third reason, which was considered objectionable because there was too much interference from the local community in the management of the institutions. He also stated that the Indigenous people were “jealous” of the land that the Roman Catholic Church occupied and the perceived profits that were gained from the Industrial School, the jealousy in turn caused problems occasionally. He believed that the influence that the community had on the students was antagonistic to the purpose of the institution. Paquin asserted that the loss of one half of the institution by fire presented the opportunity to rebuild in “a more substantial and desirable manner” in a different location with a

smaller financial loss (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 50). There was an agreement between the Jesuits and the government in favour of relocating to a new site that was more easily accessible to students.

With the expansion of the railway in Northern Ontario, the isolation of Wiikwemkoong, which initially had been considered an asset for the Jesuits, was now seen as detrimental.

The mission over time became an important resource for the employment and education of the local people. In 1884 it employed twelve people while training others to become craftsmen. The students received the tools of their trade upon graduation. There was some give and take between the Jesuits and the local people. The mill set up at a \$600 cost to the Jesuits but built by local labour was beneficial to both groups and in June 1881, the school farm that trained local farmers was officially donated to the school, but conflicts and tensions also arose at times. As previously mentioned in 1885 the schools received an unfavourable report from the government inspector. Within days both schools burned to the ground and in 1894, the Department of Indian Affairs had to launch a major review of school procedures after unspecified complaints from the community, reflecting significant opposition to the missionaries. The schools had difficulty retaining teachers and disciplinary problems were on the rise. In 1909 pupils were forbidden to visit their families. There was documented opposition from the Indigenous peoples regarding the school authorities' discipline methods. All of these events added to the atmosphere that led to the destruction of the girls' school by fire in 1911. The relationship had been strained to a breaking point. When the Jesuits hired local labour to rebuild the school, a strike was held within a week. There is some mystery around the cause of the strike, but Shanahan posits that the conflict was much deeper than pay and working conditions. It became the catalyst for the transfer of the Residential Schools to Spanish, Ontario. The official Jesuit position is that it gave the Society breathing space to contemplate the opportunities of

another location, but to the people of Wiikwemkoong it was seen as punishment. Shanahan's research states that the St. Peter Claver School diary reveals that the Jesuits had started contemplating moving locations as early as May 19th 1911, although Brother Sheehy continued to communicate with a Montreal architect in regard to plans for the new building. It also states that the Jesuits deliberately stopped the workers from returning by the end of May, remaining "locked out" until June 7th (46).

One has to wonder about retribution towards Jesuit actions, considering the story of three boys who ran away from the school on 31 July 1911. They were caught after five days and severely punished. The leader was put in solitary confinement for five days and the other two boys for three days. They were fed bread and water on their capture, after having hardly any nourishment while on the run. Without any further details, we are left to wonder what "solitary confinement" entailed, where it was located and how the students were kept enclosed. The story was detailed in the St. Peter Claver School: Wikwemikong and Spanish diaries and the account reported by Shanahan (48).

The school continued to operate for two years after the decision to move was announced. Tensions continued to build and in March 1912, a woman hit a teacher in the face. Jesuits continued to receive opposition to discipline. The Jesuits in return snubbed the community when Charles Bélanger refused to attend a farewell production when his term ended as Superior.

After the opening of the new school in Spanish, everything of value was transferred to the new site. Buildings that held workshops were moved, all equipment, school furniture, cattle and the crops from the Wiikwemkoong farm were all removed. The existing boys' school in the village would become property of the Department of Indian Affairs and used as a day school.

Even two years after the removal of the schools, the church at Wiikwemkoong was an object of thefts and vandalism and theft escalating to the point where a policeman had to be hired to deal with the incidents (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 49). The nature of the damage is unrecorded. The church building received the animosity felt by the villagers after the loss of their children. The Jesuits opened and operated the schools at Wiikwemkoong for decades before receiving significant financial assistance from the Department of Indian Affairs. The little that the government spent on the schools by the end of the 19th century was blamed for failing to cover the basic costs of feeding the children at the schools; however, the Jesuits always had more students and created more space than for what the government allotted.

A later analysis of events at Wiikwemkoong would decide that the Industrial Schools were a failure according to a rather frank assessment in the *Dictionary of Jesuit Biography* (1991)(98). The boys' school in 1912 had less than 30 students and there were 50 at the girls' school. The quality of teaching was considered inferior and after 35 years, had produced few successful craftsmen. The institution was expensive, isolated and its status uncertain because it was on reserve lands. Nevertheless, the Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary were determined to persevere in their mission and build new schools, relocating the residential schools to Spanish, Ontario

4.3 Education and Residential Schools in Spanish, Ontario

After teaching in Wikwemikong for almost seven decades, the Jesuits retreated from the village on Manitoulin Island to Spanish, Ontario, 35 miles away by water. A priest was left at the Holy Cross Church and the Daughters of Mary took over running the day school. They relocated to a site on the north shore of Lake Huron, just west from where the Spanish River entered the

big water. The Department of Indian Affairs jointly called the two new buildings “The Spanish Indian Residential School,” “The Spanish River Industrial School” and “The Spanish Industrial School” and treated them as one institution (until 1957), even though there was a separate school for boys and across the road a school for girls, run by two separate Orders of men and women (National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR 1,3)).

The new location has been described as “neutral,” because it was on the rail line and more easily accessible from many more reserves and opened new catchment areas. It was however distinctly partisan on the part of the Jesuits and Daughters of Mary who wanted to remove themselves from Wiikwemkoong after decades of work with little recognition. The loss of the two Wiikwemkoong schools in 1911 provided the impetus and time for both religious orders to evaluate their educational field on Manitoulin Island, ultimately deciding that their work would be more effective if children were separated from their parents and their community. It was also a punitive measure, for what were considered deliberate fires at the residential schools and decades of thankless work, in the eyes of the religious workers. In a rough draft of a letter dated 25 May 1941 from Bernard A. Mayhew S.J. to Reverend Vincent MacKenzie S.J., Mayhew stated:

We came to Spanish in the year 1913. The reasons for the change were numerous and the move had been sought for a long time. The proximate reason for the change (you might almost say pretext) was a strike by the workers who were rebuilding the school, which had been burned, it is suspected, by one of the boys. The strike was certainly, according to Fr. Belanger, unjustifiable. The work required skilled workers and these were brought from Montreal. Naturally these men received more money than the Indians and so the latter went on strike.

The other reasons for the change were really grouped under the one main difficulty, that the school was on the reserve. The Indians considered that it was theirs and that the fathers were growing rich at their expense. According to Fr. Mayhew's letter, the shoe was quite on the other foot and the Indians discovered this very shortly after the departure of the fathers. They were sorry that the school was gone and, Father Belanger tells us that they grew very bitter against the men who had caused the trouble and dismissed the leaders from the reserve" (Spanish Public Library Archive).

The Jesuits and Daughters of Mary traded the community supervision of the Anishinaabe for the financial promises of the government. The contemplation of a move was instigated a year before the fires razed the residential schools in Wiikwemkoong.

At a conference in 1910, attended by Fr. Charles Bélanger S.J., the main discussion surrounded the reorganization of the per capita grants from the government to the church run residential schools (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 58-59). Although at the time, tuberculosis was a major threat to the health of Indigenous children and was running rampant through the residential school system, the subject was not on the agenda; however, the threat of tuberculosis was represented through the modernization of the architecture of student accommodation with changes to design to benefit the health of the children. What interested Bélanger was that to attain maximum grants, new schools were to be built that met specified modern conditions with church funding; older schools would receive graduated funding based on construction and maintenance of existing buildings. Schools that did not meet the specified modern improvements would receive minimum grants. Schools that had extant buildings would be required to upgrade to meet the minimum requirements or would not receive any government funding. This new federal proposal came at the cost of increased government involvement in the operation of the

schools as set out in a contract between the federal government and the Bishop of the Diocese where the schools were located. The churches were encouraged to carry the cost of building and maintaining the complexes, unwittingly accepting terms where they would be placed at a disadvantage because the future government grants would not be enough to cover the operating costs of the new buildings.

The health issues associated with residential schools were known well before the conference in 1910. At the time, Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947) was the Department of Indian Affairs accountant assigned to analyze recommendations from a 1907 report by Dr. Peter Henderson Bryce who was appointed the Medical Inspector for the Department of Indian Affairs in 1904. An expert on tuberculosis, Bryce had previously studied the plight of students in Ontario and Quebec and was horrified by the health conditions that he found in the residential schools. D. C. Scott believed that the department was doing enough to support Indigenous children and rejected the “heavy expenditure” that would result from Bryce’s proposed preventions. Bryce would continue to advocate for the health of Indigenous children in the residential schools and published a pamphlet in 1922 titled “The Story of a National Crime: An Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada” (Wattam 1-3). D. C. Scott would later oversee Indian Education and was the future Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (1913-1932). D. C. Scott’s daughter would die tragically from scarlet fever in a Parisian boarding school in 1907 at the age of eleven (Wattam “D.C. Scott” 2). Somehow, he failed to make any connection with the loss of his own child and the loss of an Indigenous child in a residential school.

Shanahan outlines the contract between the religious orders and the federal government that was signed 11 April 1911, as the planning for the reconstruction of the girls’ school was

underway (60). The Jesuits would be responsible for the operation of the schools according to the orders of the federal department and were required to supply the tools, clothing, food, beds and daily necessities for the children as well as maintain the buildings. In return for funding, the department controlled the curriculum, teachers, building inspections and admissions. The Jesuits were to continue training the boys in gardening, farming, care of livestock and other trades deemed appropriate to the locality, as they had in Wiikwemkoong. The nuns were to teach the girls domestic skills such as cooking, laundry, sewing, “general housewifery” and working in the dairy according to the signed contract.

English was to be the language of instruction. Physical education was also required along with fire drills and education on the effects of alcohol and drugs. The contract also stipulated the Orders were to instruct the older students in the advantages of British citizenship, education in the fundamental principles of the government of Canada and fostering an affection and appreciation of the country so that they would follow its laws. The contract covered a period of five years and could be cancelled by the Department of Indian Affairs with six months notice. With clear definitions of duty for both churches and the government, the new changes were viewed with optimism by the missionaries that the government was finally taking the residential schools seriously (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 60).

In the late summer of 1911, Fr. Julien Paquin S.J. (1858-1938), was dispatched from Sudbury, Ontario, along with Fr. Théodore Désautels S.J. (1867-1937) who came from Wiikwemkoong to find a new site to relocate the residential schools. Having been both the Superior and priest in the Wikwemikong mission for a combination of five years, Paquin was familiar with the issues of the existing site on Manitoulin Island. Désautels was then a pastor at Holy Cross Mission and the future Superior, taking over when the schools moved to Spanish, on

31 July 1913, the feast of St. Ignatius. A site was found by the end of August 1911 by the Jesuits while Mary Kendrick, Superior of the Daughters of Mary was away in New York.

In 1911, 133 acres of farmland were purchased on the north shore of Lake Huron, west of where the Spanish River met the lake from the owner John Lapointe with an additional 900 acres purchased in 1912, west of the original site (NCTR 2). It was less than a mile from the railroad station in the nearby town of Spanish. The site was visited by the Provincial who approved the purchase in early September. Paquin was to supervise the purchase of the land and the building of the schools. The Jesuits were optimistic that the new location would result in more students from a larger catchment area and in combination with the government contributions, would entail an expansion beyond their current operation. The Society was entering more fully into the education in Ontario. The land they purchased had both fields and wooded acreage. There was and still is a significant amount of wetland in the area. The location of the complex at the entrance of the Spanish River into Lake Huron also provided another opportunity to the school. Logs were sent down the river by logging companies. Each logging company stamped their logs with a badge, but unstamped logs couldn't be claimed. When these unmarked logs washed up by the school, they were then claimed and used for school purposes. Wood was milled at the school's sawmill and then planks were stored in the cellar of the school (Lonc, *Spanish Flu* 18-19). This would make sense to keep the wood out of the weather and so that it could continue to dry to be used in school projects.

For Wiikwemkoong students, the long trip to the new school entailed two days of travel in good weather. They left their village and headed to Killarney (another Jesuit mission) to pick up more students. The next day they would go through the Little Current straight and across the



Figure 4.12



Figure 4.13



Figure 4.14



Figure 4.15

North Channel finally arriving at Spanish. One can only imagine the boat trip and the feelings of the children as they left their homes and families behind. Perhaps some initial excitement for some but then I would imagine before long boredom would set in on the boat called *The Garnier* or in the 'Red Bug' that it towed (refer to image 4.12). I took a boat trip out of Little Current in September 2018 and the children's trip to the residential school one hundred years prior was on my mind as I travelled in the same area as they would have. From my observations, the channel is extremely wide. I am unsure what route the *Garnier* would have taken, but if it was the main channel, it could certainly have been a harrowing journey in a small boat if the weather turned.

Bad weather could delay the trips and on the large water could put everybody's life at risk. In a 1941 letter written by Father Bernard A. Mayhew S.J., we know that at least once the prefects and children were stranded on an island described as one of these "quite barren places" without sufficient food. While he empathised with the prefects who would have had approximately 60 students to look after, he did not venture to imagine how the children might have felt about the situation. Being hungry, exposed to the elements without a place to sleep, must have been frightening, even traumatizing for some of the children. So often in these accounts it is the voices of the children that are missing.

Financing the school was a problem that became apparent early in the life of the school. The 1911 contract signed between the Society of Jesus and the Department of Indian Affairs lapsed during the first World War in 1916 (Shanahan, *Jesuit* 70). Both institutions carried along with the terms of the contract. With high prices caused by the war and with a large enrollment, it reportedly stretched finances to the breaking point as the school was paying back the loan to the Society. An additional financial hardship was the large amounts that the individual Jesuit houses sent to the



Provincial to support mission endeavours, the Jesuit school at Spanish was not immune to this practice.

As early as 1917, Spanish Superior Eugène Papineau S.J. wrote to D.C. Scott to suggest that the Department of Indian Affairs purchase the schools and hire the Jesuits and Daughters of Mary to teach in the institutions (NCTR 2). Scott was buying other schools run by the Oblate Fathers, but he was only interested in a purchase if a school could not continue to operate without government intervention. He declined the Jesuit proposal but raised the *per capita* grant by ten dollars and requested an assessment of the schools for information purposes.

When Papineau's first proposal failed he then tried to have the number of students raised under the *per capita* terms. However, any extra space in the school was already filled. In August 1918, 200 students arrived, and more were expected. Fr. Désautels asked that the per capita grant be increased to cover 250 students (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 72). New students were coming from Nipissing, Dokis, Abitibi and Maniwaki and they had received applications from the Lake Superior reserves. They also had many children who were orphans or whose families could no longer care for them. This request was also refused; subsequently the Jesuits then attempted to release older boys to make way for younger students.

4.4 A Jesuit College: Architecture and Landscape Development

The new campus at Spanish represented a significant investment by the Society of Jesus and the Daughters of Mary. The Society of Jesus' financial commitment of new buildings and facilities reflected their new Canadian mission of controlling the largest residential school in Ontario. It also signified that the Jesuits were moving back into the area of education.

Considering that the Jesuits had been pushing to educate Indigenous children in a residential school system since the 17th century, it was the culmination of over two hundred years of work. The 20th century school may have started in Wiikwemkoong in the mid-1800s, but the ambition for the project began with the original Jesuits. The dedicated school was a large boost to their mission for Indigenous peoples and also integrated the Society more fully into the education system and brought them to the attention of two levels of political government.

Of the students in the Wiikwemkoong schools, less than half were from Manitoulin Island—one quarter were from Kahnawake and another ten percent were from Garden River. As of 6 August 1908, children under the age of ten within three miles of a day school were required to attend that institution—therefore 43 of the students at Wiikwemkoong should have been attending a day school. Strategically, the Spanish site was more than three miles from a reserve, so the schools would have the same catchment area for students as Wiikwemkoong.

In September 1911, the Jesuits received conditional approval provided they submitted building plans with a wood frame design that met new requirements for health and safety. It also included the agreement for the disposal of buildings at Holy Cross Mission. The Daughters of Mary were not prepared for the financial costs of moving to Spanish (Shanahan 64). Paquin had initially told Kendrick that the cost would be \$100,000. She had been prepared for a cost in the neighbourhood of \$36,000. In the end the school cost was closer to \$50,000. Kendrick insisted on stone or concrete construction with steel beams to be more fire resistant.

The Spanish Residential School was one of the few institutions where boys and girls lived in separate buildings—in 79 of the residential schools, the genders cohabitated although separated spatially within the schools. It reflected the Jesuit rule, that the men could not share

space with the women and girls, although in case of emergency, they seemed to compromise when separate space was not available.

In Shanahan's book the details of the move to Spanish emerge. Materials were transferred from Wiikwemkoong to Spanish including a few thousand board feet of lumber, woodworking and sawmill equipment to be used in the construction of the new school. The buildings that housed the equipment and a barn were also transferred to the new school site and were rebuilt. The Jesuits requested permission from the Department of Indian Affairs to move the equipment. The local people in Wiikwemkoong had helped to build and maintain the mission structures over the years, but this was not a consideration for either religious organization. The Department of Indian Affairs granted permission to move the materials and buildings with the caveat that if the people of Wikwemikong had any legal claim, the Society was to compensate them.

The Department of Indian Affairs called the new institution "The Spanish River Industrial School," but the Jesuits and the nuns had their own names for the schools (NCTR 2). The boys' school was called St. Peter Claver's and the girls' school was called St. Joseph's with variations on each name. Since the Jesuits arrived on the continent they had a history of renaming missions after those of the saints from whom they wished to receive protection. In the 450 years of Jesuit history, they had never used a local place name, instead choosing a name with a religious reference to either the Holy Family or a canonized saint. Even places that didn't have a mission, such as Manitowaning, Father Choné secretly called "St. Ignatius," as previously

mentioned. The Jesuit school was named for St. Peter Claver (1580-1654)⁹, a Catalan Jesuit Priest who was canonized in 1888. Regardless of what the religious orders called the place, it was known to its young occupants simply as “Spanish,” according to Basil Johnston, a former student. The foundation for the boys’ school was started in the autumn of 1911, recommencing in the spring of 1912, even though building plans for the new schools had not been submitted to the federal government for approval. By October 1912, the plans had still not been submitted to show the required ventilation and sanitary systems. The boys’ school officially opened its doors in August 1913 with a new principal, Fr. Louis-Napoléon Dugas S.J.(NCTR 2). The girls arrived on 9 August although their school was not ready until March 1914.

The domestic chapel was completed on 4 December 1918 by Brother Sauvé and the children. The location of the chapel in the plans from the 1950s was next to the main chapel. In the early days of the school the chapel was furnished with temporary furnishings such as benches and an altar. The time of the placement of the altar-stone in the church is marked as 8:15 p.m. I am unsure why the time was significant. The domestic chapel was newly painted, and a Sacred

⁹ Peter Claver was a Jesuit who worked in South America in Cartagena in what is now Columbia. In his life he baptized over 300,000 people, working among the slaves who arrived in the thousands by ship every month. He reportedly brought them medicines and food, and reminded them of their humanity. Working for the salvation of the slaves he followed them to plantations where they worked and prevailed upon their masters to treat them well, encouraging the slaves to live as Christians. He is recognized as the patron saint of missionary work

(https://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=94 and <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Peter-Claver>)

Heart statue was placed in it. The chapel was blessed, and Litanies were then said there. Again, whether this was a private Jesuit chapel or chapel for the boys is hard to decipher, although later in the journal kept during the terrible time of the Spanish flu, it states: “What a relief not to be heating the main chapel every day!”(Lonc, *Spanish Flu* 22).

A bell was located on the roof of the school under a small roof. Bells are significant in the Roman Catholic world. They are subject to a special ceremony and named which includes being washed with holy water and anointed with oils. It is believed that when church bells ring, they summon people to church but also chase away evil spirits. The bell at the Spanish school was of significant size and prominent on the building, but it was not on the original structure, and looks like an afterthought because it is not associated with an element in the building massing such as a large bell tower like the one on the Wiikwemkoong church. The small bell tower was on the building before the brick facing was added in 1925 (refer to figure 4.15). No doubt it would have rung to call the villagers to church. Other than the bell’s departure when the building closed, the only mention of the bells is in Johnston’s work. I have not found any mention of the school bell being named. However, it was valuable enough that it found a new home when the school closed (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 254).

The buildings were reported as “impressive,” even though the boys’ school was not completed until the mid-1920s when the third floor was added to the east wing (refer to image 4.13). In a 1922 report, the Spanish school was listed as a “large, modern institution, belonging to the Jesuit Order, is worth about \$150,000 and I believe, may be offered for sale.” The new buildings were considered perfectly suited for residential schools. The boys’ school had accommodations for one hundred boys and was much larger than what was needed at the time, as was pointed out to the Jesuits by the Department of Indian Affairs. In a letter they wrote:

The boys' building provides accommodation for 100 pupils and the other accommodation through the building is equal, and in some instances is greatly in excess of the actual school requirements. The only deficiency in this building is in the infirmary, which is not of sufficient size, unless it is intended to provide outside the two buildings a separate isolation hospital. It may be, however, that it is your intention to use some of the bedrooms shown on the plan, if necessary, as sickrooms (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 66-67).

The girls' school was also described:

The girls' building appears to be a very substantial one and provides accommodation in the class-room for 90 and in the dormitories for 123 pupils. All the other necessary accommodations based on the class-room and dormitory dimensions are ample, with the exception of the lavatories. No lavatory basins are indicated and it is presumed that they will be placed in the dormitory without enclosure and also in the gymnasium. There is no ventilation system indicated or provided for (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 67).

While the federal government's intention of funding new schools was that they would be modern and provide a healthy environment for the children, in both cases neither school plan showed a ventilation system or the required sanitary fixtures. In both cases it was left to the last part of the planning stages, which leads us to question why it was left so late in the process, and if it was a sign of Paquin's inexperience with those systems and health facilities in general?

In the minds of the Jesuits, St. Peter Claver's School was not a local mission school but a Jesuit school, where finally the Jesuit theories about education and the formation of young Catholics would proceed unchallenged. It was the opposite of what they had in Wiikwemkoong.

They owned the land and the buildings. There was land for farming and sports fields with enough room to expand. It had access to both the lake and the town and yet it was isolated enough from the nearby community to be easily controlled. The school faced south-east towards the bay and was located closer to the water than the girls' school which made it more prominent when viewed from the shore (refer to figure 4.14). From town, the building was approached on an angle—the whole school would have only been visible from the water. Unlike other Jesuit schools, St. Peter Claver's seems to turn its back on the village in favour of the natural view of the water. The orientation was the same as the complex at Wiikwemkoong. With the large number of windows in the building, the surrounding landscape would have been easy to survey, particularly because other than buildings the landscape was relatively barren.

When it was finished St. Joseph's was a concrete building in the "very latest style of architecture" according to a report from the Agent from Sault Ste. Marie who brought students to the school in 1916 (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 69) (refer to figure 4.16). It had hardwood floors and Paquin did ensure it was well-ventilated. The building was heated with steam and had electric lights powered by an on-site dynamo and the water was pumped by windmill up into a holding tank at the top of the school, which can still be seen on the existing structure. The front of the girls' school faced the water as well with a south-west orientation. The short wall of the school runs perpendicular to the road and the full school is approached from the back when approaching from the village. According to Ms. Eldegard Mader who now owns the property, the back door was the one used by the girls. Being set back from the water, further than the boys' school, St. Joseph's would have appeared much smaller than the boys' school when approached from the water, the visual emphasis on the boys' institution.



Figure 4.21



Figure 4.22



Figure 4.23

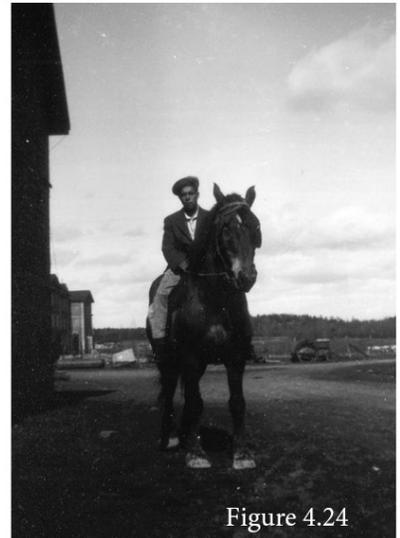


Figure 4.24



Figure 4.25

Allan Goodleaf Johnnv Shawanabin



Figure 4.26

In the largely agricultural landscape of the Spanish Residential Schools, there were very few aesthetic landscape features (refer to figure 4.23, 4.22, 4.24). Both schools had a large circular green space in front surrounded by a driveway that served as a turn-around. In the central green at the boys' school, there was a statue of Jesus with his arms opened towards the building. It was approximately 12 feet (3.7 metres) high, including the large pillar it was seated on. The pillar itself has the IHS crest of the Society on the north-west side of the square pillar and on the other three sides are fleur-de-lis. The fleur-de-lis, associated with the French, is also a symbol of Mary. When the school was closed the statue of Jesus was installed in a mission garden in Sagamok according to Shanahan. The pillar remains on the site and the symbols on it are just visible to the eye. The shell of the girls' school still stands, in contrast to the empty site of the boys' school, with the statue of St. Joseph over the front door, still extant.

One of the few designed landscape features on the Spanish site included the "Grotto" based on the grotto called the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Lourdes in Lourdes, Italy. It is mentioned in Shanahan's book:

Out at The Rocks, where the children loved to play, plans were made to erect a grotto similar to the one at Lourdes, and an area was blasted with explosives on October 6, 1924. The statue for the grotto was only received from the Provincial of the Jesuits in 1926 and was replaced in 1929 by an 800-pound marble statue of Mary donated by the family of Brother Benjamin Reischman S.J., who had been responsible for completing the brick facing of the boys' school in 1925 (*Jesuits* 99).

The contrast between Shanahan's book and Johnston's book is that in the memoir we are introduced to the brothers who worked around the school beyond a perfunctory description of

jobs. The grotto in Johnston's time was under the care of Father Dufresne, a retired missionary who had chosen to landscape the rocky outcrop known as the Rocks, on the river side of the ridge (refer to figure 4.43). After the snow was gone, until the snow returned, the Father would work daily on his project "with crowbar, axes, sledge hammer and saw, moving and splintering rocks and trimming and pruning trees and bushes to make grottoes, walkways, flower beds and rock gardens." (Johnston 89). Johnston wrote that Father Dufresne had been ordered to stop working on the garden, because he could not improve them any further and it was considered dangerous by the Father Superior. In a rare act of defiance, Father Dufresne continued to work on his gardens. He even constructed a platform on which he sat as a private "retreat" reached by a ladder. The grotto represents a major effort on the part of the Jesuits to create a landscape feature. It entailed blasting the rock to create a niche. The first image of a grotto was the original grotto on the river side of the Rocks; the second could have been a later addition of Father Dufresne. In the photos taken on site, the approximate location of the grotto is visible as well as a low rock wall, made of smaller stones which also could have been the work of Father Dufresne. The grotto was based on the site in Lourdes France which is a natural feature.

Grottos have a long history and date back to antiquity. In Naomi Miller's book *Heavenly Caves* (1982), she notes that in Christianity, there are many references to caves in the Biblical landscapes and in the Old Testament (Miller 29). She writes, "The functions of grottoes in the Holy Land parallel those in the pagan world; here too, they act as places of passage. In the limestone and sandstone hills, both natural and artificial caves were also sites of early dwellings and served as refuges in times of persecution and oppression. They also were sanctuaries that served as halls of worship...As in the ancient world, grottoes also could be places of revelation" (Miller 29).

Caves or grottos were places where messages from God could be heard. The sacredness of caves is also connected with hermit-saints, ascetics and martyrs. Miller writes that “...the caves in Biblical times could be considered as an abbreviation of the cosmos—its vault the sky, its ground the earth. The matrix of the world and of man, it is associated with seasonal rituals; within, the sun, the moon, and the stars are born. Tied to the seasons and to the movements of the sun and the planets, the grotto is on the edge of chaos; it is the primordial substance.” (30) The grottoes that were the sites of major events in Jesus’ life and those of the Virgin provide the strongest counterparts. Natural caves were often used as places of devotion prior to Constantine. The Annunciation took place in the Grotto of Nazareth, close to where Mary drew water from a well. Bethlehem is the location of the Grotto of the Nativity where Jesus was born. John the Baptist was also born in a grotto and when Jesus gathered with his disciples the evening before the Passion, he withdrew to a cave. Philip D. Shano, S.J. writes that Ignatius Loyola spent time in a cave while at Manresa and also time along the Cardoner River where he had profound visionary experiences (Monet ed., *Conscience of a Nation* 13). The experience at the river reportedly led to understanding, perceptions, and lucidity all at once for Loyola. While we do not know the extent of symbolism inherent in the former grotto on the Spanish River and its possible connection to the life of Ignatius Loyola, it certainly provided sanctuary for Father Dufresne. From figure 4.45, which could have been taken at the base of the grotto, this feature could also have been used for religious services.

A low rock wall made of split stones was built in 1947 at the front of the school by Mathew Pitawaniquot, a handyman from Wiikwemkoong. His work on the grounds was intended to help with the new image of Garnier College as an academic Jesuit institution. It can still be seen flanking the former school grounds on Garnier Road in Spanish. It was never intended to

keep any one or anything in the grounds but merely as a decorative element to mark the boundary and give a sense of enclosure. Trees were planted along the wall on the south perimeter and the east perimeter along the road in the 1930s.

The views of the landscape from the top floors of the school would have been quite impressive, overlooking the sparkling bay and the distant islands of the North Shore; however, the beauty of the surroundings and impressive exteriors of the schools belied the reality of the situation within the buildings. The separate schools for boys and girls further divided families as brothers and sisters were sent to different dwellings. Within the buildings, the children were again divided from one another as older and younger siblings were separate in dormitories, daily tasks, and playrooms (refer to figures 4.28 and 4.31).

There are a few memoirs that provide insight into the experience of a child arriving at the residential school, written years after the experience was over and with adult understanding. In 1988, Basil Johnston (23 July 1929-2015) wrote the following of his experience in 1939 as a ten-year-old boy:

The next thing I remember with clarity was our arrival in the late afternoon at the schools. After my sister was deposited at St. Joseph's, I did not see her for another six weeks. As for me...I was driven to St. Peter Claver's school. No sooner did the car stop at the south-west corner of the school than the boys—all of them, it seemed—assembled on the veranda and around the agent's car. Many more had their noses pressed against the school's windows, which were barred by strong-meshed screens bolted to the bricks with heavy-duty eye-bolts." (Johnston 22)

Johnston's memoir is important because it reveals sensory memories that stayed with the former students as adults. His account also includes information from other adults that he attended school with, so in ways it is a collective memory.

Arrival at the school was often remembered as violent and sometimes the violence occurred immediately after crossing the threshold onto the school property; children were punished for speaking their language and their hair was cut. Gilbert Oskaboose describes his arrival on the school grounds and the slap he received after he spoke in his language in his essay "The Welcome," based on his experience:

Little Wolf saw it coming but couldn't believe it was actually happening. The Blackrobe's huge, hairy hand flew up, appeared to hang in midair as it drifted through a lazy semi-circle, and exploded violently in the boy's face. The blow slammed him into the hard stone ends of an iron gate. Dazed and shaken, he lay in the dust, dimly aware of split lips and warm salty blood making angry red patterns on a brand new buckskin shirt.

'Indian lankquitch iss verbotten! You will not spik hitt again.'

Far off in the swirling mists of pain and confusion, a door slams, a lock turns. Empty walls bear mute witness to the sounds of muffled sobs torn from a small frightened boy huddled in a darkened corner (Oskaboose).

Although in Shanahan's book the Jesuits deny having punished children for speaking their language, Oskaboose's story is one of many stories of children being punished for just that reason. At the boys' school, some of the Jesuits could at least speak the language in the early years, but the nuns did not speak the Indigenous languages at all. One former student at the girls' school told of being strapped every time the children spoke in their language. "We were whipped

every time we spoke Ojibwe” Blue Cloud Woman disclosed and described the strap as being about two feet long, thick and about four inches wide (McCutcheon).

Johnston’s memoir provides information on the schools and the places and spaces that dominated children’s lives:

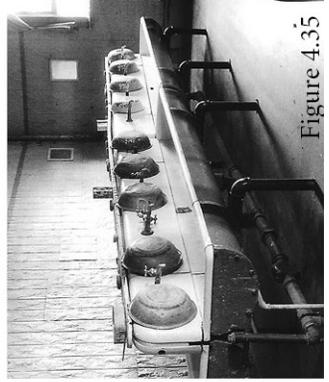
St. Peter Claver’s was more than a school; it was an institution. The main building, a three-storied structure, contained dormitories, classrooms, a study hall, a recreation hall, dining rooms, several lavatories, chapels, a kitchen, a scullery, a pantry, a refrigerated area, corridors, offices, a cloistered area, a laundry room, an infirmary, a bakery and a tailor shop. In the cellar were huge furnaces surrounded by cords of wood, sacks of potatoes, beans and other produce, coal, paint, pipes, boards and other supplies. Near the school were clustered a windmill, a power house and a shoe shop. Close to the river were a mill and storage shed where wheat, corn and anything else that could be milled were milled. There was also an immense barn that sheltered a herd of cows, several teams of horses, a bull of immense carnality for the greater joy of the cows, a dairy operation and, of course, tons of hay and straw and assorted feeds and equipment. Between the barn and the mill were a blacksmith shop, a piggery and a sheepery. In the north-west corner of the complex was the chicken coop, which harboured four hundred chickens and one forlorn and harried rooster. Between the buildings was a playground, bare and hardpacked from years of baseball games and running feet. Fenced off from the playground and stretching from mill to school was the Garden of McLaren (Brother McLaren) yielding tomatoes, cucumbers, and boundless temptations. At the wharf were tethered the Garnier, a thirty-foot

cruiser-like vessel; the Red Bug, an open-topped rowboat-styled ark used for transporting cattle, boys and girls, and cordwood or heavy equipment under tow by either the Garnier or the Iron Boat; a scow; and several punts. In addition, there were nearly a thousand acres of land in Spanish and in Walford (25-26).

Johnston's writing provides a clear mental layout of the complex so that the reader is able to situate the stories in space. Combined with photographs, he brings clarity to the site (refer to figures 4.47, 4.48). While he does not clearly indicate where the rooms are in the school, one can imagine general locations from his storytelling. His writing also gives small details on what the sounds of the school were like. He mentions that by 1939, the stairs were covered with metal risers. What a noise that would have created for hundreds of little feet descending all at once! In fact, later in his work, Johnston writes: "But though tongues were quiet, boots beat down on the metal stairs, so that stairs, windows and railings rattled and reverberated from the bottom of the stairwell to the ceiling on the third floor."

The reason for the metal on the stairs is not given. It is possible that it was less expensive to reface the stair treads with metal than to install new treads, a bonus might have been that it might have been more difficult to sneak down the stairs for children trying to sneak around. These are merely speculation, no doubt the metal tread was less maintenance than a wooden stair tread would have been.

Johnston describes the process of waking up in the school with a prefect clanging a bell at 6:15 a.m. in the dormitory. The dormitory, from Johnston's stories, seems to have been the territory of the children. The prefect who rang the bell and harassed a student to get up out of bed was in turn harassed by the other students throughout the dorm. In its size and population of



students the dormitory created a space where the agency of the children was enabled to a small extent; however, there was always the threat of being sent to some place worse than Spanish such as the reform schools in Burwash or Guelph (Johnston 139). The children did not dare to push their luck too far when it came to retribution on staff and as Johnston wrote, “The very thought of such a horrible fate was enough to inspire heroic resolve and heroic effort to toe the line as much as possible without surrendering one’s dignity, freedom and integrity” (139).

Life in the schools was defined by religion and by the ringing of bells (refer to figures 4.27,4.24,4.32, 4.33), not only hand bells that the prefects carried, but the large bell on the school. Johnston reveals that the children never rushed from place to place at the tolling of a bell. Rather in a passive resistance, the children dawdled as much as possible without incurring a punishment. “Since the boys could not openly defy authority either by walking out of the school and marching north or south on Highway 17 or by flatly refusing to follow an order, they turned to the only means available to them: passive resistance, which took the form of dawdling” Johnston reveals (32). Even though every day followed the same routine, the boys never lined up before a bell, because in Johnston’s words, “that would have been seen as surrender.” Edna Manitowabi who was a student in St. Joseph’s, also remembered the bells and said of her experience: “I became a little robot. Everything is done by the bell. You wake up by the bell, say the prayers by the bell, you wash by the bell, go to school by the bell, march two by two” (Dundas).

From Johnston’s writing, and images, it seems that the recreation hall was directly below the dormitory during his first time at the school. In the hall, boxes were built into the walls and served as benches. A main corridor did not lead to the chapel, so the children had to traipse outside in all weather. Almost every movement within the school buildings seems to have been

dictated and regimented by the priests and prefects. In the chapel where boys and girls shared space, it was even more so.

In the refectory (the name for a large dining room in an educational or religious institution), the boys policed each other because they were anxious to eat and that only occurred once there was silence in the room. In contrast to a home environment during meals, the refectory would have been eerily quiet without conversation (refer to figure 4.34).

Older boys in grades six, seven and eight, tended to the barn animals, the chicken coop, the shoe shop, the tailor shop, lumber mill, plumber's shack, and blacksmith shop. The youngest grades from one to three did not have chores. The intermediate children of grades four and five who lacked "status," were in charge of janitorial jobs. They did the menial tasks of cleaning every area of the school. Johnston reveals that he was punished for fighting upon his arrival at the school by having to clean the toilets. Johnston describes the smell of the toilet room as "...being stuck in the walls, in the ceiling, on the floor, in the corners, everywhere..." (34). He was forced to clean the toilets for an extra week for not doing the job to the satisfaction of Brother Buck who told him to make it clean and smell good. Chores were done in the morning before class and then again at 4:30 after school. Without detailed plans of the school, Johnston's work provides insights about the building, such as there were five toilet stalls in the bathroom he was cleaning, almost in constant use with the number of students. Later in his memoir he wrote : "But for those on lavatory detail there was no early reprieve, because lavatory duty was used as a means of straightening someone's attitude, especially that of newcomers, and as a means of punishment for the heard-headed; scrubbing toilet bowls and urinals was degrading and torturous. No early reprieve could be expected until one was properly penitent and determined to mend his attitude" (Johnston 49).

From 12:30 pm to 1:10 pm the boys played baseball. I was going to write “were allowed” but it was rather they were told to play baseball as only children who had special permission were excused. There were few exceptions, not even for children with physical impairments (refer to image 4.30). The children who were on dishwashing duty or that were on a team not scheduled to play, sat out. The boys got the baseball equipment from the “store,” but I am unclear at the moment where this was located. There were three baseball diamonds—one in the northwest corner by the chicken coop for the seniors, one near the horse barn for the intermediates and then the junior diamond was near the windmill. Brother Manseau was in charge of the chicken coop until his death in 1948 when Basil Johnston was temporarily put in charge of the coop as a high school student.

In the afternoon, the older boys changed shifts and the younger children went to class. Johnston wrote : “...for the rest of us, it was back to the dreary classroom with its dreary lessons...or to look out over the Spanish River, across the far portage at Little Detroit and beyond, into the dim shapes and shadows of the past or the physically distant, of mother and father and grandmother, of sisters and brothers and friends, of aunts and uncles and their friends, of happiness and freedom and affection...somewhere beyond Little Detroit...as distant as the stars.” I am unclear if this was the view from the school classrooms, or if they had time to play on the Rocks.

At five o’clock, the children went to study hall. In Johnston’s first time at the school, the study hall was governed by Brother Manseau who the boys called “Beedj-mauss.” Brother Manseau greeted the boys by name in the study hall and did not refer to them by their assigned number. Study hall was a lenient place under Manseau’s direction—as long as the boys did not disturb him, he did not care what they did.

Supper was served at six o'clock. From 6:30 to 7:30 p.m. the boys usually had predetermined events such as swimming, a walk, choir practice, a game determined by the staff, a theatre practice. However, occasionally the boys had free time in this period. Often boys would act out if left to their own devices, so events were scheduled to avoid free time. Fights followed specific rules governed by the boys that were decided on their own terms.

Johnston points out aspects of life that one might not think of. He wrote:

Bells and whistles, gongs and clapper represent everything connected with sound management—order, authority, discipline, efficiency, system, organization, schedule, regimentation, conformity—and may in themselves be necessary and desirable. But they also symbolize conditions, harmony and states that must be established in order to have efficient management: obedience, conformity, dependence, subservience, uniformity, docility, surrender. In the end it is the individual who must be made to conform, who must be made to bend to the will of another.

And because prefects were our constant attendants and superintendents, regulating our time and motions, scheduling our comings and goings, supervising our work and play, keeping surveillance over deeds and words, enforcing the rules and maintaining discipline with the help of two instruments of control and oppression—bells and the black book—we came to dislike and to distrust these young men (43-44).

The prefects were under the scrutiny of the older students. When the prefects were unfairly harsh or went too far with physical punishment they could find themselves unprotected in the dormitory or study hall and outnumbered by the boys.

At 9:00 p.m. the boys were dismissed from studying and sent to bed, the younger boys having been in bed since 7:30. All the boys would dawdle around the wash basins (refer to figure 4.35). Others would go to the infirmary. Johnston writes that instead of bells, the lights flashed, the signal for boys to return to their beds and say their prayers at 9:25.

It is interesting to note that the infirmary was run for a long time by Brother Laflamme. It's not normally a space that you would envision young children wanting to visit; however, Brother Laflamme seems to have been one of the caring staff members as characterized by Johnson. Before bed, children would visit him to have wounds or illnesses considered and others would go to hear a kind word.

Lights went out at 9:30; the only illumination in the room were two red night lights at either end of the dormitory. According to Johnston the darkness and quiet were soon broken by the sobs of boys away from home and then the subsequent footfalls of the prefects patrolling the dormitory demanding silence.

Johnston's memoir brings the school to life as no work by a researcher not familiar with the place and space can. Facts and figures do not give an idea of what the building felt like, sounded like, smelled like, or what the experience as a child in the institution was. He wrote:

Our sole aspiration was to be rescued or released (it didn't much matter which) from Spanish, and to be restored to our families and homes. That was the sum total of our ambitions. Our vision did not extend beyond the horizon; our world was confined to the playground and the west wing of the building enclosed by fences and walls. The outer world and events taking place therein were as distant and as alien as Mars. The future was tomorrow; beyond that we could not see (53).

Johnston's sense of humour in his book lightens some of the stories, but he does not shy away from the realities of leaving loving parents, being separated from siblings, eating less than appealing meals and constantly being hungry. Humour (as well as silence) is an important element in Anishnabe communication, according to Lawrence L. Gross in his book *Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing and Being* (2014). Gross states that the "Anishinaabe culture... can be described as a comic culture" (73). Gross quotes John Morreall who said "When we are striving for a goal, too, we should not be emotionally engaged by every negative event, for emotions often make us less able to cope with problems. Besides, it feels better to laugh than to cry" (72). Johnston was heavily criticized for his memoir by other authors such as Menno Boldt, because he did not discuss the sexual abuse that he suffered at the school, and I wonder the humor he inserted into his memoir has been to some degree misinterpreted or as Deena Rymhs writes in *From the Iron House* (2008) "Boldt's criticisms are interesting, because they unwittingly reveal the type of expectations formed by the wave of media attention..." (89). As Rymhs further notes, "Johnston's memoir is a much more resistant text than it might appear, not only in its resistance to this type of narrative scriptedness but also in its response to history" (89).

The absence of women other than the nuns impacted the lives of the boys. Basil Johnston describes a visit by the Red Cross in his memoir. He relates that the boys had to get the courage to speak to the women sitting at their table, being unaccustomed to speaking to women, particularly non-Indigenous women. The Red Cross workers stayed for a week and the boys were happy that the food for that week was much better quality than what was usually served. Johnston reports that the boys did tell the women what the food was usually like. Unfortunately, when the Red Cross women left, the food returned to the usual fare, and in the Red Cross report the nutrition was deemed adequate for the boys based on the experience of the women. The

women ate with the children, not with the brothers or the priests, most likely because the food for the boys was different than what the Jesuits ate, but it could have also been according to the Jesuit rule, that men not share space with women (Johnston 139-144).

The reaction of the boys to the women from the Red Cross is revealing. Johnston wrote:

The entry of the strangers caused considerable consternation and speculation. Even though these women may have been only in their thirties, they looked ancient— ... Women!...What were they doing in a boys' institution? Weren't they out of place here? Didn't they belong in the other institution, far from the society of men and boys? Why were these Eves and Jezebels allowed into an institution from which women were usually excluded?...And though the boys did their best to make themselves more presentable for the admiration of female company, modesty and unfamiliarity with girls and women prompted them to cast their eyes down and to put a brake on their speech (139-140).

Two former students of the girls' school were interviewed for an article by Alicia McCutcheon for the *Manitoulin Expositor*. In the article Ida Embry and her sister Blue Cloud Woman described memories of their time in the school during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In the girls' school the playrooms would become the location for punishment. Little girls who had difficulties related to wetting the bed were marched into the playroom to stand between the pillars and forced to wear their soiled sheets on their heads, in an act of humiliation. In this way Ida was forced to watch the abuse of her younger sister.

Blue Cloud Woman was punished for looking for her brother in church on a Sunday morning, by being strapped and forced to eat alone in the playroom for an entire month. When you think of a playroom, the expectations are of a space where some freedom is expected;

however, the playroom at St. Joseph's was divided into two sides, one for the older girls and one for the younger (McCutcheon). I would expect that it would be a noisy, cheerful place where children were allowed some freedom from study and chores but the acts of public humiliation would have affected the space—in contrast with play, it was a space of punishment. When young girls were forced to eat alone in the playroom which would have been associated with the company of their peers, it must have felt even more lonely and isolating. The article also reveals that when Blue Cloud Woman tried to avoid school one fall, the nuns intended to punish her and attempted to keep her from going home the following summer. A month later she was told to go to the parlour where her mother and sister were waiting for her to take her home. It was a long journey for her mother to pick her up from Wiikwemkoong at that time. From this article it is apparent that there was still some resistance within the community to the methods of the nuns.

Children who wet the bed were particular targets for punishment. The lack of understanding or lack of concern with the cause of the problem went unexamined. The cruelty was particularly harsh for these young children. One victim was soaked in hot water until the poor child vomited. Wilmer Nadjiwon describes having to sleep in the laundry room on a rubber covered cot with a hole in it. The laundry room was not heated, and the temperature never rose above 60 degrees Fahrenheit. He also discloses that his problems began after he was sexually abused by one of the staff members (Nadjiwon 50). Looking at the size of the dormitory and the location of the washrooms, it is no wonder that children may have been afraid to use the facilities in the dark. For a small child, this could have been a terrifying experience...within the dormitory there were other boys to help, but outside of the dormitory were Jesuits who were not always kind.

When Nadjiwon ran away and returned to the school, he was given twenty lashes with a drive belt from the lumber mill that was a third of an inch thick and eighteen inches long. In the summer of 1933 he would also have hot fevers that he tried to relieve by lying in the water of the bay. I have also heard that a beaver pelt with holes in it was used to punish the boys. Due to the raw sewage coming from St. Joseph's school, he contracted typhoid. He was treated by Brother La Flamme along with four or five other boys for two months, going in and out of delirium. He heard that one of the boys died. Being in the infirmary broke the cycle of sexual abuse for Nadjiwon.

Nadjiwon tried to tell other staff what was happening to him but as he writes "I tried to find some relief by going to confession, but the two old priests who were French and hard of hearing could not understand me in the confessional" (39). He was discharged from the school in 1935, without notice and he wonders in his book if it was to hide the acts of "Father B."

Nadjiwon poignantly wrote in his book "History does not lie, and when I tell my story, I do not lie. What students who went to one of these institutions went through pains me, since no one cares" (46).

Basil Johnston's memoir provides insight into the maintenance of the boys' school. All of the maintenance from plumbing to scrubbing windows was completed by the Brothers with the help of student crews. All of the cleaning was done by grade four and five boys in a school where over a hundred men and boys traipsed in from the fields and workshops in their boots. It's hardly a wonder that it was hard to keep the school clean. It is tragic to note however that the boys were maintaining the building that was a vehicle of their own incarceration. If the children had been able to defy the Jesuits, the building would not have lasted as long as it did.

In contrast the time at the summer camp on Aird Island (south of Spanish) used by the Jesuits, was cherished by Basil Johnston. In his memoir he wrote;

There may not have been much on Aird Island, but the boys took what little there was and what little they had and made it into something bigger and finer and stronger than they had found. No one could see it, but it was there; no one could express it, but it was there. It was in each boy. With every renewed attempt to achieve, the resourcefulness grew, and as the resourcefulness increased so did the spirit of independence and the passion for personal freedom. The boys may have been deprived or felt deprived, but poor in spirit they never were.

At the end of the summer, maybe a day or so before the boys from Manitoulin Island and nearby reserves came back, we left Aird Island and everything on it and everything that it had come to represent—home, comfort, freedom, a place of growth—to return to exile, loneliness, confinement and repression. (Johnston 101)

The money earned from blueberry picking was used in trade at the school. Candy could be bought from a candy store that operated underneath the first-floor stairway. The store opened twice a day for fifteen minutes at 12:30 and 6:30. Candy became currency in the barter for bread or lard. Wilmer F. Nadjiwon relates that the activities in the summer months were enjoyable such as blueberry picking on Aird and John Islands. They were also allowed to practice their hunting skills with slingshots during long walks in the woods.

Despite financial strain, an arena was built 1950-1952 at a cost of over \$35,000 and hockey became a large part of the boys' experience at the school in the last years of the school (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 192). It represented a significant financial investment for the Jesuits whose share was \$10,000, the remaining cost split between the town (\$15,000) and the government

(\$5,000). The structure was used for many events such as a meeting hall for concerts and plays, graduation ceremonies and a place to show movies, but the facility was also used as an incentive to keep the boys focused on studies. At one time there were sixteen intramural hockey teams at the school. Like baseball, all the boys were required to play hockey unless excused. It was a building that attracted local people from Spanish to interact in the life at the school (refer to figures 4.41, 4.44, 4.46).

Every Sunday in the summer there was a picnic and the children from both schools would go out to the numerous islands in the area. The area to the west of the former school site is known as the “Benjamin Islands” and is both a beautiful and popular boating destination. It is ironic that a school such as Spanish existed amidst the natural beauty of the north shore, when the grounds around the school were so dismal, not to mention life within the school. For the children that remained at the school in the summer, it does not mention if they continued to work on the farm, but it seems a reasonable assumption to think so.

Basil Johnston wrote:

Perhaps more than anything else the boys resented the never-ending surveillance that began in the morning and ended only late at night, after they had all fallen asleep; a surveillance that went on day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, as if the boys singly or in concert, were about to steal the Model-T, torch the building or commit some mutinous or rebellious act...

The eyes began their surveillance in the morning, watching the washing of hands and faces. The eyes followed all movements in the dressing of the beds; the eyes were transfixed on the backs of worshippers during mass. Throughout the day the eyes traced the motions of hands at table; the eyes glared at the figures bent and coiled in work; the

eyes tracked the flight of ball and puck and the movement of feet during play; the eyes were trained on the prints of pencils on paper; the eyes censored letters received and letters written. The eyes, like those of the wolf, peered in the dark in watch over still, sleeping forms. The eyes were never at rest (Johnston 137-138).

An undated and unnamed newspaper article titled “Alice Strain is anxious to meet with former students,” describes the views of a former nun and her thoughts on the 1988 Spanish reunion. Strain worked at the school beginning in 1922 and for most of the years that the school was open until 1964. While the nun was certainly elderly when she made the comments, there is a certain callousness in what she says about the students not being happy about being at the school. She is quoted as saying “I don’t know what their beef is...But I would like to go to the reunion to find out...Some of them might be upset because they were there against their will,” she added (newspaper article, no name or date, no author). She is critical of Basil Johnston’s book in her comments indicating that he had it all wrong. Strain indicated that the children did get to see each other on the first Sunday of every month. She supports Johnston’s reports of surveillance, perhaps inadvertently when she says “Constant supervision was required...We had to keep the boys and girls separate. There’s no telling what an Indian might do,” she said. Earlier in the article she also indicated that the sisters did not want the children speaking their languages in case they were plotting to run away. Strain recalled one nun saying to a small Indigenous girl: “You are not here to laugh. The government put you here to learn English.” Strain’s comments seem to reinforce the stories from residential school survivors rather than disprove them. In Basil Johnston’s book he reveals that the boys envied the girls their nice outfits, food and “clinically clean rooms.” while the girls envied the boys’ freedom (81). When being interviewed by

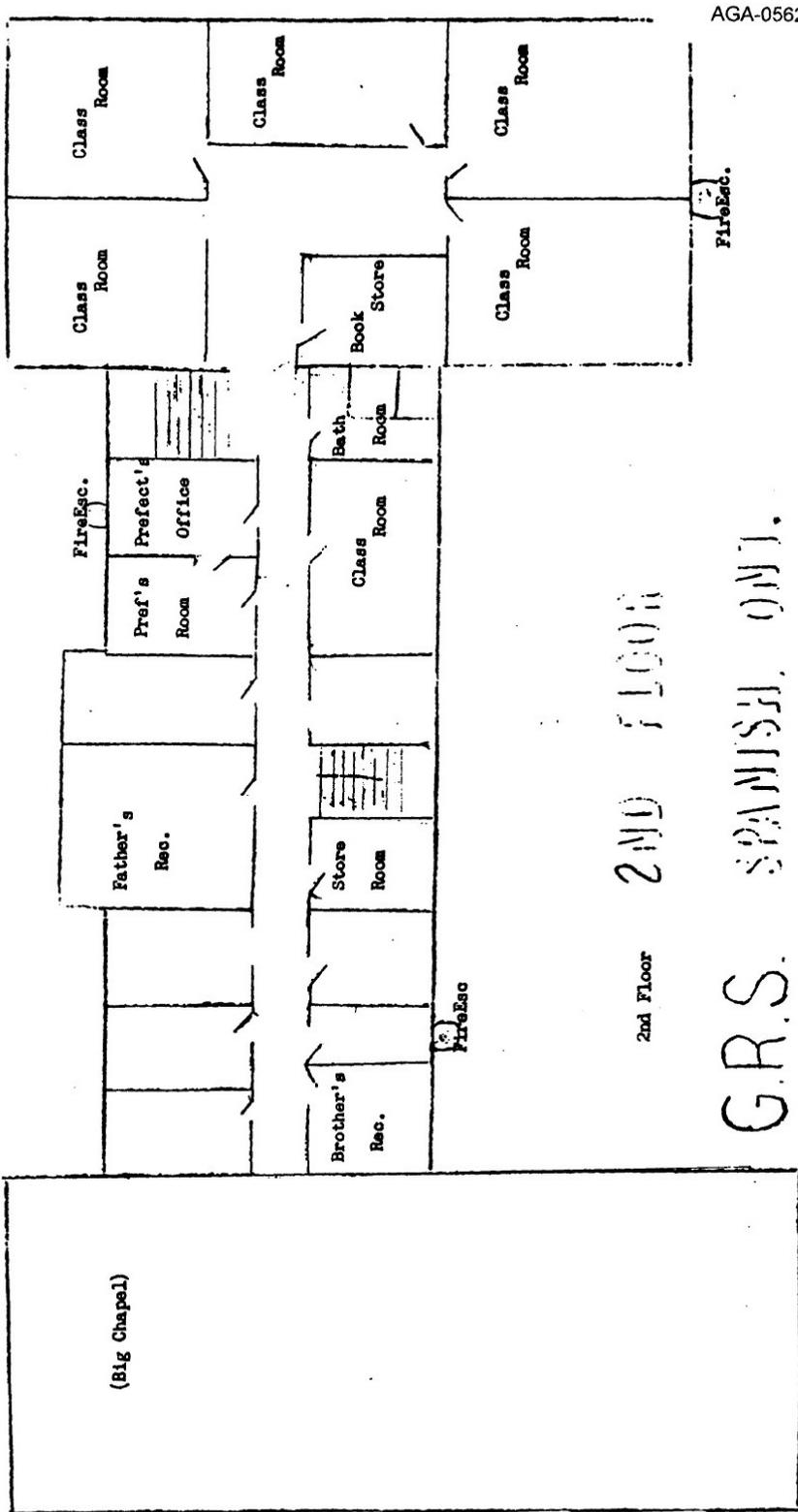
Shanahan, Brother Eugene McLaren remembered the boys writing graffiti on the walls referring to the school as their “jail” (*Jesuits* 205).

4.5 Retreat: School Closure and Abandonment of the Buildings

With a roster of 300 children, both institutions were overcrowded and changes in grants meant less money for their maintenance and upkeep. Further challenges to the viability of the school would come from changes in Department of Indian Affairs policy that determined that Indigenous children were to be integrated into mainstream schools with non-Indigenous children.

In Spanish, the Jesuits did not have the adults of the Wiikwemkoong village to help but had to hire help beyond what the children could contribute. The constant expansion of buildings and improvements to the site required a constant investment that was not available from the federal government. In the end, the poor condition of the school buildings helped to determine the fate of both schools. Although St. Joseph’s school was in better shape than the boys’ school, it no longer met government standards either. Fr. William Kearns S.J. was appointed principal in 1957 and was not impressed by the building, shocked by the state of disrepair. In a letter to the Provincial, Kearns wrote

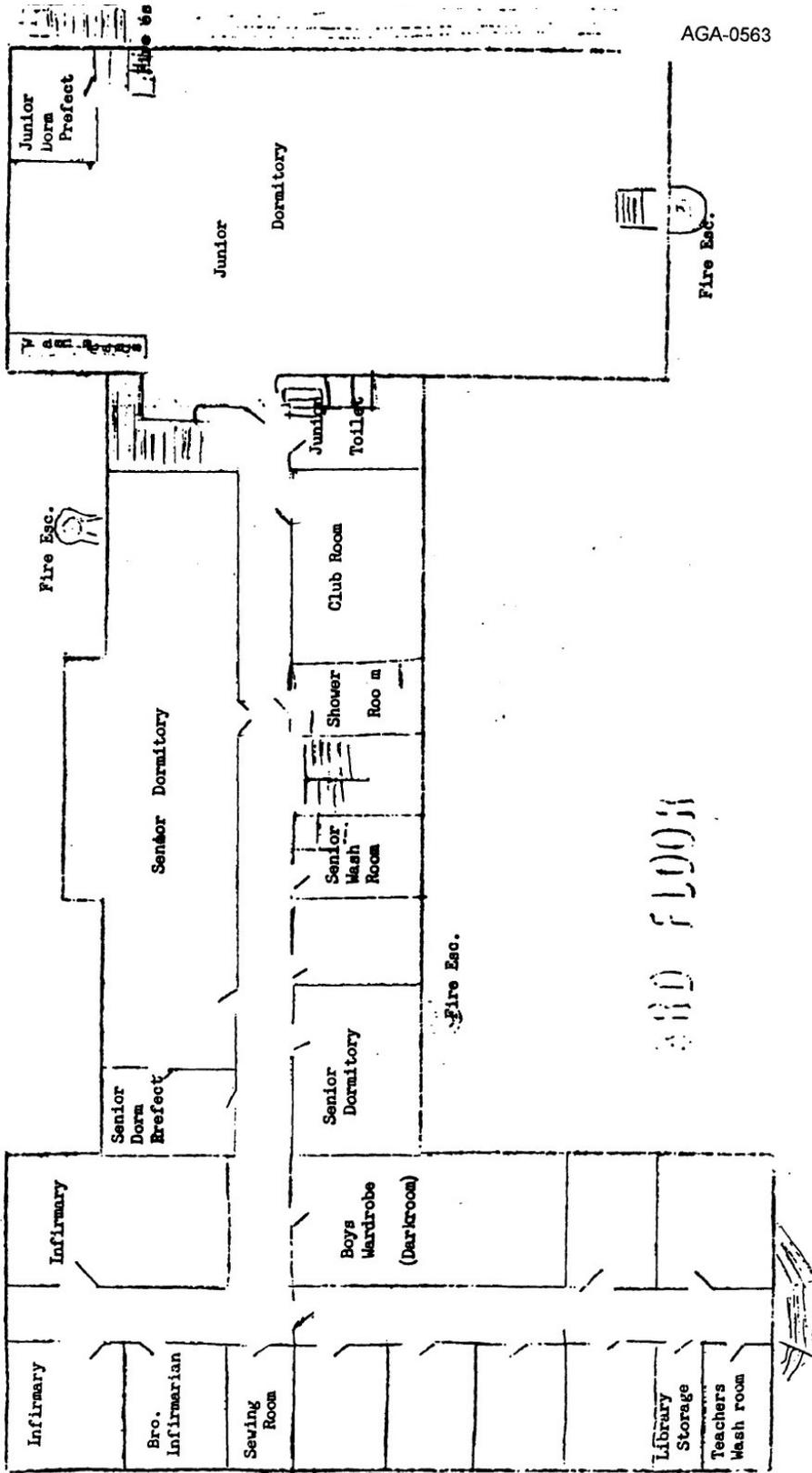
I have never seen a house like this one. The stink will always be in it. The basement is the top of a swamp and will always give off an odour. I was horrified at what I saw there and as for some of the rooms – what problems. Some of the toilets run down drain pipes and the boys’ basement ones are all backed up and stink to high heaven...There is no hiding the fact that this is going to be a very difficult year in a very difficult house. (qtd. Shanahan, *Jesuits* 218).



Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada
 Archives, Regis College,
 Toronto

1 of 1

Figure 4.37 Second Floor of Garnier College, Spanish 1950s



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Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada
 Archives, Regis College,
 Toronto

1 of 1

Figure 4.38 Third Floor Garnier College, Spanish Ontario, 1950s

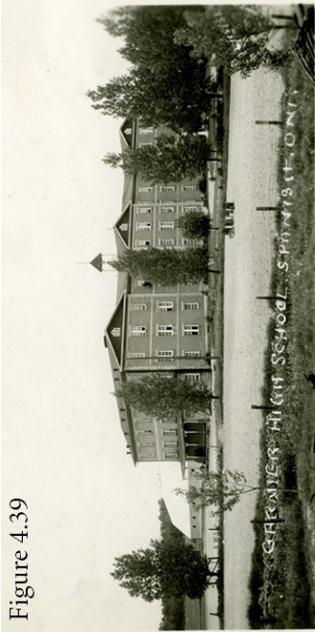


Figure 4.39

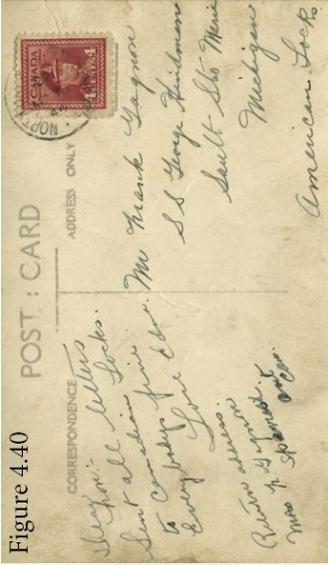


Figure 4.40



Figure 4.42

Moses Toulouse



Figure 4.43



Figure 4.41



Figure 4.44



Figure 4.46



Figure 4.45



Figure 4.47



Figure 4.48

Archives des jésuites au Canada / The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada CDA,C-0003_Spanish

Eventually Fr. William Kearns (principal of Garnier College) would write to the Provincial declaring that “Spanish is a bad investment” (Shanahan, *Jesuits* 240). The institution hadn’t been managed well and they couldn’t maintain it. In June 1958 the decision was made to close the school. Parents were informed 4 July 1958 of the decision. In the letter, the blame was placed on the integration policy for the decreased enrolment as well as the parents for not insisting their children be sent to a Catholic high school. The decision was made without consulting anyone outside of the Society of Jesus community.

The retreat of the Society of Jesus from the village of Spanish was felt by many different groups—the Society itself, the nuns, the children who were students at the school and by the local community. The role that the school played in the socio-economic life of Spanish can easily be overlooked. But it is clear from census records that a number of people who were eligible to vote in the village, worked for the schools. In the Spanish library archives, I found a Dominion List of Voters for 1917; at least twelve percent (16 people out of a 134) of the eligible voters were listed as working at the Industrial School. Although a great number of local people worked at the schools and attended the church services, it is interesting to note that a book written on the local history in 1993 titled *Tall Pines and Sparkling Waters: Memories of the Sauble and Spanish Rivers*, doesn’t mention the residential schools at all—no mention under the chapter on schools, the chapter on churches or in the general history sections.

Children spent the majority of their young lives separated from their parents and their siblings. The lucky children were able to return to their families and communities for the summer months. Children from the Iroquois communities stayed at Spanish for many years and when they returned home they were unable to speak to their own families.

Brothers and sisters were separated from each other at Spanish, with only a monthly visit on a Sunday afternoon allowed. A sense of shame developed around their language and Indigenous identity. Some children were able to make a life for themselves at the school and did well, others were unable to conform to the foreign world of incarceration.

Although the Jesuits prided themselves on providing an exceptional education, in Spanish grade twelve students were used to teach elementary grades. Many criticisms were aimed at the Spanish school and the level of education that the children received in the early years.

There was opposition to the closure of the Spanish schools from the local Indigenous community who saw it as a form of desertion from the Society of Jesus. A petition had been sent directly to Rome, to the Father General of the Society. It was organized and sent by two local women, but Shanahan's book does not disclose if the petitioners were Indigenous, non-Indigenous or a combination of both. The attitude towards the local women from Kearns was that: "Women usually act in different emotional ways when we terminate our ministries with them. This petition was the particular way these women acted up here" (qtd. Shanahan, *Jesuits* 252). Kearns also noted that the women were friends of two of the Jesuits at the school, Maurice and Brother Mara.

It was decided that a community of Jesuits would continue to live at the school and that it would be used as a retreat for the local missionaries. Items not required were sold off such as furniture and other Jesuit objects. Furniture, machinery and sports equipment owned by the Department of Indian Affairs was returned. Shanahan wrote that "...the land leased for farming was handed back to its original owners," but I am unsure what that means exactly.

The closure of the school was disheartening to Jesuits such as Maurice, who had put so much effort into keeping the school going. It is understandable that Jesuits at Spanish who had

lived there for a length of time, such as Maurice and Mayhew, would not want to see the building close because it was their home and despite personality conflicts their community, if not “family.” The uncertainty of change for these Jesuits no doubt would have played a role in the effort they put into its survival. There was disappointment that most of the Jesuits who made the decision to close the school either had a brief experience of the institution or had not visited at all.

When the school closed, the bell on the roof was sent to the mission church at McBean harbour in Sagamok First Nation. The statue of the Sacred Heart that stood on the front lawn of the school was moved to the mission at Sagamok and used in an outdoor shrine. At least one of the statues from the grotto was obtained by a local family and can be seen on a front lawn, not far from the school sites.

There was a brief moment in 1960 when the idea of reopening the school was considered that followed the exact lines of the original residential school curriculum in Wikwemikong. Before any substantial action was taken, the Department of Indian Affairs withdrew because they did not think the buildings were in a condition that supported spending more money on them for the project.

In November 1960 the school was put up for sale because it was too costly to maintain and larger than what was required for the Jesuit house. I wonder what the experience of living in an empty school would have been like for those Jesuits left. Eerily quiet, I expect, after having lived with so many children for so many years. The loss of the children in the Jesuit lives would have been a loss to those Jesuits who actually cared for the children and enjoyed sharing space with the young. While some might have welcomed the peace and solitude, others might have found it extremely lonely. The girls’ school continued to function until 1962.

Chapter Five: Ruins & Revitalization

Holy Cross Mission still stands in the village of Wiikwemkoong (refer to figures 5.0, 5.1, 5.2). Jennessaux Hall still stands opposite the church. (refer to figure 5.3). The church was rebuilt after a devastating fire in 1954; the small building that was perhaps the original Jesuit residence, that stood between the church and the residence, was destroyed. The stone walls of the large residence which housed Jesuit staff and male students, are a local attraction most often referred to as “the ruins.” Through discussion with Steven George, I learned that the fire started in the central building but because the buildings were adjoined without a firebreak, the adjacent buildings were also lost.

Compared to the images of 19th century Wiikwemkoong, the church is not as prominent in the landscape as it once was. The landscape has grown in as agricultural lands have been abandoned over the decades and have since naturalized. While the church steeple is still prominent from other points of high land, the church no longer visually dominates the village. From the bay below the church, the view is obscured by vegetation, the site lines no longer maintained but rather filtered by maturing trees.

The landscape surrounding the church has changed dramatically since the fires in 1911; while the cemetery remains in its original location, there are few markers to indicate where the former girls’ school was located (figure 5.12). An overgrown laneway reaches up the hill towards a perpendicular laneway. Where the laneways meet an old stone wall can be seen among the trunks of large trees and undergrowth (figure 5.11). Some of the trees likely date back to the late 19th century when the complex was in full operation. Old apple trees have been flagged, perhaps to be cut down.



Figure 5.0



Figure 5.1



Figure 5.2



Figure 5.5



Figure 5.3

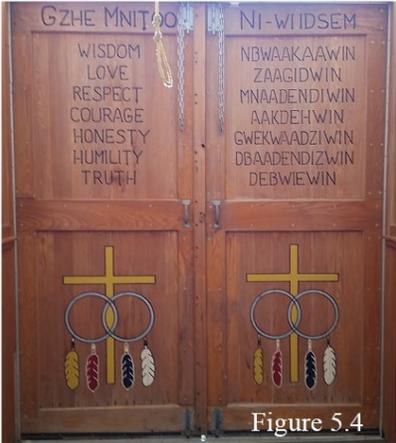


Figure 5.4



Figure 5.6

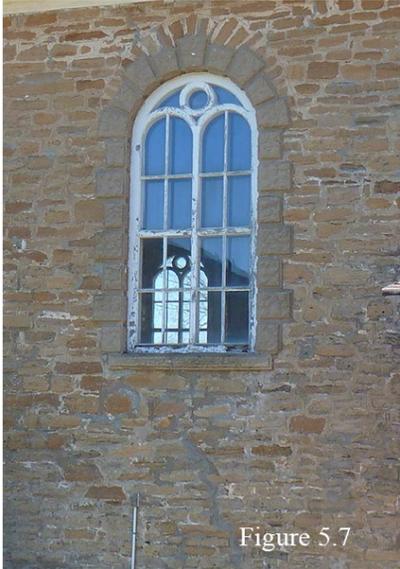


Figure 5.7

Interpretive signage around the village describes the stone crosses from the nineteenth century that still exist around the village.

North of the church, within the cemetery, another old stone foundation still exists which from photos looks like an original stone wall, possibly the barn foundation (refer to figures 5.13 and 5.14). There is no photographic evidence of the extensive gardens and pleasure grounds that Nicholas Point envisioned in his mid 19th century hand-drawn plan. There were also alterations to the building position that were first proposed. For example, the buildings to the east of the church did not project in front of the church as far from the church as proposed. When the church tower was built, the building alignment looked as though it was intended for all the building fronts to align.

The current church combines traditional Catholic imagery with traditional elements of Anishinabek culture. The pulpit of the church is no longer raised to a position of prominence above the people as it was in the original interior. Images in the church include both traditional Christian images and hybrid images that indicate an Indigenous Christian spirituality. Images on the walls of the stations of the cross were completed in an Indigenous style (unfortunately the artist's name is not visible) and unlike most I have seen in Catholic churches that are subdued in colour if not monochromatic, the pictures in the Holy Cross Church are vibrant polychromatic images.

Upon entering the church, old photographs of the building complex before it was destroyed and just after the fire are displayed in the entry (refer to figure 5.5). These old photos help the visitor to understand the size and scale of the church buildings in relation to what still exists. Traditional Anishnabek teachings are carved into the front doors on the interior (5.4).

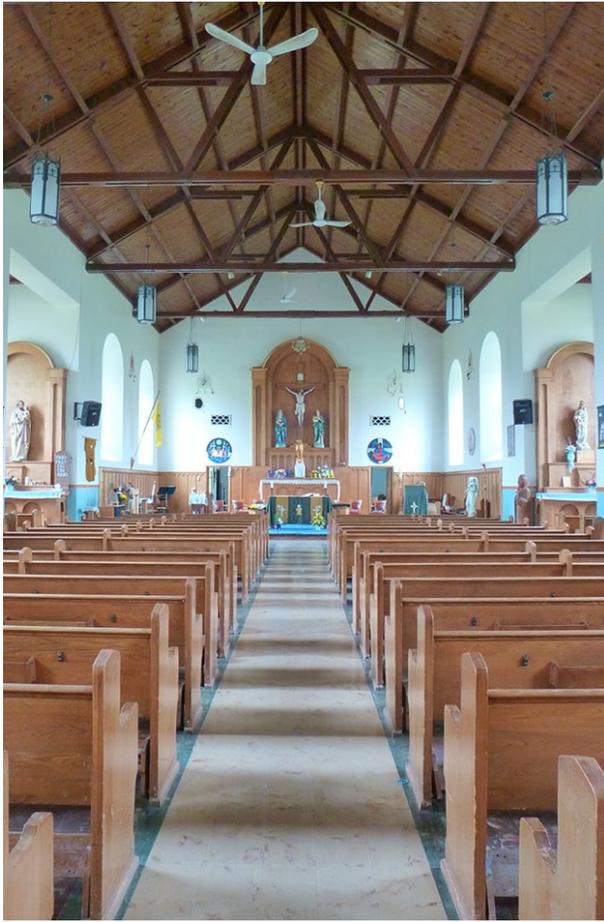


Figure 5.8



Figure 5.9



Figure 5.10

The tall church tower and spire direct the viewer's eye skywards and the metal-covered roof projects the presence of the church to the surrounding landscape. When the church is viewed from the outside the large windows give the building an air of openness and expansion because there is a transparency through the windows and out through the other side of the church. However, once in the church, the windows are far overhead, and the experience becomes the opposite. The interior of the church feels like a fortress and the windows only direct the viewer's eyes up and out of the church to the tops of trees and sky beyond. Like most churches it is an inward-looking space. Because of the height of the view, it is physically uncomfortable to spend too much time looking out of the windows and the view is redirected back to the interior of the church. The church pews are perpendicular to the longitudinal access and therefore the visitor's view is directed to the front of the church which is framed by the architecture.

Upon entering the bell tower the ceilings are high and then the ceilings are low and compact as you walk into the church, slowly opening and expanding in the sacred space with ceilings soaring upwards (refer to image 5.8). Suspended from the ceiling are traditional crafts with images of bear paws. Dreamcatchers are located at the front of the church interior and below the statues of Mary, Joseph and Jesus there is also Eagle, carved out of wood.

Over the decades, the changing relationship between church and landscape is documented through photographs. In the early years of the 20th century, the church visually dominated. Unfortunately I was unable to learn about the experience of the Anishinaabek in relation to the church precinct on a daily basis. Now, as the church has a smaller role in the community, the buildings are also less dominant in the landscape.

Towards the north, the natural landscape is reclaiming former cultivated space. No interpretive signage indicates the location of the former girls' school. One element I have noticed



Figure 5.12



Figure 5.11



Figure 5.14

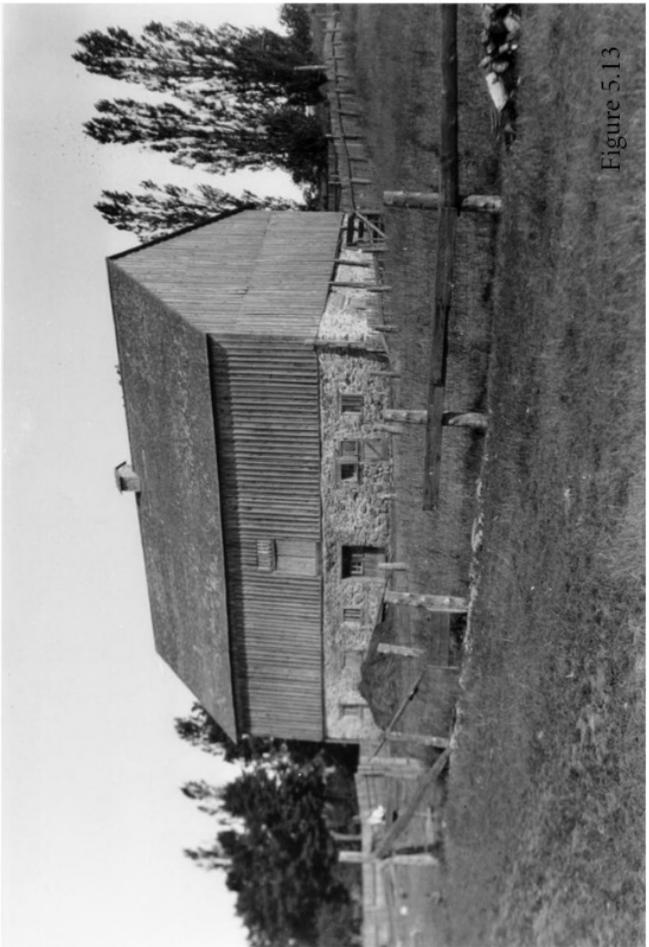


Figure 5.13

in the architecture of both the schools at Spanish and the buildings at Wikwemikong is that the windows in the churches are the same, although the windows in the chapel at Spanish were smaller in scale (refer to image 5.7 and 4.15). In both locations the windows are rounded in the buildings used for religious purposes, such as church and chapel and in Wikwemikong, on the former Jesuit residence. The rounded windows contrast with the rectilinear lines of the stone buildings. The school windows were rectilinear as well as the windows in the girls' and boys' schools. Rounded windows were no doubt more expensive, requiring more skill to build and more time and consideration to incorporate into the structure of the architecture.

The ruins were once the site of the former boys' residential school and the Jesuit residence which also had a library and a private chapel for the Jesuit personnel (refer to figures 5.9 and 5.10). Since 1994, The Debajehmujig Theatre group has presented plays using the ruins as the theatre group's mainstage. Debajehmujig means "people who tell stories" according to Rose Marie Trudeau (Hengen 55). Trudeau said the following about Manitoulin Island: "It's like the Spirit is here. That's why it's called "God's Country" (Hengen 58).

Alanis King was responsible for using the ruins of the Holy Cross Mission as a performance space. King learned about the "Manitoulin Incident" around 1989 (a situation that arose in the village when a priest was accused of murdering a government employee in 1863) from Father Francis McGee who worked in Wiikwemkoong at the time. "When we were standing down by the Bay, we looked back and we could see the ruins; that's where all those people had stood when that big boat had come, the same ship with the minister, so I was looking up and seeing the outdoor amphitheatre potential there. How can we use that? And then we were able to keep going with that dream. We just fulfilled it because we brought in a good team of people who were willing to create something out of nothing" (Hengen 28).

“It was a really amazing experience because being outdoors and creating that gutted-out form of the residential school as our play stage on the ground of where the original incident took place, all led to the total magic realm of it, along with introducing my work” (Hengen 25). Presenting *The Manitoulin Incident* play in Wikwemikong drew large numbers of people because the story directly related to village history. The “incident” is also reminiscent of a time when the Jesuits and the Anishinaabek people banded together for a common purpose.

The adapted use of the ruins, from a Jesuit residence and residential school dormitory to an amphitheatre that is used to present stories of Anishinaabek culture and language, in my interpretation represents a reconciliation of sorts between the Church and local people. A space that was built by the ancestors of the local people now supports the revitalization of the culture. According to Audrey Debassige Wemigwans, the Church Council supported the theatre group. “They’ve always supported us and they’re really glad that we’re making good use of the ruins. It works out for our mainstage, and at the same time we’re maintaining and using it. It’s really good so we’ll probably be there for a long time” (Hengen 47).

A building once used to promote the Christian view to the Indigenous people, it is now being used by Indigenous people to revitalize the local culture and language. Non-Indigenous people who attend the plays are also exposed to the Indigenous point of view. In a play called “If Jesus Met Nanabush” (production 1993), the confluence of Christian and traditional Indigenous beliefs is explored. “I wanted to give Nanabush a little voice of what he thought about when Jesus took his place in the hearts and minds of the Ojibway people,” said Alanis King (interview with Shannon Hengen 10 November 2000).

The weather at times becomes part of the play with its unpredictability, providing lightning and rain with coincidental timing for some of the stories presented, for example during

the presentation of *Ever That Nanabush!* Because it is an open-air theatre, Ron Berti said that “There have been great experiences like that over the years...and it’s great when that happens, or suddenly there’s a shooting star at just the right time, or a full moon rising over the stone ruins. Opening night there was an eagle flying around for the show. That has got to be a sign that it is going to be a great show, adding a spiritual dimension to the experience” (Hengen 53). The openness of the theatre allows for the interaction of non-humans and natural forces to add to the atmosphere of the productions.

Individual actors are respected for their experiences which they bring to the theatre and the plays produced are Indigenous rather than the Western plays that children presented in residential school. The Anishinaabe language is also used whenever possible. Through theatre, the actors of Debajehmujig aim to “...confront stereotypes about Native people by providing a one-on-one opportunity to meet, to share, to eat, to begin to build a relationship. Our artists will answer any questions asked about their culture, their lives, their experience, but always from the perspective of being in Wiky,” according to Ron Berti (Hengen 74).

Joe Osawabine said in his interview:

One thing about Native theatre is that for the older generation...it was a healing process. It was a way to tell their stories about the residential schools and all the hardships that came out of that; it was a way to break the silence and speak about the abuse, the alcoholism that they grew up with, and that’s not to say that those problems no longer exist or that all the work that came from that generation was a personal healing process, but art reflects life and life reflects art...I think that being from the next generation down, other than the fact that many of us don’t speak the language, we aren’t directly affected by the residential school system, or all the hardships that the generation

above me went through. The effects of residential schools have been filtered down somewhat so we're coming at it with new concerns (Hengen 81-82).

Shannon Hengen closes her book on the Debajehmujig theatre group by saying: "For in traditional storytelling, the tales of our own lives become inextricably linked with the tales of our place, family, beliefs, dreams, historical and cultural milieus. As such our lives become somehow more meaningful and less singular at the same time." (Hengen 94)

Instead of using theatre as a tool of conversion, as it once was when it was a residential school, the site is being used to empower Indigenous Peoples in their own language and culture. In using the ruins, the theatre has turned it into a numinous landscape of healing for the local community. In this way it counteracts the original use of the building for the assimilation of Indigenous people into a Euro-Christian society and reasserts the Anishinaabek culture. For non-Indigenous people it is a landscape of reconciliation where viewers of the plays learn about Indigenous cultures, interacting with the people in the play, joining in conversation before and afterwards along with sharing food.

Just before the closure of the boys' school in Spanish was announced, the *Sault Daily Star* printed an article discussing the future of the school. Under an entry titled "From Old to the New" the writer describes the schools in endearing terms and with an enthusiastic overtone of the future possibilities:

"Garnier College and the St. Joseph's College for girls stands in the district outside Spanish as a beacon of advanced education with new buildings as well as a new syllabus of training for students of the North Shore area.

Isolated as it is, with its aura of history surrounding it even to the plowed fields now devoid of tilling as they once were, the education area is growing to new heights as the need for teaching expands in this new sector.

The town of Spanish is building new elementary schools which will, in turn, pour out pupils who might otherwise have to travel many miles for higher school training.” (*Sault Star* 28 May 1958, 13)

The author is unknown; however, the words used certainly imply that the schools were becoming important to the future of children in the local community beyond that of the residential school students. There are no comments from students on the school, but a broad overview of the elements of school life and the perceived benefits to students. There is mention that it was originally a residential school for the education of “Indian people.” At the end of the article, it mentions that any improvements to the buildings “...will hinge on future enrolment, particularly of white students.”

The article gives no indication that the community was aware that the Jesuits were considering leaving. Or if the Jesuits had signalled they were leaving, then the piece was written to state the local case for keeping the school open. The article compares the work of the priests and brothers to that of Charles Garnier, the Canadian martyr for whom the boys’ school was named. It discusses the Jesuit system of education—“A code of principals [sic] and techniques which have stood the test of centuries and which have been wisely adapted to modern needs.” The article details the goals of the school, the teachers and the facilities in the most positive ways. Garnier College is described as a private school in the article rather than an Indian Residential School.

After the closure of the boys' school in 1958, various uses were proposed for the building. The local community wanted to use it for educational purposes, but this plan was rejected by the Jesuits. For a brief time, reviving the school was revisited but then rejected when the buildings were found to be in disrepair. The Jesuits left the site in 1962. Eventually the municipality bought the site and the old chapel was used as a community centre.

As early as 1966, there was discussion of demolishing Garnier College. In a newspaper article dated 15 September 1966 and titled "Garnier Indian College to Be Demolished," the buildings are referred to as "handsome" and it is disclosed that the local community regarded them as a "familiar landmark." A sense of loss is conveyed through the article as the author indicates "When the last brick has been cleared only the foundation bases—if anything—will be there to remind one of the once handsome buildings erected by the Jesuit Fathers." (*name of newspaper unknown*, 7). "Garnier is no more, but it lives on in the hundreds of graduates that have passed through its doors these many years and who are better Canadians for having had the Jesuits as their mentors" declared the unknown author. The article also describes the history of the schools with their origin in Wikwemikong and in romanticized terms describes the Christian service of the Jesuits. It indicates that up to 200 boys were housed in the building, which if true would have been severely overcrowded because the building was originally designed to house 150 children.

The building was purchased by the municipality and parts of the building were in use up until 2003, mainly the former chapel, but the first floor was at one time used as municipal offices. From signs in photographs, we know that the former church was the "Spanish Lion's Community Hall" at one point. During the years from its closure to its demolition, and even after its demolition, the site hosted reunions of former students. The first reunion was held in 1989



Figure 5.15



Figure 5.16



Figure 5.17



Figure 5.19



Figure 5.18

with a second reunion held 11-13 September, 2009. Figures 4.49 and 4.50 show the abandoned building in the summer before its destruction.

In 2005, the *Mid North Monitor* reported that the tender to demolish Garnier College had been awarded to R. E. Mailloux Construction, located in Walford. The article indicates that the property contains a “historically-significant Native residential school that has been slated for demolition for years.” Previous councils had struggled with the issue. Council had consulted with outside organizations and government agencies over the years in hopes of securing funding to restore the structure with limited success. The building had been broken into over the years and safety was a primary concern in the decision to demolish the building. It also indicates that the building had not been used for the last two years. The construction of a marina complex, south of the old school, had replaced the need for community space formerly found in the school. Again, the article indicates that the building was viewed as a landmark. “We’ve had mixed feelings. A lot of people feel it’s a landmark,” Mary Bray stated. For the author of the article, there was significance that it was “believed to be Canada’s first all-Native high school.” St. Charles Garnier College was demolished in the winter of 2005 with the wood and combustible elements being burned on site. It is unknown where the rest of the materials went; if the foundation was deep enough, perhaps some of the debris was used as fill (refer to figures 5.17 and 5.18).

Through a serendipitous discussion with Lisa Mailloux, the daughter-in-law of R. E. Mailloux (the contractor in charge of demolition), I learned that her understanding was that the contractor had attempted to save the chapel portion of the school. Whether this was direction from the municipality is unknown. Mailloux recognized the importance of the site and tried to

preserve the entry way of the church as a monument. During the demolition, former students returned to see the buildings one last time. Unfortunately, Mr. Mailloux has passed away—it would have been very enlightening to speak to him about his experience and thoughts as he worked on taking down the school. I can imagine he had many discussions with former students and people from the village who visited the site as the landmark was demolished. The last element of the school was the threshold of the chapel because it did not collapse with the rest of the structure. Rosella Kinoshameg visited the site on that day when the rest of the building was gone but the church entry remained. She remembered it as a symbolic moment: “All that was left was three steps and a door, closed, right in the middle of the rubble. Why was it the only thing left standing?” The rubble brought her to a new understanding about the path of life; “we need to turn around and look at the opening. There’s no more rubble. We have all this openness to look at, not the past, it’s gone,” she said pointing out the field of grass growing where the buildings once stood” (Schofield) (refer to image 5.19).

Very few of the buildings that the children would have experienced as students remain. The old railroad station that was on the north side of the track in Spanish is no longer extant, but the concrete base of the water tower remains to mark the site on the south side. When the children arrived by train, they would have followed “Colonization Road” (now Trunk Road) until they turned south on to what is now named “Garnier Road” for the final walk to the schools. The caretaker’s cottage for the girls’ school remains standing and inhabited (figure 5.25). During my research, Gwendlyn Goulet the local librarian at Spanish, found some blueprints from 1907 that showed the map of the town with the road clearly labeled as “Colonization Road.”

The corner of the cemetery closest to the junction of Garnier Road is where former students, Jesuits and nuns are buried (figure 5.31). The school sites are still visible from the cemetery, even with the growth of vegetation. The cemetery would have been visible from the windows of the schools, when the complex was surrounded by agricultural fields. It now has a monument dedicated to all the children that died at the school, listed by name and date of death on a large two-sided black granite stone (figures 5.32 and 5.33).

A monument was installed on the site of the boys' school and unveiled on 16 September 2009 (refer to figures 5.20 and 5.21). The main piece of the monument is a glossy, black, monolith of granite, reminiscent of a tombstone. The shape is meant to represent abstractly the children and the adults that the children grew into (Schofield). Two drawings of the historic buildings created by Stacey Clark are located on the south side. A poem by Mae Evelyn Smith, located on the north side, reads:

Dreams flash across the minds of many
Terrifying, satisfying, unrelenting, but
Dreams pass and we find peace at last.

In images from the unveiling, the monument is surrounded by river stone, and located north of the main stone is a smaller more rustic looking stone feature. The unveiling was part of a larger ceremony that included a prayer and speech by Justice Murray Sinclair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and speeches from former students. A speech by an eleven-year-old Jadyne Toulouse spoke about the experiences of her great-grandmother Rita Toulouse. The monument is oppositional in its colour choice of black to the original white stone school pillar that remains from the school. The once white column features fleur-de-lis emblems along with

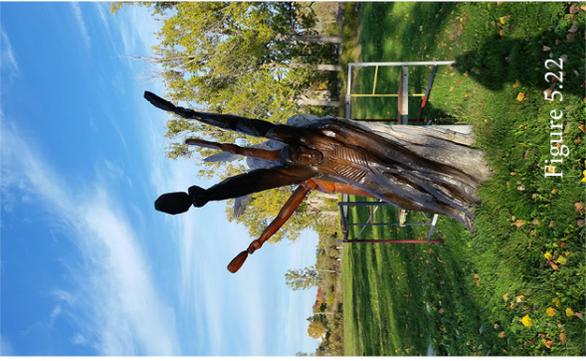


Figure 5.22



Figure 5.21



Figure 5.20



Figure 5.25



Figure 5.24



Figure 5.23

the IHS of the Jesuit order (refer to figures 5.23 and 5.24). Surrounding the memorial is a triangular area filled with river stones that extend to a smaller stone element. The monument is accessed from Garnier road, on a diagonal path that starts where the stone wall ends at its southernmost point.

Another memorial is located on the side to the southwest of the pillar, in the remains of an old willow tree. It is the work of artist Stacey Sauve with assistance from the community (figure 5.22). Its natural material of wood contrasts with the polished stone monument and the sculpture has a visceral quality to it compared to the cold black stone of the monument. In a 21 June 2017 CBC article, Sauve was quoted as saying that since childhood she had recurring dreams of the two residential schools (Stefanovich). She has a personal connection to the site; as a child she used to play on the playground of the former girls' school. Before she began to carve the tree, she received permission from the town council and she participated in a four-day spiritual ceremony. The figure in figure 5.22, is called "the protector of the children," by an Elder. "He had told me that when they were children in the schools, they could hear the Jesuits walking around in the hallways...They always wished there was some sort of protector there that would help them. That could watch over the children" (Stefanovich). Sauve also provided the images of the residential schools for the granite monument. The carving sits in a circle of stones.

"When people are here, I always say remember where you are and respect," Sauve said in the article. People have dropped by the site when she has been carving and they were unaware of the residential school history. This summer (2018) a visitor from Ireland visited the site, learned the history and was inspired to write a song about the schools. The site inspires interest and discussion not only among the former students and staff but also to non-Indigenous visitors

from the area and further afield. During my most recent site visit, I had a discussion with some tourists from Wisconsin who were interested in the sites and wondered what they were used for.

South of the former school site, part of the rock ridge at the water's edge was blasted to make room for the construction of a community centre. A marina was also built with breakwaters that calm the waves from the big water (refer to figure 5.34). It has changed the landscape, according to Ms. Mader and her daughter Mia, allowing more vegetative growth. Mia remembers the water of the bay extending much farther into the site when she was younger.

Although the Rocks have been partially removed, the rock ridge is still an alluring landscape element (refer to figure 5.34). Well worn trails are found on the top of the ridge and bring hikers out to different viewpoints long its length. Pine trees that would have been smaller when the school was first built, have matured and provide a canopied shelter for visitors. The scent of the trees, the views to islands, the sparkling waters and breezes from the water make it a pleasant place, in stark contrast to the history of the site to the north.

When looking towards the former Charles Garnier College site, large poplar trees remain from the days of the school (refer to figure 5.37). They help to indicate the former school site. Sadly, the large trees are in decline because they are not a particularly long-lived tree. They were probably chosen originally because of their availability on the site and because they would grow fast. Their form might have also been a consideration. A different species such as an oak or a maple would have had a longer lifespan. When these trees are gone, it will be one less marker in the landscape of the existence of the school.

The grotto is no longer extant, but once I was told the general area of where the statue of Mary used to be, I was able to roughly locate its former niche (refer to figure 5.39). A human constructed wall can still be seen which would have been below the statue of Mary. It could have

held one of the former gardens. As previously mentioned, the statue of Mary was found serendipitously on a local homeowner's lawn during one of my site visits (refer to figure 5.36).

Few elements are extant on the former Garnier College site to give a visitor any clues to its scale or size. A slight rise in the landscape and the column help orient the viewer to where the front of the school was, and in the summer of 2018 a remaining concrete pad that marked part of the foundation was either removed or covered over with topsoil and sod. One concrete block outbuilding remains. The area where the mills were located have been excavated and covered in a hard surface parking area. Although the parking area has never been full when I have visited, some marina users park their vehicles and boat trailers closer to where the school building was located, not far from the monument and column.

In 2017, a playground was installed within the former foundation of the school. It feels out of place and is an awkward design choice because it is some distance from any residential areas and not visible from the marina. As mentioned, during my last visit I noticed that the original concrete foundation had either been removed or covered over with topsoil. I assume that the intention was to plant grass seed to give more of a park-like impression. I contacted the town of Spanish to inquire about the changes. In a personal communication, Mary Bray indicated that the location of the playground was decided by the community to accommodate young families that live along Garnier Road and the seasonal boaters that stay at the marina in the summer (personal communication 3 October 2018). The area has been named the "Waters Edge Memorial Park," the name chosen through a contest for the local youth. As indicated in the email, a formal sign was to be erected during the autumn of 2018. There are no plans to remove the trees on the site, the town of Spanish staff clean up and maintain the area. There is a desire to have information available to the public related to the history of the site, according to Bray.

The girls' school closed in 1962 and was eventually purchased by Ms. Mader in 1978. All but the shell was destroyed by fire in February 1982 (refer to images 5.26, 5.28, 5.29 and 5.30). There were some accusations in the local paper about the fire that caused the death of nine local people; two adults and seven children. Some suggested that the smoke detectors were not working or were non-existent. The shell of the school remains standing and from discussions with Ms. Mader, she still carries the trauma of the fire. Unlike the ruins at Holy Cross Mission, the interior of the former St. Joseph's school is not accessible because of safety concerns. I met Ms. Mader in August of 2017 and she graciously allowed myself and my colleagues to walk around the ruin of the girls' school, generously sharing her time to tell me her part of the story. The ruin symbolizes her own financial devastation because she lost her home and all of her belongings in the fire. She does feel strongly that she is the caretaker of the site. Although "private property" signs are located at the entrance, former students have been granted permission to visit the site, particularly during reunions that were held on the grounds at the boys' school. In a *Globe and Mail* article, Ms. Mader indicated that if the residential school buildings had been located in Europe, they would never have been allowed to decline as they had in Spanish: "The first time I saw that building...I couldn't understand. I felt so sorry that they let it go. In Europe, they wouldn't do that to an old building. I saw the white statue of St. Joseph on the front of the building and I knew I had to have it" (Lowe). The article also indicates that the fire caused a sense of loss for the local community.



Figure 5.26



Figure 5.27



Figure 5.28



Figure 5.29



Figure 5.30



Figure 5.31

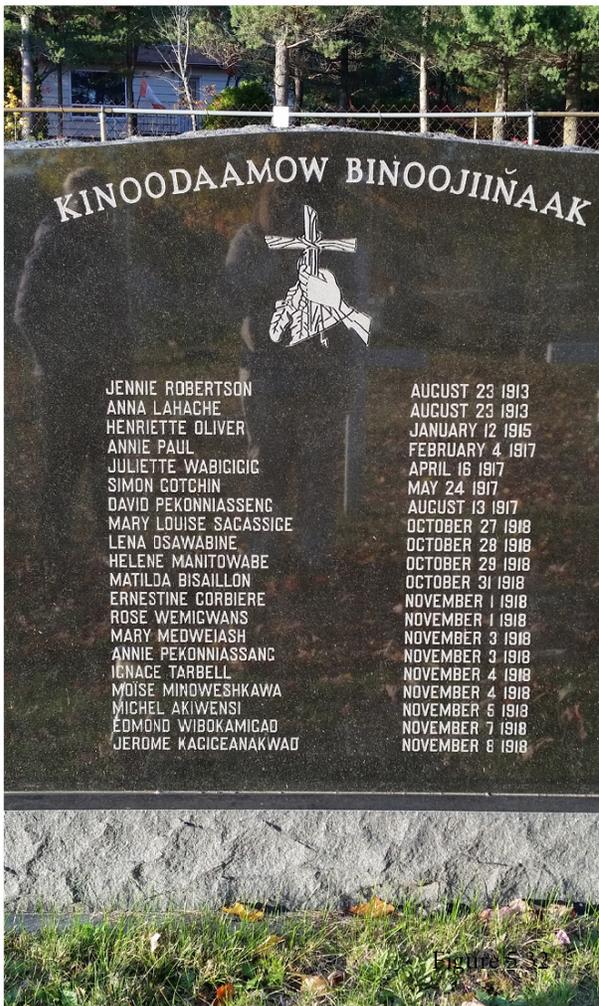


Figure 5.32



Figure 5.33

Gardens have been created on the south side of the ruin, underneath a tree that dates back to the time of the school. The statue of St. Joseph remains over the door in its niche, seemingly untouched by the years (refer to figure 5.27). Myth surrounds the statue, and many have commented on the fact that it was not destroyed or blackened by the fire, which lends sense of the mystical to the statue, even though my rational mind thinks it was saved due to the structure and possibly the winds that blew the night of the fire.

The site has an eerie quality to it. Knowing the history and visiting the grounds on a bright, sunny summer day, one is confronted by the ruins of the residential school while the sounds of leaves blowing in the trees and birds chirping add life to the site. The burned-out shell of the school can't be viewed in its entirety because naturalized vegetation blocks the views. It's harder to get a sense of scale because the building is viewed close up and in visual pieces. Firewood is piled into the bottom windows of the structure, perhaps in an attempt to keep people out of the interior of the ruins. The concrete exterior combined with the steel beams were meant to keep the building safe from fire. However, the heat created from the burning of the once beautiful wooden floors was so intense it warped the steel in the fire. On window ledges and other crevices seedlings are beginning to grow and through the freeze and thaw cycle along with their growth, they will contribute to the further demise of the ruins.

In an article from 2011 the feelings of one former student were quoted: "That school is nothing but a shell now," Blue Cloud Woman continued, noting that she goes and walks the ruins every summer. "The statue of St. Joseph still sits there. It looks so pathetic now" (McCutcheon). It must be hard for former students who were forced to spend part of their lives at the school to see it as it is now. All the labour that they had to put into the building to keep it pristine was lost in a fire after the school closed. A building that was part prison for those who had to be there and



Figure 5.34



Figure 5.35



Figure 5.36

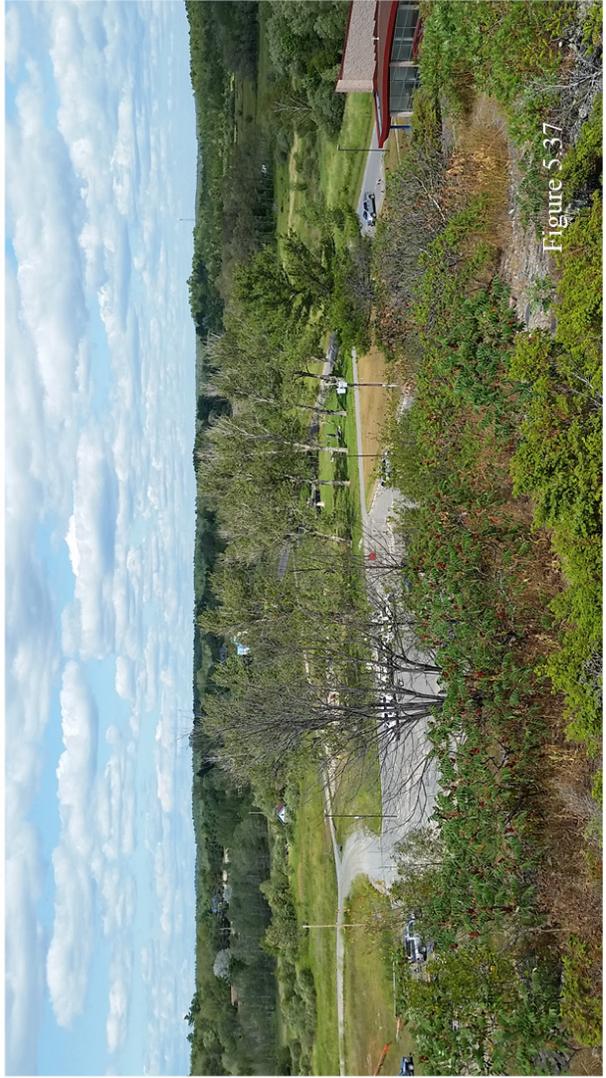


Figure 5.37



Figure 5.38



Figure 5.39

part home for those who chose to be there. All the hours and painstaking care that the building was given went up in smoke. All the sacrifice on the part of the students who attended, is now represented only by ruins.

I have heard from a few people that the sounds of children can be heard on the sites of the residential schools. I have not heard or experienced anything unusual on site during my visits, but I consider the sources of this information reliable. Although I can not say for sure whether this occurs, I think at the very least it is symbolic of an unease with the children whose unmarked remains are located in the cemetery up the road from the schools (refer to figures 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33). While the Jesuits and nuns have proper identifiers on their graves, there is only one large stone that lists the names of the children. White crosses mark graves but the children in the graves are unnamed. This serves as another symbolic reminder of the hierarchical nature of the Roman Catholic institutions. While the Jesuits, Brothers and Nuns are recognized in the landscape, the children who attended the schools and as a result died at the schools from various afflictions are in unmarked graves. In life when their names were exchanged for numbers, in death those numbers were exchanged for a white cross only, still nameless.

The parents of the children who died at the school generally wanted their children returned to them, but most often they were not. The federal government would not pay for the expense and neither would the Jesuits. As a student, Cecil King and a fellow student made crosses for the graves of the lost children.

One winter Julius Neganijig from Sheguiandah, and I made little white crosses and monuments to stand them on. This was our tribute to the little ones who died. Most of the kids who died while I was there died of TB. When Julius and I had finished the crosses, we had to take them to the cemetery up the hill and erect them at the graves that

the brother had indicated with a rock. We did not put names on the crosses because we were not told who they were for. I never knew who was in the grave under the cross.

I learned the name of one of those who received one of my crosses. One year when we returned to the Island on the big black bus, we delivered the students to their homes. I remember the whole Ozawamique family was waiting by the side of the road. The bus driver stopped and Mr. Ozawamique asked for his daughter. The bus driver didn't know anything but one of the nuns who was on the bus with us told the family that the little girl had died. I will never forget the look on the faces who had been waiting excitedly to welcome their little one back home.” (King 2015)

For myself, it seems a travesty that they are not individually remembered in the landscape and that it further represents the IRS system where students lost their individuality. While there are no details in *the Canadian Geographic Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada* (2018), a graphic indicates that there is a mass grave at Spanish (69). I assume this to be the cemetery site. Although logged in a journal and collectively on a monument, it seems that chapter of the school deserves more recognition. In the schools as students, they were stripped of their individuality, names replaced with numbers, and in death they have also been deprived of one last recognition of themselves as individuals. Mourners are left without a specific site. It would no doubt be a costly endeavour to locate the relatives of these students and to have their remains identified; however, I personally feel that the children should be returned to their home communities and not left, unidentified, in a cemetery far from where they were born.

Other people were buried during the operating years of the school by the Jesuits. In the *Spanish Flu Epidemic 1918-1919* journal translated by William Lonc it indicates that Fr. Théodore Désautels decided to place the body of Pierre Corbière (from West Bay) in “Potter’s

Field” because he had been following a way of life that the Jesuit approved of (Lonc 11). When I first read the entry, I was not familiar at the time with the concept of a “Potter’s Field,” assuming (wrongly) that it was a field, belonging to someone named Potter. I have since learned that it is a reference to a biblical story from Matthew 27:6-7 when Judas gave the silver he received for betraying Jesus to the chief priests. The chief priests did not want the “blood money” so they bought land to bury strangers in: “But the chief priests, taking the pieces of silver, said ‘It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, since they are blood money.’ So they took counsel, and bought with them the potter’s field, to bury strangers in” (Jackson 36). The indication of a Potter’s Field in the journal from the residential school could also indicate other unmarked graves.

Chapter Six: From Erasure to Reconciliation

Over a period of approximately 325 years, the Society of Jesus worked to evangelize Indigenous peoples in what is now known as Canada. Beginning in 17th century New France, they implemented various methods to achieve their goals from evangelizing Indigenous peoples within their own villages to creating planned Euro-Christian-Indigenous villages. Children were often the focus as the way to convert adults into the dominant society. By educating the children, the Jesuits believed they would be able to convert entire villages. Their attempts to separate children from the influence of their families and communities was not successful in the early years of the Jesuit mission work. The Jesuit attempts to create planned Christian villages based on an agrarian and settled lifestyle in order to convert nomadic Indigenous groups in Sillery, Lorette and Sainte-Marie I, were met with limited success. In time these places were abandoned.

The initial phase of Jesuit occupation entailed claiming land that was previously known and frequented by Indigenous peoples. The place was then renamed to suit the Euro-Christian worldview after either religious figures or religious sites in Europe. With the change of place names and occupation by colonists, an attempt was made to erase the history of the land that existed before the arrival of the Europeans. Renaming places after a Christian saint or other religious figure not only made the place fit in Euro-Christian society, it also reinforced the provisions of the Doctrine of Discovery. The 17th century land planning and architectural methods that the Jesuits used resulted in buildings that dominated the landscapes of Montréal and Québec, with large buildings for education and religious services based on known European forms. The large scale, massing and heights of their buildings (like other European buildings)

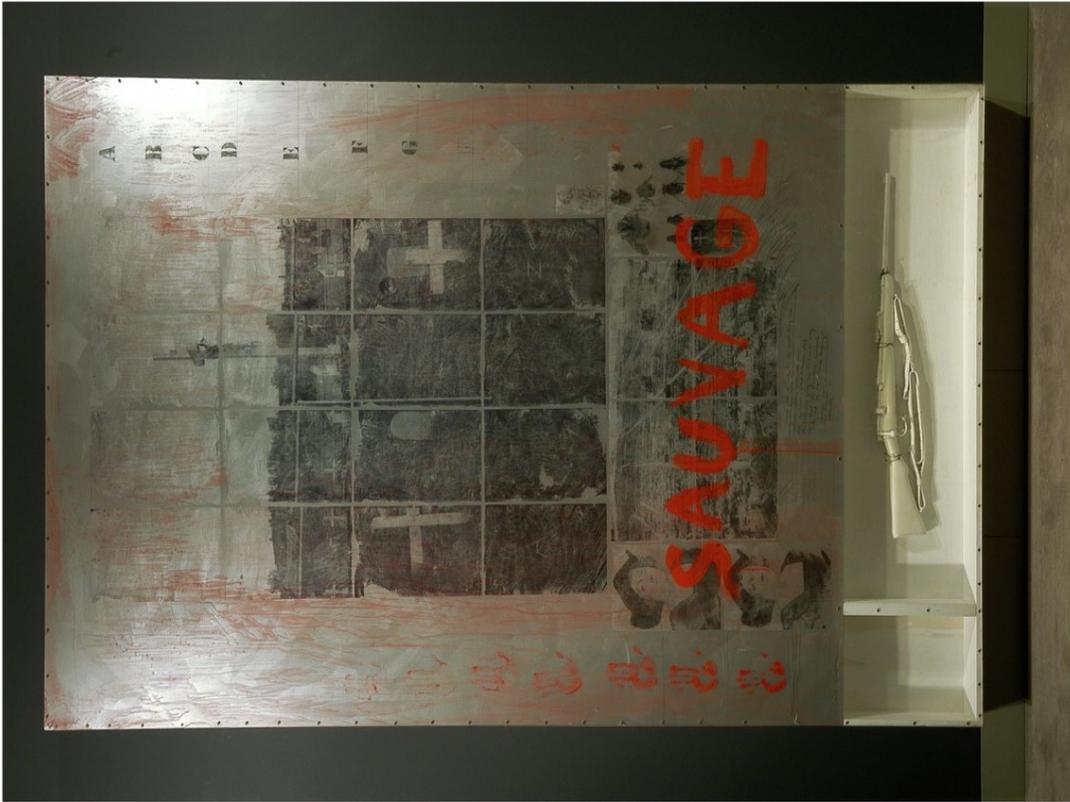


Figure 6.0
Carl Beam
Savage
(1988)



Figure 6.1
Carl Beam
Forced Ideas in School Days
(1991)

dominated the landscape, and were often located close to government officials and the wealthy, much like Jesuit buildings did in 16th century Europe.

Division was an important method used in evangelizing Indigenous communities, with the Society keeping autonomous control of intended converts and keeping other European interference at a minimum. For a long period of time, the Jesuits achieved a complete religious monopoly in New France. The Jesuits then divided the Christian Indigenous from the Traditionalists. Overwhelming changes also came to Indigenous societies as the presence of European men drastically altered the life of Indigenous women. The aggressive agrarian policies attempted to usurp traditional Indigenous relationships to land. Jesuit views on agriculture as men's work greatly impacted the lives of Indigenous women who were traditionally in charge of agriculture, settlement locations, building dwellings and were involved in territory negotiations. In places for the living, architectural space was defined on religious lines. Christians were allowed to enter; non-Christians were not. Even in death, the Jesuits sought to divide Christians from non-Christians in the places chosen for burial. The Jesuits continued to work in what is now Canada after the Society was disbanded in Europe in 1773, maintaining their buildings and properties until the last Jesuit died in 1800.

When the new Order of Jesuits returned to Canada in 1842, they sought to reinstate their position in former missions and as religious leaders in Montréal and Québec. Having lost their former dwellings, churches and schools the Jesuits began to rebuild and establish their reputation once again. As they returned to Upper Canada to focus on Indigenous missions, the Society was attracted to Manitoulin Island a place that had recently been signed over to Indigenous peoples by treaty in 1836. They attempted once again to create a model Euro-Christian village in Wiikwemkoong, Ontario. Undaunted by the failures of the original order, the Jesuits set about

building a Jesuit house, schools, church and chapels. With the backing of government later in the 19th century, the Jesuits expanded their schools into the Canadian Indian Residential School system. When the situation with the local community became untenable in Wiikwemkoong, the Jesuits and the Daughters of Mary decided to leave the Island and build new schools on the mainland. In Spanish, Ontario, the Society finally felt they had the opportunity to create an official Jesuit school, without interference from Indigenous parents. When this endeavour also failed, the Jesuits closed the school.

The residential schools at Spanish were the culmination of all of the methods that the Jesuits had used over close to 400 years. Their strategy to separate children from parents was finally achieved. The breakdown of the Indigenous family unit was further defined as brothers and sisters were separated in two buildings. Family unity was broken-down once more as older and younger siblings were separated within the same building...even forbidden to speak when in the same room in the case of the girls' school.

The large buildings were daunting to young children and exacerbated the feelings of loneliness and abandonment. Without any individual spaces or identities some of the children ran away, desperate to get home. Other children would find spaces within the school that provided refuge—these schools were not designed as places for children. I have heard stories of children hiding in the boiler room or under the church at Spanish. Whether it was to seek refuge or because these spaces embodied the abandonment that children felt is yet unknown.

The landscapes were different for boys and girls and while I do not know exactly how much time was spent by boys in the field, nor girls inside learning to domestic chores, it is safe to assume that the girls had less time outdoors than the boys in the early years of the school (refer to images 4.17 and 4.18). The landscape around the girls' school also seems to have been

quite damp, not conducive to the dress and skirts of the young girls (refer to figures 4.19 and 4.20). The landscapes of the residential school at Spanish, with the exception of the area known as “the Rocks,” was a Christian agrarian site. One of the issues about the school that strikes me the most was that although the children were forced to work in the fields for long hours, they were not rewarded for their efforts. The work put into growing vegetables and raising livestock did not translate into meals that the children could look forward to (refer to figures 4.22 and 4.23). In at least one case, raising animals and working in the landscape has had lasting effects. I know from speaking with one former student, she is still unable to eat chicken because of the work she did in the chicken coop at the school.

The buildings were intimidating to children based on their scale and position, their power and permanence implied through their materiality. The lack of individual space and privacy, the division of age groups in combination with constant surveillance, deprived children of the basic rights that we expect in the Western world. In a hierarchical environment represented in the architecture, the Jesuits priests had privileged spaces that they did not have to share even with members of their own society and in these spaces, like the Jesuit dining room, Indigenous children were taught to serve them.

In the floor plans of the school from the 1950s, we can see the overall layout of the building that is somewhere between an “I” formation and a “U” formation, with the ends of the building extending further to the back than to the front (refer to figures 4.36 to 4.38). It is interesting to contrast these plans with the plan of the original seminary in Montréal (refer to figure 2.11). Both the residential school and the original seminary appear to have their building fronts facing south-east. Some elements are the same, such as the parlor to the left of the main

entrance and a small chapel; however, in the Spanish plan, on the first floor, the hierarchy of space is revealed between the Jesuit Fathers, Brothers and the children.

In Spanish, separate spaces were allotted to the Fathers for eating, visiting and recreation. The amount of dining and recreational space is considerably greater for the Fathers on the second floor than the space for the Brothers, approximately 2 to 3 times as large (refer to figure 4.37). No scale is indicated on the floor plans of the school, so it is uncertain how accurate the diagrams are, but they are still useful as tools to understand the design of the spatial layout. It is interesting to note that the Fathers' dining room is located a considerable distance from the kitchen and almost the opposite end of the building from the children's dining room (refer to figure 4.36). This could have been advantageous so that the children didn't see what food the Jesuits were served; however, because the children were forced to serve food to the religious personnel, it became a source of discontent for the children that the fathers ate better food than they did.

The floorplans indicate the hierarchy between the children's spaces as well. The boys' parlour was through the main door to the right with the father's parlour to the left of the main door. The openings for both parlours were directly opposite each other, which probably aided monitoring of the children's parlour.

The older boys were separated from the younger boys in the dining rooms and in sleeping quarters as well. On the plans are numerous small rooms that are unlabelled. I assume that many of these were individual rooms for the Jesuit personnel, particularly the rooms shown on the third floor, over the chapel. This wing also housed the infirmary. The wings of the buildings were joined by long straight hallways which would have made surveillance easy for the staff. No walls are indicated in any of the dormitories with the exception of the Senior and Junior

prefects. From the images (figures 4.28 and 4.31) we can imagine the large scale, hollow sound and institutional atmosphere of the sleeping quarters.

The children did not have anything that they could call their own. Not their hair, not their names and not the space they inhabited. Most children would have had space of their own at home, or that they shared with siblings. At school they were not even allowed the comfort of their own clothing. Basic tasks such as showering, washing your hands or brushing your teeth were done without privacy. In a conversation with a friend of mine I learned that when gifts were received for Christmas, the children were allowed to play with them on Christmas day but the following day, the toys were removed to the attic.

The most poignant issue for me regarding the architecture and buildings was that the children were forced to work on what was essentially the maintenance and construction of their own jail (refer to figures 4.21, 4.25 and 4.26). Without forced student labour, these places could not have operated. Forced by law, the parents and children had no choice but to participate. Children were required to learn skills that they may not have been interested in—farming and domestic chores. The buildings and landscape were tools that were used in the indoctrination and assimilation process under the guise of education and vocational training.

The Western world has a long history with confining people who do not fit into the ideals of the dominant society. While it is generally accepted that the residential schools were based on the English boarding school style of education, I believe the model the schools were based on actually goes back farther and to a more sinister model of control. In Yi-Fu Tuan's *Landscapes of Fear* (1979), he explores the concepts of exile and confinement. He states that: "Complex societies are intricate codes of exchange. Some of these codes are formulated into laws and regulations; most are internalized patterns of behaviour that the dominant institutions of society

have more or less succeeded in inculcating...” (187). He explores the way that people are treated that do not fit into the “normal” label of Western thought which include madmen, vagrants and loiterers. He posits that people that have no ties to place, family and worldly goods are seen as violent, ready to commit crimes. Society has developed two basic ways of dealing with the chaos that these people represent—exile or confinement. He wrote “With exile, danger is expelled from the communal body; with confinement, it is isolated in space, thereby rendering it innocuous.” Western society does not deal well with unruly behaviour, with people who do not want to follow the rules. But as Tuan states, the moment society saw the prison as a place of punishment, it also held the potential for redemption. What struck a chord in Tuan’s work was his description of the *tuchthuis* or a Dutch house of discipline in Amsterdam, founded in 1598. The description is eerily similar to the program of the residential school system—inmates received vocational training, learned to be industrious and God fearing (Tuan 193). The captive labour force was exploited for profit. These institutions provided a model for other workhouses in Europe.

The largest of the confinement houses was the Hôpital général in Paris. Within its walls, order was absolute and idleness was the source of all evil. Hard work was to be the force for personal and societal salvation. In the 17th and 18th century, less tolerance was shown for marginal people of many descriptions and so they were removed from respectable society.

The Hôpital général was large and prestigious and it inspired the New Bethlehem Hospital (also known as “New Bedlam”) for the insane in 1676 London. It was considered magnificent and was lavished with praise for its splendid architectural exterior (Tuan 194). Tuan describes it as contradiction however—while the exterior was beautiful, the interior was filled with putrid cells and elements of torture. The New Bedlam became a tourist attraction for its inmates to be viewed by society.

These institutions gradually influenced the attitude in North America's penal system. The solution was to remove deviants from society that could corrupt them, isolated with strict discipline. There was a strong belief at the time that architecture could change human personality. "Architecture was exalted as an important moral science," posits Tuan. Buildings became the physical settings that could re-educate by regulating time and space so that no time remained for freedom or choice. "The massive exterior" of prisons "conveyed a sense of power," Tuan wrote, and were they were "usually built in a pastoral setting, looked like medieval castles surrounded by their demesnes" (198).

The residential schools at Wiikwemkoong and Spanish share similarities to the institutions described and many of the strategies used in the earlier institutions sound eerily familiar in the institutions of 19th and 20th centuries. The residential school institutions took social control one step further as instruments of genocide for the Indigenous People in Canada. There is evidence that postcards were also produced with depictions of the boys' school which indicate that the schools may have attracted visitors as well (refer to figures 4.39 and 4.40). At least one of these cards was used for correspondence.

The former site of Garnier College is under the ownership of the municipality and the former girls' school remains under the private ownership of Ms. Eldegard Mader. While one can freely roam the grounds of the former boys' school, permission must be obtained to go onto the grounds of the girls' school. The site contains a private residence and it is also the reason that the girls' school remains standing because for now it is under the protection of the Mader family. Both sites are important for their role in the history of the Residential School System as well as the local history of the schools. Beyond the memorial at the former boys' school, no information

is available on site to visitors, but there is definitely an interest and an audience for a larger project that describes the site's history.

From articles such as “Spanish school reunion a healing process” by Lorraine Rekmas, written about the school reunion and about the artwork of Stacey Sauve, it is clear that the landscapes and ruins have numinous qualities. For former students who have returned, the sites have been important for some former students as sites of healing, where negative feelings can be exorcised so adults can move on from traumatic childhood experiences. Being able to gather on the site to reconnect and reminisce with childhood friends was one of the big draws for former students. I have learned that although much of the written material on the residential school system is negative, some of the former students want others to know that not all of the experiences were negative. That people must make space for the good stories that came out of the residential school experience. It's a difficult request because overwhelmingly the situation was negative; that students are able to find moments of lightness and positivity from their experience is remarkable and a testament to their resilience.

The discussion about residential schools has grown to explore the issue of what should be done with the former school sites. As previously mentioned, although over 139 sites were used in the residential school system, now only 17 buildings remain standing (Parry). Carey Newman is the creator of the “Witness Blanket,” an exhibit created from objects associated with the residential school system as well as other related buildings. He believes that the physical buildings matter. He took his father to visit the residential school that his father attended as a child; Newman witnessed the transformation in his father after spending time on the site. The buildings, like those of Garnier College are no longer standing, but the foundations of the former school remained. Newman said:

We could see him sort of reclaiming the space because the last time he was there, he was a boy. And, when we were at the gym, the gym that had seemed so enormous to him and had probably grown even larger through his memory of it...as he walked around it and commented on how small it was, you can kind of actually see weight lifting from his shoulders as he was physically measuring space and then taking back that part of his childhood and his memory. (CBC Out in the Open 17/11/2-17)

As part of the experience of wandering the site with his father, Newman was told stories of his father's time at the school. Newman reveals that it was beneficial for his family to have accompanied his father to the site.

Newman said in his 2017 interview with CBC that "When there's standing records of [residential] schools, it makes them more real." He also stated that "Probably for me, what makes them matter is sort of tied to my culture and how we see objects as carrying a spirit of some sort...In the absence of the buildings, it becomes theory, it becomes stories, and it becomes something that can be, we talk about changing history or reframing history, it becomes something that's much easier to manipulate in any direction that you chose to have it told in." Newman fears that getting rid of the school buildings makes it easier to forget or minimize Canadian history. The destruction of the boys' school in Spanish was not only important for the men who had attended the school, it was also an event for the former female students who visited the building and site during the demolition. In other accounts of school demolitions elsewhere, it has been the students that did the demolition and experienced the cathartic effects of being involved in tearing down or destroying the buildings that once held them and dominated their lives.

As the former students age, it seems all the more important that a new account of Spanish be written that incorporates the experience of the children that attended the schools so that a more complete and accurate historic record of the schools exist, before the information is lost. I expect that most of the staff have died and the former students are certainly in their 60s and 70s. Time is running out to learn more about the experiences of the site. If care is not taken to interpret and preserve the remaining elements, it may become a landscape of erasure. A recent book by Joseph B. Gavin S.J., *Teachers of a Nation: Jesuits in English Canada 1842-2013* (2015), shockingly does not recount the story of the schools in Wiikwemkoong or Spanish. This first volume of a three-volume set instead focuses on institutions of higher education. To find information about the schools at Wiikwemkoong or Spanish, one must consult the second volume called *Builders of a Nation: Jesuits in English Canada 1842-2013* (2015), but only five pages are dedicated to the residential school at Spanish (pages 60-65).

Place and space are imbued with layers of meaning. Even though both architecture and landscape change through time, the layers of past history and human connect remain, in direct opposition to the concept of “ownership.” In terms of landscape and memory, it doesn’t matter that the municipality now owns the residential school site. It does not change the fact that it was a residential school site even though changes are being made in an attempt to change the character/ perception of the landscape.

The discussions of what to do with the remaining sites of the residential schools continues, with differing opinions on what should be done with these palimpsests of colonialism. One the one hand, voices like Carey Newman’s say that the buildings are important and need to be preserved as silent witnesses to genocide. On the other hand, there seems to be evidence of the cathartic value of the demolition of these edifices for the former students as evidenced by the

video of the destruction of St. Michael's in Alert British, Columbia (Cranmer). In an informal discussion with Elder Del Ashkewe who attended the "Mush Hole" in Brantford (the Mohawk Institute), his feeling was that they should all be torn down. The former Mohawk Institute is currently home to the Woodland Cultural Centre. Schools such as the St. Eugene School in Cranbrook B.C., the Shingwauk Residential School in Sault Ste. Marie and the Assiniboia Indian Residential school in Winnipeg, have been repurposed for, respectively, a golf course and casino, the Shingwauk Residential School Centre and the Canadian Centre for Child Protection.

The architecture and landscape of residential schools were indeed tools for indoctrination and assimilation. The separation of the children from their home communities separated them from families as well as the stories of their home landscapes, the natural world that inhabited it and the knowledge that they would have gained by remaining at home. The ecology of Kahnawake is not the ecology of Wiikwemkoong or Spanish, Ontario. In an article by Mary Lou Fox, she quotes her grandfather who said "Remember your connection to the land. It's the land that makes us look, act and talk the way we do" (Fox). Alan Corbiere wrote "The Anishinaabe view the land as their history and their bible" (Corbiere 79). The dislocation of children from their home communities into a different landscape and ecology was also a dislocation from the natural world of their communities. These landscapes previously intended for the purpose of conversion and assimilation need to be considered in light of the stories they created. For those who have not experienced the school, the harm of leaving the buildings standing may not be apparent. For the former students the buildings are the places of bad memories and the buildings may be the cause of ongoing trauma. As a landscape architect I think that the building's location is a key consideration in the preservation or demolition discussion. In a city such as Winnipeg, it is easier to avoid seeing a residential school. In smaller places or in Indigenous communities it

would be harder to escape the constant presence of the buildings, but perhaps the schools also provide needed space. Due to the complex nature of experience in these buildings it is the wishes of the most vulnerable that must be heard as to whether the buildings remain or go.

I was introduced to the work of Eyal Weizman by an architect colleague of mine. Weizman's words heard in a film have followed me through my thesis: "Architecture and the built environment are a kind of a slow violence" (de Sousa, *The Architecture of Violence*). There are few architects who look at the built environment as evidence of violence towards a culture. Although Weizman works within the Palestinian and Israeli conflicts in the Middle East, his thoughts on architecture as evidence of violence is a striking concept as I explore the residential school architecture and landscapes created and designed by the Jesuits.

In the introduction to *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, the TRCC found the Canadian government guilty of physical, biological and cultural genocide (1). The Indian Residential School system and the schools at Spanish played a role in the attempted cultural genocide of the Indigenous communities that had to send children to the schools. The physical buildings and landscapes of the residential schools could have provided evidence of the violence against young Indigenous children, forced to live in, work on and maintain the buildings and landscapes of the residential school complexes into which they were incarcerated until they were released. Many of the school buildings have disappeared and are not able to act as "witnesses" to the stories of atrocities that many students tell of punishment and confinement. With the loss of the physical buildings, details disappear that corroborate student stories of being locked in basements or other rooms. When the door that only locks from the outside or the names or sayings written or scratched into walls that have been destroyed by heavy machinery are gone, the physical record is lost for interpretation and evidence.

Much of the architectural theory that I read during the exploration of building and site that has been my thesis has been written in positive terms—for example in *Architecture and Theology*, Murray A. Rae included the following; “The significance of architecture, suggests Alain de Botton, ‘is premised on the conviction that it is architecture’s task to render vivid to us who we might ideally be’”(2). In the case of places like residential schools, it is not in fact the rendering of the ideal individual but rather the dislocation, the unraveling of individual identity and the attempt to mold a young Indigenous child into a Euro-Christian to fit into Canadian society. I found little in architectural theory that was helpful in analysing the role and structures of residential schools. I did not find many answers in phenomenology with the exception of Gaston Bachelard, and then only to a small degree. *Deleuze and Guattari for Architects* held no practical methods to think about the residential school experience of architecture. Michael de Certeau’s *The Practice of Everyday Life* was not applicable—I could not reconcile myself to think of small children as “consumers” and I continue in my refusal to consider Heidegger’s thoughts on anything about architecture in a personal choice not to bring attention to a known member of the Nazi party. To use architectural theory of a known racist is a continuation of violence, in my mind. I searched instead for Indigenous perspectives on my research topic. As the research in this field gains momentum, future Indigenous scholars will explore this area. My own cultural limitations prevent me from ever fully understanding the nuances that come with being from an Indigenous culture. Of course, for most of us, not having been through the experience of residential schools will limit our understanding of what living in those environments was actually like. It’s time for theory from new voices. Fortunately, new material on the schools seems to be constantly appearing to the point where it is now hard to keep up.

One of the writers whose work was helpful was that of Sarah De Leeuw who approached the sites of residential schools in British Columbia as a geographer. In her article “Intimate colonialisms: the material and experienced places of British Columbia’s residential schools” (2007) she noted the lack of research on residential school environments by geographers (340). De Leeuw’s article explores how the “material and the non-physical geographies of residential schools” worked to convert and assimilate Indigenous children in to the dominant Canadian culture while also considering how Indigenous children used the sites to assert agency and Indigeneity. She relates the comments about the building scale made by former students from both the Nuu-chah-nulth people and a former Kamloops Indian Residential School student who recalled finding the schools “physically overwhelming and powerfully disorienting” (343). Conditions in the schools were very different from the children’s home environments. De Leeuw’s commentary about the scale of the buildings were particularly enlightening because she described the sites as follows:

Far then from functioning as mere containers through which colonial narratives were delivered, residential school buildings and grounds were colonial geographies in which First Nations students were enveloped. The buildings ensured First Nations students, from the moment they set eyes upon the places of their ‘education’, were spatially disoriented in a place designed to exclude and expunge Indigeneity. The materiality of the schools produced, in situ, the power and supremacy of a Euro-colonial presence in BC. First nations students were not only dwarfed within a colonially built environment, they were materially reminded in their every moment that their lives and culture were subordinated to a more imposing and powerful force making effort to overtake and transform them as Indigenous peoples (344-345).

The effects of foreign clothing, loss of language, indoctrination through sport, inadequate food, medical care and the lack of a stable family life on the children who went to residential school have been studied but the physical environment that housed the children has not been the subject of study until lately. What effect does the lack of personal space have on an Indigenous child? When landscape is so regulated as to provide only opportunities for work or permitted types of recreation, what effects does it have on a child who lives in it? What are the after effects and repercussions of living in such a place on school survivors?

De Leeuw cites the words of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council who observed that the cleared lands around the schools stood in contrast to the “uncivilised wilderness” at the edges (345). De Leeuw cites Fiske (1989) in her article who observed that the “strict boundary and delimitation between residential school grounds and wilderness was emblematic of a colonial discourse in BC that equated (Euro-colonial) civility and progress with settled and agriculturally managed lands and savagery and regression (Indigenoussness) with unaltered or undomesticated lands.”

In Spanish, as in the schools in BC, the students were used to clear the wilderness by cutting firewood for the schools. De Leeuw’s wording is on point when she writes “Not only, then, did the physical sites of residential schools impose themselves on First Nation students, the students were forced, quite literally, to embody and live the colonial apparatus by partaking in its very creation” (345). There are many other similarities in the Spanish schools to the schools in British Columbia as described by De Leeuw—the building layouts “with long, straight hallways and large open areas” to allow for surveillance and control seem to be a ubiquitous feature of the schools along with the symmetrical architecture and three to four stories. De Leeuw depicts the views of Euro-colonial educators as similar to that of the former nun at Spanish, Alice Strain, in

that they believed that if Indigenous children were allowed beyond the boundaries of the schools they would “regress” (348). De Leeuw also cites gendered places as a way to further separate families and “erode family ties” (351).

Knowledge of the lasting impact of the residential school environments is necessary in designing for First Nations. Dr. Patrick Stewart writes “as an architect / researcher / facilitator / writer / artist I work within the contexts of residential school survivors they influence the planning/design process within first nations communities and indigenous organizations in reaction to having attended residential schools / and or being inter-generational survivors of residential school survivors my clients are among the most severe critics of architecture” (64).¹⁰

In my thesis, I have used the term “worldview” to differentiate the approach of Euro-Christian designer/ builders from the approach of Indigenous designer/ builders. Dr. Stewart reminds us in his doctoral thesis, *Indigenous Architecture through Indigenous Knowledge: Dim sagalt’sapkw nisim [together we will build a village]*(2015), that “worldview” is a Western concept which is “foreign to an indigenous viewoftheplanet upon which we all live and exist in all our differences” (footnote page 32). Dr. Stewart also speaks to what I feel is the core element of Western design that was prominently in use during the 19th and 20th century

¹⁰ The intentional removal of punctuation and additional spacing in Stewart’s work has been taken from his dissertation as it was found. In his dissertation Stewart not only seeks to decolonize architecture but also writing from traditional anglicized forms to produce a text with a cadence closer to the way that he speaks.

to embrace an indigenous view of the planet the niska need to begin to acknowledge that a western / Christian worldview is not place based and that it sets humans apart / above the environment (not supporting the oneness and unity of the niska a traditional view of the planet

the western / Christian worldview sees the environment only as a resource to be exploited / extracted versus a reciprocal relationship examples are the frustrations and the real life (32)

The architecture of the residential schools has had a lasting effect on communities that Dr. Stewart has worked with. As he states:

there is also a challenge of working with indigenous communities who do not want traditional forms they have been persuaded usually through Christianity that traditional

forms are primitive / savage in a negative sense or they are not wanting the issue to be discussed as they may see it as divisive in the community (42-43)

It is apparent in his words that the ripples of the residential school experience continue to manifest in responses to traditional Indigenous architectural forms. Another interesting observation from Stewart's work is the aversion to the colour "white" among the Elders he worked with on the Stó:lō Elders lodge. The Elders said that there was not to be any white because it reminded them of residential school (70).

In my own experience on a recent project, I felt the resistance to something I would consider ubiquitous in Western design which is fencing. I had proposed it as a potential safety measure around a splash pad for a project for a First Nation in Ontario. It is a common enough

element in an area where there is any traffic concern. It was not met with enthusiasm and after researching this project I can understand why. In some residential schools, children were not allowed near the fence under threat of punishment, as Daniel Nanooch is quoted as saying “They had a fence in the playground. Nobody was allowed near the fence. The boys played on this side, the girls played on the other side. Nobody was allowed to go to that fence there and talk to the girls through the fence of whatever, you can’t” (TRCC, 2015 41). The result of the fence was that Nanooch only spoke with his sister four times a year at the Wabasca, Alberta school. Of course, there is the larger shadow of the containment of children at the schools, without freedom to play as they liked which also may have affected the reaction to the idea of a fence. Although...a fence is never really just a fence ... it is always a symbol of a larger concept—territory, boundary, ownership. In some residential schools it was a symbol of containment and the separation of genders and siblings as well.

At the Spanish school, Edna Manitowabi remembers “invisible lines” that separated the young children from the older children. Manitowabi says that “Even though we would be in the same huge room, my sister was on the other side. So I would see her at a distance. It was the same thing with my brothers...I only saw them Sundays at church. So there wasn’t that family, there was that disconnect” (Dundas).

When I think of the first stanza of Rita Joe’s poem *Hated Structure: Indian Residential School, Shubenacadie, N.S.*

If you are on Highway 104

In a Shubenacadie town

There is a hill

Where a structure stands

A reminder to many senses

To respond like demented ones.

I am particularly struck by the words “A reminder to many senses to respond like demented ones.” I can only wonder if the children learned to repress their natural instincts. For example when Daniel Nanooch saw his sister, did he learn to stop from running to the fence to see her? Did children learn not to look for their siblings in church?

In Carl Beam’s works called *Savage* (1988) and *Forced Ideas in School Days* (1991) we can feel the artist’s resistance and criticism of the culture that created the Residential School System (refer to image 6.1 and 6.2). The large image in *Savage* is a photograph taken in the section of the Spanish cemetery that holds the graves of the children who died at the Residential School. It is a powerful statement on killing that render useless the gun that is exhibited below the image. In *Forced Ideas in School Days*, we can see a young Carl Beam with an exaggerated, almost manic smile on his face. At first, I related this image to Rita Joe’s words “to respond like demented ones” but I think in Carl Beam, even at that young age, is a look of resistance. In the picture, he refuses to play along with the photographer to create a mawkish image for the school record books (refer to figure 6.2). Carl Beam did not often discuss his days at Spanish, but his artwork deftly conveys his relationship to the site.

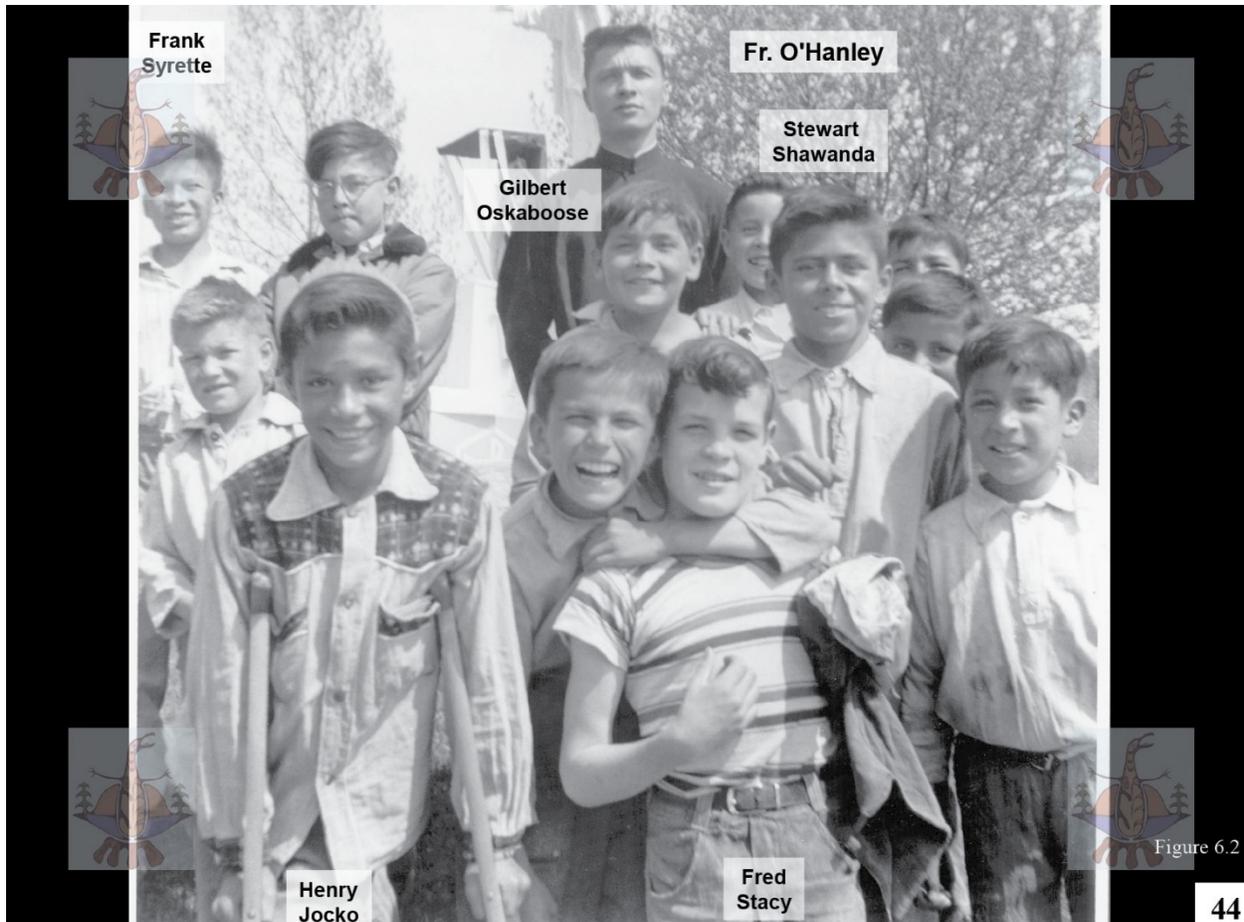


Figure 6.2

Windows were another architectural feature that played a prominent role in the lives of children at the schools. In the *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (2015), it is disclosed that they heard from many survivors about windows (288). Children looked out of the windows looking for parents during holidays, some children looked out of windows into the distance because they were so lonely and homesick. Some, according to the report were “pulled away from the window by the hair,” told to get away from a window or were told that their parents were not coming for them anyway. Tears of joy were shed at windows when children did see their parents or grandparents coming to see them or as almost every child hoped, to take them away. Did children learn to avoid windows which could become sources of joy, disappointment, pain or punishment? Normally, humans are drawn towards windows perhaps to orient ourselves

in the world or simply because we are phototrophic and are naturally drawn to light. I think of windows as positive things for the most part, there are some exceptions where large panes of glass aren't a good thing. However, I often wonder if the little girls at Spanish, like Cecil King's sister, got in trouble for running to the windows to look for their brothers. King wrote "What I remember most is the little girls' faces pressed against the windows of the girls' school when we went by on our walk on Thursday afternoons. Sometimes my sisters would be at the window but often they were not because there was a fight among the girls for the front places. Those glimpses were the only connection we had with our family during the school year" (King 5).

I think of Edna Manitowabi saying "I became a little robot," and I wonder if to cope, children detached themselves from daily life to cope with the environment of the residential school. If for a time they lived in suspended animation until they were able to return to their homes.

A stained-glass window was created for Canada's parliament called *Giniigaaniimenaaning* or *Looking Ahead*, designed by Christi Belcourt as a national commemoration initiative (TRCC 2015, 287). The window was installed in the Centre Block of the federal parliament buildings. According to the report, it is a two-sided window with imagery depicting the residential schools, Indigenous cultural resilience and a future of hope.

The former buildings and landscapes of the residential schools have the potential to help heal society in the aftermath of the residential school system and to stop the system of violence. They can become sites of education and reconciliation instead of merely existing as ruins and reminders of harm, remaining when what they represent is no longer welcome. In Patricia Rubertone's book *The Archaeologies of Placemaking* (2008) she reminds us of historic sites that have not been interpreted in ways conducive to telling a nuanced story. She writes "These

images of place are reshaped and reinterpreted, sometimes by placemakers who selectively seek to cultivate certain responses and, therefore, attempt to define for others what should be remembered and how it should be remembered” (13). In her words I see a valid warning for the interpretation of culturally sensitive sites such as the former residential schools. It is time that these places be used in positive ways to teach, to promote healing and foster understanding and reconciliation in Canadian Society. It is crucial that the Indigenous Peoples whose histories incorporate these places determine the future of the sites. The thought of Rosella Kinoshameg, when I spoke to her, was to focus on healing. It is a consideration for all people who are charged with the care of such sites to think about, reflect on and take to heart.

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Also Attended:

Sweat Lodge Ceremony 2014, participated in constructing the lodge and participated in ceremony with Elder Jerry Otowadjiwan.

Alan Corbiere presented a Manitoulin Treaty History Talk, 16 July 2017.

Pipe Ceremony with Art Petahtegoose, 1 May 2018. Discussion on the Relationship of Anishnawbek to the land and what happens when we make space for new structures.