DRAFT REPORT

THE ROLE OF YWCA CANADA IN CANADA'S RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS AND INDIAN HOSPITALS

Content warning: As settlers understanding the ongoing impacts of colonial violence, we acknowledge that it is our responsibility to review and make necessary systemic changes and to support the restoration of Indigenous cultures, languages and ways of being.

The following report could cause harm and re-traumatize. We apologize and understand the emotional impact this will bring. We understand that Indigenous readers are fully aware of historic and current colonial violence, With this in mind and with compassion, we invite Indigenous readers to review the outcomes and recommendations as our commitment to move forward in the spirit of restoring the wrongs.

Please contact the 24-hour Residential School Crisis Line at 1-866-925-4419 if you require emotional support. We have also included additional supports for Survivors of Residential Schools and Indian hospitals on page 3.

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Social Science Action Research Group For YWCA Canada, August 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Land Acknowledgment

Supports for Survivors

Author Biographies

Terminology

Executive Summary

Project Limitations

- Record Base
- Time Period Covered by the Report
- Access to the Archives and the Covid-19 Global Pandemic
- Limited Budget and Time
- Formally Recognized Residential Schools and the Indian Residential Schools Agreement

Methods

Historical Context

- Residential Schools: A Brief Overview
- Indian Hospitals: A Brief Overview
- The YWCA: A Brief Overview

Findings: What Role did the YWCA Play in the Residential Schools and Indian Hospitals Systems?

1. School Curriculum
2. Rehabilitation Programs
3. Outside the Walls of the Indian Residential Schools, Indian Hospitals, and Provincially-Run Day Schools.
4. Y-Teen and Extension Programs
5. Residences and Hostels
6. Indian Placement and Relocation Program (IPRP)

Summary/Conclusion

Recommendations

Bibliography

LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We begin by honouring the Survivors of Residential Schools and Indian Hospitals, the descendants and integrational Survivors of Residential Schools, and the children who never came home to their families and communities.

It is important for us to acknowledge that the geographic area that has come to be known as Canada currently resides on lands and territories stolen from Indigenous nations. We recognize that the violent practices and structures of settler colonialism are ongoing and continue to seek to erase the pre-existing cultural, political, and economic systems and networks of Indigenous peoples. Finally, we extend our respect to the Elders both past and present and to all the Indigenous peoples who are the traditional custodians of Turtle Island.

SUPPORTS FOR SURVIVORS

National Indian Residential School Crisis Line 1-866-925-4419
Hope for Wellness Hotline 1-855-242-3310
Tsow-Tun Le Lum Society 1-888-403-3123
Indian Residential School Survivor Society (IRSSS) 1-800-721-0066 (reception@irsss.ca)

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Dr. Kristin Burnett is a professor in the Department of Indigenous Learning at Lakehead University. Burnett is a settler scholar whose research interests can broadly be defined as: Indigenous history, settler colonial and critical race studies, women and gender history, the social history of health and medicine, and Canadian history. Burnett has published broadly on topics related to Indigenous health and well-being, and much of her current research and policy work engages with systemic barriers people face accessing health care, social services and supports, and food.

Burnett has worked extensively with First Nations and Indigenous organizations to develop research that can be used for advocacy and policy development. For example, Burnett collaborated with community members from Fort Albany First Nation and Food Secure Canada to draft a national report on food costing entitled "Paying for Nutrition: A Report on Food Costing in the North." More recently, she has worked with legal clinics and health organizations in northern Ontario to identify barriers experienced by individuals living without personal identification, especially birth certificates and the disproportionate challenges faced by Indigenous peoples and communities in the north.

Dr. Shannon Stettner is a settler historian and co-founder of the Social Science Action Research Group (ssarg.ca). Her research interests include women's and gender history, reproductive health history and activism, the history of feminist activism in Canada, social history, and public history. Stettner has published extensively on Canadian abortion history and is currently researching extremism in the anti-abortion movement. Stettner specializes in qualitative research with an expertise in experiential evidence and oral history interviews. Stettner has volunteered extensively in heritage, literacy, and advocacy organizations.

TERMINOLOGY:

Language is powerful, and we need to be mindful about the words we use because they have histories and meanings that often go beyond simple dictionary definitions. Thus, it is important to carefully consider how we use words and in what contexts. When talking about the past, this point is particularly significant as the words and terms we use to talk about people and events have evolved over time and this is especially true about Indigenous peoples in the geographic area now referred to as Canada. As a result, there are points throughout the report when we use terms that are not in common use today and may be considered outdated, but we do so because they are either drawn directly from a primary source as a quotation or that word had and continues to have a very specific meaning within Canadian law (i.e. status Indian). The words we employ here reflect the social, political, economic, and legal relationships between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state within the geographic area we now call Canada.

In order to ensure clarity, below we provide a series of terms that are commonly used throughout the report and their meanings.

Indigenous Peoples: The report uses Indigenous peoples as an umbrella term to refer to the socially, economically, and politically diverse Nations that have occupied Turtle Island since time immemorial. Where possible we refer to the specific nation. Within the Canadian context, Indigenous peoples is the umbrella term that is used to refer to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. In using Indigenous peoples we draw on the explanation offered by Indigenous scholars that situates Indigenous peoples as "Indigenous to the lands they inhabit in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire."[1] Being Indigenous means to operate in opposition to colonialism/settler colonialism. In other words, we employ the term Indigenous because it implies an enduring relationship with Turtle Island that stands in resistance to settler colonialism which seeks to make Turtle Island its own through the elimination and displacement of Indigenous peoples.

Turtle Island: Is the term used by many Indigenous Nations to refer to the geographic area now known as North and Central America. This terms pre-dates those names imposed following the arrival of Europeans and non-Indigenous peoples to the continent. The re-naming of territories, lands, and

[1] Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, volume 40, no. 4 (2005): 597.

sacred spaces of Indigenous Nations was and is a central component of the settler colonial project.

Indian: 'Indian' is a term that is no longer in common use. Historically, it was used to refer to Indigenous peoples because when Europeans first arrived on Turtle Island, they were under the false impression that they had reached India. However, instead of correcting that mistake and using the names and identities that Indigenous peoples and Nations used for themselves, Europeans continued to use the term 'Indian.' In so doing, they began a very long history of non-Indigenous peoples trying to eliminate Indigenous peoples and nations and their presence on Turtle Island. We use "Indian" here only in quotations taken directly from primary sources and when referring specifically to terms like the Indian Act or status Indian that have specific legal meanings that outline relationships and 'rights' or lack thereof in Canadian law and society.

First Nations: First Nations refers to Indigenous peoples in the geographic area now known as Canada who are neither Métis nor Inuit. The term came into popular use in the 1970s to replace the term 'Indian and/or Native.' When used in the singular, First Nation also refers to a reserve-based community or a band. Band or Indian band is the term used under the Indian Act to denote a governing unit. The Indian Act defines 'band' as a "body of Indians for whose use and benefit in common, lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart; has funds held for it by the federal government; and is declared a band by the Governor-in-Council." [2]

Settler: We use the term settler to refer to non-Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island. It is not a racial category, but rather one that describes people's relationships and histories with and to Turtle Island and Indigenous peoples. The use of 'settler' acknowledges the historical and ongoing benefit that many non-Indigenous peoples have gained through the theft of land and systematic oppression of Indigenous peoples.[3] To be clear, this category does not include those individuals and their ancestors who were trafficked and enslaved in North America.

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[2] Indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca, "Bands: What is a Band?" https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/bands/ [last accessed 12 March 2022]; Canada, The Indian Act (An Act Respecting Indians), R.S., 1951, c. I-5. Available at https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-5/ [last accessed 12 March 2022].

[3] Emma Batell Lowman and Adam Barker, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2015), 13-19.

Sixties Scoop: In 1983, Patrick Johnson coined the term 'sixties scoop' in his report entitled "Native Children and the Child Welfare System."[4] Johnson used 'sixties scoop' to describe a period in Canada's history that began in the early 1960s and lasted until the late 1980s that witnessed the mass removal of Indigenous children/youth from their families and communities to be placed in foster care or to be adopted largely by non-Indigenous peoples. The removal of children was done without the consent, warning, or even the knowledge of their families and communities.[5] The overrepresentation of Indigenous children and youth in child welfare persists to this day.

Assimilation: Canada has engaged in a sustained policy of assimilation towards Indigenous peoples who are the original inhabitants of Turtle Island. In this context, we use the term to refer to the forced and frequently violent processes of making Indigenous peoples become socially, politically, and economically like Europeans/European-Canadians. Such efforts include, but are not limited to, the criminalization of Indigenous peoples' cultural practices and economic activities through the implementation of the Indian Act and provincial hunting and fishing laws and regulations; the forced removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities through the residential school system and later the child welfare system; or land theft through so-called resource development. All of these efforts have been directed toward the cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples.

Settler Colonialism: 'Settler colonialism' refers to a distinct type of colonialism that has and continues to occur in places like Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Settler colonialism is different from colonialism where countries sent out explorers, soldiers, missionaries, and traders to violently extract resources from non-European locales for the benefit of their country of origin. Settler colonies are different in that the invasion is permanent and non-Indigenous people come from their place of origin to stay. The goal of settler colonialism is the permanent occupation of Indigenous territories and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples. Over time the settlers come to be viewed as the natural inhabitants of the land through the creation of a distinct settler identity and sovereignty that is intended to replace Indigenous Peoples as Indigenous to North America. The assimilation of Indigenous peoples is an ongoing event that did not end when Canada ceased to be a British colony.

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[4] Patrick Johnson, *Native Children and the Child Welfare System* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1983).

[5] Allyson Stevenson, *Intimate Integration: A History of the Sixties Scoop and the Colonization of Indigenous Kinship* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021). Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre, "The Sixties Scoop," University of British Columbia: https://irshdc.ubc.ca/learn/the-child-welfare-system-and-the-sixties-scoop/ [last accessed 12 May 2022].

When we use the term settler colonialism in this report, we are using it as shorthand to refer to a combination of events and systems that seek to assimilate Indigenous peoples, steal Indigenous land and resources, and assert the sovereignty of the Canadian state at the expense of Indigenous nations. These practices include but are not limited to residential schools, Indian hospitals, the child welfare system, the Indian Act, the assertion of settler land tenure, and resource extraction.[6]

"Indian Problem": We included this term here because it is frequently referenced in the primary documents by the state and service and volunteer organizations and requires careful explanation. To be clear, there was and is no "Indian problem;" it is a falsehood created by the settler state to rationalize their policies and excuse their historical and ongoing impacts on Indigenous peoples and communities.

Although we see reference to the "Indian problem" in documents from the nineteenth century, after WWII the phrase became a short form descriptive term used by the state and service organizations in policy discussions about urban Indigenous peoples. In this context, cultural differences were characterized as the problem and incorrectly identified as the reason for disproportionately higher rates of poverty and unemployment among Indigenous peoples. Instead of addressing the real problems of settler colonialism and systemic racism, the proposed solutions were the introduction of policies and practices that required Indigenous peoples to become more like European-Canadians. The actions of volunteer associations, like the YWCA, also supported assimilation as a solution to the so-called "Indian problem."[7]

Structural and Systemic Violence: Structural and systemic violence are terms used to explain how some groups are denied basic human rights and needs through marginalization and the imposition of legal and social

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[6] Lowman and Barker, *Settler;* Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Geocide Research,* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409.

[7] For further information about the "Indian problem," see: Evelyn Peters, "Developing Federal Policy for First Nations Peoples in Urban Areas: 1945-1975," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 21, no. 1 (2001): 57-96; Will Langford, "Friendship Centres in Canada, 1959-1977," *The American Indian Quarterly*, volume 40, no. 1 (winter 2016): 1-37; and Noel Dyck, *What Is the Indian 'Problem': Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (St. John's Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland Press, 1991), 1-3.

structures that disadvantage them.[8] This concept of structural violence moves us beyond acts of direct physical violence to recognize other harmful outcomes of policies like settler colonialism. Structural violence does not need to be intentional to have a negative affect on a person or people, which is an important element because guilt or responsibility for the harms caused is not tied to the intention, but rather to the outcome of the structural violence. In this report, when we write that violence was inflicted against Indigenous peoples, we are often referring to structural and systemic violence.

White supremacy: refers to the beliefs and ideas that shape social, political, and economic structures that work together to ensure white racial domination and the material benefits it provides. When we refer to structural and systemic violence against Indigenous peoples in the report, it both results from and maintains white supremacy.

Cultural Genocide: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) defines cultural genocide as "the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group."[9] Cultural genocide is the end result of the assimilatory policies and practices of the Canadian state.

[8] Structural, systemic, and institutional are terms often used interchangeably to describe various types of violence like racism. On the slight differences and further definitions see, for example, Paula A. Braveman et al., "Systemic And Structural Racism: Definitions, Examples, Health Damages, And Approaches To Dismantling: Study examines definitions, examples, health damages, and dismantling systemic and structural racism," *Health Affairs* 41, no. 2 (2022): 171-178.

[9] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, reconciling for the future*: *summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), 1.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In spring 2021, and in the midst of working on this project, the Tk'emlups te Secwepemc First Nation announced that 215 unmarked graves had been found on the grounds of the former Kamloops Indian Residential School located in their community in present day British Columbia. It had operated as one of Canada's largest residential schools with almost 500 students attending in the 1950s. In 1969, the Kamloops Residential School became a day school residence before it was finally closed in 1978. The Kamloops Residential School ran for almost a century and had a devastating intergenerational impact on the children who attended and the families and communities from which they were taken.

While the existence of unmarked graves of the students who died in Canada's residential school system was not a surprise to survivors, family members, and Indigenous communities, it revealed deep fault lines in Canadian society regarding knowledge about residential schools and the need for Canadians to acknowledge and participate in active processes of reconciliation and redress. Unfortunately, the identification of unmarked graves also prompted a new wave of residential school denialism making projects such as this even more necessary.[10] This report illustrates the intertwined nature of Canada's social, political, and economic systems with the existence, operation, and maintenance of Canada's residential school and Indian hospital systems. Our review of the records shows that women's philanthropic and service organizations like the YWCA helped make possible residential schools and Indian hospitals alongside the state and churches.

When the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) issued its Calls to Action in 2015, it challenged all Canadians to take on the work necessary to better understand the histories of residential schools as an integral part and reflection of Canada and its history.[11] Canadians were encouraged to see settler colonialism as something that did not just affect Indigenous peoples but as a process that has shaped our communities and ensured benefits are disproportionately accumulated by non-Indigenous peoples in Canada at the expense of Indigenous peoples. Importantly, the TRC wanted all Canadians to see the Calls to Action, and the work of reconciliation more broadly, as the beginning of an active process of redress that included recognizing those systems in operation that actively harm

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[10] Sean Carleton, "I don't need any more education': Senator Lynn Beyak, Residential School Denialism, and Attacks on Truth and Reconciliation in Canada." *Settler Colonial Studies*, DOI: *I: 10.1080/2201473X.2021.1935574.*

[11] TRC, *Truth and Reconciliation of Canada: Calls to Action* (Winnipeg: TRC, 2015), 9.

Indigenous peoples. Recognizing these systems is an important first step in being able to undo them. The undoing process requires education, the acknowledgment of many uncomfortable truths, and action.

YWCA Canada, represented by Jamie Medicine Crane and Ann Decter, submitted an Expression of Reconciliation at the TRC's sixth National Event held in Vancouver, British Columbia on 20 September 2013. Here the organization declared its commitment to reconciliation. As part of that pledge, YWCA Canada decided to actively undertake a process of reconciliation that included pursuing the work necessary to understand the organization's past and present relationships with Indigenous peoples and communities. Towards these ends and in the spirit of better understanding its history, in 2019 YWCA Canada issued an open call for researchers. Drs. Kristin Burnett and Shannon Stettner responded to the call and undertook a scan of available institutional records regarding the YWCA Canada in order to excavate the role(s) played by the organization in residential schools and Indian hospitals across the geographic area now known as Canada.

The role played by the YWCA in residential schools and Indian hospitals in Canada needs to be read as multiple and ongoing histories; in other words, there is no one history of the YWCA and each member association has its own distinct but related histories. Some member associations were clearly more involved in these institutions than others due to proximity or the pre-existing relationships of individual members. What is presented in the report is incomplete and not an exhaustive reflection of the role of YWCA Canada and all the member associations in Canada's residential school and Indian hospital systems. The records we reviewed represent a fraction of the archival record and much more work is required to fully include the personal experiences of Indigenous peoples and their communities. The archival materials we examined were largely created by the institutions who ran and managed residential schools and Indian hospitals and are therefore limited in terms of what they can tell us. Further work with Indigenous communities needs to be undertaken in order to know and understand the fuller histories of these institutions and the role of the YWCA(s) within them.

The records we reviewed revealed that YWCA Canada and member associations were involved in residential schools and Indian hospitals in Canada. Residential schools and Indian hospitals, and the federal and provincial governments generally, drew on the resources of the YWCA to make programs and activities already in operation elsewhere available to Indigenous youth and young adults as well. For instance, the YWCA operated clubs and arranged social and recreational activities for young patients in Indian hospitals. Indian Hospitals and their rehabilitation programs also drew on the longstanding expertise of the YWCA in providing settlement and job

counselling services. Similarly, residential schools drew on the existing work of the YWCA to provide extracurricular activities and social clubs for students attending residential schools. In the 1960s and 1970s, some residential schools were closed and converted into residences to house Indigenous children who were then transferred into the provincial school system, often at great distances from their homes and communities. Following these changes, the YWCA continued to make recreational activities available to those students. The YWCA also provided space for Indigenous youth and adults to gather and organize. While much of the work that the YWCA undertook in residential schools and Indian hospitals drew on existing programming, this work also opened new avenues of practice and activity for the YWCA that also supported the settler colonial project.

The YWCA, as an institution more broadly, also made less visible contributions, but equally as troubling, to the system of residential schools and Indian hospitals through domestic science courses and public education developed at the turn of the century. According to historian Mary Jane McCallum "the most widely-known and long-standing influence of women's clubs in public education was the domestic science course. Initially inspired by an influential member of the YMCA [sic]…Adelaide Hoodless[12]…domestic science courses" served an important function in the assimilatory process because they operated as a road map to teach Indigenous children and youth about "correct living."[13] Woven throughout much of the discourse used by the YWCA to talk about their programs and objectives regarding Indigenous peoples and their communities, was the perception that the YWCA was "helping" Indigenous peoples by assisting the state in assimilating them. Such views reflected the deeply entrenched racist, settler colonial, and ethnocentric views held by the dominant society. We see this continued

[12] Adelaide Hoodless (1857-1910) was president of the Hamilton YWCA from 1890-1902. Following the death of one of her children (presumably from contaminated milk), Hoodless became a social reformer, in particular she was interested in domestic skills and knowledge, which she believed would have helped her prevent the death of her son. Hoodless is central to the development and adoption of domestic science curriculum in Canada. Under her leadership, the School of Domestic Science opened at the Hamilton YWCA in 1894. By 1902, the Ontario Ministry of Education adopted the domestic science curriculum and within a few years Hoodless pushed for the adoption of domestic science education at the university level as well. For more on Hoodless, see Cheryl MacDonald, *Adelaide Hoodless: Domestic Crusader* (Dundurn, 1986); Robert Stamp, "Teaching Girls their" God Given Place in Life": The Introduction of Home Economics in Schools," *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 2, no. 2 (1977): 18-34.

[13] Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools," (MA Thesis, Trent University, 2005), 33.

influence on the activities and programs run by member associations to support residential schools and Indian hospitals in the post-WWII period. The goal of the Canadian state was to continue to assault the social, economic, and political systems of Indigenous peoples and nations until they no longer existed as distinct and diverse peoples and cultures. According to Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission "the establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of [Canada's Indigenous policy] which can be best described as cultural genocide."[14]

The history of the involvement of YWCA Canada and member associations in residential schools and Indian hospitals in Canada is complex. Each member association made its own decisions about local priorities, objectives, and the best ways to pursue those priorities. We borrow from theorist Patrick Wolfe who argues that settler colonialism is not a singular act or event, but rather a structure or system that is built and put into practice over a long period of time.[15] To date, the histories of residential schools and Indian hospitals in Canada have largely been written separately from broader Canadian histories. We need to see residential schools and Indian hospitals as reflections of Canadian society; we also need to acknowledge that many systems (i.e the economy and health care) in Canadian society benefited from or supported the day-to-day operations of residential schools and Indian hospitals. It is in this context that the YWCA and its member associations can be found contributing to the operation of residential schools and Indian hospitals.

In this report we outline the work undertaken by YWCA Canada and member associations in the following areas:

- Influencing school curriculum;
- Working with Indian hospitals in providing services through hospitals' rehabilitation programs;
- Running social clubs and extracurricular activities for students and patients beyond the walls of Indian Residential schools, Indian hospitals, and provincially-run day schools;
- Organizing Y-Teen and Extension Programs;
- Operating residences and hostels; and
- Working with Indian Affairs to provide service and supports to the Indian Placement and Relocation Program.

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[14] TRC, *Honouring the Truth, reconciling for the future: summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Winnipeg: TRC, 2015), 1.
[15] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387-409.

PROJECT LIMITATIONS

1. Record Base:
The record base for this project is enormous. The scope of the project spans more than a century, encompasses an enormous geography, and combined includes YWCA Canada, many member associations, and hundreds of residential schools and Indian hospitals. The institutional records of the YWCA are not cohesive and are housed in repositories across the country because YWCA Canada and individual member associations kept discrete institutional records. The records of YWCA Canada are held at Library Archives Canada (LAC) and constitute 26.1 meters of textual materials.

Complicating the expansive nature of the YWCA record base is the uneven record keeping practices of the national and regional member associations. For much of the period, there does not appear to be a formal record-keeping relationship between YWCA Canada and the member associations. Often the information shared by member associations with YWCA Canada took the form of newsletters or broad stroke descriptions of annual activities. In those instances where member associations are no longer active, it is unclear what happened to their records. Without a unified record management policy, it is nearly impossible to undertake a comprehensive review of all YWCA records especially within our limited time frame and budget.

This report does not include an examination of Record Groups (RG) 10 and RG 29, Department of Indian Affairs and the Department of Health and Welfare respectively. RG 10 and RG 29 are massive record groups and span over a century of documents for more than 150 different institutions and several federal departments. A project that is able to carry out a comprehensive review of all relevant RG 10 and RG 29 records is important and will require a substantive budget and more expansive timeframe.

Significantly, the report relies primarily on those institutional records produced by settler institutions and the state. The lack of records produced by Indigenous peoples is a significant limitation here, and without them we cannot know what Indigenous people's experienced or felt about the work of the YWCA.

2. Time Period Covered by the Report:
The richest source of data regarding the work of member associations came from a request for information regarding local activities with Indigenous peoples that was issued in 1968. As a result, much of what is reflected in this report comes from the responses to that request. The responses to the request for information primarily covered the 1960s referring in a few instances to the 1940s and 1950s. Most other relevant documents cover the

mid-1960s to early 1970s and relate to the YWCA's Intercultural Committee and Extension Committee meetings. This focus on the 1960s and early 1970s does not mean that the YWCA was not active in residential schools or Indian hospitals earlier or since, but additional research will be needed to uncover further details of their involvement.

3. Access to the Archives and the COVID-19 Global Pandemic:
We began working with YWCA Canada in February 2020 during the growing COVID-19 global pandemic. The first state of emergency was announced in Ontario by Premier Ford on 17 March 2020, followed by the closure of all non-essential businesses on 23 March 2020. Lockdowns extended into the summer 2020, with a second wave building in September 2020. By December 2020, provinces once again imposed lockdowns and travel bans. A third wave swept the country in mid-March 2021.

The COVID-19 global pandemic caused the closure of public and government institutions, including archives. Many archives remained either closed or adopted severely limited hours and conditions of access. For instance, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) remained closed until fall 2021 when it re-opened under very limited service hours (a maximum of six hours a day with a weekly limit per researcher of 12 hours). The COVID-19 pandemic dramatically impacted the amount of time we were able to spend at the LAC, the breadth of the archival documents we were able to access, and delayed the start of archival research until October 2021.

4. Limited Budget and Time:
The size and dispersed nature of the record base, delayed access to the archives, and reduced service hours was compounded by the limited budget and timeframe for the project. The limited budget required us to focus on accessing a single archive - the LAC - and reduced service hours forced us to prioritize those records we accessed. Drawing on the finding aid for YWCA Canada's records, we compiled a list of files that appeared to fit what we were searching, for instance, the records were organized thematically and one of the subject areas was entitled "Indians." All told, we reviewed twenty boxes of files during our October 2021 research trip.

5. Formally Recognized Residential Schools and the IRSSA:
The list of Residential Schools that were included under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) is incomplete. During negotiations, the federal government limited the number of schools and institutions included under the IRSSA. Thus, the IRSSA excludes days schools, boarding schools, hostels, hospitals, boarding homes, residences, orphanages, etc. The IRSSA does not include instances where Indigenous children were forced to leave their communities and attend provincially-run

institutions and live in boarding homes or residences run by the church or the state. This report includes those institutions not covered by the IRSSA because the spirit, intent, and practice was the same as residential schools.

METHODS

The primary source base for this project was drawn largely from the institutional records of YWCA Canada, which are housed at the Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Between 1975 and 1992, YWCA Canada made a series of donations to the LAC that included correspondence between the national YWCA and member associations, reports to various government departments, conference reports, meeting minutes, funding requests, budgets, and newsletters.[16] A particularly rich source of evidence came from a 1968 request for information from the Intercultural Coordinator of YWCA Canada. They sought examples of work carried out by member associations with Indigenous peoples and communities. The Intercultural Coordinator hoped that the "exchange of program ideas and social action w[ould] stimulate many more creative activities."[17] These reports primarily covered the 1960s referring in a few instances to the 1940s and 1950s. Additional documents from the YWCA's Intercultural and Extension Committees flesh out the analysis in this report.

YWCA Canada also possessed an incomplete run of newsletters called the *YWCA Quarterly* and later *The Journal* from the 1950s and 1960s with a few issues from the 1940s. The newsletters are held at the Toronto office and were shared with us. Supplementing the institutional records of YWCA Canada, are primary documents available through online repositories. We reviewed the following: *the Indian News* (1954-1984) a periodical published by the Department of Indian Affairs; the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs (1864-1990); the Annual Reports of Indian Health Services (1945-1990); the *Indian School Bulletin*, an instructional and informational booklet sent to all residential school staff five times during the school year;[18] the transcripts of testimony from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People; and materials made available through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Finally, we drew on the powerful and important auto/biographies of residential school survivors.

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[16] LAC, Young Women's Christian Association of Canada fonds, MG 28-I198, Finding Aid No. 926 (last revised in 1992), Ottawa, ON. It should be noted that in the files we accessed, someone has removed staples that previously held documents together. The staples were not replaced with any type of markers. As such, it is not always clear where documents begin or end within a particular file.

[17] Report titled "Reports from Y.W.C.A. s and Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A.s re: programs involving their Eskimo, Indian and Metis Membership and Communities across Canada," January 1969, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA of Canada fonds, LAC.

[18] Braden Te Hiwi and Janice Forsyth, "'A Rink at this School is Almost as Essential as a Classroom': Hockey and Discipline at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1945-1951," *Canadian Journal of History* 52, no. 1 (2017): 85.

Complementing the documentary record are published histories of residential schools, Indian hospitals, and the YWCA that were written by historians and, in some cases, community members. Although a substantial amount of historical work has been published on all three of these institutions, the historiography remains relatively silent on the role played by the YWCA within residential schools and Indian hospitals. This silence does not mean that the YWCA was not involved in the settler colonial project, but rather the literature has been focused on the roles played by the state and the churches in creating, managing, and funding residential schools and Indian hospitals. Little attention has been paid to the roles played by those philanthropic or service organizations in Canadian society that were involved in the functioning of the schools and hospitals through donations including financial and material goods, volunteer support, and developing and delivering programming and extracurricular activities.

Our examination of the role of the YWCA in residential schools and Indian hospitals, with a couple of exceptions, draws largely on those records produced by the church and the state. In other words, those institutions that created, managed, and made possible residential schools and Indian hospitals. It is important to recognize that state and corporate records provide a very limited perspective into the experiences of Indigenous peoples in residential schools and Indian hospitals. By their very nature, these records cannot tell us about the personal experiences of Indigenous children and youth. The records we examined form part of the settler colonial archive, representing a one-sided narrative produced by the state, the church, and the YWCA. This one-sided story justified the work and goals of residential schools and Indian hospitals, and by its nature, minimizes the cultural, physical, emotional, and sexual violence committed against Indigenous children, their families, and their communities.[19] Indeed, the only thing we can know for sure by reading the records of the YWCA are what kinds of programs and activities the YWCA ran and their stated objectives. The YWCA clearly and consistently promoted the assimilation of Indigenous peoples and positioned itself as "assisting" Indigenous peoples in being more like European-Canadians.[20] Documents created by Indian Affairs, churches,

[19] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 6 and Jane Griffith, *Words Have A Past: The English Language, Colonialism, and the Newspapers of Indian Boarding Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 1.

[20] The YWCA reports frequently referred to providing training and/or assistance for Indigenous peoples so they could become more like European-Canadians. For instance, one report highlighted the need to help "older Indians regarding their responsibility to be acceptable and to be accepted." See, Document titled "Memorandum regarding the needs of Indian women and girls and the possible

schools, hospitals, and volunteer organizations like the YWCA, must be read as having a specific purpose, which was to support programs and policies designed to resolve the so-called "Indian problem."[21] What Indigenous peoples experienced or felt about the work of the YWCA must be shared by Indigenous peoples and communities themselves.

There are many challenges when writing the history of a large institution like the YWCA. Like other volunteer associations, it was and is composed of many member associations that functioned autonomously and included hundreds of employees and thousands of volunteers. The YWCA, like most philanthropic organizations, identified itself as a helping organization. Despite this self-conception, the YWCA caused undeniable harms to Indigenous peoples and their communities. As part of the process of reconciliation, we must address the harm that has been done and not dismiss that harm as a function of "its time" or the actions of one or two problematic individuals. While the services the YWCA made available were described in the primary documents in generous ways with the intention of 'helping' or assisting Indigenous women, they were undertaken in a context that regarded assimilation as the only possible solution and Indigeneity itself as a problem.

Looking at the disagreements that took place between members about the best way to "help" Indigenous women offers an illustrative example about how discussions and intentions were inconsistent, even within single member associations, and reflected racist stereotypes prevalent about Indigenous peoples. The documentary records include descriptions that are paternalistic, racist, derogatory, and hurtful. All of these themes are present in the following excerpt from an article published in *The Journal* written by a member of the Prince Albert YWCA in January 1960. It described what the author observed as a YWCA member's disagreement over Indigenous women's inability to "fit in" and the best way to address this so-called problem:

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services which could be made available by the Y.W.C.A. of Canada, 1954," 22 July 1954, MG28-I198 Vol. 61 file 25 "Indian Affairs – Indian Women (1954)," YWCA, LAC. In other instances, reports referred in paternalistic ways to 'protecting' Indigenous women until they were able to 'live responsibly.' For example, the purpose of Y-Place, a residence for Indigenous women in Toronto, was described as to "house the girls in Toronto in a protected setting while they attend school, equip them to adjust successfully to urban living and to be responsible citizens." Letter to Carol Wabegijig from YWCA Toronto, 30 September 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[21] For a fuller explanation of the "Indian Problem," see the Terminology section of the report.

> The provincial government here is showing considerable concern over the meti [sic] and Indian problem… Something will have to be done to help them find work, provide them with recreation and places to meet, and help them to become integrated at work…we might help in a small way by providing a place for the young domestics and waitresses – a place to come, play records, maybe have hot dogs…. There was quite a demur at letting them in to the building. One member was much against it until it was pointed out that she has two native maids with whom she trusted her baby, her sons, her silver and her mahogany sideboard! …. Another can't see mixing with them…. I have a meti [sic] woman who cleans for me once a week – she is thoroughly dependable and a real person. She goes to another of the Y people, too, and she likes and trusts her so much that she leaves her new baby in her care…. This is serving to bring home to us that not all Indians and meti [sic] are drunken prostitutes and thieves but in many cases are merely a result of their environment. Given a chance they can take their place in society, too.[22]

While the author clearly believed themself to be well intentioned in that they argued for the extension of services to Indigenous women, they nevertheless reproduced racist stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and ultimately assumed that forced assimilation was an opportunity for Indigenous women rather than an act of violence. The Prince Albert YWCA was not the only one in which members described their actions in benevolent ways. Another article published in *The Journal* in March 1961*,* has a member of the Hamilton YWCA describing her summer spent teaching school in a Cree community located in northern Ontario. In her article, she shared the following:

> The Indians have thick, black, lustrous hair. It could be lovely, but the shampoo ritual isn't too wide-spread as yet. In class we soon learned to hang the eternal kerchief on a peg, but the problem for me was-what to do with the long, straggly hair? The answer was a barbering session. After due warning (to allow for any objections) all the girls had their hair bobbed straight and short-nor did the boys escape![23]

Her actions echoed the violence perpetrated against Indigenous children in Residential Schools where their hair was also cut without consent as part of

[22] "Work With The Indians," *The Journal* (January 1960), 24.
[23] Alice Wray, "Return to Big trout Lake," *The Journal* (March 1961), 12-14.

the process of severing children's connections with their culture and community upon entering these institutions.[24]

However tempting it might be to view the actions or words of individuals as singular, we encourage YWCA Canada, its member associations, and similar service organizations not to do so. As part of the process of reconciliation, we urge the YWCA Canada, its member associations, and its individual members to think about sharing responsibility for addressing the harm caused by the organization through its roles in the residential school and Indian hospital systems. Here we return once again to Patrick Wolfe who argues that settler colonialism is not a singular act or event, but rather a structure or system that is built and put into practice over a long period of time that enables individuals to behave in particular ways under the false belief that what they are doing is right.[25] It also ensures that within that system benefits are disproportionately accumulated by one group at the expense of another.

It is important to understand the stories created by the state and organizations like the YWCA because they can reveal a great deal about the systems of domination and oppression in which Indigenous peoples were and are forced to live.[26] This report reveals the context in which the state sought to govern and assimilate Indigenous peoples and the ways in which service organizations like the YWCA assisted in that process. Significantly, it is critical that people move past feeling defensive or attacked towards acknowledgement, acceptance, and action. The decision of YWCA Canada to undertake this self-reflective process is an important step in that direction and serves as a model for other volunteer and service organizations in Canada to confront their role(s) in the settler colonial project.

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[24] On haircutting and other assimilatory practices at schools, see Roland David Chrisjohn, *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada* (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1997). Tomson Highway, *Kiss of the Snow Queen* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2011). In the novel when Champion's hair is cut upon first entering the residential school, he describes it as "being skinned alive, in public; the centre of his nakedness shrivelled to the size and texture of a raisin, the whole world staring, pointing, laughing."

[25] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387-409.

[26] Griffith, *Words Have A Past,* 1.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS: BRIEF OVERVIEW

Prior to 1883, European-style schools for Indigenous children on Turtle Island operated largely on a patchwork system that saw individual churches and their mission organizations run schools separately.[27] The state provided funding on an ad hoc basis to residential schools depending on the lobbying success of individual missionaries and churches. In 1879, following the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), the passage of the Indian Act (1876), and the negotiation of the numbered treaties in present day western Canada, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald commissioned Nicholas Flood Davin to visit and report on the industrial school system in the United States and what it could contribute to the Canadian context. The Davin Report[28] recommended that the assimilation of Indigenous children could only be achieved if family and community relationships were disrupted, the intergenerational transmission of knowledge was severed, and cultural and community activities and ceremonies were terminated. According to Davin, the separation of children from their families and communities needed to last for a long time, the schools had to be located as far away from communities as possible, and children had to be prevented from visiting their families during holidays or from seeing them at other times of the year. In other words, the federal government adopted what has been described as a policy of aggressive assimilation.[29]

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[27] For broad histories of the residential school system in the geographic area that came to be known as Canada please see the following: John Milloy, *A National Crime: the Canadian Government and the Residential School System,* second edition (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017); Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *A Knock on the Door: The Essential History of Residential Schools from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, edited and abridged* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015); TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939* (TRC: 2015). TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2: 1930 to 2000* (TRC: 2015); TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience* (TRC: 2015); and TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Metis Experience* (TRC: 2016).

[28] "The Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds," popularly known as the Davin Report was issued in 1879. Nicholas Flood Davin, former Member of Parliament for Assiniboia West, was tasked with exploring Industrial Schools in the United States as a potential model for residential schools in Canada.

[29] According to Mary Jane McCallum, in the wake of the Davin report the federal government adopted an increasingly aggressive policy of civilization and "assimilation aimed specifically at children, and education was one of its key elements. "Civilization," it was decided, could not be accomplished as long as Indian children lived with their parents, where they were exposed to Indigenous cultures, languages, and ways of seeing the world. Residential schools would remove

In the wake of the Davin Report, Macdonald, through an Order in Council, created three new industrial schools in western Canada: two Roman Catholic schools at Qu'Appelle and High River respectively and one Anglican school at Battleford, Saskatchewan. Once enrolled, it was very difficult for children to return home to visit their families unless they were near death or had graduated. Given the aggressive assimilatory practices of residential schools, the model for residential schools was not "the private boarding schools established for the children of the young nation's elite, but the reformatories and jails established for the children of the urban poor."[30] The creation of these three new industrial schools in 1879 marked a critical shift in church-run schools towards an extensive system of residential and industrial schools funded by the Canadian government and administered by Catholic and Protestant churches. The goal of the government through these schools was to destroy Indigenous cultures and languages in order to "assimilate Indigenous peoples so that they no longer existed as distinct peoples."[31]

After 1883, the residential school system grew dramatically and by 1931 the federal government funded more than eighty schools across Canada.[32] Despite its expansion, by the 1930s the federal government had determined that the residential school system was too expensive and failing to achieve its intended goals quickly enough. In its place R.A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, proposed a system of day schools with the intention of gradually phasing out residential schools. The churches strongly protested this proposal.[33] Nevertheless after the 1940s, although residential schools persisted in southern Canada, a growing number of day schools were built in First Nations communities and an increasing number of Indigenous children were sent away from their communities to attend provincially-run day schools. Any significant expansion of the residential school system after 1940 took place largely in the Canadian North.

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children from all of that, making it easier to 'kill the Indian in the child' and facilitating their embrace of Canadian culture, languages, subjectivity, and social relations." Mary Jane McCallum, "Foreword," to John Milloy, *A National Crimes: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, second edition (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), xvi.

[30] TRC, *Canada, Aboriginal Peoples and Residential Schools: They Came For the Children*, (Winnipeg: TRC, 2012), 13.

[31] National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, "Residential School History," https://nctr.ca/education/teaching-resources/residential-school-history/ [accessed 14 March 2022].

[32]TRC, *They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and the Residential Schools* (Ottawa: TRC, 2012), 6.

[33] TRC, *A Knock on the Door,* 43.

In the 1940s and afterwards, residential schools increasingly came to be used as orphanages and child welfare facilities for the state. The TRC notes that "by 1960 the federal government estimated that 50 percent of children in residential school were there for child-welfare reasons."[34] This shift triggered the beginning of what has been referred to in Canada as the 'Sixties Scoop,' and the disproportionate representation of Indigenous children in child welfare that persists today. According to Cindy Blackstock, in the early 21st century there were three times as many Indigenous children in the care of child welfare authorities than at the peak of the residential school system in the 1940s.[35]

Major amendments to the Indian Act in 1951 made it possible for Indigenous children to attend provincially-run day schools. The 1950s witnessed growing state management of residential schools including the hiring of staff and teachers with the goal of ultimately ending the system. By the late 1960s, the number of residential schools in southern Canada had declined. Many students were funnelled into the provincial education system where possible or into public and government-run provincial and territorial schools. Many residential schools were not entirely shut down and were reclassified by Indian Affairs as residences where Indigenous students lived while attending provincially-run day schools or Indian Affairs day schools, usually geographically distant from their homes.[36] In 1969, the federal government took over full responsibility of residential schools from churches. During these transitional decades the residential school system was an afterthought for Indian Affairs when it came to direction and funding. According to the TRC, in these decades Indigenous "children were victims of this policy of drift, neglect, and government-church conflict…the children who attended residential schools continued to be poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly clothed, and poorly educated."[37]

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[34] TRC, *A Knock on the Door,* 43.

[35] Cindy Blackstock, "Community-Based Child Welfare for Aboriginal Children: Supporting Resilience Through Structural Change," *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, issue 24 (March 2005): 13.

[36] TRC, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Canada's Residential Schools, the History, Part 2 1939 to 2000 (Winnipeg: TRC), 11.

[37] TRC, *The Final Report, Part 2,* 11. For an example of continued state sanctioned mistreatment of Indigenous children in residential schools in the post WWII period see: Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential School, 1942-1952," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, volume 46, no. 91 (May 2013): 145-72.

The last federally-funded residential school in Canada, the Gordon Residential School in Punnichy, Saskatchewan, closed in 1996.[38]

[38] St. Michael's (Duck Lake) Indian Residential School is also commonly referred to as one of the last residential schools to close. St. Michael's opened in 1894 and was run by the Roman Catholic Church until 1982 when the Duck Lake residence was placed under the control of the Saskatoon District Chiefs before it was finally closed in 1996.

INDIAN HOSPITALS: BRIEF OVERVIEW

The early twentieth century witnessed the creation of European-style hospitals for the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Churches and their missionary organizations first established infirmaries within residential schools and small hospitals that adjoined schools or were located on reserve. Many of these early hospitals functioned largely as extensions of residential schools, and were often used by the schools to avoid sending children home to their families when they became sick. Western health care services for Indigenous peoples in the early twentieth century remained largely a fragmented system comprised of mission hospitals, school infirmaries, nursing stations, itinerant medical doctors, and travelling public health nurses.[39] All of these were marginally funded by Indian Affairs and relied on the donations and support of various philanthropic and service organizations for both financial and material donations to continue to operate. As historian Laurie Meijer Drees aptly observes, "until 1945, the piecemeal but growing [health] services to Aboriginal peoples operated as a marriage of Church and state," especially in the provincial and far norths.[40]

At the same time, non-Indigenous health services at the provincial and municipal levels were growing. These institutions remained largely closed to Indigenous peoples unless express permission from Indian Affairs was granted. Even with permission, Indigenous peoples were relegated to segregated wards within provincial and municipal hospitals. This segregation persisted at the federal level as well. For instance, when the federal Department of Health was created in 1919, Indigenous peoples were not included under its mandate. It was not until after Dr. E. L. Stone was appointed chief medical officer within the Department of Indian Affairs in

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[39] For broad histories of Indian hospitals and the colonial health care system generally in the geographic area that came to be known as Canada please see: Maureen Lux, *Medicine That Walks: Disease, medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Maureen Lux, *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s-1980s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Laurie Meijer Drees, *Healing Histories: Stories from Canada's Indian Hospitals* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013); Kristin Burnett, *Taking Medicine: Women's Healing Work and Colonial Contact in Southern Alberta, 1880-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); James Waldram, D. Ann Herring, and T. Kue Young, *Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical, Cultural, and Epidemiological Perspectives*, second edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); and Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-50* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).

[40] Drees, *Healing Histories*, 13.

1927, that the following year saw the creation of an actual Indian Health Services Branch within Indian Affairs.[41]

During the 1920s and 1930s, the federal government slowly began to take over management of some mission hospitals and nursing stations, and over the next several decades the federal government built a racially segregated Indian hospital system across Canada. After 1945, this system underwent significant expansion and by 1956 the Department of National Health and Welfare (DNHW) operated 18 hospitals, 33 nursing stations, 52 health centres with dispensaries, and 13 other small health centres.[42] One of the most well-known Indian hospitals created during this period was the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta, which opened in 1946 on the foundations of a former military hospital.

In 1946, Indian Health Services was transferred from Indian Affairs to the newly formed Department of National Health and Welfare under Dr. Percy E. Moore, the director of Indian Health Services. Moore drove federal intervention into Indian Health Services particularly around tuberculosis (TB) treatment. In 1945, the Advisory Committee for the Control and Prevention of TB Among Indians was established by an Order in Council to address growing concerns regarding TB rates among Indigenous peoples.[43] The Indian Act was amended in 1953 to include the "Indian Health Regulations," which stated that "an Indian who suspects himself to be infected with an infectious disease must be treated by a doctor."[44] Any Indigenous person contravening these health regulations faced fines of $100 and/or three months in jail. The regulations also included provisions for compulsory medical examinations and treatments, apprehension and detention, and the forced return of patients to hospitals.[45] The 1960s witnessed the closure of some Indian Hospitals and sanatoria and by the 1970s only nine Indian Hospitals remained open. The final segregated Indian Hospital to officially close in Canada was the Sioux Lookout Indian Hospital in northwestern Ontario when the Meno Ya Win Health Centre opened in 2010.

The Far North followed a pattern similar to the south, with churches erecting the first hospitals in the early twentieth century. In 1920, the Eastern Arctic Patrol started and increasingly throughout that decade western health services to the far north were provided by ship. Operating from late June to

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[41] Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health in Canada*, 191-193.
[42] Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health in Canada*, 197.
[43] Lux, *Separate Beds*, 39.
[44] Maureen Lux, "'We Demand Unconditional Surrender': Making and Unmaking the Blackfoot Hospital, 1890s to 1950s," *Social History of Medicine*, 25, no. 3 (2011): 680.
[45] Lux, "We Demand Unconditional Surrender,' 680.

late October, these ships conducted x-rays and transported patients, medical supplies, and health workers into the Far North. The C.D. Howe, which operated from 1950 to 1969, was the most well-known of these medical ships. After WWII, the Royal Canadian Air Force evacuated patients from the Far North to southern TB hospitals.[46] The decades between 1940 and 1960 witnessed the largest number of evacuations of Indigenous patients to southern hospitals for TB treatment.

In 1962, IHS was reorganized into the Medical Services Branch (MSB). The MSB was the amalgamation of five federal service branches for people that fell outside the jurisdiction of provincial health care services, including Indian Health Services. The 1970s saw the beginning efforts of the federal government to dismantle the Indian hospital system due to high costs, declining TB rates, and agreements signed with provincial governments that shifted the focus of health care provision in Indigenous communities towards outside the community and into the provincial health care system. Over the next decade the MSB continued to downsize its operations especially in the provincial and far norths, preferring to operate small health centres and nursing stations.[47] By the 1980s, the MSB ran 500 small health facilities and eight deteriorating hospitals. Patients continue to be evacuated from their communities for an increasing array of medical reasons including childbirth.

[46] Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health in Canada*, 200-201
[47] Drees, *Healing Histories*, 24.

YWCA: BRIEF OVERVIEW

Founded in England in 1855 by Evangelical protestant women, the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) formed as means to advance both the protestant faith and the social, political, and economic place of women. Canadian YWCA's formed to address local concerns: first in Saint John, New Brunswick in 1870, then in Toronto (1873), Montreal (1874), Quebec City (1875), and Halifax (1875), with nine additional YWCAs by 1900.[48] The Dominion YWCA, established in 1893, served as an organizing body that brought member associations together to advocate on an inter/national stage. By 1920, the Dominion YWCA had unified the disparate member associations although they remained autonomous and responsible for their own programming at the regional and local levels.

The formation of the YWCA in Canada followed broader patterns among white middle-class Christian women who wanted to address the perceived social and moral ills of North American society. In particular, the YWCA distinguished itself from other Christian women's and philanthropic organizations at the turn of the nineteenth century through their interest in the 'plight' of young working women in the city. Young, single, working women were believed to be at risk because of their supposed "vulnerability to exploitation [and] attraction to the material temptations of the city."[49] Often referred to as the "girl problem," the YWCA spent a great deal of its institutional resources developing programming and facilities for young working women such as boarding houses, employment bureaus, educational classes, clubs and social functions, cafeterias, Travelers Aid, recreational facilities such as summer camps, gymnasia and swimming pools, and

[48] Although there is no definitive history of the YWCA in Canada, there are many excellent published and unpublished sources that we have drawn on for a general understanding of the YWCA and how it functioned across the country. These include: Mary Quayle Innis, *Unfold the Years: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949); Josephine Harshaw, When Women Work Together: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966); Wendy Mitchinson, "The YWCA and Reform in the Nineteenth Century," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 12 (1979): 368-384; Diana L. Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada, 1870-1920: 'A Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need,'" (PhD diss., Carleton University, 1987). The YWCA also wrote several internal histories that are available in the YWCA Canada archival files at LAC.

[49] Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem* (University of Toronto Press, 1995). See, also, Diana Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930," *Canadian Woman Studies* 7, no 4 (1986); 20-24.

religious instruction.[50] Classes included vocational courses like typing, bookkeeping, and shorthand. There were also courses designed to improve women's domestic skills like sewing, cooking, and housekeeping.[51] The programming was designed to ensure that when women undertook paid work, they did so in a proper manner and that their non-work time was spent doing appropriate recreational activities; the end goal, even for working women, was to become good Christian housewives and mothers.[52]

One of the YWCA's greatest and most enduring contributions was providing short-term accommodations for people travelling and longer-term housing for women and girls new to the city. In the 1890s, YWCAs established Travelers' Aid Departments as a preventative measure to address the perceived danger faced by young women travelling by themselves.[53] The Travelers' Aid Department was imagined as providing a "steadying influence" for young women away from home for the first time.[54] In addition to meeting new arrivals at train stations, the YWCA maintained lists of suitable housing, visiting potential boarding houses to ensure that they were able to provide young women with a proper environment.[55] For those who stayed at YWCA residences, character building was an important part of the residences' mandate, and residents were expected to take part in activities such as evening services. A number of YWCAs in western Canada received financial assistance from local government in support of their efforts to safeguard young women in the city.[56]

Protecting and preventing the moral degeneration of young women arriving in the city also extended to ensuring that workplaces and employers were

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[50] Diana Pedersen, "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review*, vol 15, no. 3 (Feb 1987): 227; Catherine Olive Tomlinson Wylie, "'God's Own Cornerstones: Our Daughters': The Saskatoon Young Women's Christian Association, 1910-1939," Masters of Arts, Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, 1989, 75.

[51] The exact mix of classes varied by YWCA. See, Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good [article]," 20, 22; Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 118-119.

[52] Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada," [, 136.

[53] On traveller's aid, see Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada," 222-236; Diana L. Pedersen, ""Keeping our good girls good"; the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920," (MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1981), 117-135; Wylie, "God's Own Cornerstones" 42. On the residences, see, Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good" [article] 20-24.

[54] Wylie, "God's Own Cornerstones," 43.

[55] Pedersen, "Keeping our good girls good," 118-119, 121; Wylie, "God's Own Cornerstones," 56, 77-78, 91-92.

[56] Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada,"115.

suitable. Towards this goal, Employment Bureaus were established to assist young women with finding work placements.[57] One of the tasks undertaken by Employment Bureau secretaries was to assess the skills of potential workers and make placements accordingly. A history of the YWCA in Saskatoon from 1910 to 1939 found that a great number of the job placements made by the Employment Bureau were for domestic servants - often in the houses of those women who were also members of the YWCA.[58]

Much of the concern about the supposed vulnerability of young women working in the city was a fear and nativist-based response to growing urbanization, industrialization and an increase in non-European-Canadian immigration. It was a fear that was largely fueled by unfounded worries among middle class European-Canadians who wrongly believed their way of life, and place in it, were at risk. As a result, a great deal of state and organizational resources were directed towards containing perceived cultural and social differences. It is in this context that the YWCA offered services they thought would address poverty, hygiene, and temperance, but their efforts were aimed more toward assisting individuals rather than addressing the systemic inequality, poverty, and racism that underlay such social issues.[59] One educator, speaking of the value of the YWCA on college and university campuses, for example, wrote "The Faculty value the Y.W.C.A. in that it fosters among the students a true Christian spirit. Girls learn the sacredness of living, learn that an opportunity is an obligation, learn to value their time…. Many objectionable things can be prevented by Christian girls quietly influencing and restraining thoughtless companions."[60] Through the control of personal behaviour, then, YWCA members could model what they perceived to be suitable conduct.

Historians of the YWCA observe that while their initial charity work could be described as "traditional benevolence in the form of relief and rescue," they increasingly moved to a preventative model that included a four-pronged approach that encompassed women's and girls' religious, educational, social,

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[57] The Employment Bureau evolved through various names, including Vocational Counselling Services. Wylie, "God's Own Cornerstones,", 99. On vocational counselling, see, for example, the February 1961 issue of *The Journal.*

[58] Wylie, "God's Own Cornerstones," 99.

[59] On moral reform movements, see Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Second edition (University of Toronto Press, 2016); Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water* (University of Toronto Press, 2008).

[60] As quoted in Diana Pedersen, "The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, Paul Axelrod and John Reid, eds,* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1989), 194.

and physical well-being.[61] The emphasis on physical well-being becomes particularly apparent in the early decades of the twentieth century when greater attention was directed towards the building of gymnasiums, swimming pools, and the establishment of summer camps.[62] This attention to physical well-being corresponded with the increasing focus, especially after the 1930s, on youth through the development of teen programming. Such a focus was triggered by a social and cultural shift in Canadian society through the nineteenth century, that witnessed childhood gradually come to be seen as a separate stage of life in need of additional protection and guidance.[63] Greater emphasis in the twentieth century was placed on adolescence, and activities and organizations for youth, like summer camps, Girl Guides of Canada, and the Canadian Girls in Training Program, multiplied.[64] These programs focused on goals like building proper Christian characters and strong leadership qualities.

The YWCA was extensively involved in providing programming for adolescent girls in the twentieth century. Two examples that are of note here are the Y-Teen clubs and the extension program. Y-Teen was the term used by the YWCA to identify members between the ages of 15 and 19. Youth under 15 were referred to as Junior Y-Teens.[65] In 1951, a census of YWCA membership revealed that at least a 1/3 of its members were under the age of 20, with the majority of those under 16 and attending high school. In response, programming for Y-Teens grew to include teen-centred clubs, teen canteens, teen town, dance programs, leadership camps, and interest groups.[66] Most of these activities were organized through local member

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[61] Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada," 162, 168.
[62] On this, see Pedersen, " Keeping Our Good Girls Good [article]," 20-24; Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada," 371-404.
[63] On this change in the perception of childhood, particularly in relation to adolescence, see Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The dominion of youth: Adolescence and the making of modern Canada, 1920 to 1950* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2006). See also, Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada,"387-404. For the YWCA's work in schools, see document titled "The YWCA Works with High Schools Students," n.d., MG28-I198, Vol. 26, file 13 "Membership and Christian Emphasis – Work in High Schools, 1955-1960," YWCA, LAC.
[64] Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada, 1870-1920," 388.
[68] On the historic conversations about amalgamation, see Frederick Elkin and Catherine McLean. "Pressures Towards Cooperation in Voluntary Associations: the and the YWCA in Canada." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 5, no. 1 (1976): 16-26.
[68] On the historic conversations about amalgamation, see Frederick Elkin and Catherine McLean. "Pressures Towards Cooperation in Voluntary Associations: the and the YWCA in Canada." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 5, no. 1 (1976): 16-26.

associations. For those smaller, rural, and northern communities without a YWCA, Y-Teen clubs that were formed were housed under "extension activities" and managed by the National YWCA.[67] These extension activities are likely to have included those clubs formed in residential schools that were not managed by member associations.

After the Second World War, the YWCA underwent a period of self-reflection regarding sustainability and its purpose as a service organization. Since 1925, there had been multiple conversations about the amalgamation of the YWCA and the YMCA.[68] A self-study conducted in the 1960s sought to better understand what the YWCA's purpose in Canada was and how it could serve all Canadians.[69] Discussions about the role of the YWCA in other service areas were also held, including whether the type of temporary residential services traditionally offered by the YWCA were still useful.[70] One observer cautioned the YWCA not to modernize all services offered to young women too quickly because it remained well-positioned to address the "needs of girls and women."[71]

As the YWCA reflected on its role and purpose in the 1960s, one area of programming that grew was the extension of its services to Indigenous girls and women. At multiple points across the 1960s, YWCA representatives imagined themselves to be ideally situated to extend work with Indigenous communities. In June 1961, the YWCA passed a resolution at its 21st National Convention which positioned the organization to provide programming to Indigenous women coming to the city in increasing numbers:

> WHEREAS Indian and Eskimo girls and women are not at present integrated into urban life, and whereas the problem of

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[68] On the historic conversations about amalgamation, see Frederick Elkin and Catherine McLean. "Pressures Towards Cooperation in Voluntary Associations: the and the YWCA in Canada." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 5, no. 1 (1976): 16-26.

[68] On the historic conversations about amalgamation, see Frederick Elkin and Catherine McLean. "Pressures Towards Cooperation in Voluntary Associations: the and the YWCA in Canada." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 5, no. 1 (1976): 16-26.

[69] For discussion on the study and the YWCA's discussions, see Judy Ruby and Jean Campbell, "The Great Debate," *The Journal* (January 1961), 3-4; Lillian Thomson, "From New Standpoints," *The Journal* (January 1961), 5-9. Most of the issue of the newsletter focuses on the study.

[70] See, for example, Regina YWCA Public Relations Committee, "The Question," *The Journal* (February 1961), 27-29.

[71] Lillian Thomson, "From New Standpoints," *The Journal* (January 1961), 8.

> integrating Indian and Eskimo girls into urban life seems to be different and unique, and WHEREAS some associations, recognizing this problem, have successfully undertaken special programs to encourage Indian and Eskimo girls to become members of the YWCA; therefore BE IT RESOLVED that the YWCA of Canada extend its fullest efforts to provide program [sic] for Indian and Eskimo girls and women with a view to encouraging their participation.[72]

Such considerations continued post-resolution. In a November 1962 issue of *The Journal*, for example, YWCA Canada's executive director Agnes Roy reported on a trip they had recently made to the Arctic, commenting:

> It may be that through the YWCA we can create an enthusiasm among our members for the North, so that they will be interested in taking up positions as nurses, teachers or church workers. It may be possible that a YWCA staff person with recreational and group work skills, spending short periods in the northern communities, could help to enrich the lives of girls and women, developing their skills and interests, and giving them a link with girls and women around the world.[73]

Thus, the post-WWII period witnessed a shift within the YWCA that included a focus on Indigenous women and girls who were relocating to cities and towns. The organization also positioned itself as a sort of cultural broker and service provider wherein they assisted Indigenous women and girls with finding their place (read: assimilating) in European-Canadian society. It may well be that this "new" focus helped to sustain the YWCA at a time when it was questioning its purpose, more broadly. Further research on this hypothesis is required.

What is clear from the archival records we have reviewed, is that YWCA Canada and its member associations worked together in the effort to extend programming to Indigenous peoples. On this point, the June 1970 meeting minutes from the Intercultural Task Group are instructive. They contain the following vision of YWCA Canada's place in this endeavour:

> National's role should be one of co-ordination and enabling of local projects. Funds are available from the Annie Grey Keith fund but we need to look into the possibility of Government

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[72] "Five W's," *The Journal* (October 1961), 35-36.
[73] Agnes Roy, "Arctic Adventure," *The Journal* (November 1962), 9.

> funds even though there is no specific national project. ARDA[74] and other sections of the Secretary of State as well as the Indian Affairs Branch were mentioned as possibilities. The functions nationally would be development of Indian leadership, co-ordination with Indian organizations and intercultural understanding. We need to look at opportunities for using YWCA resources and local facilities, to make YWCA's [sic] and communities and Indians aware of each other. National as the enabler might help to set up some local structure for intercultural experience.[75]

This excerpt suggests that YWCA Canada saw itself as directly involved in extending programming to Indigenous peoples, and were prepared to seek resources, including government funding, to finance their efforts. While, in the following pages, examples of the YWCA's involvement in the residential schools and Indian hospitals often reflects local efforts, it is clear that YWCA Canada remained an active participant.

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[74] ARDA refers to the Agriculture and Rural Development Act, 1966. As the program evolved, "special ARDA" was designed in 1970 "specifically for native peoples, its purpose being to provide incentive grants to businesses to hire 'disadvantaged' native people." See, Sally M. Weaver, "Federal policy-making for Métis and non-status Indians in the context of native policy," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques au Canada* 17, no. 2 (1985): 82-83.

[75] This meeting was attended by several of YWCA Canada's executive. See, Meeting minutes of the Intercultural Task Group, 26 June 1970, MG28-I198 Vol. 62 file 5 "Intercultural Committee, 1970-1972," YWCA, LAC.

FINDINGS: WHAT ROLE DID THE YWCA PLAY IN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL AND INDIAN HOSPITALS?

The history of the involvement of YWCA Canada and member associations in residential schools and Indian hospitals in Canada is complicated. Each member association made its own decisions about local priorities and objectives and how best to pursue them. Thus, it is important to see the history of the YWCA as many related and intersecting histories and not as one singular history. In this instance, we borrow from scholar Patrick Wolfe who argues that settler colonialism is not a singular act or event, but rather a structure or system that is built and put into practice over a long period of time.[76] This system was designed to destroy the social, economic, and political patterns of Indigenous Nations and to assimilate Indigenous peoples into European-Canadian society. The work of the YWCA contributed to and participated in this system in a number of ways over a long period of time.

To date, the histories of residential schools and Indian hospitals in Canada have focused primarily on the role that the churches and the state played in managing, staffing, and funding these institutions. Students' experiences, school conditions, staff qualifications, school curriculum, extracurricular activities, food, and sexual and physical abuse have largely been attributed to the church and the state through simultaneous conditions of violence and neglect intended to assimilate Indigenous children by severing connections with their cultures and communities. The attention paid to the church and the state has left somewhat of a historical gap regarding the roles that other Canadian organizations and institutions, and society more broadly, played in residential schools and Indian hospitals. Much of this omission is based upon the false understanding that these schools and hospitals operated in isolation from broader Canadian economic, political, and social systems.

Although extremely important foundations, current histories of residential schools and Indian hospitals ignore the important roles played by other institutions and organizations in Canada in supporting the residential school and Indian Hospital systems. A recent book written by the Survivors of the Assiniboia Indian Residential School, a school located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, entitled *Did You See Us? Reunion, Remembrance, and Reclamation at an Urban Residential School* poses this very question in its title.[77] The stories told by the authors recount memories of being in the city, playing sports with other schools, participating in a variety of extracurricular activities (e.g.

[76] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387-409.
[77] Survivors of the Assiniboia Indian Residential School*, Did You See Us: Reunion, Remembrance, and Reclamation at an Urban Indian Residential School* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2022).

arts and drama), interacting with people in the neighbourhood (e.g. shoveling snow to earn money), and travelling the city landscape to visit local department stores like Eaton's and see movies. Although often housed in separate institutions, these students were not separate from the communities surrounding them.

The surrounding communities were unquestionably aware of these students and other Indigenous peoples. The YWCA's early involvement with Indigenous girls and women arose from concerns raised by members of the organization. In 1954, the YWCA issued a memo entitled "Memorandum regarding the needs of Indian women and girls and the possible services which could be made available by the YWCA of Canada." The memo stemmed from a meeting between multiple YWCA representatives, members of the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Presbyterian Church of Canada, which was prompted by a community member of Kenora, B.C. who raised concerns about the adequacy of housing for Indigenous girls and women there. In consultation with the Indians Affairs branch, the following were identified as possible areas of service provision for Indigenous women and girls:

1. Participation of Indian girls in YWCA summer camps.
2. Provision of Room Registry services in communities where there is no YWCA residence.
3. Assistance with finding and keeping jobs and working with employers on this question.
4. Group program where Indian girls have an opportunity to share their crafts and dances with non-Indians.
5. Development of Y-Teen clubs in communities where there is no YWCA.[78]

The YWCA followed through on all of these suggestions to some extent, although the degree of involvement varied across the country from member association to member association.

In this report we outline the ways in which the YWCA contributed to the aims of the residential schools and Indian hospital systems in the following areas:

- Influencing school curriculum;

[78] Document titled "Memorandum regarding the needs of Indian women and girls and the possible services which could be made available by the Y.W.C.A. of Canada, 1954," 22 July 1954, MG28-I198 Vol. 61 file 25 "Indian Affairs – Indian Women (1954)," YWCA, LAC.

- Working with Indian hospitals in providing services through hospital rehabilitation programs;
- Running social clubs and extracurricular activities for students and patients beyond the walls of Indian Residential schools, Indian hospitals, and provincially-run day schools;
- Organizing Y-Teen and Extension Programs;
- Operating residences and hostels in cities and towns; and
- Working with Indian Affairs to provide service and supports for the Indian Placement and Relocation Program.

These areas of activity are elaborated on below.

1. SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The architects of the residential school system imagined the schools as an all-encompassing environment for Indigenous children that would transform the entire universe of the child (social, political, and economic) through cutting hair, changing clothes, forbidding Indigenous languages, controlling food, altering the landscape of the day, and changing the children's sense of time, including the passage of seasons.[79] However, underfunding remained a central characteristic of the system across the period in which residential schools operated, affecting both the quality of education (some students never made it past the third grade and even fewer graduated from high school) and the ways in which the school day was structured. For instance, the creation of a half-day system intended to introduce a mixture of academic studies and practical training/skills was undercut by severe financial constraints. Instead, the half-day system became one wherein students were required to perform excessive and exhausting manual labour in order to maintain the school rather than acquire an academic education and practical skills.[80] Days were extremely regimented and consisted of chores, class work, vocational training, and religious services.[81] The education offered to students was highly gendered, and the skills taught to boys and girls mimicked broader gender roles assigned to women and men in European-Canadian society. For instance, Indigenous girls were trained to become domestic servants and boys would be employed as blue-collar workers and agricultural labourers.

It was not until the 1920s that the federal government required a standardized curriculum in residential schools. In that decade, Indian Affairs obliged residential schools to follow provincial curriculums, however many school authorities were largely unaware of regulatory changes and academics remained a low priority generally.[82] Racism, low expectations for the academic potential of students, and a curriculum that focused on creating European-Canadians and denigrating Indigenous cultures and people ensured that many Indigenous children left school with few skills and feelings of alienation. Even after the 1950s, educational quality continued to be uneven and access to innovative and inclusive teaching practices depended on individual teachers rather than any significant changes within the system.

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[79] Chrisjohn, *The Circle Game*.
[80] Milloy *'A National Crime,'* 172
[81] TRC, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Canada's Residential Schools, the History, Part I Origins to 1939* (Winnipeg: TRC 2015), 353.
[82] TRC, *A Knock on the Door*, 18.

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following way:

- **Domestic Science Curriculum:** Domestic science courses provided a template for residential school educators that sought to assimilate Indigenous girls and women into European-Canadian culture, and the YWCA through members like Adelaide Hoodless, made significant contributions to the form and content of domestic science curriculum. According to historian Mary Jane McCallum:

> domestic science courses sought to teach 'correct living' by applying scientific principles to such homemaking skills as sewing, food processing, table etiquette, laundry, general housework, home nursing, hygiene, sanitation, cooking and needlework. Arguing that domestic science taught girls the 'value of pure air, proper food, systematic management, economy of time, labour and money; higher ideals of home life, and its relation to the State; more respect for domestic occupations; prevention of disease; civic and domestic sanitation; care of children; home nursing, and what to do in emergencies,' [Adelaide] Hoodless placed education in home management within a larger scheme of socializing young girls as home-makers.[83]

We see this continued influence on the activities and programs run by YWCA and member associations to support residential schools and Indian hospitals after World War II. For instance:

- **Etiquette Classes:** As part of the social activities that they provided for the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital, the Edmonton YWCA held social etiquette (referred to as charm) classes, for current and recently discharged patients of the hospital who continued to recover in rehabilitation homes.[84]

- **Instruction for Domestic Servants:** In the 1954 memo outlining how the YWCA might assist Indigenous women and girls, they wrote "Assistance with finding and keeping jobs and working with employers

[83] McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians," 33.
[84] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC. The report consists of a series of excerpts taken from larger reports written by the Edmonton YWCA, spanning activities from 1957 to 1964.

on this question."[85] It appears that the YWCA took this point seriously and intended to provide Indigenous women and girls with training regarding domestic service.[86] For example, the Prince Albert YWCA noted "Many employers complain that Indian Girls seem incapable of holding a job and giving satisfactory service, but it may be that some form of instruction for both girls and potential employers might obviate certain of these problems."[87]

[85] Document titled "Memorandum regarding the needs of Indian women and girls and the possible services which could be made available by the Y.W.C.A. of Canada, 1954," 22 July 1954, MG28-I198 Vol. 61 file 25 "Indian Affairs – Indian Women (1954)," YWCA, LAC.

[86] In her MA Thesis about the Saskatoon YWCA, for example, Wylie outlines how most young women were placed as domestics. See Wylie, "God's Own Cornerstones," passim. In her study of the Montreal YWCA from the 1920s to the 1960s, Elaine Mary Davies argues that the Education department formalized the courses related to domestic work so as not to hinder women's chances in the labour market. This formalization sees courses like those for Cook Generals, Housemen, Chambermaids, and Household Helpers." Whether domestic labour was viewed as a formal career path may have varied across member associations. On Montreal, see, Elaine Mary Davies, "The Montreal YWCA and its role in the advancement of women: 1920-1960," (PhD diss., Concordia University, 1991), 73.

[87] Helen McLelland, "Our Indian and Metis Committee," *The Journal* (Jan. 1963), 16.

2. REHABILITATION PROGRAMS

Starting in the early 1950s where resources and service organizations existed in local towns and cities, Indian hospitals ran rehabilitation programs modelled in part on programs operating in provincial tuberculosis sanitariums. After the Second World War, the creation of rehabilitation divisions within provincial tuberculosis sanitariums became commonplace and included a range of activities like vocational counselling and training, placement guidance, aftercare supervision, and employment services.[88] Given their wealth of experience with employment counselling and job placement services, the YWCA was well positioned to participate with this latter function and in provinces like Alberta and Manitoba their expertise was regularly drawn upon. A primary goal of rehabilitation programs was to "train patients to take a normal place in the business and social world."[89] There appears to be a significant amount of voluntary labour taking place in Indian hospitals like Hamilton's Mountain Sanitarium and the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital.[90] The roles played by volunteers, including the YWCA, in Indian hospitals requires further research.

For non-Indigenous people, rehabilitation programs were intended to both ensure that former patients were ready to re-renter the work force and prevent any further health relapses. In contrast, for Indigenous peoples, rehabilitation programs fulfilled somewhat different objectives. According to a presentation made by Indian Affairs to the Canadian Tuberculosis Association in 1956, the goal of residences for Indigenous patients was to "give [them] the chance to learn trades that their physical condition will allow them to undertake. It is further recognized that the kind of work they will be able to do is found for the most part in industrial centres…. It is also essential to introduce them to life in the non-Indian community and help them to adjust to it."[91] In other words, one of the primary functions of

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[88] Katherine McCuaig, *The Weariness, the Fever, and the Fret: The Campaign against Tuberculosis in Canada, 1900-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 201. For a discussion of rehabilitation and disability more broadly see: Leah Morton, "'It has impacted our lives in great measure': Families, Patients, and Health Care during Manitoba's Polio Era, 1929-1953," (PhD Diss., University of Manitoba, 2013).

[89] McCuaig, *The Weariness, the Fever, and the Fret*, 201.

[90] On the role of volunteers in the Hamilton Mountain Sanitorium, see Jonathan, Gire. "Inuit medical evacuees and tuberculosis in Hamilton: the makings of a problem." (PhD diss., McMaster University 2017).

[91] Ottawa, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Claims and Historical Research Centre, fil L. 14, p.2, "Indian Rehabilitation and Integration Services that are being promoted by the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and

rehabilitation programs in Indian hospitals was to help Indigenous peoples assimilate into the European-Canadian community and to prevent them from returning home.

The Charles Camsell Indian Hospital started its rehabilitation division in 1955. Located in Edmonton, Alberta, the Charles Camsell Hospital was one of the largest and most well-known Indian hospitals in Canada. Originally a Jesuit College, the building was taken over by the American military in 1942 during the construction of the Alaskan highway. In June 1946, Indian Health Services established the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital as a sanatorium with a service area that included Indigenous communities across the prairies, the western subarctic, and the western Arctic for tuberculosis treatment.[92]

Discharge from the hospital included a long convalesce period that could last anywhere from three to six months spent in a rehabilitation home (also referred to as convalescent homes) under the further care and supervision of Indian Affairs.[93] The Charles Camsell Indian Hospital operated two convalescent homes - one for women and one for men. Further training or study was made available once former patients were well enough for them to acquire what Indian Affairs regarded as a 'suitable job.' One of the most important components of the rehabilitation programs was to ensure the former patients "become used to living around" non-Indigenous peoples.[94] Described as "leading the way," the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital's pilot project offered training in areas like barbering, hairdressing, lab and x-ray work, office skills, carpentry, and cabinet making. In smaller hospitals without the resources to run formal rehabilitation programs, former patients often remained as workers in the hospital for long periods of time. For example, before her marriage and following her official discharge from the Nanaimo and Coqualeetza Hospitals, a former patient worked as a ward aid.[95] Younger patients were returned to residential schools following their discharge.

Immigration," presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Tuberculosis Association at Niagara Falls, 16 May 1956. Cited in Drees, *Healing Histories*, 94.

[92] Drees, *Healing Histories*, 47-50. See also: Shawn Selway, *Nobody Here Will Harm You: Mass Medical Evacuation From the Eastern Arctic, 1950-1965* (Hamilton: James Street North Books, 2016), 151-52.

[93] "Rehabilitation Program Expands as Former Patients Prove Its Worth," *The Indian News* (March 1957), 2.

[94] "Rehabilitation Program Expands as Former Patients Prove Its Worth," *The Indian News* (March 1957), 2.

[95] Drees, *Healing Histories*, 95.

At the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital, the rehabilitation program was initiated by Indian Affairs and drew on rehabilitation models established elsewhere. In Edmonton, Indian Affairs worked in cooperation with the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital's staff, the YWCA, and other local service agencies like the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE).[96] The Rehabilitation officer in charge of the Camsell rehabilitation program during this period was Fred Drew, Principal of the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital School. Assisting him with the program were Mrs. J.E. Kerans and Mr. H. Copeland.[97] Similar programs were initiated in Manitoba where two convalescent homes were established in Winnipeg in February 1956 with funding from Indian Affairs. The home was staffed by Miss Constance Davidson, a former teacher at the Shingwauk Residential School. The continuity of staff between these institutions is important to note here; often when non-Indigenous people left their positions at residential schools, they found work in rehabilitation homes and Indian hospitals.

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following ways:

- **Job Counselling:** Although Saskatchewan did not establish convalescent homes like those in Winnipeg and Edmonton, the Indian Hospitals in the province, under an agreement with provincial authorities, the Indian Affairs Branch, the Indian and Northern Health Services Branch, the Indian and Northern Health Service, and the Unemployment Insurance Commission, worked co-operatively with the province's Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation to develop social rehabilitation projects for Indigenous peoples living with disabilities. In this context, the YWCA was described as providing "much assistance" for individuals discharged from Indian hospitals with counselling and advice.[98]

- **Extracurricular Activities:** The YWCA Edmonton played a central role within the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital's rehabilitation program. Indian Affairs approached the Edmonton YWCA in the early 1950s to start working with Indigenous girls discharged from the

[96] The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) is a national women's charitable service organization that was founded in 1900 by Margaret Polson Murray to show their loyalty and service to the British Empire. Co-operation with the IODE shows up at different points in the YWCA files and speaks to the need to further explore the role and cooperation of other women's voluntary organizations.
[97] "Rehabilitation Program Expands as Former Patients Prove Its Worth," *The Indian News* (March 1957), 2.
[98] "Rehabilitation Program Expands as Former Patients Prove Its Worth," *The Indian News* (March 1957), 2.

hospital. According to a report prepared for Indian Affairs by the Edmonton YWCA Youth Program Director in February 1964:

> There is a group of nine girls now that we have set up a project for. We will not be able to do any activities with them in the line of sports for some time because the majority of the girls are not yet strong enough to participate. The girls are meeting at the Y on Wednesday afternoons and are doing copper pictures for their first project. [99]

Descriptions of the program suggest regular collaborations between the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital and the Edmonton YWCA.

- **Extracurricular Activities:** In 1955, the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital purchased a small bus to transport patients to programming held outside the hospital. Upon its purchase, the YWCA indicated their intention to use the bus a couple of days a month to take the patients on picnics, provide cooking lessons, and tour the city to visit "a few of the industries." [100]

- **Extracurricular Activities:** In March 1956, a group of Indigenous girls from the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital attended the Edmonton YWCA to participate in craft activities. Several months later in April 1956, the girls made it clear to the program director that they wanted to do something else besides work on craft projects.

Women's service organizations in Edmonton also worked with each other to provide activities like crafts for the patients of the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital. For instance, the IODE offered to serve tea for the girls from the hospital at the YWCA on Friday afternoons, but instead the YWCA asked that the money be donated towards offsetting the costs of purchasing crafting materials.[101] The Charles Camsell Indian Hospital was well known for selling

[99] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC. 5

[100] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[101] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

the artwork of Indigenous patients in its gift shop, and the proceeds were then 'donated' to the hospital auxiliary.[102]

The Edmonton YWCA also appears to have run a number of recreational activities in conjunction with both the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital and the Edmonton Residential School. The Edmonton Residential School, also referred to as the St. Albert Residential School, operated as a residential school from March 1924 to 1960 when it became a residence/hostel for students attending provincial day schools in Edmonton. In 1968, the residence was closed and six years later the school building was shut for good. Before its closure, the Edmonton YWCA continued to work with students living in the residence at the site of the former Edmonton Residential School.

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following ways:

- **Club Meetings and Social Activities:** In early 1959, the YWCA organized a social club called the 'Rendezvous Club' for young women and girls living in convalescent homes and attending the nearby Edmonton Residential Schools.[103] Through the Rendezvous Club, the YWCA planned dances, sports, bingo, and skating parties.
    - In the fall of 1959, the Rendezvous Club also offered social etiquette classes from a local charm school.
    - Initially, the club was regularly attended by former patients from the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital with anywhere from 10 to 15 young women showing up. However, attendance at the Rendezvous Club began to fluctuate once former hospital patients started to earn their own money and were able to make their own choices about how they could spend their time. According to a statement made to the program director "now [that they are] working and earning their own money, they can afford other kinds of programs and entertainment."[104]

[102] Drees, *Healing Histories*, 68-72. For examples of the craft sales at other sanitariums see Selway, *Nobody Here Will Harm You*, 153.
[103] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[104] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

- **Extracurricular Activities:** In the spring of 1962, the Edmonton YWCA planned a dance and a weekend work-study camp with the St. Albert Indian Residential School and youth from the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital.[105]

The kinds of activities run by the YWCA were about acclimating Indigenous patients and youth to European-Canadian life outside of the hospitals and residential schools, including potential places of employment. The Edmonton YWCA's report to Indian Affairs from November 1956 described that the girls preferred to use the gym for volleyball and badminton and were less interested in participating in organized activities like crafting.[106] Given the strict structure and routine required within institutions like the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital and residential schools, the opportunity to deviate from scheduled activities was most likely a welcome break from normal routines. For instance, the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital imposed incredibly rigid routines on its patients that controlled every moment and aspect of their day-to-day lives. The Charles Camsell Indian Hospital enforced four different routines on their patients. All the routines were very restrictive allowing very limited levels of movement and ranges of activities for patients. Even routine four, the routine reserved for the almost recovered patient, determined when and for how long people could walk and even if they were allowed to wash their own hair. Routine One, the most restrictive routine, prescribed the following allowable activities: 1. Full bed rest; 2. Complete bed bath; 3. Trips to the laboratory, x-ray or to the dentist will be by wheelchair or by stretcher; and 4. You may sit in a chair once a month while your bed is thoroughly cleaned.[107] It was not unheard of for children who were being treated at the hospital to be placed in full leg casts in order to prevent them from moving around or playing.[108]

Our preliminary review of the evidence available to us (we have not had the opportunity to review records located at either the Provincial Archives of Alberta or the City of Edmonton Archives) indicates that the Edmonton YWCA had substantive involvement with the children and youth attending both the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital and the Edmonton Residential

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[105] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[106] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[107] Drees, *Healing Histories*, 57.
[108] Pat Sandiford Grygier, *A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 110.

school, later the Edmonton Residence/Hostel.[109] We view further examination of the involvement of the Edmonton YWCA as a priority area.

[109] TRC, "Edmonton Indian Residential School, School Narrative," (March 2004).

3. OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS, INDIAN HOSPITALS, AND PROVINCIALLY-RUN DAY SCHOOLS

After the Second World War increasing numbers of Indigenous peoples migrated into cities shifting from 3.6% of "Indians" in 1941 to 30.7% by 1971.[110] Such populations shifts were brought on by major amendments to the Indian Act in 1951 and the declining use of overly harsh measures like the Pass System.[111] Movement into the city was perceived by the state as a period of transition for Indigenous peoples during which Indian Affairs had to provide further guidance in order to ensure the assimilation of Indigenous peoples into the dominant society. The YWCA perceived themselves to be ideally situated to assist with this task through the provision of what they considered to be "appropriate" recreational activities and assisting with navigating the processes of assimilation.

Such a desire to ensure that 'free time' was used appropriately mirrored many of the directions undertaken by the YWCA since the late nineteenth century when increasing numbers of young non-Indigenous women moving into the city for work corresponded with concerns about time 'well spent.'[112] The YWCA was committed to assisting Indigenous youth who they believed were "unready or unable to make use of their existing leisure time."[113] Such efforts on the part of Indian Affairs and the YWCA were undertaken under the false belief that Indigenous peoples and youth did not know how to spend their non-work time appropriately, and part of a larger post-war effort to address what the dominant society referred to as the "Indian Problem."[114]

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[110] Mary Jane Norris and Stewart Clatworthy, "Urbanization and Migration Patterns of Aboriginal Populations in Canada: A Half Century in Review (1951 to 2006), *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2011): 15.

[111] Instituted in 1885, the Pass System was a policy wherein Indigenous peoples who wanted to leave their reserve for any reason had to get permission and a 'pass' from the Indian agent. Indigenous peoples found off their reserve without a pass could face fines and/or imprisonment. The pass system was widely used especially in western Canada until the late 1940s and in some areas the 1950s. For further information on how the Pass System was used against Indigenous peoples see: Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); F. Laurie Barron, "The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1935," *Prairie Forum*, 13, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 25-42.

[112] See, for example, Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem;* Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good [article]," 20-24.

[113] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[114] Langford, "Friendship Centres in Canada" 10. For examples on how Indigenous peoples and communities used these clubs and activities to form their own spaces

As noted in the history context section, the 1950s witnessed shifts in federal Indigenous education policy where the state took greater control of the management of residential schools, in some instances closing them, and in others transforming residential schools into residences or hostels where Indigenous youth lived while they attended provincially run day schools. Although the shift towards provincial day schools was an improvement over residential schools, the state of affairs remained largely the same. According to Theodore Fontaine, a former residential school survivor, living in residences and attending provincial day schools was essentially the same as living in:

> residential school[s] for Indian children, far away from family and home. We ate, slept, and lived there, attended classes, and played outside within the confines of tall wire fences…The [settler community in which the residences were located] had been thrust in the forefront of the government's strategy to ensure that Indian children would be kept from the influences of our families.[115]

The secondary literature that explores extracurricular activities like school clubs, music, arts concerts and pageants, organized and recreational sporting activities, choirs, brass bands, the role of sports, clubs, cadets and various extra-curricular activities that took place in residential schools is relatively small. The majority of relevant literature looks at those activities run by the schools themselves and not the participation of outside organizations. What literature there is suggests that extracurricular activities in residential schools played complicated and often contradictory roles. On the one hand, extra-curricular activities conformed to the dominate society's desire to assimilate Indigenous children through the introduction of European-Canadian norms and values. For instance, sports or cadets were activities that reinforced the strict rules and schedules already used in schools. A growing body of literature on sports and physical education argues that "administrators used military drill, calisthenics, and gymnastics

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of community, see: Mary Jane Logan McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History, 1940-1980* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014); Heather Howard-Bobiwash, "Women's Class Strategies as Activism in Native Community Building in Toronto, 1950-1975," American Indian Quarterly, volume 27, no. 3 & 4 (2003): 566-582.

[115] Theodore Fontaine "Assiniboia Was a Place of Hope For Us… But It Was Still a Residential School," in *Did You See Us? Reunion, Remembrance, and Reclamation at an Urban Residential School*, by the Survivors of the Assiniboia Indian Residential School (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2021), 27.

to instill respect for authority and obedience among students."[116] A recent article about the role of cadets suggests that it went beyond physical activity to include indoctrination in European-Canadian values and beliefs, and thus served "important practical and ideological functions for the church and state."[117] Such activities "were believed to be effective tools for replacing Indigenous identities rooted in a separate nationhood with a commitment to the Canadian state, curbing wayward habits, inculcating a work ethics that aligned with the needs of industrial style production."[118] In other words, although technically labelled extra-curricular, these activities filled an important part of the schools' assimilatory objectives. Extracurricular activities were also used by schools to generate good publicity, and public awareness and support for residential schools. For instance, school bands were frequently used by principals to present positive public-facing images for residential schools that would encourage donations.[119]

On the other hand, testimony from survivors before the TRC indicated that some students found necessary escape in extracurricular activities and saw them as a way to physically leave the confines of the school even if it was only for brief periods of time to play in hockey tournaments, for example. [120] Although used by the school to indoctrinate children into European-Canadian values, extracurricular activities presented students with opportunities unavailable to them otherwise. Some children, for example, found that excelling at sports meant they received preferential treatment like better food and clothing.[121]

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in providing space for children attending residential schools to have access to recreational activities:

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[116] Braden Te Hiwi and Janice Forsyth, "A Rink at this School is Almost as Essential as a Classroom': Hockey and Discipline at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1945-1951," *Canadian Journal of History*, 52.1 (2017): 84.
[117] Evan J. Habkirk, "From Indian Boys to Canadian Men? The Use of Cadet Drill in the Canadian Indian Residential School System," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2017): 228.
[118] TRC, The Final Report, Part I, 355.
[119] TRC, The Final Report, Part I, 355.
[120] Eugene Archande with Sam Mckegney and Michael Mahkwa Auksi, "We Still need the game. As Indigenous people, it's in our blood.' A Conversation on Hockey, Residential School, and Decolonization," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 53, no. 3 (2021): 15-27.
[121] For a history of Indigenous sport in Canada see: Janice Forsyth, *Reclaiming Tom Longboat: Indigenous Self-Determination in Canadian Sport* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2020).

- **Extracurricular Activities:** In the 1960s, at the request of Indian Affairs and Father Klug of the Catholic Indian and Metis Services, the Edmonton YWCA ran recreational activities under the umbrella of the "Indian Program" for youth attending provincial run schools and living in residences. Initially, the Indian Program only met once a month, but at the request of Indian Affairs and Father Klug, meetings were increased to every Friday from 7pm to 9pm when the gym and North Club room [located at the YWCA] were available for physical/sport and casual club activities.[122]

As noted above, the Edmonton Residential School became a residence/hostel for students attending provincial day schools in Edmonton in September 1960 before it was closed in 1968. Indigenous youth from southern and northern Alberta and parts of British Columbia also attending provincially-run schools in Edmonton stayed in hostels or residences run by the Catholic church.

- **Extracurricular Activities:** In February 1964, teachers from the Edmonton Indian Residential School visited the YWCA to tour the facilities and observe recreational activities. Afterwards the teachers brought a group of ten students to attend the Indian Program.[123] The Edmonton YWCA provided a large club room, gym, and swimming pool. The membership of the club was comprised of Indigenous students boarding in Edmonton who were referred to the YWCA by the Placement Officer of the Indian Affairs Branch.[124] This group was joined by youth from the friendship centre and the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital.[125]

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[122]Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC. Please note here that while the YWCA report refers to the Edmonton Indian Residential School, by the mid-1960s the institution had largely transitioned into a residence for children who attended provincial day schools located in the city of Edmonton.

[123] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[124] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[125] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

3b. Social and Cultural Intermediaries

When Indigenous children attended provincially-run schools at a great distance from their homes and communities, and were housed in either boarding homes or large residences, the YWCA delivered what was considered to be appropriate recreational pursuits. Different member associations clearly saw themselves as social and cultural intermediaries in providing preparatory training for Indigenous youth that was intended to help them socialize with non-Indigenous youth. In other words, to make Indigenous children more like European-Canadian children.

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following ways:

- **Intercultural Committee:** The Vancouver YWCA worked with the Point Grey Secondary High School, attended by students from the Musqueam First Nation. The YWCA participated in ongoing conversations between Indian Affairs, the Indian Centre Society, and the Special Councillor for the Point Grey High School, Doug Reid, to create an "intercultural committee." The intercultural committee was established with the intention of improving relations between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous students/communities in the region and at the high school, in particular.[126]

- **Extracurricular Activities and Social Clubs:** The Cornwall YWCA noted that they were doing considerable work with the children from Akwesasne First Nation and that part of their job was to "prepare them for social participation with non-Indians before they have to come to school with them" and to "give a place where they can feel at home to the Indian children who attend school here, and to those children from the reserve who board in the city during the term – a place where they can play table-tennis, swim, watch T.V. etc)."[127] Here the children were drawn from the local First Nation and those kids boarding in Cornwall, Ontario, during the school year to attend junior high and high school.

- **After School Programming:** The Cornwall YWCA also tried to make the YWCA a place for youth who were boarding in the city while they

[126] Report titled "Reports from Y.W.C.A. s and Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A.s re: programs involving their Eskimo, Indian and Metis Membership and Communities across Canada," January 1969, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA of Canada fonds, LAC.

[127] Letter to Carol Wabegijeg [sic], 21 September 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

attended provincial day schools to drop-in. In the report submitted by the Cornwall YWCA, they described such efforts as:

> We have, this year, tried to make the Y a 'drop-in' centre for teen-age boys who board in Cornwall…. Then, later, if they leave Cornwall to go to another city for further education and training, they will tend to gravitate towards the Ys, rather than the pool halls, and cafes of somewhat dubious nature.[128]

- **Extracurricular Activities:** The Saskatoon YWCA was approached by Indian Affairs to help support the high school students that were living in the city and attending provincial schools. The program Director wrote that the "YWCA and IODE [were] the only organizations co-operating at present in providing recreational facilities and activities for young Indian people." [129]

Such work was undertaken by the YWCA under the belief that Indigenous youth who came to live in the city were in need of assistance and if left to their own devices they would succumb to the less savoury elements of city life. Unfortunately, such narratives focused on Indigenous peoples as susceptible to "social problems" and a "failure to assimilate." [130]

[128] Letter to Carol Webegijig [sic] from Cornwall YWCA, 21 September 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[129] Letter to Carol Wabegijig from Saskatoon YWCA, 29 October 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23 file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[130] McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History*, 92.

3c. Childcare

The Lethbridge YWCA appears to have served as source of child care for provincially-run day schools when teachers, for example, took part in professional development activities. We see this in the following example:

- Indian Affairs, on at least one occasion, approached the Lethbridge YWCA to assist with childcare and activities for Indigenous children in grades 4 and 5 who were bussed into the city to attend provincially-run schools. In one instance, the teachers were taking an upgrading course and the YWCA was asked to supervise the children who did not live in town from 12pm to 3:30pm when the bus arrived to take them home. The kids came to the YWCA for lunch and then "two volunteers arranged activities such as tours to the library, the Herald, Milk Company, skating parties, bowling etc. It was a bit of a problem at noon at the residence until the volunteers arrived sometime after one but it seems to serve a useful purpose." [131]

[131] Letter to Carol from Lethbridge YWCA, 19 October 1968m MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

3d. Clubs and Friendship Centres

Clubs and Indian Friendships Centres grew and evolved to address a service gap in cities and towns and to provide much needed community supports for Indigenous peoples living in cities and towns.[132] The origins of Friendship centres are complicated and many have their roots in the convergence of multiple and often contradictory state and community actors. For instance, combinations of welfare planning bodies, women's councils, IODE branches, YWCA and member associations, and Church women's auxiliaries alongside social workers, mainstream churches, rotary clubs, junior leagues, and academics formed the governing boards of many of the early Indian Clubs some of which later became Friendship Centres.[133] Many of the front line workers in these early organizations were Indigenous and over time Indigenous community members took control of the boards and the governing bodies of clubs and Friendship centres. In some cases, clubs or friendship centres were also a result of the efforts of former residential school students trying to find shared community in urban spaces with other Indigenous peoples.

Indian clubs started in cities in the 1950s: in Toronto: North American Indian Club (1951); Vancouver: Coqualeetza Fellowships Club (1952); and Winnipeg: Indian and Metis Friendship Centre (1958). These early organizations were followed by the rapid growth of Indian Friendship Centres in the 1960s; in 1968, there were 26 Friendship Centres and 80 by 1983.[134] Initially funding for Indian Friendship Centers took place under a cost-sharing agreement between the federal and provincial governments and after 1972 core funding came from the Migrating Native Peoples Program.[135]

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the early years of the formation and operation of Indian Clubs and Indian Friendship Centres in following ways:

- **Youth Club:** In October 1961, an informal group of Indigenous students/youth, called "The Indian Youth Society," met at the Edmonton YWCA. The first social activity organized by the Indian Youth Society was a dance that was attended by 47 youth. Later the group changed their name to "Club D'Mantiw" [sic]. The report noted that D'Mantiw is a Cree word meaning "a strange place where friends

[132] Langford, "Friendship Centres in Canada," 1.
[133] Langford, "Friendship Centres in Canada," 10.
[134] Edited by David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters, *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (Policy Research Initiative, 2003), 244.
[135] Pamela Quart, *The Saskatoon Indian and Metis Friendship Centre and the Community Liasson Committee: Laying the Groundwork for Self-Government, 1968-1982*, (Master of Arts, University of Saskatchewan, 2009), 36-37.

can visit."[136] Club D'Manitw also planned to carol at the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital as a Christmas project.[137]

- **Youth Club:** The Vancouver YWCA provided space for the Indian Youth Club in the early 1960s which later became the Indian Centre Society.[138]

- **Friendship Centre:** The Sudbury YWCA and Nickel Belt Indian Club were working together when they wrote a letter to Chief John Wakegijig, Wiikwemkoong First Nation (Manitoulin Island) in January 1964. The letter was from the President of the Nickel Belt Indian Club and the Executive Director of the Sudbury YWCA stating that "Both the Nickel Belt Indian Club and the YWCA [were] interested in contacting any students from your Reserve who might be attending school in Sudbury. We wish to invite them to join us at the YWCA for the Indian Friendship Center which is open from 2 to 4 o'clock every Saturday afternoon."[139] They also offered to visit Indigenous peoples who were patients in the hospital. By 1970, the Sudbury YWCA reported that "their Indian group ha[s] no continuing relationship to the YWCA; they have outgrown their dependence."[140]

- **Indian and Metis Service Council:** The Prince Albert YWCA formed an Indian and Metis subcommittee in 1958 to investigate the "Indian Question" in Prince Albert.[141] In 1960, this subcommittee became the Indian and Metis Service Council and worked in partnership with social welfare organizations in the city. The Council had formed in response to concerns expressed on the part of the YWCA and members of the non-Indigenous community regarding the social and moral problems

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[136] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[137] Report titled "Edmonton YWCA report on programming for Indian Young People," February 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC. 3
[138] Report titled "Reports from YWCA and YMCA-YWCAs re Programs involving their Eskimo, Indian and Metis Membership and Committees Across Canada," January 1969, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[139] Letter to Chief John Wakegijig, 15 January 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[140] Document titled "Minutes of Monday Small Group Discussion – Intercultural Program," 18 October 1970, Vol. 62, file 5 Intercultural Committee (1970-72), YWCA, LAC.
[141] Langford, "Friendship Centres in Canada," 10.

they believed to be a consequence of Indigenous women coming into the city from reserves. One problem that was identified by the Committee was "the ease with which [the Indigenous Peoples] falls into bad company and degenerative surroundings." [142] According to the Prince Albert YWCA, the solution to this so-called problem lay in the organization's ability to assist "the person of Indian origin to assimilate to a new way of life."[143]

- **Girls' Club:** The Prince Albert YWCA formed an Indian Girls' Club in the early 1960s. Such activities reflected the larger movement within YWCAs to create what they believed to be appropriate recreational activities for Indigenous youth who came to live in the city to attend school. The first meeting of the club was described as follows:

  > The girls are very enthusiastic about starting a Club of their own. Some of the things they are interested in include a charm night, hairdressing, gym and tumbling, some crafts and help with their shopping and budgeting. Each of the girls is going to bring to the next meeting two more interested Indian girls.[144]

- **Social Clubs**: Indigenous social clubs also formed at the Calgary YWCA. Following patterns established elsewhere, the Calgary YWCA created clubs to support Indigenous youth who were attending provincially-run day schools. In the early 1960s, the Calgary YWCA supported three Indigenous focused clubs:

  - The Native Friendship Club met once a month, rotating their meeting places between the YWCA in Calgary and the Niitsitapi (Blackfoot First Nation), Tsuut'ina (Sarcee First Nation), and Îyârhe Nakoda (Stoney Nakoda First Nation).[145]
  - The Calumet Club was run by Andrew Bear Robe for Y-Teen youth attending high school in the city and met weekly with a membership of approximately 120 people. Bear Robe also became the Executive Director of the Calgary Friendship Centre in 1968.[146]

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[142] Helen McLelland, "Our Indian and Metis Committee," *The Journal*, (Jan. 1963), 13.
[143] McLelland, "Our Indian and Metis Committee," 13.
[144] "Prince Albert YWCA," *The Journal* (January 1962), 28.
[145] "Calgary…" *The Indian News* (December 1963), 4.
[146]"Andrew Bear Robe becomes new director of Calgary Indian Friendship Centre, Calgary, Alberta.", [ca. 1968-05-15], (CU1202797). Courtesy of Libraries and Cultural Resources Digital Collections, University of Calgary: available at:

    - The Ninaki club was "composed of women who meet under the auspices of the YWCA. The programs are social and educational."[147]

- **Youth Club:** The Lethbridge YWCA ran a group called INATSO comprised of 40 to 50 youth over the age of 15 who had come to Lethbridge either to attend training courses, secondary school, or to work.[148] Many of the youth returned home on the weekends. INATSO functioned as a social club that met at the YWCA "once a week for social and business meetings and [to] have physical programs at Civic Centre gym which [was] arranged through the cooperation of the Parks and Recreation Dept."[149] Some Y-Teen girls participated in the club's activities as well.

https://digitalcollections.ucalgary.ca/archive/Andrew-Bear-Robe-becomes-new-director-of-Calgary-Indian-Friendship-Centre--Calgary--Alberta--2R3BF1SP0RH5.html [last accessed 13April 2022].

[147] "Calgary…" *The Indian News* (December 1963), 4. For further information regarding the Ninaki Club and Indigenous women's activism please see: Corinne George, "'If I Didn't Do Something, My Spirit Would Die…': Grassroots Activism of Aboriginal Women in Calgary and Edmonton, 1951-1985," (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 2007).

[148] Letter to Carol from Lethbridge YWCA, 19 October 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[149] Letter to Carol from Lethbridge YWCA, 19 October 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

4. Y-TEEN AND EXTENSION PROGRAMS

During the 1930s, the YWCA adopted the term Y-Teen to denote members between the ages of 15 and 19, calling youth under the age of 15, Junior Y-Teens.[150] The Vancouver YWCA was the first member association to begin offering social and recreational programming under the Y-Teen umbrella in the 1930s and after World War II, Y-Teen programming expanded dramatically reflecting changing demographics within the organization.[151] Activities were managed by the National YWCA in those locations that did not have a local YWCA and were housed under 'Extension Activities.' Extension clubs formed in high schools largely in British Columbia and northern Ontario; the extent to which they also formed in residential schools requires additional research.

Within this context, from the research conducted there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following ways:

- **Y-Teen Club:** The Kamloops high school principal wanted to establish a Y-Teen Club for the girls attending the Kamloops Indian Residential School located on the Tk'emlúps te Secwe̓pemc First Nation (formerly known as the Kamloops Indian Band). Both the principal and the recently formed women's extension group in Kamloops were described as "taking an interest in the needs of the girls on the reserve and [were] hoping to get a Y-Teen started in the school there."[152]

Located on the Tk'emlúps te Secwe̓pemc First Nation, the Kamloops Residential School was first established in 1890. Management of the residential school was taken over by the Catholic Church in 1893 and operated as a residential school until 1969. That year the Kamloops Residential School was converted into a day school residence by the federal government where Indigenous children lived while they attended provincially run day schools. The building was finally closed in 1978.[153] In May 2021, 215

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[150] Document titled "The YWCA Works with High Schools Students," n.d., MG28-I198, Vol. 26, file 13 Membership and Christian Emphasis – Work in High Schools, 1955-1960," YWCA, LAC.
[151] Study titled ""YWCA of Canada Study Projects on the YWCA Extension Group Program, 1965," 1965, MG28-I198, Volume 22, file 5 "Extension - Report on the YWCA Extension Group Program (1965), page 3, YWCA, LAC.
[152] Study titled ""YWCA of Canada Study Projects on the YWCA Extension Group Program, 1965," 1965, MG28-I198, Volume 22, file 5 "Extension - Report on the YWCA Extension Group Program (1965), page 29, YWCA, LAC.
[153] Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988).

unmarked graves were found on the school grounds of the Kamloops Residential School.

The formation of Y-Teen Extension clubs and activities in residential schools is important and further investigation into the extent and breadth of extension activities in residential schools needs to be undertaken.

5. RESIDENCES AND HOSTELS

A common thread that flows throughout many of these examples is the effort of the YWCA to expose Indigenous girls and young women to European-Canadian culture and values that are coded as feminine. Echoing broader patterns in the secondary literature, conversations frequently centred around fears that Indigenous girls and young women would "fall back into their old ways" if they were to return to their communities following graduation without some kind of intervention. In other words, non-Indigenous peoples were concerned that the assimilatory project would fail if young Indigenous women and girls were not provided with housing and work to prevent them from returning home. A letter written to the Minister Responsible for Housing by the President of YWCA Canada in April 1970, as part of funding request, drew clear connections between the aims of residential schools and YWCA residences, stating:

> many of the youth who have been well-trained at our fine Government Residentials Schools, at great cost, are, because of the lack of accommodation in their capital cities, drifting back to their home settlements which lack appropriate job opportunities. These young people native to the North, who remain in the city, and those who come in from outside the Territories, frequently live under such poor conditions that they are of real social concerns.[154]

Although the work of the YWCA was multifaceted and complicated, for instance, stepping into provide emergency housing, it also operated under the assumption that assimilation was the solution to the challenges Indigenous women and youth, and their communities more broadly, faced.

The post-World War II period also witnessed the increasing use of YWCA residences by Indigenous women and youth who came to the city to attend school, seek out health services, or look for work. The residences initially operated in accordance with the YWCA's concerns that Indigenous women would fall prey to the less than savory elements found in urban spaces and built on existing work done by the YWCA regarding the 'girl problem.' Such concerns also fit into broader discussions taking place in European-Canadian society regarding the "Indian problem" and the need to ensure that Indigenous peoples continued to receive guidance.[155]

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[154] Letter from YWCA Canada President to the Minister Responsible for Housing, n.d. MG28-I198, volume 62, file 5 "Intercultural Committee, 1970-1972," YWCA, LAC.
[155] Peters, "Developing Federal Policy For First Nations in Urban Areas," -96.

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following ways:

- **Residence:** In Regina, when the City's Housing Registry was closed, the YWCA received financial support to take over these services. Concern was expressed regarding racism and the inability of Indigenous women to access temporary housing. Indigenous women coming into the city seeking employment stayed at the YWCA and recreational spaces were also provided.[156]

- **Residence:** In 1967, the Calgary YWCA reported that they had 75 Indigenous girls use their residence while they were doing their 'city orientation' for a total of 380 bed nights. [157] These orientation trips were taken in partnership with the Friendship Centre and local churches.

- **Residence:** In the 1960s, the Brandon YWCA operated a residence that was used by a number of service providers in the region for accommodations for Indigenous girls and young women in the city.[158]

    - Both the Vocation Opportunity Services and the Children's Aid Society placed children with the Brandon YWCA. The report notes, "The girls placed by the former usually stay with us for a few weeks until suitable boarding houses can be found for them, and those placed by the latter stay indefinitely." [159] The housing of children by the YWCA for the CAS raises concerns regarding the extent to which the YWCA residences were used to house children removed from their families during a period referred to as the Sixties Scoop.

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[156] "Regina Rooms Registry," *The Journal* (October 1960), 24-26.
[157] Letter to Carol Wabegijig from Calgary YWCA, 17 October 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
LAC, YWCA MG28-I198, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9),
[158] Report titled "Reports from YWCA and YMCA-YWCAs re Programs involving their Eskimo, Indian and Metis Membership and Committees Across Canada," January 1969, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[159] Report titled "Reports from YWCA and YMCA-YWCAs re Programs involving their Eskimo, Indian and Metis Membership and Committees Across Canada," January 1969, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), page 2, YWCA, LAC.

  - The City Welfare Agency housed women and girls at the Brandon YWCA until long term accommodation could be found.

  - The Brandon YWCA was used by Indigenous women for emergency accommodations when they were unable to catch the last bus home to their community. The YWCA often provided meals and clothes from their thrift shop for people staying at the residence as well.

  - Indian Health Services used the Brandon YWCA as temporary accommodations for Indigenous women and girls who came into the city for medical appointments.

  - The Brandon YWCA worked with the Indian Friendship Centre to provide accommodation for women who were in the city temporarily to take classes.[160] According to the YWCA report, the Friendship Centre held night classes in "typing and various other subjects to which any of our girls may go and I am hoping that this Fall some of them may take advantage of these classes. As we have no program yet, some of the girls do go over there in the evening."

- **Emergency Accommodation**: The Moncton YWCA provided emergency accommodations to Indigenous women. The Moncton YWCA related a story wherein a woman suddenly fired from her housekeeping position had stayed temporarily at the YWCA until she was able to take a bus back to her community.[161]

- **Residence**: In February 1964, the Sudbury YWCA reported, "We have worked with the Dept. of Indian Affairs on the subject of housing and general counselling of girls brought to Sudbury for further education. These girls have come from Reserves throughout the North – even Moosonee area."[162]

- **Residence:** A part of YWCA Canada's extension activities was the establishment of a residence in the NWT. In 1965, the Yellowknife

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[160] Report titled "Reports from YWCA and YMCA-YWCAs re Programs involving their Eskimo, Indian and Metis Membership and Committees Across Canada," January 1969, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC."

[161] "The Moncton Story," *The Journal* (February 1962), 14-15.

[162] Report to Glenna Graham from Sudbury YWCA, 22 January 1964, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA of Canada fonds, LAC.

YWCA formed in response to a request from Ben G. Sivertz, Commissioner of the NWT, to provide "housing for employable native girls…who had graduated from the government operated schools." They established a temporary "family-style residence" for eight former students.[163] The need for a larger residence to house both women and men in Yellowknife led to the formation of a committee that included the YWCA, municipal officials, and members of the Territorial government.

- An article published in the *News/North* in 1966 described the role of the residence as:

  > providing employed young women a home atmosphere in a supervised hostel setting, while gaining work experience, to find wholesome companionship within the northern community, and make the transfer from the school to the social and business community with a minimum of expense.[164]

- Regarding YWCA-run residences in the Northwest Territories (and later the Yukon), there are documents that span (at least) six years in regards to the funding, building, and running of these residences that demonstrate ongoing relationships between YWCA Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the territorial governments, the cities of Whitehorse and Yellowknife, and local YWCAs, among other departments and service organizations.[165]

- **Residence:** In October 1970, the Winnipeg YWCA reported that they had recently been approached by the Central Mortgage and Housing corporation (later Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation) "to ask

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[163] Document titled Y.W.C.A. Yellowknife, N.W.T by Mrs. E. McAteer, President and Mrs. R. W. Spence, Executive Director," n.d., MG28-I198, Volume 83, file 15 Local YWCAs – by city "p" to "z" n.d., 1970 – 1976," YWCA, LAC.

[164] As quoted in Moses Hernandez and Rajiv Rawat, "The YWCA of Yellowknife: A Turning Point for the Northern Social Economy," in *Care, Cooperation, and Activism in Canada's Northern Social Economy*, edited by Chris Southcott and Frances Abele (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2016), 153

[165] See, for example, the YWCA's notes from their June 1970 meeting with Mr. Fournier of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: Document titled "Basic Material for the Interview with Mir. Fournier, Department o Indian Affairs and Northern Development," 24 June 1970, MG28-I198, Volume 62, file 5 "Intercultural committee, 1970-1972,", YWCA, LAC.

whether they would operate a Residence for Indian women and girls."[166]

- There are multiple documents in the early 1970s that note that the CMHC's increasing involvement in housing for Indigenous people especially in the North, sometimes in cooperation with the YWCA.[167]

We strongly recommend further research regarding the role played by the YWCA in providing housing and services for Children's Aid Societies[168] when Indigenous children were removed from their homes and communities during the 1960s and 1970s. We consider this topic to be a priority area requiring further research.

[166] Document titled "Minutes of Monday Small Group Discussion – Intercultural Program," 18 October 1970, Vol. 62, file 5 Intercultural Committee (1970-72), YWCA, LAC.

[167] In a 1970 letter addressed to the Minister Responsible for Housing, Mrs. Philip J. Chadsey, President of the YWCA, writes "In the past few years, many badly needed and highly useful YWCA Residences across Canada have been built through a very happy partnership with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation." See Letter to Hon. Robert K. Andras, 1970, Volume 62, file 5 "Intercultural Committee, 1970-1972," YWCA, LAC. For further information regarding the role that the CMHC played in the North in relation to housing, see Robert Robson, "Housing in the Northwest Territories in the Post-War Vision," *Urban History Review*, volume 24/1 (1995): 3-20.

[168] The existence of a historical relationship between YWCAs and Children's Aid Societies is reported in other studies, not specific to Indigenous peoples. See, for example, Neil Hannam, "The Peterborough Young Women's Christian Association: Fundraising and Feminism, 1960 – 1983," (MA Thesis, Trent University, 2013), 50, 70.

6. INDIAN PLACEMENT AND RELOCATION PROGRAM (IPRP)

In response to the growing numbers of Indigenous peoples moving into cities and towns after the Second World War, the federal government initiated a series of schemes intended to integrate Indigenous peoples into the capitalist economy.[169] The largest of these schemes, operated by Indian Affairs, began in 1957 and was called the Indian Placement and Relocation Program (IPRP). The IPRP was a national program whose goal was to find long-term employment for Indigenous peoples in urban locales. The IPRP drew on the National Employment Service, which was established to organize labour during WWII. However, the National Employment Service did not serve Indigenous peoples. The IPRP was intended to "demonstrate the desire for highly regulated state-sponsored systems that could contain the movement of Indigenous populations and manage Indigenous labour to suit the demands of the modern nation state." [170]

The IPRP continued to supervise and manage individuals following placements. Historical geographer Evelyn Peters suggests that such supervision/monitoring of Indigenous peoples in urban spaces was an "extension of the wardship role of the Indian Affairs Branch into the city."[171] Indeed, the creation of services and programs designed to teach Indigenous peoples European-Canadian values and norms was part of the larger assimilatory process. In order to receive the financial and job location services that were offered by the IPRP, Indigenous individuals had to agree to ongoing monitoring and supervision by Indian Affairs and related service providers.[172] For those young women coming to Vancouver, the YWCA offered travellers' aid, room registry, job counselling, and social and recreational programming. Indian Affairs regarded the YWCA as ideally situated to provide guidance to Indigenous women/people who were moving from their reserve to the city.[173]

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[169] McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History*, 66.
[170] McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History*,68 – 70.
[171] Peters, "Developing Federal Policy for First Nations in Urban Areas," 21 (2001): 74.
[172] For literature on the work of the YWCA in similar contexts in the United States please see: Victoria Haskins, *Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914-1934* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012) and Asuza Ono, "The Relocation and Employment Assistance Programs, 1948-1970: Federal Indian Policy and the Early Development of the Denver Indian Community," *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal*, volume 5, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 27-50.
[173] Letter titled "re: Annual report, British Columbia Indian Advisory committee," December 1965, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 "Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC; Letter titled "re: Annual report, British Columbia Indian

Within this context, there is evidence of the YWCA's involvement in the following ways:

- **Job Counselling:** In 1965, the Vancouver YWCA received 12 referrals from the Department of Indian Affairs.[174]

- **Residence:** In 1966, the Vancouver YWCA housed 13 girls at their residence who had come to the city briefly to take courses at a vocational school, to find work, and to attend medical appointments.[175]

- **Job Counselling:** In a letter dated 9 December 1966, the Program Director for the Vancouver YWCA reported on their efforts to make their program better known to Indigenous youth living in smaller communities throughout the B.C. interior. They did so "[t]hrough its contact with Native Indian Service Council, the Indian Centre Society, and the Department of Indian Affairs."[176]

- **Residence:** In Toronto, the YWCA established a residence to house Indigenous youth and women in 1969 who were referred by Indian Affairs.[177] Indian Affairs provided funding to support the residence for two years, paying room and board as well as education expenses for residents.[178] The goal of the residence was to "house the girls in

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Advisory committee," 9 December 1966, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 "Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC

[174] Letter to Mr. R. J. McInnes, Director, Indian Advisory Act, Dept of Provincial Secretary, Victoria B.C., December 1965, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[175] Letter to Mr. R. J. McInnes, Director, Indian Advisory Act, Dept of Provincial Secretary, Victoria B.C., 9 December 1966, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC. These letters refer to "placement officers," which is the terminology associated with the IPRP program.

[176] Letter to Mr. R. J. McInnes, Director, Indian Advisory Act, Dept of Provincial Secretary, Victoria B.C., 9 December 1966, Vol. 23 file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC. See, also, memo titled "Re: Toronto Y.W.C.A. Proposed Residence and Program for Indian Girls," n.d., Vol. 23 file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[177] Letter to Carol Wabegijig from YWCA Toronto, 30 September 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC; Document titled "Re: Toronto YWCA Proposed Residence & Program for Indian Girls," 8 October 1968, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

[178] *Camsell Arrow*, Spring – Summer 1969: 23; Document titled "Re: Toronto YWCA Proposed Residence & Program for Indian Girls," 8 October 1968, Vol. 23 File 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.

Toronto in a protected setting while they attend school, equip them to adjust successfully to urban living and to be responsible citizens, whether they continue to live in the city, or return to the reserve, on completion of training."[179] Initially the residence was called Y-Place. Over time Indigenous women joined the board and took control of the residence's management and Y-Place was renamed Anduhyaun Inc. (Our home in Ojibway). [180] In the early 1970s Indian Affairs withdrew its funding.

- At an October 1970 meeting of the Intercultural sub-committee, attended by YWCA Canada's Executive Director and the Director of Anduhyun [sic[, they note that only status Indians were staying at the residence and that women received $85 every two weeks from Indian Affairs from which they paid for board and any additional expenses. The minutes also include this quotation: "The cost of Indian education is high, but small compared to the $10,000.00 per year to keep a person in jail."[181]

[179] Letter to Carol Wabegijig from YWCA Toronto, 30 September 1968, MG28-I198, Vol. 23, file 19 Indians and YWCAs across Canada (1962-9), YWCA, LAC.
[180] Catherine Brooks, "Testimony" Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (26 June 1992): 381-382. For additional detail about Indigenous women and the creation of community in Toronto see: Heather Howard-Bobiwash, "Women's Class Strategies as Activism in Native Community Building in Toronto, 1950-1975," American Indian Quarterly, volume 27/3&4 (2003): 566-582.
[181] Document titled "Minutes of the Intercultural sub-committee meeting," 7 October 1970, MG28-I198, Volume 62, file 5 "Intercultural Committee, 1970-1972)," YWCA, LAC.

SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

Since its inception, the YWCA has regarded itself as a helping organization. Indeed, the YWCA formed in Canada in order to advance both the protestant faith and the social, political, and economic place of women. The language of service and assistance is woven throughout the documentary record. There are a number of examples in the primary sources we reviewed that showed YWCAs providing emergency housing when no one else would or operating a residence for Indigenous women because of the pervasive racism Indigenous women faced in urban areas when trying to find housing. However, the language of service and assistance was also entangled with derogatory descriptions of Indigenous peoples and their communities. Significantly, the solution to the so-called "Indian problem" that was frequently evoked in the documentary record we reviewed, was always situated within a framework that located the problem with Indigenous peoples and assimilation as the solution. The work performed by the YWCA was well funded by the federal and provincial governments.

Our examination of the historical records and secondary literature reveals that the work of the YWCA was not confined to the walls and fences of residential schools and Indian hospitals, but extended beyond these institutions into the broader community. YWCA Canada and its member associations played significant roles within Canada's Residential School and Indian Hospital systems particularly through the provision of social and recreational activities as well as settlement and job counselling services. What we have offered in this report is a glimpse and a starting point for further investigation. Organizations like the YWCA worked with former residential school students following their discharge from these institutions. They did so to continue the state's efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples into European-Canadian society by ensuring that Indigenous youth and young adults did not return to their communities and families. The YWCA made programming available to students discharged from Indian hospitals and residential schools as well as created clubs and held other extracurricular activities for current students and patients of residential schools and Indian hospitals

The breadth and duration of the involvement of the individual member associations is unknown and requires a close examination of local records as well as a complete examination of the YWCA records housed at the LAC. Such inquiries must also include an investigation of the records of the Departments of Indian Affairs and National Health and Welfare as well as other relevant federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments. This movement beyond the walls of such institutions is an important next step in examinations of settler colonialism in the geographic area currently referred

to as Canada. Moreover, and importantly, understanding the personal experiences of Indigenous peoples directly affected by the YWCA's contributions to settler colonialism remains essential and must be conducted by and with Indigenous peoples and their communities.

To summarize, in this report we detailed that the YWCA was involved in settler colonialism through direct and sustained relationships with residential schools and Indian hospitals, and we illustrated their involvement in the following areas:

- Influencing school curriculum;
- Working with Indian hospitals in providing services through hospital rehabilitation programs;
- Running social clubs and extracurricular activities for students and patients beyond the walls of Indian Residential schools, Indian hospitals, and provincially-run day schools;
- Organizing Y-Teen and Extension Programs;
- Operating residences and hostels in cities and towns; and
- Working with Indian Affairs to provide service and supports for the Indian Placement and Relocation Program.

What this report highlights are the clear and direct connections that existed between residential schools, Indian hospitals and Canada's economic, social, and political systems. These connections are important to acknowledge because residential schools and Indian hospitals were not just institutions that were created and managed by the state and protestant and catholic churches in isolation from the rest of Canadian society. Instead, it is evident that philanthropic and service organizations engaged in supporting the operation, maintenance, and goals of residential schools and Indian hospitals. To date, Canadians have largely viewed these institutions as functioning separately from Canadian society, and settler colonialism, more broadly, as a problem largely confined to Indigenous peoples, their communities, and state systems and structures. In this report, however, we show that philanthropic and service organizations, much like the dominant society, supported the ultimate goals of residential schools and Indian hospitals - which was the assimilation of Indigenous nations until they no longer existed as distinct nations and cultures.

While this report most likely confirms what survivors and Indigenous community members living on Turtle Island already know, it is important to acknowledge. Service organizations like the YWCA served Indigenous people, much like they served non-Indigenous people, but with a critical distinction: their services offered up settler colonialism's end goal of assimilation and the elimination of Indigenous peoples as distinct nations

and cultures. This pursuit of assimilation not only called on the YWCAs existing expertise in vocational and recreational programming, but also opened up new avenues of work for the YWCA and, sometimes, new avenues of funding and relationships with the state.

Critical self-reflection is no easy task. We are not surprised that a feminist organization in Canada is among the first institutions, not compelled by survivors and lawsuits, to confront its history and role in the settler colonial project. Reconciliation requires action and undertaking this report is an important part of that process. In addition to that first step, we offer recommendations in the next section.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The YWCA has taken an important step towards answering the Truth and Reconciliation's Calls to Action that challenge Canadian society and its institutions to undertake an active role in the reconciliation and redress process. We strongly recommend that the YWCA continue on this path and further explore their histories both at the national and local levels in the following areas:

- The Sixties Scoop and child welfare more broadly.
- Hostels and/or residences for Indigenous youth attending the provincial school system and federally run day schools.
- Y-Teen extensions clubs in British Columbia and northern Ontario
- Y-Teen Summer Camps.[182]

2. We strongly recommend that YWCA undertake active steps to redress the harms caused to Indigenous communities through their work in residential schools and Indian hospitals. Directed by Indigenous communities, YWCA Canada should develop a plan of action that includes programming and advocacy. Some examples could be but are not limited to supporting the Calls to Action issued by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, language revitalization, and Indigenous food sovereignty.

3. We strongly urge YWCA Canada to issue a call to other service organizations to undertake similar reflective processes, to explore their own roles within residential schools, Indian hospitals, and Indigenous child welfare, and to actively participate in the reconciliation process through action and informed advocacy.

4. YWCA Canada and member associations need to develop a comprehensive record management policy that includes all records and observes OCAP® Principles (ownership, control, access, and possession). We also recommend YWCA Canada call for a moratorium on the destruction and/or disposal of records until this process is finished.

[182] YWCA Canada ran teen leadership camps on reserves mostly in Ontario, from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s. These camps require further careful examination because they reveal a complicated and complex relationship between YWCA Canada and the First Nations that invited them into their communities to offer programming.

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