

her anecdotes illuminate the main point of her writing. Despite the lack of an index and bibliography, future historians will benefit from all chapters in the book, and, I suspect, from Shack's in particular.

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Raymond Huel, ed. *Western Oblate Studies 2/Études Oblates de l'ouest 2*. Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. Pp. 275. \$29.95 cloth.

Raymond Huel has been a major force in the organizational development of the Western Oblate History Project and has worked consistently to see to it that a balance exists in all the forums and presentations at the conferences. Honouring the significant contributions of the Oblates has not blinded the organizers from recognizing serious human distortions and mistakes from the past. The true missionary narrative, determined through an honest and open encounter of many perspectives, both religious and secular, becomes the essential ingredient that will help people come to terms with the past and hopefully pave the way to a better future. Research by all related disciplines into what actually took place as Euro-Canadian missionaries and the First Peoples encountered each other in Western and Northern Canada is a significant key to dealing with highly charged issues (such as the residential school matter)

that have inflicted such deep and hurtful woundedness upon this nation. Native and non-Native storytellers, scholars, and researchers all need to co-operate in this quest.

Western Oblate Studies 2 constitutes the proceedings of the second symposium of the History Project which took place in Edmonton in July, 1991. What is of particular significance for the event in question is that in 1991, the Oblates marked the 150th anniversary of their arrival in Canada with special celebrations. The July 24th convocation was special in that it featured an apology and a homiletical commentary to the apology by the Rev. Douglas Crosby, omi, president of the Oblate Conference of Canada. The proceedings include both texts (in English and French), which are certain to become established as important historical documents.

Four papers in the proceedings deal with the controversial issue of residential schooling and these shall be the focus of this review.

Jacqueline Gresko's essay examines everyday life in the Qu'Appelle Industrial School at Lebret, Saskatchewan. She writes from a Native student's perspective and concludes that, especially under the effective leadership of cross-culturally enlightened missionaries in the nineteenth century, this school was relatively successful in helping its students relate to the local aboriginal communities and provided cultural continuity for the students. Industrial schools differed from residential institutions in that they tended to receive more government funding and supervision; were located away from reserves; enrolled older students and

emphasized vocational training. Gresko believes that, depending on the personalities of the church leadership who ran the schools on behalf of the government, "a certain degree of sensitivity and even understanding was displayed toward the cultures from which the students came." It is documented that teachers at the Lebret school encouraged times for conversation in Native languages and supported parental visitation. A student monitoring system, whereby older children helped to supervise the younger ones, was implemented to assist the nuns. This was cited as a reason why little corporal punishment was needed at the school. Gresko concludes that the institution proudly continues today as a high school operated by Indians. This could not have happened, she claims, had the First Peoples not adapted and come to appreciate some white educational values while at the same time retaining confidence in certain aspects of their native traditions.

Brian Titley, in his contribution, gives a less positive assessment of the Dunbow Industrial School southeast of Calgary. Dunbow seemed doomed from the beginning. It opened in 1884 and lasted less than forty years. The first principal, famed missionary Fr. Albert Lacombe, is quoted (1885) as writing to the Indian commissioner in despair. He describes his students as "poor, miserable creatures; so stupid and ignorant of what is for their good." Lacombe wanted students who fled the school forcibly returned by Indian agents and the police.

Native parents, on the other hand, objected to having their children made to "resemble the white people." Drop-

out rates were high and the number of students who died in epidemics while at the school was frightening. More and more it was perceived that Dunbow was a place where students did a lot of hard "outside of classroom" work, but little else. Deficits became commonplace. By the turn of the century, the government began to grow less supportive of industrial school education for Native students. In 1910 it was being suggested that Dunbow "had outlived its usefulness" and twelve years later it closed. Lack of parental support for the school, resistance to cultural transformation, and inadequate government subsidies appeared to be the main causes of failure.

Robert Carney, on the other hand, writes positively about residential school experiments in northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories. His research indicates that by the twentieth century experience had taught residential school administrators to avoid some of the pitfalls encountered in the South. These included forced attendance, irrelevant curricula, and abuse of student sensibilities. Carney presents considerable detail about learning theories based on the "Native-Wilderness equation." This theory saw the majority of students as continuing to honour and live a traditional lifestyle, but with the need to understand and co-exist alongside a growing non-Native cultural encroachment. While this theory lost favour in the North after World War Two, more recent theorists are advocating a return to some of its basic tenets. It is clear that school integration, modern curricula, and facilities—imported

from outside the communities—are not adequately preparing the students.

As early as 1971, for example, the Dogrib were operating one of the first Native-controlled school boards in Canada (a concept that is generally much advocated today). The Berger Commission Report (1977) seeks a return to “Native-Wilderness equation” tenets because “it provided coherence and purpose consistent with traditional peoples’ values and life on the land.” We have learned with hindsight that the interests and autonomy of the First Peoples were no better advanced by the “efforts of social scientists” than they had been by the missionaries.

Jim Miller, in his essay, critically addresses factors surrounding the (now-lamented) rivalry that existed between Protestants and Catholics in the competition for student “souls.” This frequently focused on the residential schools. Miller reports that the ensuing “contest” resulted in unfortunate consequences for the missionaries and had relatively positive effects for the Natives. Competition drew the missionaries into unseemly behaviour while Natives often found that playing both sides in the rivalry could strengthen their hand in dealing with both government and the churches.

The government funding system for residential schools was probably the biggest factor pitting the Christian denominations against one other. Grants were based on student numbers and this led to unabashed recruiting (“body snatching” was not uncommon) as each institution attempted to seduce and even force Natives to their particular school. Multiple baptisms and “awards” resulted for many stu-

dents who, over the course of their education, would vie between “best offers” (a practice which today is more likely to be observed in the behaviour of professional athletes!). Miller concludes that, all told, denominational rivalry in residential schooling played a significant, if little appreciated, role.

The industrial and residential schools which formed the philosophic and systemic core of operations in the training of Native students during the past century-and-a-half provide an interesting educational case study. Quite obviously, education was only one factor in the mix of interests that was being played out as non-native Canadians plotted and effected expansion to the West and the North. Sometimes the missionaries and the Natives seemed hapless victims caught in the midst of much larger political and economic dynamics. Sometimes the missionaries and the Natives possessed considerably more power than might then have been recognized.

The quality and cross-cultural sensitivity of those in charge of local schools often had a significant influence on the treatment of the students. This had the effect of transcending issues of culture and cult and focusing primarily on what was best for them. Sometimes, missionaries proved themselves to be no more caring or just than secular educators. Again, because of the nature and intentions of their vocations, missionaries often submitted to conditions that others might never have agreed to accept.

Some schools seem to have developed well and took adversity in their stride. Others were doomed from the beginning and represented a great

waste of talent and human endeavour—Native and non-Native alike. No doubt, some of the residential schools merit the scorn that both the media and some Native people are presently heaping upon them. Nevertheless, it is also apparent that there were many bold educational experiments and valiant efforts at training a people vastly different from their non-Native “educators.”

The churches involved in Native education can be applauded for sending teachers to difficult and threatening environments when many others were satisfied to teach in less challenging circumstances. At the same time, the churches need to be confronted (as indeed they now are) with the criticisms of cultural arrogance and insensitivity as well as denominational behaviour that was thoroughly incongruent with the purposes they claimed to advocate.

Rédacteur Huel and his colleagues at the Western Oblate History Project are to be commended for bringing together such poignant perspectives from across the academic and philosophical spectrum. It is hoped that, as the project matures, even broader perspectives will be represented (for example—more direct input from Native people, the nuns, victims, and other voices who have thus far not been heard). Taken together, these conference proceedings demonstrate a narrative of service to our nation that is both honourably and authentically human. We are learning more of the truth of what actually happened—warts and all.

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Devon A. Mihesuah. *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993. Pp. 212, illus.

The Cherokee Female Seminary was distinctive among North American Native educational institutions of the nineteenth century. In operation from 1851 to 1856, and from 1872 to 1909, it educated about 3,000 young Cherokee women, and graduated 238 of them, into white culture. Yet it was established and operated neither by federal government nor by a missionary group, but rather by the Cherokees themselves. As put by Devon Mihesuah in *Cultivating the Rosebuds*, “Whereas the federal boarding schools were controlled by white Americans, the Female Seminary was controlled by Cherokees who subscribed to the values of white Americans.”

The Cherokee Female Seminary’s unique character can be understood only in the context of Cherokee history more generally. From the eighteenth century, Cherokees had intermarried with non-Natives, creating generations of individuals who identified themselves as Cherokee, although, according to Mihesuah, they “appeared to have little interest in Cherokee customs and aspired to have their children receive a white man’s education.” In 1825 a quarter of the Cherokees were