

**TO MAKE GOOD CANADIANS:
GIRL GUIDING IN INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS**

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ABSTRACT

To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools

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Between 1910 and 1970, the Guide movement became active and, indeed, prolific in Indian residential, day, and hostel schools, sanatoriums, reserves and Northern communities throughout Canada. In these contexts, Guiding embraced not only twentieth century youth citizenship training schemes, but also the colonial project of making First Nations and Inuit people good citizens. But ironically, while the Guide programme endeavoured to produce moral, disciplined and patriotic girls who would be prepared to undertake home and civic responsibilities as dutiful mothers and wives, it also encouraged girls to study and imitate 'wild' Indians. This thesis will explore the ways in which Girl Guides prepared girls for citizenship, arguing that the Indian, who signified to Guides authentic adventure, primitive skills and civic duty, was a model for their training. 'Playing Indian' enabled Guides to access these 'authentic' Indian virtues. It also enabled them to deny their roles as proponents of colonialism.

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Old Sun School, circa. 1930

**National Headquarters of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives
APH 2374**

Aim of Girl Guiding, 1938:

"Character development towards happy citizens through natural rather than through artificial means."

Girl Guide Promise, 1952:

On my honour I promise that I will do my best
To do my duty to God and the Queen,
To help other people at all times
To obey the Guide Law.

Girl Guide Motto:

Be Prepared.

Girl Guide Law, 1964:

1. A Guide's Honour is to be Trusted
2. A Guide is Loyal
3. A Guide is Useful and Helps Others
4. A Guide is a Friend to All, and a Sister to Every Guide
5. A Guide is Courteous
6. A Guide is Kind to Animals and enjoys the beauty in Nature
7. A Guide is Obedient
8. A Guide Smiles and Sings even under difficulty
9. A Guide is Thrifty
10. A Guide Keeps Herself Pure in Thought, Word and Deed.

INTRODUCTION

Making Good Citizens: Girl Guides in Residential Schools

Dressed in the uniform of one of the most popular, widely-recognized and long-standing organizations for girls in Canada, Girl Guides, these First Nations girls are positioned within a perceived archetype of Canadian youth. Their uniform represents loyalty, service and respectability, as well as integrated membership in a world-wide organization. The badges, ties, hats and pins worn by these girls show that they had achieved high standards of Character, Handcraft, Health and Service and were Prepared for everything from medical emergencies to defending the nation. Promising to uphold their duty to God and the Queen, to help others and to live by a moral code of thrift, obedience, usefulness and purity, they participated in an organization which, through discipline and testing, adventure and domestic training, aimed to develop good girls into model adult citizens.

The scheme of building the Empire and the Canadian nation by fortifying its youth was at the heart of the Guide¹ and Scout philosophy of Lord Baden-Powell, the movements' founder. This project was supported financially and ideologically by the Canadian state, churches, schools, and women's clubs, making being a Girl Guide seem like a universal and natural part of growing up and belonging as a Canadian citizen.

There are two problems with this assumption. First, the project of building a strong Empire and, later, a united Canadian nation was not universally understood, nor was it a natural process. At the simplest level, it involved attaining a land base and

¹ The words "Girl Guide," "Guide" and "Guiding" unless otherwise specified, will refer in general to all girls participating in the movement, including Brownies, Guides, Rangers, and their leaders.

manufacturing citizens according to the imperatives of colonial and national agendas. One of the fundamental roadblocks standing in the way of Canadian nation-building was the Indian, who represented a set of beliefs constructed in opposition to White Canadian citizens. While the citizen was civilized, industrious, patriotic and Christian, the Indian was savage, unproductive and indifferent towards the Canadian state. The project of enfranchising Indians, as understood in the Enfranchisement Acts and later the Indian Act, therefore required dismantling Indian territory, usurping Indian sovereignty and transforming Indian identity.

Federal institutions for Indian education stood at the core of Indian citizenship training. Indian schools used various socializing forces including citizenship education and extra-curricular activities such as Girl Guides to produce Canadian citizens of Indians. Aboriginal participation in the Girl Guide movement within the context of federally-run residential schools is therefore an important element of colonial and Canadian history and deserves special attention.

Second, the citizen constructed by the aims of the Girl Guide organization, its Promise, Law and Motto, badge and testing system, songs, games and literature, was not, as these sources suggest, entirely coherent. While Girl Guides aimed to produce pure, self-disciplined, useful, trustworthy, thrifty and productive members of White middle-class families, Christian churches and Euro-Canadian communities, the citizen construct was ironically supplemented by a character entirely outside of this definition — the

Imaginary Indian.² The Imaginary Indian became, for Guides, a symbol which stood for fun, conservation, ceremony and authentic adventure yet the Imaginary Indian was also a figure who was not loyal, or thrifty; he was undomesticated, irreligious, immoral, and otherwise contradicted the Promise and Law, aims and rules of the Guide organization. However, the Indian worked simultaneously with the Girl Guide to define and produce ideal Empire and Canadian citizens. This crucial contradiction of Guiding illuminates how the Canadian nation constructed itself and its boundaries according to its fears and desires of its Indian Other.

This thesis will explore Girl Guiding in Canada from its emergence in 1910 to about 1970, focusing on the Aboriginal members of the movement who participated largely in the context of residential schools. While this period saw an enormous increase in general membership, particularly around the late fifties and early sixties, it also includes the point at which these numbers level off, around 1970. In this period, residential school groups begin to make their mark in Girl Guide sources in the mid 1920s, wax in the 1940s and 50s, and decline in the late 1960s and early 70s as the schools began to close. This period also saw a flourishing of Canadian Girl Guide literature and files including a number of magazines published for girls and their leaders and extensive Annual Reports from both provincial and national councils. By the 1970s,

² The term "Imaginary Indian" is used by Daniel Francis to describe the images of Aboriginal people manufactured by Canadians. Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian In Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992). Robert Berkhofer Jr. refers to this non-Aboriginal fantasy as the "White Man's Indian" in his book The White Man's Indian. Robert Berkhofer Jr., The White Man's Indian - Images of the American Indian From Columbus to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

these Annual Reports had thinned considerably in both depth and breadth and offered only limited coverage of the activities of individual Girl Guide groups.

The purpose of this thesis is three-fold; it will examine the context in which Girl Guiding flourished in Canada and the ways in which it worked to produce female, youth and Aboriginal citizens; analyze this model of citizenship within the assimilative context of residential schools; and expose the many seemingly contrasting elements of this model, which in the end, challenge previously perceived notions of what it means to be a Canadian citizen. I will argue that while Guiding aimed to produce citizens based on contemporary structures of citizenship training for girls that by definition excluded the Indian as a model, it ironically constructed and appropriated an image of the Indian to complete its training.

Literature Review

Citizenship

Citizenship is a subject that has captured the interest of many scholars. Perhaps the most influential work on citizenship in the post-World War II period was that of T.H. Marshall.³ Marshall's theory of citizenship held that each citizen ideally be provided with three distinct individual rights: civil, political and social. Marshall defined citizenship in terms of democratic principles and shared experiences and argued that it was a naturally evolving process that would ultimately establish equality for all members of a state.⁴ In light of more recent criticism drawing on ideas of social construction, notions of

³ For an overview of the critiques of Marshall's work, see Sunera Thobani, "Globalization and The Racialization of Citizenship in Late 20th Century Canada," Ph D Diss., Simon Fraser U, 1998.

⁴ Thobani, "Globalization," 58.

citizenship have become more complex. Academics examining the ways in which Canadian citizens are produced and why and how unity and identity are constructed have found that citizenship has more to do with boundaries than equality, and illuminates processes of social construction rather than natural evolution. In particular, these academics are interested in how law, education and social institutions have worked to produce model Canadian citizens according to contemporary notions of gender, class and ethnicity.

Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo examine how behaviour was legally monitored and regulated in order to fulfill an objective of nation building in their book Making Good: Legal and Moral Regulation in Canada 1867-1939.⁵ Two other studies are useful in examining the regulation of women as citizens. Carolyn Strange examines various attempts to create disciplined women in the urban, industrial setting of Toronto in her book Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City 1880-1930, and Sangster discusses the regulation of girls and women in her book Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960; this book includes a chapter that explores how and why the state legally and morally attempted to discipline Native women in particular.⁶

Various examinations of educational policy compliment these studies of legal and moral regulation. Authors Rosa Bruno-Joffre, Timothy J. Stanley, Helen McKenzie, and

⁵ Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, Making Good - Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

⁶ Carolyn Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem - The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) and Joan Sangster, Regulating Girls and Women - Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Alan Sears study how citizenship imperatives were expressed in schools.⁷ The focus of these studies has been on citizenship education in school curriculum, however these authors recognize that the celebration of national and religious holidays such as Empire Day and Christmas, as well as extra-curricular activities worked to define nationhood and citizenship for Canadian students. Nonetheless, extra-curricular clubs are often only mentioned in passing and it is the aim of this thesis to clarify how one of these clubs — Girl Guides — supported, encouraged and supplemented citizenship training in schools.

Just as law, public school education and social institutions defined citizenship for non-Aboriginal people in Canada, so too did these influences work to produce Canadian citizens of Native and Inuit people. However, as Strange and Loo note, the goal of legal and moral regulation for Aboriginal people, as embodied by the Indian Act and the federal Department of Indian Affairs, involved transforming,⁸ rather than merely training character. Darlene Johnson has written an important overview of the history and cultural meaning of Canadian citizenship for Aboriginal people in which she argues that Canadian citizenship was both a means and an ends to Indian policy and was used to dissolve the rights, status and identity of Aboriginal people in Canada.⁹

⁷ Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945," Manitoba History 36 (Autumn/Winter 1998-1999): 26-36, Timothy J. Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study," Children, Teachers and Schools In the History Of British Columbia, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995), Helen McKenzie, Citizenship Education in Canada (Canada: Library of Parliament, 1993), and Alan Sears, "Instruments of Policy: How the National State Influences Citizenship Education in Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies 29:2 (1997): 1-22.

⁸ Strange and Loo, Making Good, 25.

⁹ Darlene Johnson, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, ed. William Kaplan (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993): 349-367.

Johnson's article draws from the work of John Tobias and John Milloy on Indian policy, placing it in the context of current questions concerning Canadian citizenship. Tobias argues that while the protection of Aboriginal people with distinct cultures and land rights was a basic principle of Indian policy prior to Confederation (as instituted in the Royal Proclamation of 1763), assimilation and integration quickly assumed importance in the post-Confederation period. These policies appeared in terms of citizenship in both the Enfranchisement Acts and the Indian Act. Milloy argues that post-Confederation policies marked a fundamental change in the relationship between Aboriginal people and the state. In the Indian Act of 1876, Aboriginal people were no longer considered to be living in self-governing nations, but instead were wards of the State. This position exposed them to more pervasive measures of moral and legal regulation aimed to civilize and assimilate them according to the needs of the emerging Canadian nation.¹⁰ This theme is taken further in Brian Titley's A Narrow Vision, which analyzes the political career of Duncan Campbell Scott and the assimilative goals of Scott and the Department of Indian Affairs. His work explores the theme of assimilation through Indian administration, treaty making, the regulation of traditional gatherings, and what he calls one of the "key elements in Canada's Indian policy," the education of Native children in day and residential schools.¹¹

¹⁰ John Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader In Canadian Native Studies, eds. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985): 39-54, and John Milloy, "The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change," As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader In Canadian Native Studies, eds. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985): 56-64.

¹¹ Brian Titley, A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 75.

When analyzing the naturalizing or socializing aims of education in general, scholars, like the authors of contemporary Canadian civics texts, tend to focus on the role of citizenship education in assimilating immigrants.¹² These authors argue that through the school curriculum, school celebrations, textbooks and theories of education, schools aimed to generate "a common polity, based upon a shared identity, loyalty to common institutions, a common language, a common culture and a homogenizing notion of citizenship."¹³ Because the purpose of Indian education, like citizenship education for immigrant children, was to destroy "the children's link to their ancestral culture" and to assimilate them "into the dominant society,"¹⁴ these studies are valuable in delineating the general nature and function of civics, and the ways in which the nation drew borders around the 'citizen' and constructed and trained those deemed outside of this definition. Nonetheless, the special cultural significance of citizenship education for First Nations and Inuit people is more thoroughly explored in literature about Indian schools. This literature analyzes citizenship education within a context of general Indian policy and Indian school curriculum and it is sensitive to both the racial construction of Indians, and the ultimate goal to extinguish the rights and constitutional status of Aboriginal people in Canada.

¹² This work includes: McKenzie, Citizenship Education in Canada; Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba;" and Sears, "Instruments of Policy: How the National State Influences Citizenship Education." Two contemporary texts include: D.J. Goggin, The Canadian Citizen (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited at St. Martin's House, 1925) and C.R. MacLeod, Citizenship Training - A Handbook For Canadian Schools (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd, 1949).

¹³ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling," 34.

¹⁴ Titley, A Narrow Vision, 75.

Residential Schools

There is a substantial body of literature about residential schools which examines government, church and First Nations involvement in the schools, the curricula of academic and manual training, the health conditions in the schools and neglect and abuse suffered by pupils. Milloy's and J.R. Miller's overviews of the history of the system have proven to be particularly useful in contextualizing Girl Guides.¹⁵

Milloy's recent book *A National Crime*, is an excellent historical source on residential schools. It delineates the evolution of the logic of the Department of Indian Affairs and its role in the residential school system from 1879 to 1986. In particular, Milloy's analysis of the schools' curriculum and training, which he describes as "a circle - an all-encompassing environment of resocialization,"¹⁶ is useful in understanding the context for extra-curricular activities. Like Milloy, Miller examines how curriculum and instruction were tools used by the Department to bring Indians into the realm of civilization. In a chapter entitled "Work and Play," Miller describes in some detail various forms of recreation promoted by residential schools, including organized sports and informal games, school concerts, television, and dance troupes. Miller's analysis provides a brief description of the four most popular youth clubs in the schools, Boy Scouts, Cadets, Girl Guides and Canadian Girls in Training. He also articulates the incongruity of organizing Guides and Scouts in Indian schools, asserting that "it was the height of irony to form organizations to teach forest lore and camping skills to native

¹⁵ J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), and John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System - 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

¹⁶ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 33.

youths whose schooling was supposed to modify them culturally into Euro-Canadians in everything but skin colour."¹⁷ Miller accounts for this irony by arguing that residential schools supported clubs because they were committed to martial and citizenship training. While this analysis provides a foundation for the popularity of the clubs, it does not develop the important link between playing Indian and citizenship training.

Other books about residential schools such as Elizabeth Graham's The Mush Hole, Isabelle Knockwood's Out of the Depths, Elizabeth Furniss' Victims of Benevolence, and Celia Haig-Brown's Resistance and Renewal base their analysis of residential schools directly on the day-to-day experience of students, and their evidence consists primarily of interviews with ex-students.¹⁸ These first-hand accounts provide personal and often moving insights into the children's experiences at the schools, though few references are made detailing extra-curricular clubs and activities.

Because the scope of the thesis extends outside of residential schools into day and hostel schools, sanatoriums, reserves and northern communities, a few other sources were used for more specific information on the context of Aboriginal Guiding. For example, Pat Grygier's book A Long Way From Home is an overview of the history of the

¹⁷ Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 278.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Graham, The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools (Waterloo: Heffle Publishing, 1997), Isabelle Knockwood, Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School of Schubunacadie Nova Scotia (Lockeport, Nova Scotia: Roseway Publishing, 1992), Elizabeth Furniss, Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of Williams Lake Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995), and Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1991).

hospitalization of Inuit tuberculosis patients which touches on some of the activities provided for Inuit patients in southern sanatoria.¹⁹

All of these sources provide valuable information about the official goals of Indian policy. But because they are general overviews, these histories do not develop arguments about extra-curricular clubs. Two American sources, David Wallace Adams' Education for Extinction and Joseph B. Oxendine's American Indian Sports Heritage devote more attention to extra-curricular activities. Adams' book interprets the "ritual calendar" of Indian schools, arguing that the celebration of such holidays as Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Indian Citizenship Day and Independence Day "were designed to explain to Indians who they were, where they fit in the American story, and what they must become if they were to be part of America's future."²⁰ Furthermore, he explores the game of football in considerable depth, interpreting the political and cultural meaning of football in terms of larger institutional objectives of assimilation, and the historical and social meaning of this "bone-crunching struggle for the control of territory"²¹ in terms of colonial experience. Oxendine's book interprets sports at two American Indian industrial schools famous for their athletics, Carlisle Indian School and Haskell Institute, according to the overall goals of assimilating American Indian students. His analysis of Indian imagery in sports (such as the use of generic Indian names for sports teams), however, tends to thinly judge stereotypes as 'positive' or 'negative,' thereby

¹⁹ Pat Sandiford Grygier, A Long Way From Home - The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

²⁰ David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction - American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 206.

²¹ Adams, Education for Extinction, 186.

ignoring the problems of cultural appropriation and failing to address questions of how and why Indian Others are constructed.²²

A number of scholars have taken a closer look at the racialized and gendered training for Native students in more localized studies. In their research on industrial and residential school education, Titley, Kenneth Coates and Jean Barman²³ argue that Indian schooling differed in both purpose and function to public schooling because it was based on the perceived inequality of Aboriginal people,²⁴ and because it aimed to totally annihilate Native cultures.²⁵ Their analysis of the schools' programme of academic and manual skills instruction, which Titley suggests, "took second place to ... manual labour around the institution,"²⁶ provides a detailed explanation of the particular training required of Aboriginal children.

Barman and Robert A. Trennert explore in more detail the gendered nature of Indian education for Indian girls.²⁷ Both authors note that Indian girls' education was racialized, but while Trennert argues that the long-term goal of girls' curriculum was to

²² Joseph B. Oxendine, American Indian Sports Heritage (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

²³ Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," Schools in the West - Essays in Canadian Educational History, eds. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986): 133-153, Kenneth Coates, "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954," B.C. Studies 64 (Winter 1984-1985): 27-47, and Jean Barman, "Schooled For Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," Children, Teachers and Schools In the History of British Columbia, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995): 57-80.

²⁴ Barman, "Schooled for Inequality," 57.

²⁵ Titley, "Industrial Education," 373.

²⁶ Titley, "Industrial Education," 383-4.

²⁷ Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," Children, Teachers and Schools In the History of British Columbia, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995):337-357 and Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," The Western Historical Quarterly XIII: 3 (July 1982): 271-290.

"convert Native American women into middle-class American housewives,"²⁸ Barman holds that the practical education of girls "was intended to permit them to obtain the bottom rung of the White socio-economic order."²⁹ While these arguments may vary due to regional differences in education policy, the studies reveal the diverging aims of Indian curriculum. Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Indian department oscillated in their opinions over how best to educate Indians, whether to prepare Indians for life in their own communities or Canadian society and where Indians fit into Canadian society. Both authors agree, however, that the gendered programme of girls' education held importance to educators in the overall scheme of assimilation. Educating Indian girls would, it was believed, encourage them to both marry outside of their communities and introduce their domestic and Christian training into Indian homes. Both of these aims sought to reform not only domestic patterns, but, as Sangster argues in her study of Aboriginal girls in Ontario's Training School for Girls, to regulate and monitor the sexual morality³⁰ of Indian women.

Studying resistance is an integral aspect of the analysis of the instruction and regulation of Indian girls' behaviour at residential schools. Jo-Anne Fiske argues that Carrier girls at Lejac Residential school "did not accept Euro-Canadian models of patriarchal authority, nor did they accommodate themselves to the state's assimilatory

²⁸ Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls," 289.

²⁹ Barman, "Separate and Unequal," 349.

³⁰ Joan Sangster, "She Is Hostile to Our Ways: Aboriginal Girls in Ontario's Training School for Girls, 1930-1960," forthcoming in *Law and History Review*, 2002.

policies."³¹ Like other scholars, including Haig-Brown and Miller, Fiske argues instead that residential school children selectively utilized new skills and knowledge to their own benefit and subverted the schools' intentions. This analysis is useful in speculating how Aboriginal girls may have perceived the function of the Girl Guide programme at their schools. It is important to note that while gaging the responses of Aboriginal girls to Girl Guides is not the purpose of this thesis, as these authors argue, to ignore the possibility of agency would be entirely misleading.

Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, Women and Girls

There is only a small number of sources that approach the question of how Girl Guiding socializes and trains girls for their roles as citizens. Carol J. Auster's article "Manuals for Socialization: Examples from Girl Scout Handbooks 1913-1984"³² shows how Girl Scouts in the United States were guided according to social goals through the organization's mandatory literature. She believes that Girl Scout handbooks were indicators of societal expectations for family, career, gender roles, sexual behaviour and social stratification. Similarly, Bonnie MacQueen's study of Canadian Guiding argues that the movement defined domestic and imperialist roles for women in British Columbia.³³ Moreover, in her examination of the ties between Canadian Girl Guiding and public school education, Aniko Varpalotai argues that Guiding was both education

³¹ Jo-Anne Fiske, "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society," Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective, eds. Jane S. Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd, 1991), 145.

³² Carol J. Auster, "Manuals for Socialization: Examples from Girl Scout Handbooks 1913-1984," Qualitative Sociology 8:4 (Winter 1985): 359-367.

³³ Bonnie MacQueen, "Domesticity and Discipline: The Girl Guides in British Columbia 1910-1943," Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, eds. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984): 221-235.

through leisure and education for leisure — a conclusion that demonstrates the ubiquitous nature of citizenship education in Guiding.³⁴ Catrin Sain Thomas' Master's thesis explores the lasting effects of outdoor training on girls who participated in Guiding,³⁵ arguing that in its portrayal of "nature," the Guide programme provided girls with moral and religious instruction. Lastly, Veronica Strong-Boag briefly describes Girl Guides as one of various social pastimes for young Canadian women, arguing that Girl Guides contributed significantly to "the evolution of a nation-wide youth culture."³⁶

The literature on Girl Guiding in general is brief and scattered, however issues of citizenship are delineated more intensely in the larger corpus of literature on Boy Scouts, and because Boy Scouts was linked ideologically and structurally to Girl Guides, these sources are useful to this study. Historians of the Boy Scout movement have located British youth movements within the social and cultural context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. John Springhall, for example, argues that the nature of Boy Scouts was influenced by British anxiety about being "prepared" to defend the Empire and was therefore shaped by notions of social imperialism and militarism.³⁷ His analysis sparked debate from "revisionists,"³⁸ who hold that militarism did not define the nature of the movement, but that a number of goals such as social and personal health, class and

³⁴ Aniko Varpalotai, "A "Safe Place" for Leisure and Learning - The Girl Guides of Canada," Loisir et Societe/Society and Leisure (Spring 1992): 115-131.

³⁵ Catrin Sain Thomas, "Girls, Guiding and the Outdoors: An Exploratory Study," MA Thesis, U of Alberta, 1993.

³⁶ Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled - Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), 28.

³⁷ John Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1849 (London: Croom Helm, 1977).

³⁸ A summary of the key traditionalist (Springhall and Summers) and revisionist (Warren) arguments of this debate can be found in John Springhall, "Debate: Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?," English Historical Review (October 1987): 934-950.

racial harmony, and international cooperation³⁹ did more to determine the history of Scouting. Allen Warren asserts that the "world of wild" and the "cult of the outdoors" attracted and kept Scouts and Guides in the organizations more than a drive for imperial unity. He does not, however, make the important observation that the outdoors was often itself an expression of imperialism.

Since most of the sources used by these scholars are British and from the pre-World War I era, these studies do not entirely apply to the history of the Scouting and Guiding movements in Canada. A recent thesis by Ross Bragg titled "The Boy Scout Movement in Canada: Defining constructs of Masculinity for the Twentieth Century"⁴⁰ reviews Canadian Boy Scout sources within a Canadian context and proposes that Boy Scouts worked to produce concepts of masculinity in Canada. Bragg's thesis provides a useful interpretation of the meanings of the Boy Scout Promise and Law in Canada and discusses the Boy Scout understanding of words such as "honour," "loyalty," and "duty." Moreover, he describes how the Scouting movement spread within context of a male youth citizenry defined by the perceived effects of industrialization and urbanization, psycho-social theories of adolescence and youth delinquency and public education. His thesis also looks at the use of racial imagery in Baden-Powell's construction of manhood. Bragg's analysis of race remains, however, within the context of Empire and imagination, and he does not attempt to examine the implications of these racialized notions of "manly

³⁹ Allen Warren, "Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920," English Historical Review (April 1986): 376-398, and "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an Imperial Ideal," Imperialism and Popular Culture, ed. John Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986): 232-256.

⁴⁰ Ross Bragg, "The Boy Scout Movement in Canada: Defining Constructs of Masculinity for the Twentieth Century," M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie U, 1994.

citizenship" for non-White boys. These sources are all important contributions to the body of literature about Girl Guides and Boy Scouts because they place the organization within reciprocal political, social, and cultural contexts.

Tim Jeal's critical biography of Baden-Powell⁴¹ is a useful critical analysis of the life and literature of the figure behind the Boy Scout movement. Jeal's text joins two historical examinations of the Boy Scout movement by Michael Rosenthal and Robert MacDonald to reconstruct the social, cultural and political context in which the movement was founded and in which it spread.⁴² Rosenthal and MacDonald argue that while Baden-Powell was creative and innovative and his status as a charismatic war 'hero' and knight certainly drew many boys to the movement, the popularity of the Scouts was due primarily to its commitment to character training and the lure of its outdoor component. Rosenthal argues that Boy Scout character training fit well into Edwardian anxieties over Imperial and national efficiency and a desire on the part of moral and social reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to transform what were seen to be physically, mentally and morally deficient youth into 'serviceable citizens.' He contends that concerns about modernization including rapid urbanization and industrialization motivated clubs and schools in general teach youth the social and moral importance of good health, part of which involved getting children outdoors. Fresh air and nature, argues MacDonald, was seen to be a cure for the physical and moral deterioration of youth. But besides virility and health, outdoor activities such as camping

⁴¹ Tim Jeal, Baden-Powell (London: Hutchinson, 1989).

⁴² Michael Rosenthal, The Character Factory: Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), and Robert H. MacDonald, Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

and hiking were also popularly associated with frontier adventure and seen to develop primitive instincts, courage and endurance. To Scouts, MacDonald argues, outdoor adventure was a necessary element of a tension at the centre of Scouting between adventure and discipline, escapism and moral lesson. While the organization encouraged boys to fantasize about the wild frontier, MacDonald writes, "their parents would approve of lessons of citizenship"⁴³ provided by outdoor training.

Useful as these texts are, their focus is not primarily on Canada, nor on the Girl Guides who are often only mentioned as an afterthought to the analysis of the Scouting movement. However, a brief examination of the scholarly analysis of the aims and aspirations of women's organizations and another popular girls' club, Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) will help to build a context for Girl Guide citizenship training in Canada.

As Girl Guiding spread across Canada, it enjoyed significant support from more established organizations such as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), Women's Institutes (WI), King's Daughters, Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), National Council of Women (NCW), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Women's Auxiliary (WA), the Catholic Women's League (CWL), as well as by Sunday Schools, public and high schools. Over the past thirty years, many feminist and social historians have explored women's organizations. Their analyses have utilized feminist insights, ideas of social control and more recently, Foucauldian theory, but all have been concerned with how and/or why more privileged

⁴³ MacDonald, Sons of Empire, 6.

women attempted to mould young women into better citizens. In particular, the work on the period leading up to the success of suffrage provides interesting insight into the political and social context of Girl Guides for Canadian women. In one of the most important texts on women and reform, A Not Unreasonable Claim, edited by Linda Kealey, various feminist scholars raise issues pertinent to this thesis.⁴⁴ First, the book discusses various women's organizations and their agendas for reform. Second, several articles describe "maternal feminism," an ideology and strategy of reform that utilized an image of women as 'social housekeepers' in order to gain political and social power for women. Lastly, the book is sensitive to how assumptions of racial superiority of Anglo-Saxons directed women's reform.⁴⁵

Mariana Valverde, Leila Gay Mitchell McKee and Diana Pederson have studied women's organizations in more detail, understanding them to be influenced by, and to in turn influence contemporary opinions about roles and duties of women, female education and general social issues.⁴⁶ These scholars argue that through their involvement in progressive and largely middle-class and Protestant-church affiliated women's clubs, women reasserted their right to citizenship by extolling their perceived duty to nurse society to health. Rapid urbanization, alcohol consumption, industrialization and general

⁴⁴ Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s (Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1979).

⁴⁵ See in particular: Linda Kealey, "Introduction," Wayne Roberts, "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto 1877-1914," Wendy Mitchinson, "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism, and Barbara Roberts, "'A Work of Empire': Canadian Reformers and British Female Immigration," in Linda Kealey, A Not Unreasonable Claim: 1-14, 15-45, 151-167, 185-201.

⁴⁶ Mariana Valverde, The Age Of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991), Leila Gay Mitchell McKee, "Voluntary Youth Organizations in Toronto: 1880-1930," Ph D Diss., York U, 1982 and Diana Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good - The YWCA of Canada 1870-1920," M.A. Thesis, U of Ottawa, 1981.

dilution of British culture due to immigration were perceived by women's organizations to be the root causes of many of society's illnesses. They fought for temperance, they helped women and youth to adjust to urban settings, they debated issues of public health and they employed various means to acculturate 'New Canadians.' Although there is not a lot of scholarly analysis examining the nature and of these women's organizations' work with Aboriginal people (be it in residential schools, hospitals, reserves and northern communities), studies by Carol Bacci and Valverde are useful in illuminating the class-based, racial and cultural assumptions of the work of these primarily White women's organizations.⁴⁷

Regarding their roles in society as primarily mothers, early twentieth century women's club members often aimed to instill moral, Christian values into the new generation of youth. Women provided guidance for youth in two main ways. First, authors Nancy Sheehan, Sharon Cook, Robert Stamp and Terry Crowley⁴⁸ argue, women's organizations such as the WCTU and the NCW influenced trends in education by petitioning for curriculum change. Second, women's organizations fulfilled their mission to educate children, specifically girls, according to Christian values by creating and

⁴⁷ Carol Lee Bacci, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983) and Mariana Valverde, "'When the Mother of the Race Is Free': Race, Reproduction and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," Gender Conflicts - New Essays in Women's History, eds., Franca Iacovetta and Marianna Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 3-26.

⁴⁸ Nancy Sheehan, "Women's Organizations and Educational Issues, 1900-1930," Canadian Woman Studies 7:3 (Fall, 1986), 90-94 and "Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945," Historical Studies in Education 2:2 (Fall 1990): 307-21, Sharon Cook, "'Earnest Christian Women, bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth': The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction 1881-1930," Ontario History LXXXVI:3 (Sept 1994): 249-267, Robert Stamp, "Teaching Girls their 'God Given Place in Life'," Atlantis 2:2 (Spring 1997): 18-34, and Terry Crowley, "Madonnas before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," Canadian Historical Review LXVII:4 (1986): 520-47.

supporting youth clubs. A significant amount of time and energy of these women's organizations (notably the YWCA, the WCTU, the IODE, the WI, the NCW, the WA and the CWL) was spent devising solutions to the problem of the 'Modern Girl.' In her book Toronto's Girl Problem, Strange uses evidence from women's organizations such as the NCW, WCTU and the YWCA to demonstrate why these women feared that young girls' morality had been damaged by processes of urbanization, and how they saw instruction in health, efficiency, femininity, duty, and effective use of leisure time as a way to protect moral purity. In the early twentieth century, youth organizations such as Girl Guides constituted a vital element of a larger scheme which included summer camps, libraries, boarding homes, religious guidance, and, significantly, reform of public school curriculum, steered primarily by women's organizations to teach and prepare girls to be responsible, dutiful and religious mothers and citizens.

In her book The New Day Recalled, Strong-Boag distinguishes women's social action in the inter-war period from the period prior to 1919. She argues that the activities of women's organizations continued local reform efforts, focusing on "woman-centred" issues such as maternity care, mothers' allowances, rights of married women to paid work, equal divorce laws and the legalization of birth control.⁴⁹ While efforts were

⁴⁹ Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 190-191. For more detailed analysis, see: Alison Prentice et al, Canadian Women - A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988); Diane Dodd, "The Canadian Birth Control Movement on Trial, 1936-1937," Histoire Sociale/Social History 16:32 (November 1983): 411-28; and Brigitte Kitchen, "The Introduction of Family Allowances in Canada," The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada, eds. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987): 222-241.

localized, Strong-Boag argues that women's club work in this period demonstrated a profound interest in world affairs as well as the defense of various immigrant identities.⁵⁰

Other scholars have also noted two shifts in the purpose and function of girls' youth movements in the inter-war period. First, Alison Prentice et al note that while they maintained their objectives of producing useful and loyal girl citizens based upon their future roles as wives and mothers, many clubs like Girl Guides, CGIT and 4-H encouraged female independence.⁵¹ Furthermore, based on their analysis of the CGIT, scholars Margaret Prang and Gabriel Blais argue that, from the interwar period onwards, the function and content of girls citizenship training had evolved. First, girls were no longer trained to defend the British Empire, but to build a new Canadian nation. The programme of the CGIT marked this shift, including ever more Canadian content which aimed to instill distinctly Canadian values and encourage national awareness.⁵² Second, the CGIT espoused an ideal for Canadian nation that shifted emphasis from uniformity to a vision of a 'mosaic' and urged members to "study sympathetically the back-grounds and customs of ethnic minorities, especially those represented in CGIT and in their own communities."⁵³ In spite of these shifts, Prang and Blais maintain that CGIT shaped girls according to Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle-class standards of health, intelligence,

⁵⁰ Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 191.

⁵¹ Alison Prentice et al, Canadian Women - A History, 243.

⁵² Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939," Canadian Historical Review 66:2 (June 1986): 154-184, and Gabriel Blais, "'The Complete Feminine Personality': Female Adolescence in the Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) 1915-1955," Ph D Diss, Carlton U, 1986.

⁵³ Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be,'" 172.

service and national pride, and used the citizen as a model with which to socialize girls and reproduce the values of the dominant society.

The Citizen and the Imaginary Indian

The work of cultural theorists Michel Foucault, Edward Said and Homi Bhabha⁵⁴ helps to interpret how and why the citizen gained discursive power in Canada. Foucault's book Discipline and Punish has been useful in delineating how girls were constructed as a demographic group requiring the molding influences of citizenship training. His analysis of the role of discipline in the production of subjects helps to interpret certain elements of Girl Guide training such as drill and inspection. Moreover, his work demonstrates how the goal of disciplining docile and useful subjects, Indian adolescent girl subjects in this case, became part of a larger project of building a healthy and united Canadian nation.

The goal of Guiding in residential schools was to train Aboriginal girls to identify themselves as modern, progressive, and civilized Canadian citizens. However, the Guide programme used signs of Indian savagery throughout its programme, even at times encouraging girls to play Indian through various songs, games and activities. Said argues that the Self, or the Canadian citizen, continually requires its binary opposite or 'Other' in order to define and complete itself. Guides therefore imagined the anti-modernist, romantic, primitive Indian Other in opposition to themselves but no less desired to *become* him in order to train to be better citizens.

⁵⁴ Michael Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) and Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994).

Bhabha's work encourages us to examine the productivity of the Indian stereotype, rather than to subject it to a normalizing judgement. Besides justifying the conquest of and the establishment of systems of administration and instruction for Aboriginal people, the image of the Indian has enabled the citizen to define itself. For Girl Guides, knowing and becoming the Indian was part of reproducing themselves as girl citizens.

Four main secondary sources will be used which draw upon or support the work of Foucault, Said and Bhabha. Daniel Francis' book, The Imaginary Indian describes the Indian as a fantasy of non-Native consciousness. Articulated in such media as school textbooks, Francis argues that the ever-changing Imaginary Indian is a consistent element of Canadian intellectual, social and political history because he represents anxieties of non-Natives living in a territory that did not belong to their ancestors. Heather Dunlop's Master's Thesis, "The Role and Image of Wilderness And the Aborigine In Selected Ontarian Shield Camps"⁵⁵ uses Francis in a discussion of the history and function of the Imaginary Indian in the summer camp context. Dunlop also discusses various problems of stereotyping and appropriating Indian culture at summer camps, as does Deborah Ann Allen in her short unpublished Master's paper "'The Best Things of the Best Indians': The Appropriation of Native Lore by Youth Organizations in North America."⁵⁶ Allen cites many instances of cultural appropriation in a setting even more specific to this thesis - Woodcraft Indians, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. While her paper is helpful in finding stereotypes, it does not problematize cultural appropriation, and does not attempt to

⁵⁵ Heather Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness and The Aborigine in Selected Ontarian Shield Camps," M.A. Thesis, Trent U, 1998.

⁵⁶ Deborah Ann Allen, "'The best Things of the Best Indians': The Appropriation of Native Lore by Youth Organizations in North America," Unpublished Masters Paper, U Toronto, 2000.

interpret these stereotypes theoretically. Philip Deloria's book Playing Indian takes this further step, analyzing the process of subjectification through which these stereotypes were created. His extraordinary book examines the Imaginary Indian, as well as the signs and symbols the image inspired in various social and political contexts, arguing that the Indian was simultaneously feared and adored in an ongoing process of constructing national identity. Like Playing Indian, this thesis will attempt to understand the dynamics of Indian imagery in the Girl Guide movement by examining how and why it worked to produce Canadian citizens.

Overview and Structure

This thesis will attempt to place a very specific topic, Girl Guiding in federally-run schools, sanatoria, reserves and northern communities within a broader understanding of Canadian citizenship. In the first chapter, I will place Girl Guiding within a broader context of citizenship training by exploring how the Canadian girl citizen was qualified and produced by women's organizations, schools and extra-curricular clubs. The second chapter will look more closely at how the Indian citizen in particular was defined through Indian policy and taught in federal schools, arguing that the project of training Indian women for citizenship intimately involved instructing Aboriginal girls in Canadian homemaking. While most historians of Indian education tend to focus on curriculum and work in Indian schools without discussing in depth clubs and extra-curricular activities, this analysis will include an examination of the ways in which clubs and extra-curricular activities embodied and reinforced the assimilative and civilizing philosophies of Indian policy and Indian education.

Chapter three will examine the defining features of Girl Guiding, including its aims, Promise, Law and Motto, uniform, badge and testing system, songs, activities and literature in order to examine how the movement personified and worked to produce ideal citizens in the various contexts in which Aboriginal girls participated in the movement, including residential, day and hostel schools, sanatoriums and reserves and northern communities. Although the study of resistance and agency is an important element to any analysis of regulation, this thesis will not to explore in detail Native girls' responses to Girl Guides but focus instead on the goals of the movement to produce citizens and how those goals were undertaken. Chapter four will examine the Indian content of the Girl Guide programme, namely, its games, activities, songs and awards. By extending Francis' Imaginary Indian to the world of Girl Guides and by placing Deloria's exciting work in a distinctly Canadian residential school setting, this chapter will explore questions of why and how the Indian was subjectified by the movement as a tool to train girls for Empire and Canadian citizenship, arguing that playing Indian was a functional activity in the production of young citizens. In the final, concluding chapter, I will interpret Girl Guiding as a colonial endeavour. In so doing, I will challenge the long-standing myths that Guiding it spread spontaneously and naturally and that it treated every girl equally, regardless of race. As in other colonies, Girl Guiding in Canada followed colonial policy with respect to Indigenous peoples, it imagined Indigenous people in moral, intellectual and social opposition to its citizens, and it constructed and appropriated Indigenous signs and symbols.

Studying Girl Guides within the context of residential schools problematizes issues of assimilation and cultural appropriation, as the Girl Guide movement has situated these young Native women within an ambivalent dichotomy of constructed images. Ironically, Native and Inuit Girl Guides found themselves in a position whereby they were to behave as healthy, happy and helpful White, Christian girl citizens, and yet also play Indian. The Girl Guide movement, like Indian education, functioned as an element in a larger process to construct ideal citizens of Aboriginal people, a process which employed contradictory images of model citizens and model Indians.

CHAPTER ONE

Women, Youth and Citizenship

Public recognition of the [Girl Guide] work continually grows more pronounced. Clergymen and Educationists are commenting favourably on the value of the training and recommending it in many cases to their various departments of girl work... The girlhood of today needs a specially up to date training and the energies of our girls need careful directing in the work of preparing them for the larger duties which since the war, have now fallen to women in every rank of life. In the Guide movement we can to a large extent supply the needed training in the development of character, skill and patriotism. A tremendous work lies open to us. But it is one whose possibilities are scarcely realized by those who have not seen the actual results of the Guide training where properly administered... There is not a girl or woman in the land who can refuse to advance her training in citizenship and the Girl Guide movement offers a strong appeal to Canada's future womanhood.¹

This statement, made by the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association in their 1921 Annual Report sums up the aims of Guiding, and provides an excellent entree to a discussion of the social, religious and educational contexts for Girl Guide training in Canada. According to this Annual Report, the Guide movement offered Canadian girls and women a valuable and appealing programme of citizenship training that was useful to clergymen, educationalists and the public at large. But what were the circumstances in which Guiding became "favourable" and "recommended?" This chapter will provide a background context for Guiding in Canada by exploring how women and youth were constructed and trained as citizens. It will first look at the important role of the early women's reform movement in creating a hospitable context for Girl Guides, then examine youth club work by middle-class reformers and finally tie these efforts to dominant ideals of citizenship training.

¹ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (CCGGA), Annual Report (A.R.), 1921, 3,8.

Womanly Citizenship

The Women's Movement - A Role Deserving of Citizenship

The late nineteenth century struggle for female political rights attempted to prove that women fulfilled obligations so central to shaping Canadian life that they undoubtedly qualified women for citizenship rights in Canada. One of the most fundamental moral obligations of a woman, the maternal feminists of the early woman movement argued, was to influence her family. This logic was based on women's role as guardian of the home, and the special experiences and values that suited this role.

A perceived national, moral and social crisis brought on by industrialization and urbanization led many Canadians to believe that a return to traditional values would save the nation. This task involved placing the home, virtuous and pure, central to society and shaping women who would protect and maintain this sacred sphere. By keeping a clean, orderly home, women taught and practiced values of health and hygiene; by teaching and disciplining children and nurturing Christian faith in the family, mothers raised well-adjusted, useful and respectable youth; and by living a good, pure Christian life, women were role models for their families and other families in the communities in which they lived.

The women's movement was fueled by large, nation-wide women's organizations such as the WCTU, the YWCA, Women's Church Auxiliaries, Women's Missionary Aid Societies, the NCWC, the IODE and the WI. Women's clubs defined the duties of the 'good *female* citizen,' expanded the domain of what was considered proper for women, and afforded women authority to influence society to affect reform. By organizing with

other women, by extending values into the community through systems of humiliation or reward, and by lobbying the government, it was hoped that ideals would be spread in pockets throughout Canada and the world, thereby eradicating social problems such as alcoholism, illegitimacy, ill health and irreligion. In an IODE publication from 1947, one enthusiastic member captures this sentiment, inciting women to value their citizenship and encouraging them to participate in the vote by stating:

We must go out into the world by an extension of our personal interests, from our homes to the safety of homes everywhere, from our children to all children, from our own economic security to a realization that economically the world is well or sick *together*. Like John Wesley, let us take the world for our parish.²

Club women were, most importantly, mothers, and as such had specific responsibilities to influence their children to become the upstanding citizens of the future. This particular vocation encouraged women to join and lead reform movements in the areas of child welfare, public health, and child and female labour, to fight for suffrage, and to participate actively in missionary endeavours. Two particular reform movements of interest to this thesis are education and youth organizations.

Women's Organizations and Education

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, clubs like the WI, the WCTU, the IODE and the NCW lobbied for curriculum changes in public school education. A brief and by no means complete look at the educational reform of the IODE, the WCTU and domestic science will demonstrate the profound interest of these clubs in the education of their children.

² Mollie Burke, "Do Women Value Their Citizenship?," *Echoes* 188 (Autumn 1947), 47.

Early in the twentieth century, the national executive of the IODE had formed an educational committee to oversee and participate in educational issues in Canada. Their goal, argues Nancy Sheehan in her article on the IODE and Canadian schools, was "to develop in Canadians a love and respect for the British Empire and an understanding of Canada's role as a member of the Empire."³ The IODE extended their own brand of reform into the classroom by planning programs for Empire Day, Remembrance Day, Commonwealth Day and Citizenship Day,⁴ by donating Union Jacks and pictures of royal figureheads to schools, by holding essay contests⁵ and donating prize books⁶ and by supporting the school Cadet movement.⁷

If inculcating a sense of imperialism and patriotism in school children was the goal of the IODE, then purifying the moral and physical life of students was the field of the WCTU, whose interest in education reform was expressed in its SCI or Scientific Temperance Instruction classes. These compulsory courses, argues Sharon Cook, combined "a conventional moralistic temperance message with the study of anatomy to create a hygiene curriculum which emphasized the individual's responsibility to maintain a healthy and pure body."⁸ Scientific Temperance Instruction connected character

³ Nancy M. Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice: The IODE and The Schools in Canada, 1900-1945," HSE/RHE 2:2 (1990), 309.

⁴ Pauline McGibbon, "Education and the I.O.D.E.," Echoes 243 (Summer 1961), 7.

⁵ Nancy M. Sheehan, "Women's Organizations and Educational Issues, 1900-1930," Canadian Woman Studies 7:3 (Fall, 1986), 91.

⁶ May G. Kertland, I.O.D.E. The Third Twenty-five Years 1950-1975 (Don Mills: T.H. Best Printing Co., 1975), 44.

⁷ Sheehan, "Women's Organizations," 91.

⁸ Sharon Anne Cook, "'Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth': The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction 1881-1930," Ontario History LXXXVI:3 (September 1994), 251.

building to physiology and hygiene through lessons of moral and social purity. It was offered in all provincial departments of education in English Canada and used a standard textbook and questions on provincial examinations.⁹

Perhaps 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, the NCW and the WI, Adelaide Hoodless, domestic science gained massive support from a growing and influential body of social reformers. 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," Hoodless placed education in home management within a larger scheme of socializing young girls as home-makers.¹⁰

The lessons of imperial and national loyalty, of moral and social hygiene, and of scientific homemaking were considered by various women's organizations to be educational issues of great importance to Canadian youth, and were integrated in a larger

⁹ Sheehan, "Women's Organizations," 91.

¹⁰ Adelaide Hoodless, "Domestic Science," Women Workers of Canada: Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Conference of the National Conference of Women of Canada, 1902, 120, qtd. in Robert M. Stamp, "Teaching Girls their 'God Given Place in Life': The Introduction of Home Economics in the Schools," Atlantis 2:2 (Spring 1977), 25.

scheme of producing upstanding Canadian citizens through Canadian schools. However, women's clubs also looked outside formal education to extra-curricular activities as a means to train youth for citizenship.

Women's Organizations and Youth Clubs

When describing women's early twentieth century involvement in youth clubs, it is important to consider contemporary attitudes about youth. American psychologist G. Stanley Hall had just recently published his influential work Adolescence,¹¹ in which he claimed that adolescence was a universal stage between youth and adulthood defined by rapid growth and uncontrolled emotion, or, what he called "storm and stress." Perhaps the most influential part of Hall's theory — that which captured the minds of theorists, psychologists, sociologists, educators, reformers and youth organizers — was that during adolescence, children were most susceptible to good and bad influences, and this was therefore the age at which their energy needed the most direction. Armed with this theory, youth organizations aimed to reach every girl and boy to exploit the character-building possibilities of the crucial years of adolescence.

The extension of adult influence into the lives of adolescents was perceived to combat juvenile delinquency, control adolescent sexuality and channel the energy of teenagers in positive directions. But, it was thought, not only could the proper instruction of youth solve society's illnesses today, the right stimuli would produce responsible,

¹¹ George Stanley Hall, Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education (New York: Appleton, 1904).

industrious and patriotic citizens to support a morally-reformed future.¹² With this in mind, many women's organizations established youth affiliations. The WCTU created Bands of Hope and Juvenile Temperance Unions, the IODE developed Junior Chapters, a variety of boys' and girls' clubs including the CGIT were associated with the YM-YWCA, the Protestant churches supported clubs like the CGIT and the Girls' Friendly Society, Women's Missionary Societies assisted mission bands, Women's Auxiliaries had Girls' Departments, and youth agricultural societies such as 4-H were associated with Women's Institutes. The goal of many of these clubs was to transmit the reform aspirations of club women by introducing children to artistic and intellectual endeavours and by inculcating in them a passion for Christian and patriotic service and a respect for physical and moral health.

Girl Guides suited the aspirations of such groups as the IODE, the WCTU, the NCW, the YWCA and the WI because of its commitment to citizenship training in Imperial and national loyalty, moral and social hygiene and scientific homemaking. IODE Educational Secretary of Manitoba, Mrs. C.C. Hearn, supported Guides because she believed it influenced "for the highest good ... the destiny ... of the girls of our land - the future women of Canada."¹³ One Girl Guiding pamphlet by the Catholic Women's League argued that while "[g]reat urban centres or small rural communities have [a] tremendous problem in the safe-guarding and protecting of young girls" the Girl Guide

¹² Gabrielle Blais, "The Complete Feminine Personality: The Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) 1915-1955," Ph D Diss. Carlton U, 1986, 5.

¹³ Manitoba Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives (MCA), Box "History of Guiding," File "History of Guiding - Manitoba," Mrs. C.C Hearn, The Girl Guide Movement in Manitoba, 1916.

movement assisted girls to "develop a sound mind in a sound body," and provided them with "practical knowledge of the useful arts of home-making, handicraft, [and] hygiene."¹⁴ Women's organizations including the WCTU, the YWCA, the NCW, the IODE and the WI felt so strongly about the Girl Guide movement that they became directly affiliated with the Girl Guide Association as "Kindred Societies." The Association provided for "the use of Girl Guide training" by Kindred Societies through the Kindred Societies Branch of the Association. Guide companies organized under a Kindred Society functioned "under the rules, badges etc., of the Girl Guide Association" but remained "an integral part of its own administration," taking "its own line in the matter of religion," and making "its own by-laws on other matters, provided they agree with the general policy of the movement."¹⁵ The Kindred Societies remained a branch of Girl Guiding until the late 1950s.

To various women's organizations, Guiding gave the project of moral and social reform a positive spin. Instead of just targeting crime or mental deficiencies, Guides worked to *prevent* crime by training and educating good citizens. Furthermore, the Girl Guide movement emphasized the ability of girls in particular to be not only influenced for good, but in turn influence *for* good. The most compelling reason why women's clubs supported Girl Guides was because they saw the movement as working to produce respectable girl citizens. This logic is spelled out in a 1922 edition of the *Western Woman's Weekly*, a journal endorsed by local Vancouver chapters of various women's

¹⁴ Mrs. E. McIntyre, Girl Guiding for Catholic Girls (n.p.: Catholic Women's League, 1926).

¹⁵ The Canadian Guider 2:1 (January 1934), 4.

clubs including the IODE, the NCW, the Women's Canadian Club, the YWCA, the WA, the WCTU, and the King's Daughters. In an article entitled "Girl Guide Movement," Mrs. T.P. Lake, Divisional Commissioner for the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, argued that the "fundamental idea" of the activities of Guides was to "promote a more practical knowledge of home keeping, mothercraft and citizenship." Lake explained that the

greatest foes of good citizenship were ignorance and intolerance, and that its greatest hope was education. It is therefore essential that every assistance and encouragement possible be given to a movement which gives our girls an education along the lines of character, skill and patriotism. And this is what the Girl Guide Movement does. It aims to train them to attain a high standard of patriotic citizenship.¹⁶

The founding and development of Guiding, like the flourishing of youth clubs in Canada coincided with the impact of theories of adolescent development. In one of the first hand books for Guiding, Baden-Powell used Hall's theory of adolescent development to prove the need for Girl Guides:

The age at which crime begins ... points to the age at which character begins to form itself and it appears much earlier in life than is usually supposed; That is to say, the crime returns show a good deal of juvenile depravity at the early age of 10 and 11, and at 12 it has mounted to its highest point in the young generation up to twenty. Between the ages of eight and nine, therefore, seems to be the right time to get hold of the girl when the seeds of character may begin to sprout into pliant tendrils ready to trail off in the wrong direction, but easily taken in hand at that time and trained right.¹⁷

Girls were seen to have been particularly hard-hit by the devastating effects of industrialization and urbanization, and required specific training and attention. Studying

¹⁶ Mrs. T.P. Lake, "Girl Guide Movement: What Girl Guiding Means to Canadianization," Western Woman's Weekly 5:46 (October 21, 1922), 1.

¹⁷ Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1954), 177.

the 'Girl Problem' was a crucial endeavour of women's organizations because of the paradoxical nature of early twentieth century notions of girl and womanhood; while girls were particularly susceptible to negative influences around them, their position in their homes entitled them to influence their families, communities and country. Therefore, as Diana Pedersen states, it was "essential to solve the girl problem because that ultimately mean[t] the solution of the boy problem, the home problem and finally, that of the nation."¹⁸

One study by the Anglican Church of Canada found that various communities were struggling with crudity and vulgarity, uncleanliness, un-wholesomeness and low home standards of girls.¹⁹ It also found that many girls in urban parishes suffered from poor working and/or housing conditions, loneliness or a lack of "wholesome friendships," and were subjected to the questionable influences of unmarried mothers, commercialized recreation and motor cars.²⁰ In order to combat this atmosphere, it was suggested that girls needed longer periods of confirmation training,²¹ and training in morals, chastity and self-control. The churches supported youth organizations like Girl Guides because they believed these clubs provided girls with "an outlet, through activities, for their superabundant energy," aroused "interest in worthwhile tasks, and prepared them to "play a useful part in life."²² Churches believed Girl Guides inspired permanent interests of an

¹⁸ Diana Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good - The YWCA of Canada 1870-1920," M.A. Thesis, U of Ottawa, 1981, 6.

¹⁹ The Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada (CSSCEC), "Better Provision for the Protection of Girl Life," Anglican Church Bulletin No. 89 (May 1933), 17-18.

²⁰ CSSCEC, "Better Provision," 18.

²¹ CSSCEC, "Better Provision," 10.

²² The Joint Committee on Work Amongst Older Girls of the Church House (JCWAOGCH), Programme Suggestions for Mid-Week Meetings of Anglican Girls (Toronto: GBRE, circa. 1933), 5.

important and worthwhile variety such as First Aid, supporting missionary work, training in motherhood and homemaking, music, health, civics, politics, and social service work.²³

Sunday Schools in particular became an important link for girls' groups such as the Girls' Friendly Society, CGIT, and Girl Guides, as explained in an pamphlet published by the Anglican church:

If the girls of our Sunday Schools can be led to follow some one of these programmes in the mid-week, and if the girls belonging to these groups in the mid-week can be encouraged to attend Sunday School on Sunday, we shall have taken a long step forward in unifying the Religious Education of our teen-age Anglican girlhood.²⁴

By connecting girls to the Church and its activities, the Church retained the loyalty of the girls (and hopefully their parents as well) and increased its opportunities to influence them in ways it deemed positive.

CGIT, or Canadian Girls In Training, was at the core of feminine youth work within the Protestant Churches of Canada.²⁵ Founded in 1915 with the support of the YWCA, the CGIT program espoused current trends in education and psychology in its "four-fold" training for girls. Besides physical and intellectual training which included teaching girls to make 'proper' use of their leisure time, CGIT groups focused on developing the spiritual lives of girls through Bible study and educational evangelism. CGIT also emphasized social responsibilities given to women to create a new social order by challenging girls to "discover the needs of the world in which they live and to see their

²³ For example, settlement work, playground centres, Big Sisters, Junior Red Cross, Public Health Nursing, Fresh Air Camps, and Vacation Bible Schools.

²⁴ JCWAOGCH, Programme Suggestions, 2.

²⁵ Blais, "The Complete Feminine Personality," 7.

responsibility for the character of their home, their school, their church and their community, gradually extending their conception or responsibility to include the nation and the world."²⁶ The training of girls in CGIT was built upon an understanding of the duties of women citizens espoused also by early twentieth century woman's organizations.

The Girl Guides developed alongside the CGIT in Canada, and many girls belonged to both organizations. Although non-denominational in its stance, Guides, like CGIT gained popularity because it aimed to address public concerns about young women. First, Baden-Powell saw women, and in particular, their disassociation with the home, as central to social problems resulting from urbanization and industrialization. Baden-Powell expressed this fear in one of the first Girl Guide publications:

"As things are, one sees the streets crowded after business hours, and the watering places crammed with girls over-dressed and idling, learning to live aimless, profitless lives; and in some cases, they run to the opposite extreme and take up manly pursuits, which make them hard and sexless; whereas, if an attractive way were shown, their enthusiasm would once lead them to take up useful woman's work with zeal."²⁷

One issue of The Canadian Guider explained later in the period, that the "citizenship of a woman centres around a house, a dwelling place" and therefore the Girl Guide program was needed in order to prepare each girl to become a "house-wife and home-maker."²⁸

Another source argued that Guides addressed the urban concern of "safe-guarding and protecting of young girls" by preserving "their Christian Faith and morality."²⁹

²⁶ Blais, "The Complete Feminine Personality," 52.

²⁷ Lieut.-General Sir. R. Baden-Powell, KOB, Pamphlet A: Suggests the Organization of Girl Guides - Girl Guides. A Suggestion for Character Training For Girls (n.p.: n.p., circa 1910), 4.

²⁸ Mrs. John Corbett, "Training for Citizenship," The Canadian Guider 10:4, (June 15, 1941), 4.

²⁹ McIntyre, Girl Guiding For Catholic Girls, 4.

Baden-Powell's goal to encourage girls to zealously take up "useful woman's work" illustrates a second concern. Young women were not only perceived as guardians of the home but as social housekeepers outside of it, and as such, were able to improve society. Guides often equated women's domestic duties to service for the community and the nation.³⁰ Baden-Powell perceived the role of the mother to be vital in nation building, and used this paradigm in order to justify his programme for girls:

Character is largely a matter of environment and training, and, later on, of experience. Undoubtedly the mother's influence gives as a rule the first impetus to character. A mother cannot give that which she does not possess herself. Therefore it is all-important that the mothers of our country should possess character of a high quality in order to inculcate it in their children.³¹

In a brief history of the Girl Guide movement in Manitoba, Guider Mrs. C.C. Hearn explained that the word "Guide" was used because "[i]n all womanly ways the girls are trained to become better "Guides" to our next generation - the coming Empire builders of our beloved nation."³² As future women, Girl Guides had particular obligations as mothers to teach their children "to be good, hard-working, honourable and useful citizens for our great British Empire."³³ Baden-Powell believed that training in 'useful womanliness' would strengthen society in many important ways. In fact, he placed responsibility for the future of Britain squarely on the shoulders of well-trained women.

³⁰ Bonnie MacQueen, "Domesticity and Discipline: The Girl Guides in British Columbia 1910-1943," Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays On The History of Women's Work In British Columbia, eds. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), 222.

³¹ Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers and Guiders (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1938), 173.

³² MCA, Hearn, The Girl Guide Movement in Manitoba, 1916.

³³ Agnes Baden-Powell in Collaboration with Lt. Gen. Sir Robert Baden-Powell, KCB, etc. The Official Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912), 24.

"The girls" Baden-Powell argued, as "some of the future mothers of our race," needed this training.³⁴

Baden-Powell's use of the phrase "mothers of our race" highlights the racialized nature of the Girl Guide construction of "woman," an element of Guiding important to the study of Girl Guiding in Native and Inuit contexts. It is a concept that Marianna Valverde deconstructs in her article "'When the Mother of the Race Is Free': Race, Reproduction and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism." In this article, Valverde examines how turn of the century notions of reproduction were inherently tied to concepts of racial progress,³⁵ and argues that the rise of feminism in English Canada was inherently tied to the notion that White women in particular had a role to play in the prevention of the 'degeneration' of the race. "Women of 'lower' races" she states, were categorically excluded from this "specifically Anglo-Saxon work of building a better world."³⁶ Valverde provides evidence for her argument by analyzing the rhetoric of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, a women's organization which fought for political rights for women by arguing that White mothers had moral duties to shape both their children and the future of the nation.³⁷

It appears that Guides employed a similar discourse in the early period of Guiding in Canada. Mrs. Payne, an Anglican church member who wrote a bulletin describing the Girl Guide programme, used it to promote Guiding in Anglican churches. She argued:

³⁴ Baden-Powell, *Girl Guiding*, 173-4.

³⁵ Marianna Valverde, "'When the Mother of the Race Is Free': Race, Reproduction and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," *Gender Conflicts: New Essays on Women's History*, eds Franca Iacovetta and Marianna Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 5.

³⁶ Valverde, "When the Mother," 8.

³⁷ Valverde, "When the Mother," 16.

In all classes of the community, in all churches, girls' work has come more and more to the front. Its object is to train our girls not only to take the places of the present leaders, and to guide them into larger fields of usefulness, but primarily to prepare them to be future mothers of our race.³⁸

It is not clear whether Mrs. Payne referred here to the White race in particular, or more generally to the 'human' race, however, in either interpretation, the term 'race' is filled with cultural meaning. Payne subsequently argued that Guide training prepared girls for this role by "forming their character," "training them in ... habits of usefulness, obedience and self reliance," "teaching them services useful to the public and handicrafts useful to themselves," "promoting their physical development," "making them capable of keeping good homes and bringing up good children," and by instilling in them "Religion and Patriotism."³⁹

Valverde finds an inherent contradiction in this analysis of early feminist thought: if these notions "privileged those women whose cultural and racial background marked them as more adult, more evolved, more moral and better 'mothers of the race,'" ⁴⁰ why, then, did the WCTU recruit black women in St. Catharines, Ontario, or form a "coloured" local union in Hamilton? This proves to be no more of a conundrum than the existence of Aboriginal Girl Guide groups. While the Girl Guide movement was not, unlike the WCTU, completely consumed by these notions, the fundamental question about the early expansion of the movement into Aboriginal schools and communities remains: how did the ideology of White motherhood fit into a programme offered to Aboriginal girls?

³⁸ Mrs. M.C. Payne, "The Girl Guide Movement in Canada," *Bulletin* 77 (Nov. 1926), 3.

³⁹ Payne, "The Girl Guide Movement," 7-8.

⁴⁰ Valverde, "When the Mother," 20.

Valverde responds to this problem by articulating that the WCTU worked with African-Canadian women largely under the pretext that they were to be the "recipients of the moral reform message" rather than participants in this feminist project.⁴¹ Likewise, in the Aboriginal contexts of residential, day and hostel schools, sanatoriums, reserves and northern communities, Native and Inuit girls were indeed "recipients of the moral reform message" and their "need of guidance" was not only due to their youth, but also to their race.

Kelm remarks in her book Colonizing Bodies that "[m]any Anglo-Saxon feminists of the early-twentieth century moral reform movements were unable to see women of colour as true 'mothers' and therefore saw their world-wide task as setting the maternal standard for all people."⁴² This assumption is particularly noticeable in the field of health, where, Kelm argues, "[j]ust as 'healthy' and Christian were equated, so were 'traditional' [Aboriginal] and diseased."⁴³ To this end, residential schools, which ultimately replaced the mother, were seen "as leading the First Nations to health, both by removing children from the clutches of supposedly negligent and ignorant parents, and by teaching them Euro-Canadian standards of cleanliness and care."⁴⁴ Reverend Thompson Ferrier's 1911 metaphor "The Indian is the weak child in the family of our nation"⁴⁵ illuminates this discourse which understood Indians as children within the Canadian nation.

⁴¹ Valverde, "When the Mother," 20.

⁴² Mary-Ellen Kelm, Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-1950 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 62.

⁴³ Kelm, Colonizing Bodies, 62.

⁴⁴ Kelm, Colonizing Bodies, 62.

⁴⁵ R. Ferrier, Report of the Alberta Methodist Commission, 1911, qtd. in John Milloy, A National Crime (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 28. See also Jo-Anne Fiske, "Child of the State Mother of the nation: Aboriginal Women and the Ideology of Motherhood," Culture XIII:1 (1993):17-35.

Ironically, when Guiding began in Indian schools and Native and Inuit communities, it professed to its charges an ideology that by definition excluded them, and echoed a common perception of Aboriginal people as children, and Euro-Canadians as parents with White women in particular as their mothers.

Youth citizenship

Citizenship Education - A Structure for Citizenship Training

From the early to mid-twentieth century, there was a clear structure of formal citizenship training for youth that linked their homes, schools and communities to their ultimate duty to the Canadian nation. Youth were first trained for citizenship in the home. A 1925 elementary school civics text book by D.G. Goggin entitled The Canadian Citizen described this initial training:

In the Family he learns to live with his father and mother, his brothers and sisters - to play with them and work with them. He is trained in habits of cleanliness, tidiness, and care of clothing and property. He learns polite usages and behaviour by instruction, imitation, and constant practice of good manners. He learns to share fairly with his brothers and sisters, to help the younger children, and to respect their feelings and rights.⁴⁶

The elements of this training — co-operation, cleanliness, respect and consideration — were placed into more political terms following a shift in citizenship rhetoric inspired in part by the impact of the Second World War. Nonetheless, as shown in the following paragraph from a 1949 school handbook entitled Citizenship Training, the message remained largely the same.

⁴⁶ D.J. Goggin, ed. The Canadian Citizen (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1925), 1.

A home... where each individual has the right and the opportunity to express himself, where decisions are reached through discussion, and where the welfare of all is the yardstick for making decisions will prove of inestimable value in enabling the child to live according to the ideals of democracy. A nation is, after all, only the sum of its families, and democracy in the home is a prerequisite for democracy in a nation.⁴⁷

Through parental example, the child would presumably learn the importance of voting, participation and selflessness. For educators, therefore, the home was considered the first and most basic socializing agent.

A child who was an integral part of a democratic family was perceived to be well-prepared to enter the second stage in this training structure, that is, the school. A book entitled Youth Speaks Out On Citizenship noted:

The school, as an agent in civic training, is important in three ways: first, it is charged with direct responsibility for teaching future citizens the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship; second, by its very nature, the school exposes all youth during their formative years to its own patterns of thought and life; third, the school, in many instances at least, offers practical experience in community living.⁴⁸

This perception of the roles of the school was quite popular, and education texts proposed that these aims could be achieved through both formal curriculum as well as less standardized and more pervasive methods.

The responsibility of the schools to train future citizens was formally undertaken in civics courses. Generally, civics courses aimed to develop in students a knowledge of Canadian and British history, and a respect for Canadian politics, law and custom. Moreover, civics courses encouraged in students the qualities and virtues of the ideal

⁴⁷ C.R. MacLeod, Citizenship Training (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited, 1949), 213.

⁴⁸ The Canadian Youth Commission, Youth Speaks Out On Citizenship (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1948), 54.

Canadian citizen. For example, The Canadian Citizen instructed students that manners and courtesy, co-operation, punctuality, good behaviour, responsibility for public and private property, team-work and thrift were the primary lessons in citizenship.⁴⁹ It went on to describe some "necessary virtues" of good citizens such as truthfulness, honesty, unselfishness, thought for others, purity, respect and reverence,⁵⁰ and warned students to "[s]hun" those who do not possess these virtues "as you would small-pox; they contaminate and degrade."⁵¹

Civic courses used short stories, Biblical passages and figures in British or Canadian history as evidence of upstanding citizenship, but they also suggested that the school itself afforded various opportunities of inculcating citizenship values. Opening exercises, school newspapers, the celebration of holidays such as Christmas, Thanksgiving, Cultural days, Empire Day and Boy Scout/ Girl Guide Day, were considered to instruct students to live "the life of the responsible citizen in school."⁵²

Seldom were the home and school discussed in terms of citizenship training without also mentioning the work of the Church. In citizenship education texts, the churches were perceived to "play a leading role in developing desirable behaviour, since the setting up of ideals and the changing of the heart is the business of the churches."⁵³ Churches were generally applauded for their interest in social problems and the energy and funds they channeled into moral and social reform. Moreover, because Christian

⁴⁹ Goggin, The Canadian Citizen, 2-8.

⁵⁰ Goggin, The Canadian Citizen, 9-14.

⁵¹ Goggin, The Canadian Citizen, 12.

⁵² MacLeod, Citizenship Training, 192-211.

⁵³ MacLeod, Citizenship Training, 224.

teachings were perceived to help "alleviate many ... social, economic and political ills" it was thought that in "any citizenship programme the worth of the church must not be minimized or neglected."⁵⁴

A student's citizenship education, it was agreed, should not end in the classroom. Extra-curricular activities such as school newspapers, sports teams, student councils, clubs and bands trained students for citizenship in their own ways. These activities were encouraged because they honed students' skills in human relations, fair play and teamwork, taught students about Canadian history and politics, and encouraged proper forms of recreation for youth. Moreover, extra-curricular activities allowed, indeed encouraged, youth to participate in endeavours of interest to their community and nation. Extra-curricular activities therefore enabled citizenship training to extend from the school to the community and the nation, cultivating 'civic duty' and 'service for the community' as well as national pride.

One of the extra-curricular activities for girls most associated with schools was Girl Guides. Guides, like formal citizenship education, aimed to train girls to be citizens by associating their responsibilities in the home and school to their duties to their communities and nation. "Guiding," the 1933 Girl Guide Annual Report explained, "supplements and supports the best that home, school, and church can do in the promotion of loyalty, practical ability, health, good will and service for others, all of which are included in the characteristics of a true Guide."⁵⁵

⁵⁴ MacLeod, Citizenship Training, 225.

⁵⁵ CCGGA, A.R., 1926, 6.

In a 1947 article in The Canadian Guider magazine, Guide citizenship training was first understood as "home training." "The central unit around which the child first learns good citizenship, and democratic principles," the article stated, "should be the home," and "it was the Chief Scout's [Baden-Powell's] intention that Guiding should attempt to support this home training in every way possible." Guides supported home citizenship training by teaching "abstract qualities" such as "kindness, calmness, sympathy, family loyalty, open-mindedness and self discipline" as well as the more concrete qualities of a good homemaker. Next, the article argued that Guides provided one of the first links for girls between her home and her community, and urged each leader to "see beyond the bounds of her own unit" and help girls to experience an "introductory stage of community life" so that they could make a smooth transition to "life in the adult community." Finally, the article stated that children should be shown "how Guide ideas can be applied ... in the life of the nation," arguing that "if successfully applied," "the principles taught in the Brownie pack and in the Guide and Ranger company" would "have an ultimate effect on things national and even international."⁵⁶

The structure of citizenship training espoused by Girl Guides was almost identical to that undertaken in formal civics training, and underscores the ways in which educators and youth organizers alike perceived the home, community and the nation as institutions inspiring citizenship.

⁵⁶ "And Look Wider Still," The Canadian Guider 11:3 (March 1, 1942), 4-5

An Evolving Interpretation of "Good Citizenship"

The work of Rosa Bruno-Jofre traces some of the changes in the official discourse on citizenship in citizenship education in Manitoba public schools between 1918 and 1945, and helps to place the Girl Guide-as-citizen in an historical evolution of the principles of citizenship formation. Bruno-Jofre argues that there were three main stages in citizenship education. In the early period of her study (1918 to the late 1920s), Bruno-Jofre argues that the dominant notion of citizenship was guided by the central principle of Anglo-conformity — a factor trusted to make "proper members of the national polity."⁵⁷ She argues that "[s]chooling ... was expected to generate unity of thought, to teach English to the children of new immigrants, to educate them in Canadian ways, and to generate a civic culture based on service, duties and responsibilities."⁵⁸ She notes that by the end of the decade, the dominant discourse was noticeably influenced by "progressive notions of education and democracy."⁵⁹ By the 1930s, schools had begun to place emphasis on the students' "individuality and their future role in democratic society."⁶⁰ Lastly, she argues that the third period, which had begun by the end World War II, was characterized by notions of "Canada's self-definition,"⁶¹ a "questioning of racist and ethnocentric ideas," and, later, an infusion of "theories of cultural relativism."⁶²

⁵⁷ Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918 to 1945," *Manitoba History* 36 (Autumn 1998-1999), 26.

⁵⁸ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling," 27.

⁵⁹ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling," 26.

⁶⁰ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling," 29.

⁶¹ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling," 30.

⁶² Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling," 26.

The phases identified by Bruno-Jofre can be compared with Girl Guide citizenship training. During the first stage, notions of Anglo-conformity were strong within the movement and percolate throughout the elements of the program. In a 1919 speech in Canada, Baden-Powell emphasized the role that Scouting and Guiding could play "in Canadianizing the many foreign elements within its population."⁶³ Although he was referring to the French "element" of Canadian society, the ideology behind this speech could have been easily applied to Poles, Fins, Italians, Chinese and Japanese in other periods. As early as 1935, a historical sketch of Guiding in Canada argued that "[f]or the children of New Canadians, Guiding forges a strong link in citizenship with the country of their adoption as shown in its variety of memberships with five Ukranian, two Polish, 1 Belgian, 2 Chechoslovakian, 2 Negro, 13 Hebrew, 1 Japanese, 3 Chinese Companies, 13 Indian Companies and an Eskimo Company."⁶⁴

By listing 'Indians and 'Eskimos' within the category of "New Canadians," this source revealed two similarities perceived by Girl Guide movement (and the rest of Canada) between Aboriginal peoples and immigrants. First, like immigrants, the movement sought to assimilate Aboriginal people in order to fit them into Canadian society. Second, the model used for this training was largely the citizen, or citizenship itself. The direct relationship Aboriginal people maintained with the federal government, from which stemmed special status and land, cultural and resource rights beyond those

⁶³ Scout Association Archives, /TC/9, qtd. in Allen Warren, "Citizens of Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an imperial ideal," *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 248.

⁶⁴ CCGGA, A.R., 1935, 5.

entitled to Canadian citizens was obviously overlooked in this project of Canadianizing Canada's "foreign elements." The way that Scouting and Guiding transcended nationalities was through its emphasis on Canadian citizenship, as understood in this 1925 Annual Report: "Guiding is becoming a very great Canadianizing influence as all creeds, national traditions and customs are merged in one great effort to show loyalty to the king, faith in Canada and a determination to be worthy of Canadian citizenship."⁶⁵

Moreover, the Annual Report of 1931 stated:

We have several New Canadian Guide companies and it is very encouraging to see how they are getting along with the practical side of guiding - high ideals, and that loyalty is being instilled ... Truly Guiding and Scouting seems to be the melting pot of our future citizenship⁶⁶ .

This approach bore specific cultural meaning for Aboriginal Girl Guides. For example, in Frobisher Bay, Mrs. Frank Delcrate, the wife of an official with the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources and leader of Guides and Brownies saw the Girl Guide movement as a tool to help "Eskimo" girls and their families "make the difficult transition from the nomadic, primitive life they were born into and the twentieth century world which is so rapidly engulfing them."⁶⁷

Following the Second World War, when schools shifted their rhetoric of citizenship training to include democratic principles of 'freedom,' 'participation' and 'discussion,' the Guide programme followed suit, but importantly, these notions did not

⁶⁵ CCGGA, A.R., 1925, 9.

⁶⁶ CCGGA, A.R., 1931, 114.

⁶⁷ Ontario Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives (OCA), Box 108, "Arctic Items," Isabel Linton, newspaper article: "5 Eskimos Join Guide Group."

replace the previous citizen construct, but were rather *added to* it. "Guiding," a 1941 article in The Canadian Guider magazine asserted,

rests upon a foundation of freedom. Those freedoms which we have come to associate with our democratic way of life. In the Company there is equality; every Guide, starting from the same point and given the same opportunity, has complete freedom to plan and to achieve as best she can. There is, through the Patrol System with its Patrols in Council and its Court of Honour, the right to make and to enforce the law. There is ample opportunity to grow in useful service. There is justice and fair play and a respect for the rights of one another. There is a place for everyone and a chance to grow in happy citizenship. These are the means the good Guide company offers for reaching a happier citizenship.⁶⁸

Indeed, many aspects of the Girl Guide programme were reinterpreted in terms of liberal democracy. For Brownies, the "Pow-Wow" circle was "a place for the exchange of ideas,"⁶⁹ a forum for "discussing affairs of the pack"⁷⁰ and "an excellent ground for character training because the Brownie learns to give in to others, and wait her turn to speak."⁷¹ Moreover, the Guide 'Patrol System' became a symbol for the movement's commitment to citizenship participation, liberal democracy and representative government within the Company. The Patrol System ensured, as one Guider explained, a "fair distribution of responsibility" and information, and would "develop a citizen who w[ould] be progressive in her politics."⁷² As stated by one Guider handbook:

⁶⁸ Mrs. John Corbet, "Training For Citizenship," The Canadian Guider 10:4 (June 15, 1941), 4.

⁶⁹ Marjorie Longley, Fundamentals for Brown Owls and Tawny Owls of Canadian Brownie Packs (FBTO), (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Canadian Girl Guide Association, 1949), 26.

⁷⁰ "And Look Wider Still," The Canadian Guider 11:4 (July 1, 1942), 4.

⁷¹ Longley, FBTO, 1949, 26.

⁷² "And Look Wider Still," The Canadian Guider 11:4 (July 1, 1942), 4.

We use the term "Patrol System" to describe the democratic process used throughout Guiding from the Brownie Pack up through the National Executive and to the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. A democratic organization is one in which the members have a voice in choosing, planning and carrying out their activities, either directly or indirectly through elected representatives.⁷³

The Patrols were led by a Patrol Leader and Patrol Second who, although not elected by the other Patrol members, represented and instructed them. The Patrol was the representative group through which the Captain and Lieutenant filtered and collected information to and from the rest of the Guides. Indeed, the Patrol System was closely associated with training for good citizenship as evidenced by the third requirement of the Citizen badge, introduced in 1948, which required girls to write a paper on the Guide Patrol System.⁷⁴ By the 1950s, the Guide 'Court of Honour' was also interpreted in democratic terms. The Court of Honour, an executive committee of the company made up of the Captain, Lieutenants and the Patrol Leaders, was responsible for the planning and policy making of the company as well as keeping the books and notes of the meetings. Called the "Parliament of the Company" in 1952, the Court of Honour became a symbol of liberal democracy in Guiding, as shown in this handbook:

In a large meeting the responsibility of each member is divided by the total, until no one feels to blame for a wrong decision; on the other hand in an Autocracy all responsibility is rested in one person, and the more important that person is, the more harm can be done. In a Court of Honour the number is just right, everyone's opinion counts and each member is also responsible for voicing the wishes of her Patrol."⁷⁵

⁷³ Catherine Sinclair, The Guider Handbook (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada, 1965), 8.

⁷⁴ CCGGA, Policy Organization and Rules (POR), (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association), 1948.

⁷⁵ A.M. Maynard, Be Prepared - Handbook For Guides (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1952), v.

The use of the terms "democratic citizenship training" and "practical democracy" in the early 1940s demonstrated a shift in the interpretation of the Guide programme. "No longer is it sufficient to concentrate on the bare teaching of the tests," one Guider warned in a 1942 issue of The Canadian Guider,

we know that their underlying purpose must be emphasized as well, and that, to make the greatest possible contribution to the nation through our Guiding, we must work harder than ever before. We must teach the idea of practical democracy to our Brownies, Guides and Rangers in order that in future years they may share fully in the tremendous job of reconstructing our national life along sane lines of co-operation and self-sacrifice in the interest of common good.

Despite this shift in emphasis towards "democracy" and "participation," which indicated a more outward looking approach to citizenship, this Guider still believed that the home was the centre of a Girl Guide's citizenship training. "The central unit around which the child first learns good citizenship and democratic principles," she stated, "is the home." By having "intelligent parents insist on co-operation among the individual members of the family," key virtues of "understanding and sympathy, self-control, [and] discipline" would knit together a strong family. Guides in turn would be one of the "first links for the child between her home and community" but, she argued, "the problem of citizenship training [does not] stop with Guiding's contribution to community life. No opportunity should ever be lost to show the children how Guide ideas can be applied as well in the life of the nation."⁷⁶

⁷⁶ "And Look Wider Still," The Canadian Guider, 11:2 (March 1, 1942), 4.

During the 1940s, '50s and '60s, the Girl Guide unit became more closely linked to other Girl Guide units throughout Canada and the world. This development paralleled contemporary interests of other women's and youth organizations in world affairs. Moreover, it reflected a trend towards cultural relativism and multiculturalism in Canadian politics at large. The project of multiculturalism sought to teach Canadians to recognize, respect and support diverse cultures in Canada, and to form with them a common bond as Canadians. It was the banner of Canadian citizenship that connected elements of the cultural mosaic and supported tolerance for diversity. As in Bruno-Jofre's analysis of the third stage of civic education, the concept of Girl Guide citizenship had grown to encompass not only the home, the school, the Girl Guide patrol and unit, the community and the Canadian nation, but also other nations involved in the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. With this came the belief that Girl Guides would make all girls, *throughout the world*, better citizens. Importantly, Guides never abandoned key features of the program which included the paradigms of family life and the home. One Annual Report from the early 1970s underlines this in discussion of the "Girl Guide Family in Canada":

Our family is like a modern well-run Canadian family in today's society. We have a family which has respect for each member and for the right of each member to influence decisions. Ours is a family where we strive to achieve mutual trust and support to encourage the reaching out beyond our immediate groups in order to participate in and influence the well-being of the local, national and world communities.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (GGC-GdC), A.R., 1973, 7.

Linking Girl Guides To Schools

The Girl Guide organization not only paralleled school citizenship training structurally and ideologically, but it also sustained a direct link with Canadian schools. Indeed, one Annual Report of the Girl Guides noted that "much of the practical part of the programme has been incorporated into school programmes."⁷⁸ A short book written in 1934 about the connection between American Boy Scouts and schools is helpful in understanding why and how this close relationship developed. Although the Scouting movement differed significantly in the United States from Scouting and Guiding in Canada, many of the arguments the author, Ray Wyland, made apply to Girl Guides in Canada. Furthermore, although plagued by class and race biases, Wyland's arguments nonetheless provide a context for the perceived function of Boy Scouts, and by extension Girl Guides, in twentieth century society.

Wyland made four important arguments about this connection. First, he argued that Scouting methods and principles were "squarely in line" with current educational theories and practices.⁷⁹ One of the earliest handbooks for Scouts, Scouting For Boys, which became a template for the Girl Guide program, compared Scouts to the schools because, like schools, Scouts had "subjects:" Character, Health and Handicraft, and "grades:" Wolf Cubs, Scouts and Rovers.⁸⁰ The Brownie and Guide scheme also corresponded to formal education in this way. A girl could begin the Girl Guide program

⁷⁸ Quebec Council of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (QCCCGGA), A.R., 1946.

⁷⁹ Ray O. Wyland, Scouting in the Schools (New York: AMS Press, 1934), 144.

⁸⁰ Lord Baden-Powell, Scouting For Boys, Scout Brotherhood Ed. (Ottawa: National Council, Boy Scouts of Canada, n.d.), 4.

at the age of six, at which point she was called a "Tweenie." In order to become a Brownie, the girl needed to fulfill a number of requirements including learning the Brownie Promise and earning certain requirements. After the third year of Brownies, the girl progressed to Girl Guides by becoming a "Tenderfoot" and became a Guide in a ceremony not unlike graduation called "Flying Up." Moreover, the Girl Guide organization in Canada also made efforts to "keep up to date with present educational trends."⁸¹ When the program was not "keeping up" to school standards, it believed itself to be in fact *ahead* of them, offering "more scope for individuality... [and a] group system... so successful" that it was being copied by schools."⁸²

Second, Wyland noted that the schools themselves recognized Scouting as an "educational agency of real value" because it supplemented "the schools in training for citizenship" and provided worth-while free-time activities that ... help to make the whole environment conducive to the all-round development of youth in the community."⁸³ Baden-Powell himself saw Scouting as a "practical aid to education." As he made clear in Scouting For Boys, Scouting was "complimentary to school training, and capable of filling up certain chinks unavoidable in the ordinary school curriculum. It is, in a word, a school of citizenship through woodcraft."⁸⁴ These "certain chinks" missing from girls' education were also defined by Baden-Powell, in his handbook for Girl Guides:

⁸¹ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1946.

⁸² QCCCGGA, A.R., 1942.

⁸³ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1942.

⁸⁴ Baden-Powell, Scouting for Boys, 4.

Though [education] is very good and vastly improved of late years, yet it cannot under existing conditions entirely prepare the girl for what is possible for her in the present day, much less for what will be required of her in the near future. The remedy largely needed is formation of character. Character is formed more by the environment outside the school walls than by the instruction within them...⁸⁵

The remedy proposed for this problem was stated in the aims of the Girl Guides

to assist parents and school teachers and pastors by supplying the *desirable environment and healthy activities outside the school...* to attract the girls by happy comradeship, neat uniform, games and competitions which will appeal to them...[and] to develop in them the four points ... [Character training; Skill in handcraft or other work; Physical health and health knowledge; Sense of duty and service for others].

"[P]lease don't think that we want to make a school of it," the handbook urged, because [t]he weak point of modern education" was that it held on to "old methods in presenting" these concepts to the child. In an effort to resolve this, Guide training endeavoured to offer them "*ideals and activities which supplement, without tiring them, the teaching of the school* [My emphasis]."⁸⁶ The Girl Guide literature of the early to mid-twentieth century shows that the organization saw itself as teaching girls necessary lessons in citizenship education, but in a method more appealing to young girls than formal schooling.

Wyland made an ever more tangible connection between schools and Scouting. He noted that Scouting received overwhelming support from the schools; many teachers volunteered for the organization, the school permitted the use of school property without charge for Scouting purposes and schools recognized and appreciated Scout training. In

⁸⁵ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook, 174.

⁸⁶ Baden Powell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook, 175.

Canada, for example, each year on Baden-Powell's birthday (February 22), students were encouraged to wear their Boy Scout and Girl Guide uniforms to school.

Lastly, Wyland paid significant attention to the argument that Boy Scout "objectives overlapped nearly all the social functions of the school with respect to ethical character, participating citizenship, wise use of leisure, vocational efficiency, worthy home membership, and conservation of personal and public health."⁸⁷ It has also been argued by more recent scholars of citizenship education that many extra-curricular clubs furthered the citizenship training of schools. Alan Sears believes that clubs like Junior Farmers, 4-H clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and those supported by the YMCA, acted as surrogates of federal power within schools. These clubs, he argues, were supported by the Citizenship Branch, whose long-term sustained funding enabled groups of young people to gather for citizenship projects of national interest. These clubs, he believes, therefore intervened in the provinces' jurisdiction of education. Similarly, Rosa Bruno-Jofre argues that an examination of the official discourse of citizenship education reveals that the Boy Scouts and the Cadet corps were perceived as "auxiliary agencies to the school" in the character formation and Canadianization of youth.⁸⁸ This ideology is clear not only to scholars but to current educators, as evidenced by a recent booklet published by the Library of Parliament entitled Citizenship Education in Canada which recognizes voluntary associations such as the WI, the IODE, the NCW, the YM-YWCA,

⁸⁷ Wyland, Scouting in the Schools, 144. In Wyland's later findings, he compared Scouts to non-Scouts, finding that in socio-economic situations, "intelligence quotients," school achievement, scholarship, positions of leadership, and participation in student activities, boys who were Scouts "came out on top" (148-149).

⁸⁸ Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945," Manitoba History 36 (Autumn/Winter 1998-1999), 28.

Girl Guides and Boy Scouts as contributing to citizenship education. Their work, notes the author, includes assisting new immigrants to understand Canadian society, providing opportunities to youth to learn more about the meaning of Canadian citizenship and to participate in public life, and encouraging the values of good citizenship among youth.⁸⁹

The persistent mention of youth clubs like Girl Guides in citizenship texts shows that they were designed to compliment and supplement public school curricula. The connection between youth clubs and schools shows that both had similar aims for youth; as citizens of the future they needed to be trained in their duties and responsibilities to their homes, schools, communities and ultimately, to Canada. For girls in particular, who would reform Canadian society and build the Canadian nation in their future roles as wives, mothers and home-makers, this training combined lessons of nationalism, scientific domestic training and health and hygiene.

Considering the close connections between schools and Guiding, it is not particularly remarkable that Guides was offered at Indian residential and day schools. For Aboriginal Guides, however, the aims and activities of Guiding take on particular cultural meaning in these contexts. Through training in Christian morality, patriotism, homemaking and work ethic, the Girl Guide program mirrored the goals of Indian policy and Indian education in general, seeking also to produce good *assimilated* Canadian citizens of Aboriginal people. In order to explore the integral part Girl Guides played in the project of assimilation, it is necessary to first analyze the political situation which made Girl Guides in residential schools not only possible, but overwhelmingly popular.

⁸⁹ Helen McKenzie, Citizenship Education in Canada (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 1993), 21.

CHAPTER TWO Indians and Citizenship

My experience for the past 15 years has shown me that it is possible to do a great deal for him [the Indian]; that it is possible to civilize him, that it is possible to educate him; that it is possible to Christianise him, that it is possible to train him that he may fill a place in our civilization.¹

The hopes of both church and government officials, and the aims of the majority of Indian policies can be summed up in this quote by Thompson Ferrier, an early twentieth century Methodist clergyman. In his book Our Indians and Their Training for Citizenship, Ferrier outlined the various means and methods of placing "the Indian ... upon the firm foundation of civilization and citizenship."² But Canadian citizenship has posed many problems for First Nations people in Canada. For a number of reasons, the Indian existed outside of the boundaries that defined citizenship, the most obvious of which, before 1951, was that he was not considered adequately civilized to be enfranchised and did not therefore participate in state affairs. Also, popular notions about the Indian sealed his image as an 'anti-citizen:' he was a frontier villain, an uncivilized savage, lazy, unprogressive, economically dependent, and he was shaped by pagan beliefs that contradicted modern forms of structured democratic government. This anti-citizen had two choices: to conform and become civilized or to 'die off.' Because it was apparent that the Indian would not become extinct, a highly organized system of wardship and assimilation developed. This colonial system operated largely without the consent of Aboriginal people, and required the denial or erasure of Aboriginal identity.

¹ Rev. Thompson Ferrier, Our Indians and Their Training for Citizenship (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1913), 20.

² Ferrier, Our Indians, 24.

The process of colonization required that First Nations people become wards of the federal government. As wards, the government, along with the churches, would be able to design the best means for their transition to citizenship. Many policies were enacted in order to assimilate Indians for citizenship; however, education was the driving force in this project, and education in the form of residential schools was hoped to be the most successful. Residential schools worked according to two necessary phases in the civilization process: after destroying cultural links between Aboriginal children and their families and communities, the schools imprinted students with the tastes, activities, vocations, and virtues of the ideal Canadian citizen. This second phase is the focus of this chapter.

Citizenship training in residential schools took place in the classroom, on the farms, in the laundry and in the chapel. But it also took place in the more pervasive areas of the children's lives: the baseball diamond, the football field, and the various extra-curricular clubs offered at the schools. This chapter will briefly examine the aims of the major acts and policies of the federal government pertaining to Indians. Next, it will examine the extension of these aims with respect to Indian education. A closer analysis of curriculum, training and extra-curricular activities for girls specifically will set the stage for the following chapter on Girl Guides.

Indian Policy

The first general policy regulating the official relationship between Native Peoples and the British Imperial government was the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763. This document described a nation-to-nation relationship between Indians and the British Imperial government,³ recognized and protected the land rights of Indian tribes, secured Indians "unmolested"⁴ control over unceded land and affirmed their rights to govern their own affairs. Although the document infers that First Nations were under British *protection*, it does not consider them to be British subjects.⁵ While the notion of protection permitted the colonial government full control over any economic or land transaction that First Nations wished to initiate, it also limited their control over the self-governing Indian tribes.

The nation-to-nation relationship of protection was maintained until an official policy of civilization was introduced at Confederation. By Section 91, Subsection 24 of the *British North America Act*, control of reserves and tribal nations was designated to the federal government of Canada. By this point, however, an unofficial policy of civilizing the Indian had become an integral part of the relationship between Indians and the British Imperial Government, and later the government of the United Canadas. During the period between 1815 and 1867, the British were primarily concerned with land transactions, however, influenced by the Protestant Evangelical and Revivalist

³ John Milloy, "The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change," As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 55.

⁴ The Royal Proclamation October 7 1763, qtd. in, Getty and Lussier, As Long as the Sun Shines, 33.

⁵ Darlene Johnston, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," Belonging - The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, ed. William Kaplan (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 352.

movements, they had initiated several experiments in civilization. One of these experiments was the establishment of Indian reserves, where Indians would receive religious and agricultural education under the protection of such policies as those banning the sale of alcohol. By 1857, the United Province of Canada adopted a far more interventionist approach to civilizing Indians and used the paradigm of the citizen as its model.

The *Gradual Civilization Act* of 1857 was the first act to wholly undermine the nation-to-nation relationship First Nations had with the government, intending instead to remove all legal distinctions between them and other Canadian subjects. By Section 3 of the *Gradual Civilization Act*, the male Indian 21 years of age or older who was educated, could speak English or French, was "free from debt" and of "good moral character" could apply to become a Canadian.⁶ After one year of probation, and upon enfranchisement, he would be awarded 20 hectares of reserve land for private ownership and become a citizen who would, by definition, support the electoral system of government, the individualism inherent in freehold tenure, and would, along with his children, be guaranteed all the rights and duties of the average Canadian citizen. The *Act* was based on the premise that allotting Indians self-contained private property coupled with a scheme to divide up tribal territory would break forever links to tribes and force Indians to adopt the habits of civilized life, thereby speeding up the civilization process.

The *Gradual Civilization Act* represented the trend towards blatant expansionism that dominated Canadian Indian policy after Confederation, at which point it became the

⁶ *Statutes of Canada*, 20 Vict., c. 26, 1857.

national duty of White authorities to prepare the Indian to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full Canadian citizenship. The 1869 *Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians* took on this duty in two ways: by facilitating enfranchisement and by enforcing upon Indian First Nations a municipal style of government. The former was a reiteration of the goals of the enfranchisement set up formally in 1857, and the latter the first systematic attack on First Nations self-government. It was through this *Act* that traditional band custom government, in effect, tribal independence, was replaced by Indian Act government. The *Act* outlined rules and regulations for the elections and powers of chiefs and band councils. The time, place and manner of the election of Chiefs was to be determined by the Superintendent General of Indian affairs, and the Governor in Council held the power to disallow the authority of the Chief, or remove him entirely. The band was accorded fairly insignificant jurisdictional powers,⁷ and, in effect, the federal power of disallowance made all rules and regulations for Indian government subject to confirmation by the Governor in Council.⁸

With firm control over Native government, the Department was able to develop various policies of civilization such as individualized land holding, and federally controlled systems of education. Moreover, the Indian Act of 1876 introduced a three stage process of enfranchisement. First, the probationary Indian would receive an allotment of reserve land under a location ticket. Second, after three years of good

⁷ "It could make by-laws for the care of public health, the observance of order and decorum at assemblies, the repression of intemperance and profligacy, the prevention of trespass by cattle, the maintenance of roads, bridges, ditches and fences, the construction and maintenance of school and council houses, and, finally, for the establishment of pounds and the appointment of pound keepers." Milloy, "The Early Indian Acts," 62.

⁸ *Statutes of Canada*, 39 Vict., c18, 1876.

behaviour, he would be granted land in fee simple. Lastly, after an additional three years, he would receive his share of the tribe's monies. Upon gaining citizenship, the Indian would cease in every respect to be an Indian according to the laws of Canada relating to Indians.

The Enfranchisement Acts held particular meaning for Aboriginal women. By these acts, Native women were excluded from participating band elections, holding office, and even speaking at public meetings. Moreover, the status of Native women was made particularly vulnerable in these acts. Although until 1918 they could not apply to be enfranchised as Canadian citizens as only male Indians could receive location tickets, if a Native woman married a non-Indian man, she would be stripped of all rights and privileges of Indian status and become enfranchised, as would her children from this marriage.⁹ This discriminatory legislation remained law until Bill C-31 was passed in 1985. This policy determined Native women's socio-legal status in terms of patriarchal ancestry (disregarding differing kinship patterns of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada¹⁰) and defined the assimilation of Indian women into Euro-Canadian society in terms of their marital relations with non-Indian men.

The enfranchisement provisions remained unchanged over the next several decades, however few applications for enfranchisement were submitted. After all, the process involved cutting all ties to the band, an illegal dismembering of tribal lands and renouncing Indian status and First Nations identity. Once enfranchised, the new

⁹ *Statutes of Canada*, 32-33 Vict., c6, 1869..

¹⁰ Jo-Anne Fiske, "Child of the State Mother of the Nation: Aboriginal Women and the Ideology of Motherhood," *Culture* XIII:1 (1993): 17-35.

Canadians would no longer have a voice in the proceedings of their bands and were excluded from the tribal community. The fact that only 120 Indians were enfranchised between 1867 and 1920¹¹ reveals that, as Johnston so aptly states, "the hardships imposed by the Indian Act proved more tolerable than the renunciation of identity that enfranchisement necessitated."¹²

Nonetheless, the Department of Indian Affairs was relentless in its pursuit to turn Indians into citizens and the 1920 Indian Act gave superintendents the power to enfranchise individuals against their will. When asked why he imposed this order Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs replied:

I want to get rid of the Indian problem... after one hundred years, after being in close contact with civilization it is enervating to the individual or to a band to continue in a state of tutelage, when he or they are able to take their positions as British citizens or Canadian citizens, to support themselves, and stand alone... One of the very earliest enactments was to provide for the enfranchisement of the Indian. So it is written in our law that the Indian was eventually to become enfranchised... Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the whole object of this Bill.¹³

Scott's words underline a key feature of Canadian citizenship: there was no room for First Nations people unless they renounced and denied their identity as Indian people. Until then, they would remain anti-citizens, outside of the boundaries of Canadian society. The

¹¹ Canada, Parliament, Annual Report (A.R.), 1921, Sessional Paper No. 27, 13, qtd. in Johnston, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," 361.

¹² Johnston, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," 362.

¹³ National Archives of Canada (NAC), Record Group(RG) 10 (Department of Indian Affairs), volume 6810, file 470-2-3, vol. 7: Evidence of D.C. Scott to the Special Committee of the House of Commons examining the Indian Act amendments of 1920, 55 (L-3) and 63 (N-3), qtd in Johnston, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," 363. This bill was repealed in 1951, but voluntary enfranchisement remained a measure of the Indian Act until 1985.

citizenship of Aboriginal people in Canada has continued to concern politicians throughout the twentieth century, and forced enfranchisement reappeared in a new form in 1969 with the proposed White Paper. In it, Prime Minister Trudeau intended to eliminate the 'special status' of Indians. Once again, it appeared that Indians had to choose between discrimination and coercion, or being stripped of their Aboriginality and community.

This brief history of the early Indian Acts has demonstrated that in the eyes of Indian policy makers, a citizen was not an Indian, nor was an Indian a citizen. The coercive measures of the Indian Acts aimed to facilitate the transformation from Indian to citizen by constructing definitive standards of civilization. In what Olive Dickason calls an “upward spiral of regulation,”¹⁴ Indian Acts gave increased powers to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and the Deputy Superintendent General to impose laws and restrictions on Indian men and women in order to facilitate this transformation. Some of these measures included: determining who was and who was not Indian; managing reserve resources; distributing band funds; controlling reserve developmental initiatives; banning the traditional ceremonies of the Sundance, Potlatch and Give Away (these promoted pagan beliefs and were antithetical to the concept of private property); enforcing game laws; and empowering the Governor in Council to commit Indian children to federal boarding and industrial schools. In the words of Canadian historian John Milloy:

¹⁴ Olive Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 261.

"...the government took for itself the power to mold, unilaterally, every aspect of life on the reserve and to create whatever infrastructure it deemed necessary to achieve the desired end - assimilation through enfranchisement and, as a consequence, the eventual disappearance of First Nations."¹⁵

Indian Education

By 1876, nine years after Canada's Confederation, it was clear that voluntary enfranchisement would not entice Aboriginal people to become Canadian citizens.¹⁶ The federal government, which, after Confederation, assumed jurisdiction over Indian lands and people, had long blamed this failure on the nature of the adult Indian, who the Department believed to be "physically, mentally and morally ... unfitted"¹⁷ to make the transformation from savage to citizen. Moreover, he hindered the civilization process by influencing the younger generation. It therefore developed a more aggressive strategy of civilization aimed specifically at children.

Founded on the premise that "[e]ducation would... alleviate the Indian from his condition of savagery [and make him] a self-supporting member of the state,"¹⁸ the development of a program of federally-run Indian education began with the unwavering confidence in the power of state education to assimilate Indian youth. Education had long been viewed as the best means to break ties to the past, or the child's "primitive, unsanitary" home-life where "the natural moral and religious outlook... would draw him

¹⁵ Milloy, A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System- 1879-1986 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 21.

¹⁶ Johnston, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," 359.

¹⁷ Milloy, A National Crime, 25.

¹⁸ NAC.,RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152: F. Oliver to Joint Church Delegation, qtd. in Milloy, A National Crime, 3.

back to his primitive state."¹⁹ Organized government intervention in schooling by the Department of Indian Affairs was already part of the "policy of civilization" officially undertaken in 1830. But this early policy was a cooperative effort which involved the Protestant mission societies, the Indian Department and self-governing band councils.

Upon the recommendations of the Bagot Commission Report of 1842, a commission was set up to review reserve conditions, and the basis of a more aggressive assimilative policy was formed. This commission proposed that only through industry and knowledge, settlement and agriculture, could Indian communities convert, progress and become civilized. Education was central to these reforms, and this commission proposed as key tools residential labour and industrial schools which provided "training for boys in husbandry, agriculture, and mechanical trades; and for girls in domestic arts and science including dairying, needlework and cooking."²⁰ The labour and expenses required to run these schools were to be shared between the Church, who provided teachers, supervisors and equipment, and the government, who provided lodging, clothing and education.

The 1879 Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds analyzed the suitability of industrial schools and concluded that "the chief thing to attend to in dealing with the less civilized or wholly barbarous tribes, was to separate the children from their

¹⁹ Indian Residential School Commission of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, Old Sun School, (Winnipeg: The Bible House, ca. 1940), 8-9.

²⁰ NAC, RG 10, Vol 36, Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada from the 28th Day of November, 1844 to the 20th Day of March, 1845, appendix EEE, section 2 [The Bagot Commission Report], qtd. in Milloy, A National Crime, 13.

parents."²¹ If, it was believed, Indian and Inuit children were removed from the "terrible example set them by their parents,"²² and placed in a 'civilized' environment, the children could be raised effectively as wards of the state, trained and educated jointly by the federal government and the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Day Schools simply failed to disrupt the parenting process. This report underpinned the residential school system that was to develop in the twentieth century.

The field of Indian education has been studied from many perspectives, but the focus of this paper is to examine how the system worked to produce Canadian citizens. Therefore, specific analysis of the curriculum and training is necessary to reveal their aim and function as socializing, civilizing institutions — as citizen factories. A closer examination of curriculum for girls will provide a context for Girl Guides in residential schools.

Residential School Curriculum and Training

The curriculum offered in Indian residential schools in the 1890s aimed to "develop all the abilities," of Indian children, remove their "prejudice against labour" and give them "courage to compete" in the world that was rapidly encompassing Aboriginal people.²³ At the turn of the century, the department's goal was to "fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment [rather than] to transform [him] ... into a white

²¹ NAC, MG 26A, Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, Vol 91, Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds, 1879 [The Davin Report] 1-17, as qtd. in, Milloy, A National Crime, 8.

²² Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, L. Vankoughnet to Sir John A. Macdonald, 26 August, 1887, qtd. in Milloy, A National Crime, 26.

²³ DIA, 1895, CSP (14) 1896, xxii, qtd. in J. R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 174.

man."²⁴ Revised again in the 1930s, it was said that "the ultimate aim [of Indian Education] may be stated as Christian citizenship - an ideal that looks forward to the abolition of the Reserves ... and the mingling of our Indian people in fullness of personality and privilege among other Canadian citizens."²⁵ Though these goals of Indian education shifted focus, the underlying aim to train Indians to become reliable, hard-working members of society, did not change.

The federal government was relatively inexperienced in curriculum development as such matters were normally legislated to the provinces. The initial development of the curriculum was largely left to the missionary organizations which carried out the educational program. Their qualifications for teachers focused on missionary spirit, rather than teacher training,²⁶ and this may have contributed significantly to both the value and nature of the curriculum offered in residential schools. By the 1920s, the Department suggested that "Indian schools follow the provincial curricula... [with] special emphasis ... placed on language, reading, domestic science, manual training and agriculture."²⁷ In the twentieth century, while Indian curriculum conformed more closely to Provincial standards it also placed greater emphasis on vocational rather than academic training.

The stress placed by the Department and the missionary organizations on moral redemption is noted by both J. R. Miller and John Milloy. The "six standards" followed

²⁴ DIA, A.R., 1900, 132-33, and 1910, 273.

²⁵ United Church Archives (UCA) 83.050c 144-21, Rev. E. E. M. Joblin Files: Statement of Policy re Indian Residential Schools (Recommendations from Conference of Indian Workers, June 1936) in Minutes - Meetings of Residential School Principles.

²⁶ Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 174.

²⁷ Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), A.R., 1931, 13 qtd. in Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 155.

within the subjects of geography, reading, recitation, history, vocal music, calisthenics and religious instruction, Milloy argues, "carried the seeds of European civilization."²⁸

In the first year, Standard I, pupils were to be taught "the practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness." In Standard II, they were to learn "right and Wrong, Truth" and a "Continuance of proper appearance and behaviour." In Standard III, they would "Develop the reasons for proper appearance and behaviour" in addition to "Independence and Self-respect." Standard IV was "Industry, Honesty, Thrift," while Standard V introduced "Patriotism ... Self-maintenance. Charity. Pauperism." The final standard... [taught] Pupils to confront the differences in "Indian and white life, ... [the] evils of Indian isolation, ... labour, the law of life, ... relations of the sexes as to labour, ... [and] home and public duties."²⁹

That the curriculum had inherent problems of inflicting culturally and socially inappropriate messages was obviously not taken into consideration when the overarching assimilative goals of the system were to teach the children to speak, behave, appear, eat and work *the Canadian way*.

The scholastic curriculum covered only a small part of the day, sometimes as little as one or two hours, while the rest of the day was spent learning the arts of civilized life, or in practical training. The Half-Day System aimed to balance academic and manual training, and devoted substantial time to learning 'usable skills.' These skills, for boys, included farming, plowing, planting, irrigation, and tending to stocks and to orchards. For girls, these skills included cooking, cleaning, sewing, canning, ironing and washing laundry.

Most residential schools were co-educational. The initial justification for educating girls was best stated by Captain Pratt, a principal at Carlisle Industrial Indian

²⁸ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 35.

²⁹ DIA, *A.R.*, 1896, 398-399, and Milloy, *A National Crime*, 35-36.

School in Pennsylvania who had a significant influence in the formation of Indian education policy in Canada:

"Of what avail is it that the [Indian] man be hard-working and industrious, providing by labour food and clothing for his household, if the wife, unskilled in cookery, unused to the needle, with no habits of order or neatness, makes what might be a cheerful happy home only a wretched abode of filth and squalor."³⁰

By the mid 1880's, Prime Minister Macdonald agreed to make new industrial schools co-educational. A closer examination of the goals of academic and practical curriculum for girls will reveal that these elements overlapped significantly, and were ultimately entwined in the special project of preparing Indian girls for citizenship.

Girls' Curriculum

Training for girls was outlined by the Superintendent of Indian Education in this early twentieth century statement:

The girls are taught housework, mending, sewing, darning, the use of thimbles, needles, scissors, brooms, brushes, knives, forks and spoons..., cooking meat and vegetables, making bread, buns and pies, materials used and quantities; washing, ironing, blueing, what clothing should be boiled and what not, how to take stains from white clothing, how to wash coloured clothes, the difference between hard and soft water, dairying, milking, care of milk and cream, churning, sweeping, scrubbing, dusting, care of furniture, books, linen, etc. They should also be taught garden work... Instruction should be given in the elements of physiology and hygiene, explaining particularly proper habits in eating and drinking, cleanliness, ventilation, the manner of treating emergency cases..., and general care of the sick.³¹

³⁰ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, 188-189, qtd. in Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," Western Historical Quarterly, 13:2 (July 1982), 277.

³¹ Ferrier, Our Indians, 31.

The domestic education of Indian girls was considered important for a number of reasons. First, in order for the schools to maintain economic self-sufficiency, it was necessary that the girl students perform household and farm chores. It has been argued, in fact, that this practical education was not, indeed, 'training,' but a means of extracting free labour.³² This education also followed a general scheme of preparing Indians for their place in the socio-economic order. Domestic education and training prepared Aboriginal girls to enter the labour market as domestic servants — stations which Jean Barman finds in an article about a mixed Indian/White Catholic school in British Columbia, they already filled while at the schools.³³

As industrial schools, Indian residential institutions were products of reform movements that attempted to deal with 'problem' children. The efforts to 'civilize' Indian children paralleled those directed towards 'delinquent' working class youth. This overlap of reform projects is highlighted in Joan Sangster's article about Aboriginal girls in Ontario's Training School for Girls in which she argues that for both working class and Indian youth, industrial schools aimed to instill notions of a proper and moral nuclear family. She points out that in their programs of domestic science and in their missionary proselytizing of sexual purity, these schools had overlapping goals.³⁴ Sangster nonetheless qualifies these reform projects, noting that "[w]hile unequal power relations

³² Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 150 and Jean Barman, "Separate And Unequal: Indian and White Girls At All Hallows School, 1884-1920," Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson, (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1995), 343.

³³ Barman, "Separate and Unequal," 343.

³⁴ Joan Sangster, "'She is Hostile to Our Ways': Aboriginal Girls in Ontario's Training School for Girls, 1930-1960," Forthcoming in Law and History Review (2002), 1.

characterized both endeavours, the dispossession of native peoples from their lands and the intense denigrations of racism, along with profound cultural differences between non-Native and Native ... set the colonial project apart."³⁵

Both working class and Native girls entered industrial schools at an age when they were perceived to be receptive to both 'positive' and 'negative' influences. Moreover, the successful graduate of industrial schools, whether Native or non-Native would, it was hoped, be capable of raising worthy families in good Christian homes. When Indian officials spoke of the goals of Native girls' education, they often used a rhetoric that could have equally been applied to working-class girls in industrial schools. One book written in 1958 entitled Residential Education for Indian Acculturation stated:

The young girl attends elementary school at the time when she is most likely to develop good work and health habits, to adopt sound moral principles and to develop her personality... [so] all provinces have developed in recent years a course of study in Home Economics... This training should also teach her, apart from the practical knowledge necessary for the accomplishment of her daily duties, the love of work she will be called upon to perform later in her own home... In short, this whole training is to prepare the young girl to become the valiant woman of Holy Scripture, the treasure of her family and the pride of her country.³⁶

But while it is important to recognize this intersection between working-class and Native girls' training, one cannot ignore the influence of race and colonial agenda specific to the project of training Native girls.³⁷ Indian officials believed that well-trained women would ultimately aid in the assimilation of Indian communities because they exerted a large

³⁵ Sangster, "'She is Hostile to Our Ways,'" 1.

³⁶ Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, Residential Education for Indian Acculturation (Ottawa: Oblate Fathers in Canada, 1958), 75.

³⁷ Joan Sangster, Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 170.

measure of influence on the domestic living arrangements of Indians on reserves.³⁸ The domestication of Indian women, and the acculturation of Indian people was the ultimate goal of curriculum and training for Indian girls in residential schools.

Mary-Ellen Kelm argues that residential schools' health curriculum was instructed by an imperative to lead First Nations to health by removing children from "the clutches of supposedly negligent and ignorant parents" and by teaching them "Euro-Canadian standards of cleanliness and care." She argues that health education had a two-fold purpose: "to improve the hygiene and health of students, and to teach students domestic practices that they would bring home with them to reserve communities."³⁹

Tied to notions of womanly influence, the Department of Indian Affairs had devised numerous restrictive, or what were called "protective," policies aimed to regulate the lives of Native women. Sarah Carter, Adele Perry, Sangster and Pamela White have shown that these policies were built around an image of the Native woman as immoral, dirty, lazy and having too much economic and social independence and sexual licence.⁴⁰ Residential education was necessary to elevate Native women from this condition. Because Native women were almost exclusively blamed for poverty, ill health and poor housing on reserves, the training of Native and Inuit women was seen as key to improving

³⁸ Pamela Margaret White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere - Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy 1880-1930," Ph D diss., McGill U, 1987, 172.

³⁹ Mary-Ellen Kelm, Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-1950 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 62. See also White, "Reconstructing the Domestic Sphere."

⁴⁰ See: Sarah Carter "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the "Indian Woman in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," Great Plains Quarterly 13:3 (Summer 1993), 147-16; Adele Perry, "Fair Ones of a Purer Caste: White Women and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," Feminist Studies 23:3 (Fall 1997): 501-24; Joan Sangster, "She is Hostile to Our Ways" and Pamela White "Reconstructing the Domestic Sphere."

conditions on reserves and in northern communities. Furthermore, the schools protected and rescued 'vulnerable' Indian women from the savage Indian man and the predatory White man, who Miller argues, prompted the inclusion of women into Indian schools in the first place.⁴¹

Jo-Anne Fiske remarks that notions of Native women's sexual morality influenced residential school education for girls, who she finds "faced a greater number of rules and more stringent demands" than boys. She notes that "notions of correct modesty dictated the girls' dress and behavior. They wore unbecoming uniforms, were denied personal adornment, and were subjected to standard hair styles." Sexual segregation was enforced at all social activities, routine chores, and even some lessons. She states: "[t]he classroom was divided into a girls' side and a boys' side; it was considered a serious offense merely to glance across the room."⁴²

The strict division of training along gender lines reflected broader ideologies of gender in Canadian society, in which 'suitable tasks' were supposedly inherited according to gender. Ideally, heavy outdoor work was reserved for men, whereas women were confined to a private, domestic sphere.⁴³ Training proceeded unquestionably along these lines, and the introduction of domestic science into schools in the early twentieth century was designed to fit women for roles as wives, mothers and homemakers. In his article on Adelaide Hoodless and domestic science, Robert Stamp argues that the success of the

⁴¹ Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 123.

⁴² Jo-Anne Fiske, "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society," Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective, eds., Jane S. Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1991), 135.

⁴³ Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1993).

domestic science movement was due in large part to two main imperatives in Canadian society. These two imperatives highlight both the intersection and divergence of reform projects for working-class and Native girls.

Stamp first accounts for the success of domestic science by arguing that there was a perceived need for the specific training and socialization of the nation's girls, who would eventually fill roles as mothers and trainers of future citizens. This training was directed not only at middle-class girls, but also at working and lower middle-class offspring, to whom, Hoodless believed, domestic science would "teach 'character building' traits such as respect for work, accuracy, perseverance, intellectual honesty, manual dexterity, and habits of industry, order, cleanliness and neatness."⁴⁴ Residential school officials, like middle-class reformers, saw that without self-sufficient, moral, Christian women, there would be no like-minded communities. Native girls therefore required similar training so that they would become good wives, mothers and homemakers and moral guardians of Christian homes.

The second reason why domestic science was embraced so readily in Canadian schools was because it attempted to counteract the effects of industrialization and urbanization⁴⁵ by reinstating 'traditional' patterns of life. This fear was expressed by the Indian Department and Churches as an anxiety about traditional Indian life. Instead of embracing a *perceived* past pattern of life, as did domestic training for White girls, residential domestic training was to establish a *new* pattern for Natives; one that was

⁴⁴ Terry Crowley, "Madonnas before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," *Canadian Historical Review* LXVII:4 (1986), 533.

⁴⁵ R. Stamp, "Teaching Girls their 'God Given Place in Life'," *Atlantis* 2:2 (Spring 1977), 30-31.

supposedly an older pattern for Whites. This ideology illuminated a longstanding belief that the Indian race was behind in the developmental stages of human civilization, and could only progress to a more 'civilized' state through a number of stages. At its most basic interpretation, the development of an Indian woman was to occur in three stages: she was to move from Indian to Servant to Canadian Citizen. Ironically, this meant that while the breakdown of the White women's traditional sphere was perceived to result in domestic instability,⁴⁶ the breakdown of Native women's sphere was a pre-requisite for civilization and the fundamental goal of residential schooling for Native and Inuit girls.

Extracurricular Activities

In his analysis of the aims of residential schools, John Milloy notes that "[t]he school was a circle - an all-encompassing environment of re-socialization."⁴⁷ Elements of this circle linked up and overlapped; where curriculum left off, training took over, and both were supplemented during, or after the school day, by extra-curricular activities. The function of each of these elements was to carry out the general goals of Indian education, namely civilizing and assimilating Indian children in preparation for integrated citizenship in Canada. School-related activities and clubs included baseball and hockey teams, orchestras, bands and music societies, drama clubs, and Girls' and Boys' clubs as well other less organized recreation such as supervised walks and picnics, playground equipment, dolls and games, checkers and skipping. These activities became so entwined with the school day and school staff that to separate them from the curriculum of

⁴⁶ Stamp, "Teaching Girls," 31.

⁴⁷ Milloy, A National Crime, 35.

academic and manual training appears artificial. Studying these extracurricular activities is important for several reasons. First of all, they occupied perhaps the most pervasive part of a child's day — their leisure time. Indians in their 'natural state,' it was thought, were inclined to be lazy, unproductive and immoral, and their potential to be disruptive, if given the opportunity, was of critical concern to Indian educators. Sangster remarks that the over incarceration of First Nations women was due in part to this fear. Moreover, she finds that once they were institutionalized, Indian girls were "presumed to need moral protection and surveillance to curb their amoral inclinations."⁴⁸ Indian girls were subjected to an "extra layer of surveillance" through the Indian Act, on top of the usual regulation of girls through laws like the Juvenile Delinquent Act.⁴⁹

Second, extra-curricular activities constituted a significant number of the fonder memories of residential school survivors. As one ex-pupil states:

They used to have recreation days - field days. We had recitals when everyone who had music lessons would play, or someone would come in and entertain us. We had sing-songs which Mr. Dodson led, and we'd do a play at Christmastime. We had CGIT, Canadian Girls in Training - like Girl Guides - once a week. At Halloween and Christmas we'd have special activities - recitations and drills. It wasn't all dull."⁵⁰

Celia Hague-Brown argues that some students found extra-curricular activities rewarding. For many, extracurricular activities provided a "respite from the regimented day," an "opportunity for some students to grow in confidence and self-esteem," and "a chance to

⁴⁸ Sangster, "She is Hostile to Our Ways," 4.

⁴⁹ Sangster, "She is Hostile to Our Ways," 2.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Graham, The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools (Waterloo: Heffle Publishing, 1997), 441.

relax, to [get to] know one another."⁵¹ Arguably, such extra-curricular activities might then have been the most 'successful' means of assimilation precisely because they appeared to be voluntary, fun or appealing.

Third, and most critical for this study, the activities and clubs supported various fundamental components of good citizenship, as defined by the Department of Indian Affairs and the Churches. In the words of Indian education specialists, "[s]ports, meetings, festivals and other games ... encourage to the full the sense of belonging. This ... contribute[s] directly to making the Indian understand and appreciate the part he ought to play as a citizen of Canada."⁵² Popular and instructional literature published by the Churches and the Department such as the Indian School Bulletin, and the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission (not to mention the Annual Reports of the Indian Department) were filled with stories and photographs of school-run Cadets, Girl Guides, Girls WA and sports teams. These clubs and activities were supported both financially and ideologically by the Indian Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs, suggesting the extent to which they were perceived as useful tools in the production of Canadian citizens. Extra-curricular activities observed Christian and national holidays; they taught Christian principles and how to live a Christian life; they promoted physical strength and health; they taught domestic, military and craft skills; they instructed Indians about the arts, literature and music of civilized life. In sum, they meant to shape Indians into patriotic, Christian, healthy and intelligent citizens.

⁵¹ Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988), 82.

⁵² Indian School Bulletin, 4:5 (May 1950), 15

The religious and nationalist aspects of the official curriculum were supplemented and practiced in the reverence and celebration of Christian holidays. Milloy notes that the school calendar for Aboriginal students was "punctuated by the rituals of European culture."⁵³ He writes:

The week began with the Sabbath, and the passage of the seasons was marked by the festivals of church and state: Christmas, Easter, the innumerable Saints' days, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, Hallowe'en and so forth. These rhythms would be imprinted on the child through appropriate celebration: presents, concerts, music with bright tunes and improving sentiments.⁵⁴

Clubs, teams and bands would often participate in the parades and rituals of these holidays.

Alan Sears argues that the celebration of national holidays, as well as their support by voluntary clubs provided a certain "surrogate" for state control of citizenship education in Canadian schools. Extra-curricular activities were certainly recognized by the Indian schools as important supplements to citizenship education in the classroom. Often voluntary clubs would arrange school activities, or participate in school functions under the persona of the club. School trips to historic sites of national importance, essay contests and poster contests sponsored by national women's clubs such as the IODE would reiterate for the students a discourse on nationalism and patriotism. By reproducing democratic government at the level of the schools, Student Councils also endeavoured to be part of the project of turning out "good citizens."⁵⁵

⁵³ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 36.

⁵⁴ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 36.

⁵⁵ *Indian School Bulletin* 2:3 (January 1, 1948).

Milloy argues that recreation at residential schools "was not leisure but re-creation."⁵⁶ Part of this re-creation involved learning the lessons of co-operation, fair play, competition and adequate use of leisure time. In this way, sports teams and other forms of recreation such as dance and music were seen, above all, to be "highly desirable means of acculturation."⁵⁷ Sports teams that were particularly popular in residential schools were hockey, baseball, basketball, soccer, boxing football and cricket. Joseph B. Oxendine argues that schools supported these teams for both their "developmental values" and the recognition they brought to the schools and staff.⁵⁸ Sports were thought to teach students the values and skills that were characteristic of the dominant society. Wallace Adams, for example, argues that football was a "powerful tool for acculturating Indians to the American value system" because it taught the value of precision, teamwork, order, discipline, obedience, efficiency and built character by cultivating the values of hard-work, self-reliance and self-control.⁵⁹ Competition with non-Indian teams was another important element of extra-curriculars because it was believed that matches would help Indian students "learn to associate on congenial terms with non-Indian children"⁶⁰ and "bring them in touch with the outside world."⁶¹ Sports and athletics also proved that Indians could function and compete in the "outside world," demonstrating both their potential for citizenship, and the value of the schools themselves.

⁵⁶ Milloy, A National Crime, 37.

⁵⁷ "Physical Education Programme For Indian Schools," Indian School Bulletin 10:4 (March 1956), 4.

⁵⁸ Joseph B. Oxendine, American Indian Sports Heritage (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 178.

⁵⁹ Adams, Education for Extinction, 185.

⁶⁰ Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI), A.R., 1962-3, 24.

⁶¹ Indian School Bulletin 4:1 (January 1950), 16.

While authors like Adams, Oxendine and Miller provide an analysis of athletics for boys, they do not describe organized sporting activities for girls in very much detail. 'Sport' and 'athletics' for girls is understood by these scholars as including calisthenics, physical education, dance and less organized games. This limited range of sporting activities and physical education of girls in Indian residential institutions is indicative of a larger pattern in the history of physical training in Canadian schools that has been uncovered by Helen Lenskyj. She notes that girls' activities largely consisted of "instinctive" types of play, calisthenics and drill; playing with dolls and simulated housekeeping were thought to encourage womanly and domestic virtues in girls and calisthenics and drill offered training in discipline and patriotic spirit. Furthermore, she finds that girls activities offered "minimal opportunity for wildness and physical release" and were largely unsupervised while boys' activities were far more organized and required teacher supervision because they were more competitive and aggressive.⁶² Lastly, she argues that it was important to keep 'sport' a special domain reserved for male because it reinforced, and, arguably, constructed sex differences. We can assume, therefore, that in Indian schools, recreation had a socializing function: it aimed to instill girls with certain virtues ascribed to their gender: womanliness and domesticity, and to differentiate their "instincts" from those of boys along these lines. Furthermore, physical education was used as a means of instilling values of patriotism and efficiency.

⁶² Helen Lenskyj, "Training for "True Womanhood": Physical Education for Girls In Ontario Schools, 1890-1920," Historical Studies in Education 2:2 (1990), 211.

The conviction that sport can be an "agent for social change" for Aboriginal youth has been recently given academic currency. In a comprehensive overview of Sport and Recreation Issues Relevant to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada submitted to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, author Dr. Neil Winther suggests that sports deters "At Risk" Aboriginal youth from alcoholism and delinquency and helps them "become better people" by teaching them self-esteem, balanced lifestyles and "wise lifestyle choices." Moreover, he argues that sports provides children with "leadership opportunities that build strong communities," promotes "ethnic and cultural harmony" and "community pride" and teaches them that "a fit work force is a productive work force."⁶³

Sports and recreation complimented the health curriculum of the schools.⁶⁴ But besides teaching games and calisthenics, the objectives of health classes were to develop "wholesome health habits," to teach necessary safety practices and first aid, to develop "an appreciation for the social values of good health and a sense of responsibility for the prevention of disease," and to create in pupils "a state of mental, physical and social well-being."⁶⁵ Kelm notes a particular irony of teaching health in Indian residential schools. Poorly constructed buildings, bad ventilation, as well as a lack of adequate health service made these schools particularly dangerous with respects to infectious disease. Also, the

⁶³ Dr. Neil Winther, A Comprehensive Overview of Sport and Recreation Issues Relevant to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1993), 33, 37, 43 and 44.

⁶⁴ Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, St. Philip's Indian and Eskimo Residential School (Winnipeg: The Bible House, 1940), 9.

⁶⁵ Saskatchewan Indian School Teachers Association, Classroom Objectives and Activities with Pupils of Indian Background (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Indian School Teachers Association, 1961), 78.

schools were well-known for providing inadequate nourishment to the students and for subjecting them to various forms of physical abuse and punishment. As she argues, "the health education [the schools] offered must have seemed hollow under the poor conditions that were allowed to prevail in the schools. Rather than enhancing Aboriginal health, the schools tended to have a negative impact on the well-being of the First Nations."⁶⁶

Perhaps the most popular health program was the Canadian Junior Red Cross. The three main objectives of the Junior Red Cross, as stated in an advertisement in the Indian School Bulletin, were: "the promotion of health, the promotion of the ideal of service to others and the promotion of international understanding among the young people of the world."⁶⁷ The program encouraged students and teachers to engage in discussions of how to improve health and safety conditions, First Aid, and community and national service. It was noted that this "club," along with other clubs like Safety Patrol, Bicycle Safety Club, and Fire Prevention Club, "encourage[d] pupil-participation in citizenship activities."⁶⁸ Movies were also extra-curricular tools used to promote certain health and safety knowledge. One Indian School Bulletin suggests a number of suitable film topics for residential school students including "Sanitation in simple homes," "Housekeeping routines," "Division of labour in the family," "Personal habits and grooming," "Food purchase and preparation," and "Clothing the school age child."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Kelm, Colonizing Bodies, 75.

⁶⁷ Indian School Bulletin 9:3 and 4 (Jan-March, 1955)

⁶⁸ Indian School Bulletin 6:2, (Nov. 1951), 9.

⁶⁹ Indian School Bulletin 5:4 (March 1951), 14. Films were used for both instructional and educational purposes, and were censored by teachers and Department officials.

Health classes directed for girls often followed closely the function of domestic training.

Domestic and manual training was also supplemented by the various craft and agricultural clubs at the schools. Garden Clubs, Junior Farmers, 4-H and Calf Clubs were frequently promoted for their "excellent training in leadership" and because they stimulated interest and afforded sound training in agricultural procedures.⁷⁰ These clubs often competed at fairs, exhibitions and craft shows, which, not unlike sports competitions, allowed children to learn to play the 'Canadian way.'⁷¹ Moreover, clubs like 4-H indicated to the Indian Department that the "growing participation by Indians in the work of these groups will lead to greater interest in solving community problems."⁷² Indeed, many of these clubs became popular on reserves and in northern communities outside of the residential schools.

The aim of the Education Branch of Indian Affairs was clearly to re-create the Indian by encompassing him with what Milloy calls a "circle of civilization."⁷³ It was envisioned that the Churches and government would together produce an atmosphere in which "the pupils ... [would] be so trained and educated" that when they left the schools, they would "integrate themselves in the common life of the Canadian people."⁷⁴

Although scholars such as Haig-Brown and Oxendine have noted instances of resistance through culturally related behaviours⁷⁵ permitted in extra-curricular activities, as well as

⁷⁰ Indian Affairs Branch (IAB), A.R., 1953, 60.

⁷¹ An Annual Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration noted that "[t]he Sarcee 4-H Club was very active not only in calf-club work, but by providing opportunities for the Indians and their non-Indian friends in the Calgary area to come together." DCI, A.R., 1957-8, 69.

⁷² DCI, A.R., 1959-60, 79.

⁷³ Milloy, A National Crime, 33.

⁷⁴ UCA, 83.050c 144-21: Minutes of Meetings of Residential School Principals, Rev. E. E. M. Joblin files.

⁷⁵ Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal, 82.

the confidence, self-esteem, and relief from the regimented day these activities offered, the aims and goals of the system must be regarded in order to fully understand how the department intended to construct Indians as citizens, how it encompassed them in a "circle of civilization."

The Indian School Bulletin as well as the Department of Indian Affairs' Annual Reports frequently mentioned Girl Guides as a suitable club for residential schools. Perhaps this is because between 1930 and 1970 Girl Guides was the most popular club for girls throughout Canada. Perhaps many of the residential school teachers or Indian Affairs staff had been Scouts or Guides themselves and already supported the organization and its program. However, the documents from staff and the Indian Affairs Department show a further, more profound logic behind supporting Girl Guides as an extra-curricular activity. Girl Guides, it was believed, served as an important supplement to residential schools for the program it offered. Its aims, Promise, Law and Motto, uniform, badge and testing system, songs, activities and literature reflected and continued the aims of Indian curriculum and training.

With its aims to:"encourage ideals and activities intended to develop increasing practical knowledge of home-keeping, mothercraft and citizenship" by developing four main areas: a) character and intelligence; b) skill and technical knowledge; c) service for others; and d) physical health and development,⁷⁶ what more complete extracurricular program could the Department offer Native and Inuit girls than Girl Guides?

⁷⁶ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (CCGGA), A.R., 1923, 2.

CHAPTER THREE

Girl Guiding

Dear Sisters:

...I ... shall try to give you a little idea of the activities of our [Girl Guide] company. We have had ... a Church Parade in the spring along with Cubs and Scouts, [and] the Guides contributed to our New Year [school] concert by doing a dance as part of a Sing Song around a campfire. ...Some of our ex-school girls who were Guides were still in the village and we [all had] ... a picnic. [We] look[ed] for berries until it was time to gather wood and make the fire for supper. After ..., we had a glorious time playing a stalking game... [and] we collect[ed] leaves and flowers... [T]he Nurse at the Government Nursing Station has been coming in to take First Aid with the Guides ... we sometimes wonder whether they realize what a benefit it could be to them in their camps to know how to carry a person properly, rescue someone from a burning tent etc. A residential school provides an ideal place to practice making beds properly. The Nurse marked their beds three times during the daytime ... and it made a very good patrol competition. ... [We] have all our Guides enrolled but four. These four are new girls who understood no English as yet and I have not made a practice of enrolling such girls too soon. It takes them awhile to get the idea at all. We have uniform, wearing blue berets but their footwear in the wintertime is not very orthodox for they wear moccasins with many warm things inside them which makes their feet look immense... Finally, we did not miss out on "Thinking Day" and we had a few minutes together ... in the classroom when we heard about Baden-Powell and did some thinking about ourselves as Guides, Scouts and Cubs.
Bessie Luvit.¹

In a letter dated 5 March, 1950, a Girl Guide leader and residential school teacher in Fort George, Quebec wrote this Annual Report to Guide headquarters. Bessie Luvit's Girl Guide company was one of thousands across Canada, and the activities she described are indicative of the Girl Guide program. A ninety year old girls' movement led entirely by women, Girl Guides is committed to character, or citizenship training for girls. In its first sixty years, the organization defined its goal primarily in terms of domestic

¹ Quebec Council of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, (QCCCGGA), Annual Report (A.R.), 1950.

usefulness, national service and appreciation of the world outdoors. These qualities, it was believed, would shape and unite future citizens to form a strong, productive Christian nation in which women fulfilled important roles. These principles also reinforced key nation-building assumptions of racial, cultural and religious uniformity so prevalent in the aims of the Indian policies explored in the last chapter.

The Indian residential school provided one of the first, most prolific and long standing Aboriginal contexts for Girl Guides.² In the evidence consulted, there were thirty residential schools that fostered Aboriginal or Inuit (or mixed) Girl Guide Companies and or Brownie Packs. This number accounts for more than one third of the schools inventoried in the appendix of Milloy's book A National Crime.³ In the context of residential schools, Guiding was clearly consistent with the Department's aims to produce citizens of Native and Inuit girls. Residential school educators demonstrated consistent philosophical support for the Boy Scout and Girl Guide programme throughout the period. Guides, along with Boy Scouts was among the various clubs encouraged in Indian schools and the successes of such groups were frequently published in the Annual Reports of the Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs as well as in its periodical, the Indian School Bulletin. The records of the Indian Affairs Department at the National Archives also support this claim. For example, in a letter from Bernard F Neary, of the Department of Welfare and Training (a sub-section of the Indian Affairs

² The earliest evidence found of Aboriginal Girl Guides is at Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario (circa 1923) and MacKay Boarding School, Manitoba (circa 1928).

³ John Milloy, A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879-1986 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), Appendix. There may have been more schools that are not accounted for by the sources consulted.

Branch in the Department of Mines and Resources), Neary requested that an article from the Girl Guide organisation be published in the Indian School Bulletin in 1947, because he believed "[t]his would ensure that the principals of our day and residential schools and also our Indian agents are made aware of the valuable place in our educational system that can be played by Guide work."⁴

Residential school faculties were made aware of the value of these organizations in various ways, including at Department sponsored conferences. In a letter from the Superintendent of Education R.F. Davey to Rodine, a regional supervisor, Davey requested that a "representative of the Boy Scout movement ... attend teachers' conferences or local institutions with a view to explaining to the teachers and principals the service the Boy Scout movement can offer to [Indian] schools."⁵ Furthermore, in a 1958-9 Annual Report from northern Quebec, one Guider stated: "it is interesting to note that the Government includes Guide training in the course that is given to teachers who are going to the Far North."⁶ In 1961, the spread of Guiding in the Eastern Arctic was associated with "the opportunity given the Division Commissioner [of Guiding] of speaking in Ottawa at the Department of Northern Affairs Orientation course for Arctic teachers."⁷ The Guide and Scout movements were indeed seen to be highly connected to

⁴ National Archives of Canada (NAC), Record Group (RG) 10, T-7546 Volume 10245, File 1/25-10: Letter from Bernard F. Neary, Welfare and Training branch of the Department of Mines and Resources, to Girl Guides of Canada.

⁵ NAC, RG10, Volume 8483, File 675/24-6: Letter from Davey, Superintendent of Education to Rodine, Regional Supervisor, 1958.

⁶ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1958-9, 2.

⁷ Quebec Council of the Girl Guides of Canada- Guides du Canada (QCGGCGdC), A.R., 1961. The Girl Guides changed their name from the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association to the Girl Guides of Canada- Guides du Canada in 1961.

and congruent with the undertaking of Indian education, and like the Scouting movement, the favour bestowed upon the Girl Guides was because it "fit in well with the emphasis on education-for-citizenship."⁸

The Department of Indian Affairs also supported Girl Guides financially, as evidenced by the annual grants given to Guide Councils "for the promotion of Guiding." The grants were used to "subsidize groups in acquiring books and equipment, to provide travel costs for persons appointed to give training and to visit Guide personnel, and to assist Guides to camp in other provinces."⁹ These grants were not rare, and a contemporary Quebec Council Annual Report gratefully included this message of thanks: "The [Arctic] Division [of Quebec] is indebted to the Education division Arctic Administration, Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources for its continued interest and support."¹⁰ In many more cases, the Department directly financially supported individual Boy Scout and Girl Guide groups, contributing funds towards training sessions, outings and jamborees, materials, badges, texts, and uniforms.

The Girl Guide movement, like the Indian policies it emulated, affected the lives of Native and Inuit children not only in residential schools, but also in federal day schools, hostel schools, mission stations, sanatoriums, and on reserves and in Northern communities throughout Canada. These contexts generate important additional sources

⁸ J. R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 277.

⁹ Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (GGC-GdC), A.R., 1966, 23.

¹⁰ QCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1964.

to those pertaining to residential schools only, and help to build a broader understanding of both the Girl Guide movement and Indian policy.

Day schools provided federally controlled education for Indian and Inuit children in areas not serviced by residential schools, usually on reserves and in Northern communities. Criticized because, unlike residential schools, they failed to disrupt the parenting process in Aboriginal communities,¹¹ they nonetheless operated according to the fundamental goal of producing assimilated Canadian citizens. These schools supported Girl Guides for the same reasons as residential schools and more often than not Indian day school groups were also led by the teachers of these institutions.¹² The movement was praised in particular in the north, where a Division Commissioner was sent to Frobisher Bay to speak to the Teachers Educational Conference for the Region, and to give training to the local Guiders.¹³

Frobisher Bay Federal School hosted the most well known Guide and Brownie groups in this context and their activities were frequently reported in Annual Reports, The Canadian Guide and The Canadian Guider. This group was important not only for its size and longevity, but because it became a centre which stimulated interest in Guiding in the Eastern Arctic.¹⁴ One Guider of the Frobisher Bay company, Mrs Delaute, saw Guiding

¹¹ Milloy, A National Crime, 23.

¹² For example, in a letter from a teacher of Big Island Indian Day School in Saskatchewan, is a request for "all information you have on starting Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Indian Day schools." NAC, RG 10, T-7546, Volume 10245, File 1/25-10. The Field Secretary of the Alberta Guides, explained after a 1952 visit to Fort McMurray, Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, Fort Chipewayan, Yellowknife, Port Radium, Fort McPherson, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Fort Simpson, and Hay River that "[m]any of the Guiders [in the Northwest Territories and the Arctic] are teachers, and some are mission workers." B. Riddoch, "Arctic Adventure," The Canadian Guider 22:3 (June 1952), 12.

¹³ QCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1963.

¹⁴ GGC-GdC, A.R., 1961, 12.

as "a good way to keep girls in the community happy and busy through the long evenings during the harsh winter." She also saw Guiding as having a specific cultural function as well, and stated "this activity will help them make the difficult transition from the nomadic, primitive life they were born into and the twentieth century world which is so rapidly engulfing them."¹⁵

Guiding was also widespread at hostel schools. Established for children from distant communities going to either provincial public schools or Indian day schools, hostels aimed to integrate First Nation and Inuit children with White children. The Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, established in 1943 to discuss issues pertaining to Indian education, opposed the continued segregation of Indian school children. Hoey, one member of the committee and the Department's Superintendent of Welfare and Training, supported the closure of residential schools arguing that day schools "would educate the parents and the children together."¹⁶ Moreover, the committee believed desegregation by integration into provincial school systems would "prepare Indian children to take their place as citizens."¹⁷ The policy of integration, Milloy argues, was in the Department's view a "superior assimilative vehicle"¹⁸ and the Girl Guide program fit in many ways into this ideology. Mrs. G. Honderd, leader of The Second Inuvik Brownie Pack, a group "representing the Roman Catholic and Anglican hostels and the town of Inuvik" felt that "these Indian, Eskimo and

¹⁵ Ontario Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives (OCA), Box 108, "Arctic Items," Isabel Linton, newspaper article, "5 Eskimos Join Guide Group."

¹⁶ Parliament of Canada, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 9, 24, May 1944, 306, qtd. in Milloy A National Crime, 192.

¹⁷ B. Neary, Memorandum to the Director, 29 November 1949, qtd. in Milloy, A National Crime, 195.

¹⁸ Milloy, A National Crime, 196.

White girls will take part in work and play activities which not only provide fun and companionship but help to develop useful citizens in this Arctic region."¹⁹ Indeed, those in the movement spoke in the same rhetoric regardless of being in residential or day schools, but the buzz word of 'integration,' a word so prevalent in the Department's records after 1950, gave particular meaning to the movement at hostel schools.

Mission stations, often located at or close to trading posts, were established with the primary motive of converting Native and Inuit people to the various sects of the Christian faith. At several of these stations, Nuns and wives of missionaries saw the Girl Guide movement as an organization committed to the Christian faith and lifestyle.²⁰ Girl Guides was started at one of these stations, Fort McMurray, by Verna J. Morrison, the wife of a missionary and a Sunday school teacher herself. Her reasons for starting Guides at Fort McMurray are explained in The Canadian Guider magazine: "Northern adults have little or no interest in Church work, and, I fear, were it not for the number of children in the community, we would have often wondered, 'is it worth while?'" Wanting to have "closer weekly contact" with the girls in her Sunday school class, Morrison felt that "the Girl Guide programme had just the answer for the girls of our North land."²¹

Sanatoriums provided another context in which Native and particularly Inuit girls experienced the Girl Guide programme in the 1950s and 1960s. The existing sources include descriptions of the activities of Guide and Brownie groups at three southern

¹⁹ "Trans-Canada News-Northwest Territories," The Canadian Guider 31:6 (June 1961), 68.

²⁰ Fort Churchill, Fort McMurray and Shingle Point are longstanding examples of this type of Guide Company and Brownie Pack.

²¹ Verna J. Morrison, "A Northern Company," The Canadian Guider 14:2 (March 1 1945), 2.

hospitals, Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, Mountain Sanatorium in Hamilton and Weston Sanatorium in Toronto. The sanatorium is an important context in the study of the colonial history of the north. The numbers of Inuit patients, who, by the mid-twentieth century were considered to have the highest incidences of tuberculosis in the world,²² suggest the extent to which both tuberculosis and Canada's response to the disease affected Inuit communities. Pat Grygier, in her book A Long Way From Home, estimates that by 1956, one out of seven Inuit was in a southern sanatorium,²³ a result, in part, of the concerted post-World War II attack on the disease involving large-scale x-ray surveys of northern communities, and evacuations of infected people to sanatoriums, where patients stayed for an average of two and a half years.²⁴

Although the study of health and disease has largely been limited to examining the physical and biological aspects of illnesses, the field has recently taken into account the environmental, psychological, social and cultural implications of the diagnosis and treatment of illness. In her examination of TB patients' experiences while at the sanatoriums, Grygier argues that for Inuit people, the hospitals were "a form of total immersion," into southern culture and that "another way of life"²⁵ was the side-effect of their treatment. A foreign language, strange diet, southern clothing and hospital beds were some of the features of this new way of life. Moreover, many of the hospitals offered education programmes through the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of

²² Pat Sandiford Grygier, A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 175.

²³ Grygier, A Long Way From Home, xxi.

²⁴ Grygier, A Long Way From Home, xxi.

²⁵ Grygier, A Long Way From Home, 183.

Citizenship and Immigration or the Northern Administration and Lands Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources. Camsell and Mountain sanatoriums offered schooling from grades 1 to 10 for both adults and children. Academic classes were often complimented by commercial and occupational instruction.²⁶

Boredom tended to be yet another side effect of tuberculosis treatment, and this was recognized early by those working in the hospitals.²⁷ Introducing and maintaining Girl Guide groups was one of the responses to the need to occupy patients, argued Mrs. William Linton, captain of the 303rd Toronto Company and Pack at Weston Sanatorium. She stated: "You see, these girls don't feel sick. Sometimes they may feel tired, but they are longing for something to do and Guiding is just right for them."²⁸

Girl Guides was offered as one of the various forms of recreation at the sanatoriums, and it also became an integral part of the experience of tuberculosis. Cultural difference did not go unnoticed by Ruby Newcombe, leader of the 8th Ancaster Brownie Pack at the Hamilton Sanatorium, who started a pack of Inuit Brownies rehabilitating from T.B. in 1956. She admitted that "some of the Brownie tests do not have much meaning for them. Table setting for meals and traffic rules for safety on the street for example are things that are not needed in the Far North where they come from." Nonetheless, she stated, "they learned about the Union jack... [and] I feel the job is

²⁶ Grygier, *A Long Way From Home*, 112.

²⁷ Grygier, *A Long Way From Home*, 110.

²⁸ "Eskimo Girls Learn Guiding In Sanitarium," *The Canadian Guide* 15:5 (May 1963), 4.

worthwhile on Wednesday afternoons when they all rush at me with happy smiling faces and cries of 'Brownies Today.'"²⁹

What the sources reveal about Guiding in reserves and northern communities is brief. These groups were usually but not always connected to schools, and were run by school teachers, RCMP and missionary wives, nurses, and, although very infrequently and not until later in the period, mothers of Guides or Brownies. The function of Girl Guides in these communities did not differ from its function in residential schools. Like other school clubs,³⁰ community youth organizations³¹ and associations and activities on reserves and in Northern communities,³² Girl Guides was perceived to "have a positive influence on family and community life"³³ by improving "the general welfare of the Indians on isolated reserves,"³⁴ inspiring an "interest in the progress of ...[Indian] communities,"³⁵ and contributing to "the establishment of improved social and economic conditions."³⁶ Guides was also seen as a means to encourage Indians to enter "more fully into Canada's social and economic life." Although expressed in terms of social, cultural and economic development, the Girl Guides become part of an expression of the Indian Department's aims of assimilation, integration and ultimately citizenship.

²⁹ Ruby Newcombe, "An Eskimo Brownie Pack," *The Canadian Guide* 10:3 (March 1958), 5 and 14.

³⁰ Example of school clubs are Junior Red Cross, Cadet corps and sports teams and choirs.

³¹ Examples of community youth organizations are CGIT, 4-H clubs, calf and potato clubs, the Indian Social Leaders', and Homemakers' Clubs.

³² Examples of other associations and activities are Home and School Associations, Church groups, concerts, drama festivals and athletics.

³³ Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI), *A.R.*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961), 54.

³⁴ DCI, *A.R.*, 1953, 57.

³⁵ DCI, *A.R.*, 1957-1958, 79.

³⁶ DCI, *A.R.*, 1958-1959, 45.

In the residential and day school, the hostel, the sanatorium, the reserve and northern community, the Girl Guide programme endeavoured to train mind, body and spirit by transforming Native and Inuit girls into loyal, reliable, useful troops of Canadian citizens. This chapter will examine the defining features of the movement and demonstrate how they worked to define and produce citizens by situating the movement, where possible, within these schools, hostels, sanatoria and communities. It will also look at some of the ways in which First Nations and Inuit Guides resisted this process.

Defining Features of Guiding

Girl Guides constructed citizenship in terms of obligations, laws and sense of duty. These principles were intended to pervade the Girl Guide's personality, religion, appearance and her body and were articulated in the organization's aims, Promise, Law and Motto, uniform and ceremonies. Anne Summers warns, in her article on Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Britain, that it is important to preface any general examination of these movements by acknowledging that "[t]he theories of its founder, and the policies of its executive, are certainly not infallible guides to concrete historical practice."³⁷ It is important to recognize that the environment of meetings (be it schools, Churches, or the homes of leaders) and personalities of both the girls and the leaders contributed to vastly different experiences of groups across the country. What use, then, are these tenets to the historian, and more specifically, to this particular study? They are crucial to this project for two main reasons. First, because this project hopes to uncover some of the ways

³⁷ Anne Summers, "Scouts, Guides and VADs: a note in reply to Allen Warren," English Historical Review CCCCIV (October 1987), 947.

Canadians defined and worked to produce citizens, and not to show whether or not citizens were actually produced, these tenets are essential to analyze and deconstruct the goals and aspirations of (and not their impact on) those in the movement. Second, because these elements were repeatedly heralded by the movement as its defining principles, they provide certain images and patterns that construct a general discourse on the essential Girl Guide - the essential girl citizen. In order to understand why Girl Guides were active in Indian residential schools, day schools, sanatoriums, reserves and northern communities, we must reconstruct this image.

Aims of the Girl Guide Movement

It seems logical to begin an exploration of the defining elements of Guiding by describing the aims of the movement, as these goals informed the activities, structure, function, Promise and Law of the Girl Guides. The founding endeavour of Girl Guides was to shape acceptable female citizens with clearly defined roles and duties as mothers. Qualities of motherhood were initially equated with female duties to the country and included nursing, domestic skills, "mother-craft" and missionary work. The earliest aims of the Girl Guide movement reflected these duties. The first Girl Guide publication, called Pamphlets A and B, stated that the aim of Girl Guide training was to enable girls to:

make themselves of practical use in case of invasion; To prepare themselves for a Colonial life ... including camp life, farming, gardening, housekeeping, cooking and so on; and To make themselves generally more useful to others and to themselves by learning useful occupations and handiwork and yet retaining their womanliness.³⁸

³⁸ Lieut.-General Sir. R. Baden-Powell, KOB, Pamphlet A: Suggests the Organization of Girl Guides - Girl Guides. A Suggestion for Character Training For Girls (n.p., n.p., circa 1910), 6-7.

By the time the first Official Handbook for Girl Guides was published, the aim had become more general: "to get girls to learn how to be women - self-helpful, happy, prosperous and capable of keeping good homes and of bringing up good children,"³⁹ and to train girls to "be prepared to help... [their] country - To be brave - To be womanly - To be strong - To live a frontier life if necessary."⁴⁰ Essential qualities for women citizens, as mothers of country and Empire were womanliness, self-sufficiency, intelligence, physical health and sense of duty. Six years later, Girl Guides had officially dropped both the "womanly" and "frontier" aims, however they were never completely severed from the Girl Guide imagination and remained firmly entrenched in the Girl Guide program.⁴¹

In 1918, Guides defined itself as a movement that taught "[c]haracter development towards happy citizens" by developing "Character and Intelligence; Skill and Handicraft; Physical health and hygiene; and Service for others."⁴² The first Canadian Girl Guide handbook, published in the early 1960s, stated the aims of the Girl Guides of Canada as: "1) To prepare girls to become happy, useful women in a changing world. 2) To develop a sense of world citizenship and a respect for people whatever their class, creed, colour or nationality."⁴³ "The Canadian Guide programme," the handbook stated, was designed to help girls to:

³⁹ Agnes Baden Powell and Lt.-Gen. Sir Robert Baden Powell K.C.B. etc., The Official Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1918), 9.

⁴⁰ Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, The Official Handbook, 16.

⁴¹ This will be further explored in the next chapter.

⁴² Lord Baden Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers and Guiders, (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1938), 9.

⁴³ Catherine Sinclair, The Guider Handbook (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada, 1965), Introduction.

Enjoy experiences - especially out-of-doors, Develop a desire for service and a sense of world citizenship by keeping the Promise and Law, Develop the capacity for democratic action through the patrol system, and Achieve great mental and physical health through adult understanding, encouragement and good judgement, and through active programmes.⁴⁴

Although models of character and citizenship constantly changed, as did the methods of developing them, these ideals represented at each moment a definition of ideal girlhood, a citizen model to strive towards, and a figure the movement aimed to produce. The aims of the Girl Guide movement reflected changing societal values and educational theories as well as trends in Canadian politics, but throughout period from 1910 to 1970, they retained one main goal. Stated by Baden-Powell in the earliest handbook (1918): "The whole object of our scheme is to seize the girl's character in its red-hot stage of enthusiasm and weld it into the right shape."⁴⁵

The aims of the Girl Guides readily compare with those of Indian education. The program taught girls not only the 'womanly' pursuits of proper housekeeping and child care which prepared them to raise (or work for) Canadian families, but also instilled notions of health, intelligence, character and service. Moreover, like residential schools, Girl Guides used the model of the citizen as a means to train, or assimilate First Nations and Inuit children – a particularly important model for Indians, whose status as Canadian citizens was precarious throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

How did Brownies and Guides put these aims into action? One leader's handbook explained that the qualities of "integrity, self-discipline, consideration for others, a sense

⁴⁴ Sinclair, The Guider Handbook, Introduction.

⁴⁵ Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, The Official Handbook for Girl Guides, 462.

of duty, self-reliance, cheerfulness and loyalty... are acquired by making the Promise, trying to live day by day according to the law and participating in a programme of Guide activities.⁴⁶ It is no coincidence that the Promise is mentioned foremost because of the importance it held for the organization.

The Promise

I promise, on my honour, to do my best:
To do my duty to God, the Queen and my country,
To help other people at all times,
To obey the Guide Law.⁴⁷

The Promise and Law have been defined as the central, universal principles that "bind together all members of the Movement and give a deeper meaning to the programme."⁴⁸ The Promise bore special importance to those in the movement, one Guider stated, because "[e]very Guide makes a promise in the presence of the other Guides in her company. It is a very solemn and beautiful promise, which, if kept, will make the whole of life nobler."⁴⁹ Furthermore, no girl could become a Girl Guide until she had made the Promise and repeated the Law.

It was vital that Guides understood the 'true meaning' of the Promise and not just merely repeat it without thinking of its implications. A 1960 edition of leader handbook Fundamentals for Captains and Lieutenants of Girl Guide Companies held that the Guide Promise implied a long-term obligation and that a "point of honour is involved in carrying

⁴⁶ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (CCGGA), Fundamentals for Captains and Lieutenants of Girl Guide Companies - Part 2, Guide Tests (FCL) (Toronto: The Canadian Council of the Canadian Girl Guides Association, 1959), 6.

⁴⁷ Ontario Council of the Girl Guides of Canada - Guides du Canada (OCGGCGdC), A.R., 1966, 4.

⁴⁸ CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 3.

⁴⁹ Mrs. M.C. Murray, B.D., The Guide Way of Life (Scottish Headquarters: Girl Guides Association, 1960), 10.

it out." It explained that this obligation began "when the Promise is first made and reaches out into the future to be developed by each Guide every time she says it to herself or hears it repeated by others." "If a Guide is going to do this," the handbook instructed, "she must start thinking about what it means."⁵⁰ A later edition of this handbook urged Guiders to explain to Guides that the Promise carried meaning not only in the meeting, but in her life as well:

Duty to God is not confined to a repetition of the phrase at Company meetings but involves taking an active part in the church of her parents' choice; that duty to the Queen means more than saluting the flag, for it reaches into her community life and encompasses her share of responsibility to the society in which she lives.⁵¹



**Fort George (Anglican) School, Quebec
Girl Guides learning the Promise
Anglican Archives P75-103 S8-78 MSCC Photos**

⁵⁰ CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 6.

⁵¹ CCGGA, FCL, 1960, 2.

Much like the aims of the movement, the Promise has evolved over the years, however it has maintained during the period under study the three parts, or Promises: Duty to God, Duty to [King or] Queen and Obedience to the Guide Law. A 1933 article in the Canadian Guider explained that "Duty to God" was "the *first* of the three promises," and so implied "that God comes first, before patriotism, or service of others, or self-development." This Guider believed that "boys and girls asked to mould their lives on a rule of kindness, service, patriotism, honour, obedience, as if these things were ends in themselves, and not connected with our duty to God would get a very false and inadequate idea of human life at its best."⁵² This excerpt underscores what was perceived for the majority of the movement's history — "Guiding is based on a firm faith in God."⁵³ In the 1950s, duty to God was considered to be "the underlying principle of the whole Guide programme"⁵⁴ and in 1960, the Jubilee year for Girl Guides of Canada, another Guider repeated this sentiment, arguing that "[d]uty to God ... is most important part of Guiding. If we push it into the background our Association is not worth working for and will not continue to live."⁵⁵

How was "Duty to God" interpreted by Guides? Guides fulfilled their duty to God by "knowing God, His Laws, His Promises, serving Him and developing talents which he has given,"⁵⁶ in appreciating His works by "observing the beauties of the countryside, studying the stars, talking about the mysteries of the sea and marveling at the creatures He

⁵² Vera Barclay, "What the First Promise Implies," The Canadian Guider 1:12 (November 1933), 1.

⁵³ CCGGA, FCL - Part 2 - Guide Tests, 1959, 7.

⁵⁴ CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 7.

⁵⁵ Mrs. D. E. S. Wishart, "A Positive Approach to Religion," The Canadian Guider 30:8 (October 1960), 97.

⁵⁶ CCGGA, FCL - Part 2 - Guide Tests, 1949, 7.

has made"⁵⁷ and by endeavouring to "attend regularly ... Church or religious services, and ... say ... prayers daily."⁵⁸ Duty to God was also fulfilled by participating in the Girl Guide programme, which attempted to maintain a religious element in its badgework, songs, services and activities. A significant number of the songs in Canadian Girl Guide songbooks made explicit references to God. Many of the Girl Guide services, such as "Baden-Powell Sunday" (the celebration of Baden-Powell's birthday) and Parades were centered around the Church. Moreover, Girl Guide meetings were often held in Churches and Packs and Companies were frequently affiliated with Sunday Schools.

Despite the significant religious, or what it often called "spiritual"⁵⁹ values inherent to the Girl Guide programme, Guides stressed that this component was non-denominational in nature. The movement maintained that "while remaining loyal to our own church," Guides and Guiders should "endeavour to understand as far as possible ... [and] to tolerate the points of view of other Churches where they differ from our own."⁶⁰ Although the organization encouraged its leaders to guide the group in the religious direction best suited to both the group and the leader, the National Council's Annual Report of 1965 emphasized that in Guiding, each member should respect "the religious beliefs of the others and should attend the services of the religion to which she belongs."⁶¹

⁵⁷ CCGGA, FCL - Part 2 - Guide Tests, 1949, 7.

⁵⁸ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, Handbook for Guiders (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, 1959), 4.

⁵⁹ GGC-GdC, A.R., 1965, 3.

⁶⁰ Lucy Smith, "Co-operation between Guiding and the Church," The Canadian Guide 5:10 (October 1953), 9.

⁶¹ GGC-GdC, A.R., 1965, 3.

The official leader handbook instructed that "no guide [be] ... taken to the church service of a denomination other than her own without the consent of her parents."⁶²

Diana Pedersen argues that the YWCA had gradually withdrawn support from the Guide movement by 1920 in part because it was "dissatisfied with the non-sectarian stance of the Girl Guide movement and its lack of close ties with the Protestant evangelical churches."⁶³ This suggests that, relative to many other youth clubs, the Girl Guide movement was officially quite tolerant. It did not insist on a strict religious affiliation because it did not want to limit its potential popularity. However, it was equally concerned that it not alienate Canadian support by paying too little attention to religion.⁶⁴ In the end, the Protestant, Anglican roots of the movement undermined its 'non-denominational' position, as evidenced in the formation in 1939 of the Guides Catholiques, a separate and self-governing branch of the Girl Guide organization.⁶⁵

Girl Guiding proclaimed itself a non-denominational, and later, inter-denominational organization. Although Girl Guides did not endeavour to give religious

⁶² CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 28.

⁶³ Diana L. Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good": The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920," MA Thesis, Carleton U, 1981, 108.

⁶⁴ Michael Rosenthal, The Character Factory: Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 267.

⁶⁵ The Annual Report of La Fédération Des Guides Catholiques of 1940 stated: "[I]es deux organisations [The Girl Guides Association et la Fédération des Guides Catholiques de la Province de Québec] se développeront *côté à côté*... Le travail important de cette première année a été la réduction de nos Statuts et Relements... une unité d'orientation et de moyens qui permettra à notre Fédération d'atteindre l'idéal qu'elle s'est fixé. ... Le Bureau Exécutif de la Fédération a poursuivi son but d'unification en confiant à une Commission d'Étude, le soin d'établir les programmes techniques et le programme de badges, actuellement à l'épreuve, pour expérience. Il a également pourvu à la formation technique des chieftaines en la confiant à une Commission d'Entraînement, dont la première réalisation sera un camp provincial qui se tiendra, l'été prochain, sur la formation pratique au campisme. Enfin, pour atteindre chacune des Guides et Jeannettes, et les unir dans un même esprit fraternel, la Fédération publie, tous les deux mois, une revue rédigée avec la collaboration des différents diocèses." CCGGA, A.R., 1940, 38.

or missionary instruction of a distinctly denominational character, it claimed throughout the period that it was not "un-denominational."⁶⁶ This logic was explained in The Guide

Handbook:

Guiding is based on a firm faith in God, but it is non-denominational. You will be encouraged to take an active part in the church of your parents' choice, to learn about your own faith and how to live up to that faith in everyday circumstances. Now that you are a Guide you will have before you in the Guide Law the fundamental principles of religion as a part of Guiding and you will be given the opportunity to put these into practice."⁶⁷

Tolerance was the rule *within* the Christian faith (with the later exceptions of Judaism and Islam). The movement constructed other faiths outside of its concept of spirituality.

If the spiritual aspects of the Girl Guide program were unclear to some, loyalty to the English Monarch was not. The second Promise, to do Duty to the Queen (or King), has been interpreted in two main ways. Baden-Powell summed up the first interpretation in an article in The Scouter magazine:

to do our duty to the King, as enjoined on Scouts and Guides, means that Scouters and Guiders should inculcate this idea of the British Commonwealth into the oncoming generation in our respective countries, and what is more, we should urge them in their turn to impress it on their children for the good of all.⁶⁸

The second Promise bespeaks the strong Imperial character of the Girl Guide program. It was this aspect of Girl Guiding that, in spite of similar goals of citizenship training and concerted attempts to work together, drew the CGIT and the YWCA away from the organization. Margaret Prang argues that the CGIT felt that Girl Guides was too British

⁶⁶ "Guide's Own," The Canadian Guider 4:4 (July 1936), 6.

⁶⁷ June Dennis, The Guide Handbook (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada, 1965), 7.

⁶⁸ Baden-Powell, "Duty to the King" (August, 1926), B.P.'s Outlook - Selections from the Founder's Contributions to the Scouter from 1909-1941 (Ottawa: National Council Boy Scouts of Canada, 1979), 116-117.

and that "[t]he strong sense of being Canadian was partly responsible for the failure of continuing efforts [of the CGIT] to co-operate with the Girl Guides."⁶⁹ Diana Pedersen notes that the YWCA gradually withdrew from the Girl Guide movement by 1920 for similar reasons, maintaining that the YWCA disliked the British orientation of the Girl Guides and strongly advocated for the publishing of "a hand-book and literature adapted to Canadian ideals and conditions."⁷⁰

By the mid-twentieth century, handbooks were interpreting the second Promise in a more Canadian context. The Fundamentals for Captains and Lieutenants of Girl Guide Companies stated that the Guider should teach the Guides that the King or Queen was a symbol standing for loyalty to the Canadian nation. "[D]uty to the Queen," the manual stated, "can be explained as obedience to the laws of the country."⁷¹ In a 1957 issue of The Canadian Guider, Guider Carol Cowell argued that "Duty to the Queen" was interpreted to mean "our responsibilities in citizenship... our duty to be interested in civic affairs ... and to practice the ideal of democracy in our everyday living." As a test, Cowell suggested that girls ask themselves: "Are we living in Canada as Canadians or are we merely staying in Canada?"⁷²

The Guide Handbook of 1965 viewed the Queen as a "symbol to all Canadians of the finest traditions of life. We look upon her and her husband and children as examples of family life at its best." The royal family patronized Scouting and Guiding and the

⁶⁹ Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939," Canadian Historical Review 66:2 (June 1985), 172.

⁷⁰ Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," 108.

⁷¹ CCGGA, FCL - Part 2 - Guide Tests, 1959, 7.

⁷² Carol Cowell, "What the Promise Means to Me," The Canadian Guider 31:5 (May 1961), 55.

monarchy was tied to the Girl Guide family in Canada through the Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor of the provinces. The "wife of the Governor-General of Canada," explained Cowell, "is the Honourary President of the national Council of the Girl Guides, and the wives of the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces are Honourary Presidents of the Councils in their provinces."

"Duty to Country" was added as a second part of the second Promise in 1964, and this clause was also interpreted in terms of nationalism. The way that Guides were trained to fulfill their "Duty to Country," reflected the patterns established in public school citizenship training. At the simplest level, a Guide's "Duty to Country" meant recognizing their "parents' share of civic responsibility," resolving that when they were older, they would know their responsibilities and carry them out. On the next level, a Guide's duty was to "help towards the betterment of [their] country by taking pride in [their] own town, by being aware of its beauty and doing [their] part to help make it even better." Third, Guides were told that their Duty to Country consisted of obeying the laws of their community, province and country. The Handbook also interpreted Duty to Country on an international level: by "building a better community," girls would help build "a better world."⁷³ In an excerpt from a 1951 Guider handbook, the links made by the organization between the family, community, country and world through this second Promise become clear:

⁷³ Dennis, The Guide Handbook, 8.

Each Guide should have the feeling that it is in the little ways of right-thinking and doing in her own personal life which helps to build a happy family. By being truthful and honest, friendly and helpful to her neighbour, by keeping her own surroundings attractive, she will help to make a better community. She can then continue to learn that a good community contributes towards making a good nation and a good nation helps to build a happy world.⁷⁴

The Guide Promise readily compared to the curricular objectives of Indian education. "Duty to God," "Duty to the King (or Queen)" and "Duty to the Country" were three of the most fundamental lessons of residential schools, and were repeated in religious instruction, opening exercises and history and civics lessons. The notion that these fundamental obligations functioned to 'bind together' girls within the movement was also useful in these contexts, where children were being taught to become eventually assimilated, integrated, loyal and dutiful Canadian citizens whose primary responsibilities, like those of other Canadians, were their obligations to God, the King and the Country.

The Promise to "Help other people at all times" was not interpreted as one of the main Promises, suggesting that it was so embedded in Girl Guide discourse that there was no need for its explanation. In one Guide magazine, a Ranger from Alberta interpreted this clause as "an idea that dates back a long, long time ago. 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'"⁷⁵ The use of Biblical references to explain the meaning of elements of the Girl Guide programme was not uncommon, particularly in the interpretation of the third Promise, obedience to the Guide Law.

⁷⁴ CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 7.

⁷⁵ Cowell, "What the Promise Means to Me," 55.

The Guide Law

The following are the obligations of the Third Promise:

1. A Guide's Honour is to be Trusted.
2. A Guide is Loyal.
3. A Guide's Duty is to be Useful and to Help Others.
4. A Guide is a Friend to All, and a Sister to Every Other Guide, no matter to what Creed, Country, or Class the Other Belongs.
5. A Guide is Courteous.
6. A Guide is a Friend to Animals
7. A Guide Obeys Orders
8. A Guide Smiles and Sings
9. A Guide is Thrifty
10. A Guide Keeps Herself Pure in Thought, Word, and Deed.⁷⁶

These ten principles of the Guide law have remained fairly intact during the period and represent the values and character of the ideal Girl Guide. As with the Promise, Girl Guide officials expressed fears that Guides might repeat the Law without thinking about the actual meaning of it.⁷⁷ This concern was intensified for leaders of Aboriginal Girl Guides. The Annual Report of the First Fort George Indian Brownie Pack explained that although "[t]hese little girls are as keen as mustard - bright and intelligent ... [w]e do have difficulties getting some on to the enrollment stage, because of their lack of knowledge of English." For the Fort George Guides, learning and repeating the Guide Law was "quite an accomplishment" and "hard work."⁷⁸ To ensure that "no one [wa]s enrolled unless she really underst[ood] what she promise[d], "some of the older girls at Fort George explained the law to the younger girls in Cree."⁷⁹ Because speaking

⁷⁶ Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1954), 60-62.

⁷⁷ CCGGA, FCL - Part 2 - Guide Tests, 1952, 8.

⁷⁸ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1964.

⁷⁹ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1955.

Aboriginal languages was forbidden, or, in the least strongly discouraged at the residential schools, this source demonstrates the importance of learning the Guide Law.

The Guide Law was interpreted in many ways throughout the period. First, it was frequently associated with the Ten Commandments of the Bible. Commenting on "[o]bedience to the Guide Law," one Ranger stated, "[w]hat firmer foundation could the Guide Movement have chosen than their Ten Guide Laws which have their roots from the Bible. In the same way that a Christian tries to live up to and keep his Ten Commandments, so must a Guide or Ranger endeavour to live up to her ten Guide Laws as well."⁸⁰

Another way of interpreting the Guide Law was by deducing the "sort of girl" who was produced by living the Guide Law. A member of the Catholic Women's League described a Girl Guide who was "true to form":

An honourable and trustworthy girl: a useful, friendly girl, ever ready to help others in need; courteous, humane, obedient and cheerful, she is thrifty and prudent in her relations to life as well as in her business administrations; she is a pure, clean-minded and wholesome-acting girl; fearless and brave and fun loving withal.⁸¹

The Girl Guide organization itself saw the Law as a sort of recipe for good citizenship.

"The law," one leader handbook interpreted, "contains ten of the ingredients for making a good citizen."⁸²

The Guide Law was also described by providing examples of how it applied to the everyday lives of good Girl Guide citizens. For example, the 1954 handbook described a

⁸⁰ Cowell, "What the Promise Means to Me," 55.

⁸¹ Mrs Mary E. McIntyre, *Girl Guiding For Catholic Girls*, (Catholic Women's League, 1926), 6.

⁸² CCGGA, *FCL Part 2 - Guide Tests*, 1952, 8.

"*Guide's Honour*" as a "most solemn oath." By telling a lie, the book explained, a Guide would not only be "breaking her honour" but also "letting down all the rest of her fellow-Guides." "*A Guide is Useful*" and helpful, the book stated, by giving up "her own pleasure, or comfort, or safety" and "by doing her duty ... [and] at least one good turn every day." A Guide must *obey* orders "cheerily and readily, not in a slow, hang-dog sort of way, and should sing even if she dislikes it" because "Guides never grumble at hardships, nor whine at each other, nor frown when put out." A Guide who was "thrifty" "makes the most of her possessions and does not waste anything" and thus is never a "burden to others." Lastly, the book instructed that a Guide should "look for what is beautiful in everything, so that she may become strong enough in her mind to avoid listening to, or taking part in, anything that is ugly and unclean."⁸³

The Guide Law was often cited in demonstrating how a good Guide should act in various circumstances. Two examples in Aboriginal contexts provide evidence to this claim. In an article entitled "A Ratting We Will Go," the Guider of the Aklavik Guides at All Saints' School in the northwestern Arctic described a muskrat trapping outing. While the girls were out "having a grand time together," one of the girls, May, found a trap.

"Here's a trap," shouted May, "Let's see if there is anything in it."... "But May, that is not our trap," said the leader. You must not open that." "Aw, let's, there might be a rat in it," replied the girl. "But that would be stealing," admonished the leader. "That trap belongs to someone else. A Guide's honour is to be trusted," she said quietly. The girl began to feel ashamed. She remembered her promise to keep the Guide Laws. "I'm sorry," said she.

⁸³ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding, (1938), 60-62.

"Trustworthiness, helpfulness to each other and kindness to animals all came into the process of ratting," the Guider explained, and through this activity, girls had "learned by experience many things in their Guide Laws."⁸⁴ Muskrattling also taught the Native and Inuit Girl Guides of Aklavik residential school to be thrifty, as another article explained, "Guides of Aklavik, N.W.T., proudly display[ed] muskrats caught in their traplines so that they could sell them and earn money with which to pay their weekly dues."⁸⁵

The Guide Law was used to interpret and regulate the behaviour of Girl Guides. When looking for "results" of the Girl Guide programme in the girls of the Hay River Girl Guide group, the leader of this group was gratified to "hear a girl who was telling a yarn reproved by another" girl who told her "'That's not true, you know, and a Guide's honour is to be trusted.'" The leader also recounted that "[o]n another occasion one small person was making herself unpleasant in the playroom and teasing her tiny sister, so another little one said "That's not being a Brownie."⁸⁶ These two examples show how Guiding trained Hay River girls to be honest, helpful, kind to animals and thrifty. Although, arguably these concepts may not have been foreign to Native girls, they were filled by the Girl Guide programme with cultural meaning. While these are only two instances of how Guides could practice the Guide Law, various elements of the Guide programme itself embodied its ten principles.

⁸⁴ "A-Ratting We Will Go," *The Canadian Guider* 13:3 (May 1, 1944), 3.

⁸⁵ "Scrapbook Series XXIV," *The Canadian Guide* 12:10 (October 1960), 15. Guides and Brownies paid weekly "dues" as a contribution to the funds of Packs and Companies. These funds were for outings, camping trips and other events. Baden-Powell stressed that all Girl Guide groups be self-sufficient.

"Dues" provided the groups a source from which to fund their activities without having to ask for money.
⁸⁶ "Coast to Coast Guiding - Notes From Hay River, North-West Territory - Indian Mission School Guides and Brownies," *The Canadian Guider* 1:11 (September, 1933), 6.

The Motto

Brownies - Lend a Hand
 Guides - Be Prepared

"Lend a Hand" and "Be Prepared" were the official Mottos of Brownies and Guides respectively. Like the Guide Law, the Mottos were fundamental expressions of the concept of utility, a theme central to Girl Guide discourse. The first Official Handbook for Girl Guides, used between 1912 and 1918 provided an early interpretation of the Girl Guide Motto: "a Guide must be prepared, by previously thinking out and practicing, how to act on any emergency so that she is never taken by surprise— as, being prepared she knows exactly what to do when anything unexpected happens."⁸⁷

"Preparedness" was most often explained in terms of being ready "at any time to save life and to help injured persons."⁸⁸ Like many aspects of the Guide program, the Motto was shared with Boy Scouts. "Be Prepared" has been explained both by Scout historian Michael Rosenthal⁸⁹ and by Baden-Powell himself in terms of war and defense of the Empire. In the 1938 edition of Girl Guiding, Baden-Powell linked "Being Prepared" to women's war service, stating: "[t]housands of women did splendid work in the Great War, but thousands more would have been able to do good work also had they only Been Prepared for it beforehand by learning up a few things that are useful to them outside their mere school work or work in the home."⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, The Official Handbook, 26.

⁸⁸ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding (1938), 61.

⁸⁹ Rosenthal, The Character Factory, 163-165.

⁹⁰ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding (1938), 59.

The Guide Motto also held nationalist meaning for the Catholic Women's League, who encouraged girls to "work toward the goal of a nation-wide company of useful, healthy, happy girls" because "they will become ... the staff upon which this fair Canada of ours will lean for assistance ... [and] whose "*Preparedness*" will ... keep her fair fame unsullied and hold aloft the banner of Christianity and love of Country."⁹¹ More to the point, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire perceived the Motto as an assurance that young girls were "being prepared, to do their duty to themselves and to their country."⁹² Aid in the form of medical assistance was therefore extended through various interpretations of the Girl Guide Motto to the care and protection of the nation.

The Uniform

The elements of good citizenship, as embraced in the Girl Guide Promise, Law and Motto were not just words in books, but were imprinted physically on the body of the Girl Guide. Perhaps the most obvious method of imprinting values was through the uniform, which the movement considered "an outward sign of belonging to a movement which stands for certain principles."⁹³ To various Guides and Guiders, the uniform articulated "Loyalty, Service and Obedience,"⁹⁴ efficiency,⁹⁵ pride, preparedness to serve, and lawfulness.⁹⁶

⁹¹ McIntyre, Girl Guiding for Catholic Girls, 8.

⁹² Manitoba Council Archives (MCA), Box "History of Guiding", File "History of Guiding - Manitoba," Mrs. C. C. Hearn, The Girl Guide Movement in Manitoba, 1916, 73.

⁹³ CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 27.

⁹⁴ A.M. Maynard, Be Prepared: A Handbook for Guides (London: Pearson, 1952), 28.

⁹⁵ Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, The Official Handbook, 437.

⁹⁶ Maynard, Be Prepared, 29.



**Brownies and Guides in Uniform at St. Peter's School, Hay River, NWT
Anglican Archives P7538-929 and 930**

Badges were an integral part of the Girl Guide uniform. The most common badges were called "efficiency" or "proficiency" badges. These badges, such as "First Aid" and "Swimming," "Hostess" and "Nurse," awarded expert knowledge and skill in fields deemed important by the Girl Guide Association and demonstrated the values upheld by the Girl Guide organization. Badges were a central component of the movement's primarily competitive and structural method of citizenship training. The Citizen badge, for example, described technical aspects of "being a good citizen," and more specifically "being Canadian." Earning the Citizen badge required "knowing a bit about our history ... [and] knowing how Canada works today."⁹⁷ The test for this badge involved describing the requirements for citizenship, the procedure of becoming a citizen followed by someone not born in Canada, and describing the qualities of a good citizen. Candidates had to explain how Canada was governed at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. They were required to know how candidates were elected, how often elections occurred at each level of government, and how and when parties in power could be defeated. They had to know the powers of the House of Commons, the Senate, the Prime Minister, and the Governor General. They were required to read about one famous Canadian political leader, attend a local government meeting and recognize the Coat of Arms of Canada and the Crests of the Provinces and Territories. The eighth requirement of the badge reads: "Tell briefly about the way of life of a group of Canadian Indians or Eskimos." This section would seem to contradict the pattern established by the first requirements, which basically asked girls to describe a set of qualities of a good citizen

⁹⁷ "Heritage Camp Badges: No. 2 Citizen Badge," The Canadian Guide (May 1966), 8.

and know about Canada's political system. The "way of life" of 'Canadian Indians and Eskimos' must therefore have been interpreted within this discourse.

Aside from badges, the uniform itself represented many of the values of Girl Guide citizenship. For example, one handbook for Guide leaders articulated that "the correct use of the uniform" could establish "[m]any habits of health and thrift."⁹⁸ The 1938 Headquarters Annual Report enthusiastically reported that "Eskimo and Indian Guides of the Aklavik Company in the Arctic Circle" displayed "[r]esourcefulness and thrift" by raising money to buy their own uniforms by "giving a play and by supplying home-made candy for the settlement."⁹⁹

By wearing the Girl Guide uniform, Aboriginal girls demonstrated to Guide officials and others that they were no longer the 'ignorant savages' their parents were, but had become upstanding citizens. But the inscription of Girl Guide values upon the body of the Brownie and Guide did not end with the uniform. By insisting on clean teeth and fingernails, a balanced diet and regular exercise,¹⁰⁰ Guiders taught "the young citizen to assume responsibility for her own development and health."¹⁰¹ Moreover, girls were instructed that it was "part of their duty as good Canadians to take the Health Rules seriously so that they may help to build healthier generations in the future as well as to fit themselves to do their own daily tasks better."¹⁰² One particular health concern was

⁹⁸ CCGGA, FCL - Part 3 - Simple Ceremonials, 1953, 6.

⁹⁹ CCGGA, A.R., 1938, 10.

¹⁰⁰ "And Look Wider Still," The Canadian Guider 11:1 (January 1, 1942), 5. The Guide handbook provided a list of exercises for Girl Guides which included "Chest Development," "Toe Touching" and "Spring Sitting."

¹⁰¹ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding (1938), 119.

¹⁰² "And Look Wider Still," The Canadian Guider 11:3 (May 1, 1942), 4.

posture, and early handbooks warned girls that "the wrong ... [shape] makes you look pretty dowdy and sloppy ... So buck up: ... it just depends on you yourself whether you are going to be a fine upstanding healthy woman or a sloppy old thing."¹⁰³

Even facial features such as the Brownie Smile were understood within a discourse of good citizenship. A.M. Maynard, a prolific writer for the Girl Guide organization explained in a book for leaders of the movement that a "Guide's smile is something more than a smile; it is the alert look of intelligence - welcoming, happy ... To look bored is not only to look ugly but to be rude." The text encouraged leaders to discuss "with the company, with illustrations and definite suggestions, ... how to show interest and appreciation."¹⁰⁴ A 1957 edition of MacLeans magazine explained to the broader public how the "Guide grin" played into the aims of the Girl Guide program:

The Guide grin is the required accessory to an activity that Baden-Powell liked to call "happifying," and is probably what distinguishes happifying from mere good deeds. B-P. as the Guides' founder is generally called, thought happifying a very important thing for Guides to do, and frequently told them so."¹⁰⁵

Baden-Powell believed that "happifying" boys and girls, would make them "happy, helpful citizen[s]."¹⁰⁶ He also concluded that it would create a wholesome youth, improve the overall appearance of girls and make others happy as well.

¹⁰³ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding, 119.

¹⁰⁴ A.M. Maynard, An A. B. C. of Guiding (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1935), 6.

¹⁰⁵ Barbara Moon, "The girls who gatecrashed the Boy Scouts," Maclean's Magazine (August 17, 1957), 56.

¹⁰⁶ Baden-Powell called "Happifying" an "old English word." He argued that "If a boy only makes himself wear a cheery countenance in the street ... it happifies or brightens up numbers of his passers by, among the depressing hundreds of glum faces that they otherwise meet. ... To get the boy to do this as a step to greater happifying services is a thing worth trying for." Baden-Powell, "Happifying," (January 1929) Baden-Powell's Outlook, 127.

The rituals of Inspection and Drill defined and regulated Girl Guide expressions of good efficient citizenship and aimed to produce "subjected and practiced bodies"¹⁰⁷ that represented the discipline of the Girl Guide movement. The surveillance of the Guides and Brownies by leaders articulated a certain disciplining power which used authority, hierarchy and normalizing judgement¹⁰⁸ to qualify, classify and judge bodies. The Handbook argued that "Guides learn drill to enable them to be moved quickly from one point to another in good order. Drill also sets them up, and makes them smart and quick." Quite simply, Drill made the body more efficient. Baden-Powell argued that Drill strengthened "the muscles which support the body," kept "the body upright" so that "the lungs and heart get plenty of room to work, and the inside organs are kept in the proper position for good digestion of food, and so on."¹⁰⁹ The efficiency taught through Drill training also built character, a 1936 article in The Canadian Guider stated, because it helped to satisfy a girl's "unconscious desire to be fit, to be efficient, to be effective, to be a strong, sane, useful, and reliable person ... who has learnt to think quickly and accurately."¹¹⁰

The principle of training, or shaping girls' bodies for efficiency, however, was intricately connected to a broader development of the nation. As explained in a leader handbook, the purpose of Guide work was to "foster self-reliance, obedience and observation" by teaching children to have "healthy bodies," gain "control in sitting,

¹⁰⁷ Michael Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 138.

¹⁰⁸ Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 184.

¹⁰⁹ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding, (1938), 78.

¹¹⁰ C.B. Booth, "Physical Training," The Canadian Guider 4:2 (March 1936), 3.

standing and moving" and "to be dependable, responsible, courageous and persevering."
 "We run our Brownie Packs, not simply to amuse the children," the book stated, "but to give them opportunities to *develop their characters*, so that they will become *happy, well-balanced, integrated citizens of the future, willing and capable* of taking responsibility [my emphasis]."¹¹¹

The facial and body expressions of Native, and in particular, Inuit Girl Guides were commonly described in articles about their visits with non-Aboriginal Packs and Companies. For instance, the "shining black hair, dark sparkling eyes and cheery dispositions" of visiting Guides from Frobisher Bay Annie and Lucy made them "immediate favorites with the other Guides."¹¹² One Guider from Alberta, Doris Rhys, described a Horseshoe formation¹¹³ of Guides "whose dark eyes sparked" at Inuvik: "Jet black braids swung in unison as the gay mukluk-covered feet moved into the familiar pattern."¹¹⁴ Descriptions of "merry-eyed native Brownies"¹¹⁵ with "[s]hy smiles"¹¹⁶ were a crucial element of the discourse on Native and Inuit Girl Guides because they provided a certain familiarity of racialized images.

The material uniform and the physical body were signifiers that Guides and Brownies uniformly embraced values of good citizenship. There was also a frequent

¹¹¹ Marjorie Longley, Fundamentals for Brown Owls and Tawny Owls (FBTO) (Toronto: The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, circa 1940), 2

¹¹² Mrs. John Bishop, "Annie and Lucy Return to Frobisher Bay," The Canadian Guider 30:10 (Dec 1960), 126.

¹¹³ A Horseshoe formation was made when raising and lowering flags, as a pattern for tents when camping and it is a general group formation when opening and closing meetings.

¹¹⁴ Doris H. Rhys, "A Trip to the Northwest Territories," The Canadian Guider 34:2 (Feb 1964), 28.

¹¹⁵ Rhys, "A Trip," 22.

¹¹⁶ "Hello Arctic Visitors!" The Canadian Guide (March 1965), 5.

suggestion that the uniform provided for the girl within it a "common identity," suggesting perhaps that this could compete with or undermine the individual identity of the girl.¹¹⁷ The sources frequently equated "common identity" with a sense of belonging and pride. One Brownie leader handbook from 1951 stated that "[w]e believe that the uniform gives ... [Brownies] a feeling of belonging to a group, of being members of a great sisterhood where there is no definition between rich or poor; a feeling of pride and moral uplift when she is given the opportunity and definite encouragement to dress neatly and correctly."¹¹⁸ To the National Headquarters, the uniform represented this common identity, familiarity and pride when worn by the Guides from the residential school at Fort Resolution. They remarked in a 1960 Annual Report that: "[j]udging from the snapshots of them in their uniforms they appear to be proud members of the movement."¹¹⁹

Wearing a uniform was not new to Girl Guides in residential schools. As "agents of discipline and thus of civilization and modernity,"¹²⁰ uniforms were essential elements of the transformation required of Aboriginal children. Brian Titley argues that uniforms held the symbolic importance of reminding Indian students that they were taking on new identities.¹²¹ Uniforms were valued by the school administrators, John Milloy argues, for

¹¹⁷ Rev. R. B. Craig, "Blue Print for Guiding," The Canadian Guider 22:2 (April 1952), 1, and Ontario Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (OCGGC-GdC), Ontario Provincial Newsletter (Fall 1972), 1,14.

¹¹⁸ Longley, FBTO, 1951, 7-8.

¹¹⁹ CCGGA A.R., 1960.

¹²⁰ Milloy, A National Crime, 124.

¹²¹ Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, eds. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986), 141.

their ability to reduce the children to "sameness, to regularity, [and] to order," and for their ability to stem the "dangerous, excessive individuality of Aboriginal society."¹²²

Uniforms held great importance for an "Integrated Guide Company" in La Ronge, Saskatchewan where Cree, Metis and White Brownies and Guides waited until uniforms could be obtained for all girls before initiating Packs and Companies. Said Silvia Grey, the Secretary-Treasurer of the La Ronge Local Association: "[i]t was felt that if there were to be any uniform at all, it should be for all. Uniform is important in our mixed group in attaining the feeling of equality and oneness so necessary in promoting the Guiding programme successfully."¹²³ Likewise, Mrs. William Linton, who led Guides and Brownies at the Weston Sanitarium in Ontario argued that uniforms were important for her Guides. "Every Monday night," Linton explained, "they are allowed to get out of their pyjamas into Guide or Brownie uniform and congregate around the piano in the Sanitarium's hall." So important was uniformity to the definition of Girl Guides that when patients were "kept ... to their beds ... Guide uniforms were made as tops for them to put over their pyjamas."¹²⁴

Although in one sense, the uniform demonstrated equality and belonging within the Girl Guide organization, it did not unite girls on equal terms as structures within the programme served to differentiate the girls within groups. "While the uniform itself acted as an equalizer," argues Bonnie MacQueen, in her article on Girl Guides in British Columbia, "its accessories served as a public checklist of each Guide's status and

¹²² Milloy, *A National Crime*, 124.

¹²³ Silvia Grey, "Integrated Guide Company," *The Canadian Guider* 30:9 (November, 1960), 111.

¹²⁴ "Eskimo Girls Learn Guiding in Sanitarium," *The Canadian Guide* 15:5 (May, 1963), 4.

achievements."¹²⁵ Uniforms frequently emphasized differences between groups as well. For example, due to a lack of funds at residential schools, the federal government and groups from elsewhere in Canada¹²⁶ would often donate money for uniforms or uniforms, to the groups. To this effect, advertisements such as the following in Guide magazines were not uncommon: "Wanted: Good used uniforms for an Indian Residential School, Company and Pack direct to Miss Marjorie Morris, St. Michael's School, Alert Bay, B.C.,"¹²⁷ or "Used Brownie and Guide uniforms are needed in the North West Territories... in our Northern settlements. We don't mind if they are not the latest style."¹²⁸ Aboriginal groups who could not obtain new or used uniforms would make their own uniforms.¹²⁹ Arguably, government-issued, outdated, used and homemade uniforms were not symbols of sameness and equality, but of economic and social class difference.

Regional, situational and cultural differences made uniforms distinct as well. One Guider from Fort George stated that while her girls wore uniforms, their footwear was "not very orthodox" because they wore "moccasins with many warm things inside them," which made "their feet look immense."¹³⁰ Moreover, although uniforms may have

¹²⁵ Bonnie MacQueen, "Domesticity and Discipline: The Girl Guides in British Columbia 1910-1943," Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, eds. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Vancouver: Camosun College, 1984), 223.

¹²⁶ For example, as part of "The Area Centennial Project," Georgian Area supplied "sister Brownies and Guides in the Yukon and Northwest Territories" with new uniforms and equipment. OCGGC-GdC A.R., 1967.

¹²⁷ "Wanted," The Canadian Guide 1:2 (March 1949), 6.

¹²⁸ OCGGC-GdC, Ontario Provincial Newsletter (Fall, 1977), 2.

¹²⁹ Mrs. R. W. L. Earle, "The First Maliseet Indian Girl Guide Company," The Canadian Guider, 13:2 (March 1. 1944), 5.

¹³⁰ QCCGGA, A.R., 1950.

appeared similar on the surface, they took on varied cultural meanings for the girls who wore them. The badges worn on Native and Inuit Girl Guides' uniforms, for example, sometimes reflected the atmosphere of the residential schools. Miss Dorothy L. Robinson, a Guider at All Saints School in Aklavik, noted that a residential school was an excellent place to earn the badges. She wrote: "[t]he girls take turns, on monthly shifts, working in the children's dining-room, doing their dishes and setting the tables; so the table-setting for the Golden Bar Test is marked on their good work for the whole month."¹³¹ Robinson also stated: "[w]here possible, we adapt the (Brownie) tests to fit in with school life. Each child has a number which has to be marked on all her clothes. In order to help the supervisor, one of the pre-enrolment requirements is that the child number her own uniform - cap, stockings, bloomers and so on."¹³²

The concept of uniformity was therefore undermined and the distinct uniforms of Aboriginal Guides reflected cultural meaning and difference. Uniformity was, no less, a concept used by the organization to produce girls who would be identical in appearance because the signifiers of this appearance were part of a discourse on the Girl Guide as citizen.

¹³¹ Miss Dorothy L. Robinson, "Aklavik Vignette," The Canadian Guider 13:3 (May 1, 1944), 4. The "Golden Bar Test" was a level within the Brownie programme and involved learning homemaking skills. In another interesting example at Fort George, the Guide ritual of Inspection took on new meaning when a few girls had to leave the residential school for the Sanatorium at Moose Factory. The unfortunate subsequent death of a Patrol Leader, "after only 3 days' illness" prompted the leader to state: "[we miss Ellen in every phase of school life but never more so than when the patrols are being inspected and her patrol only has four in it instead of five." QCCCGGA, A.R., 1950-1.

¹³² Robinson, "Aklavik Vignette," 4.

The Good Turn

The "Good Turn" was an essential element of the Girl Guide lexicon. The handbook of 1965 explained to Guides that a: "Good Turn" is "an act of kindness... You will not be asked to do good turns, and you will not be rewarded for them. You will do them, no matter how small your act of kindness is, because you are a Guide."¹³³ In Guide magazines and Annual Reports, activities of Guide Companies and Brownie Packs were often couched under the term "Good Turn." For example, in their 1957 Annual Report, the Guides of Brandon, Manitoba listed their "Good Turns:"

Guides assisted with Local Anniversary celebrations, made washable stuffed toys for the hospital, helped at the nursery at the Provincial Exhibition, ... provided flowers at Church on Mother's day, donated and packed Christmas hampers, dressed dolls for centenary camps, [and] helped to clean and dust the church regularly.¹³⁴

The Good Turn encouraged girls to put the Girl Guide Promise and Law into practice both at home and in the community. Good Turns could also be aimed at those outside the girls' immediate community. For example, in 1964, the Guides of Huronia reported that "there were many good turns during the year including help for the aged and less fortunate, World Friendship, assistance to the new Brownie Pack and Guide Company formed on the Cape Croker Indian Reserve, Unicef, Care, Save the Children Fund and many others."¹³⁵ Importantly, Good Turns were frequently understood as "citizenship projects," as was the case for the Girl Guides in the Ottawa when they described their service projects of 1963. "Citizenship is our business" the report stated,

¹³³ Dennis, The Guide Handbook, 15.

¹³⁴ Manitoba Council of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (MCCCGGA), A.R., 1957.

¹³⁵ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1964, 30

"[s]o we have ... participated in citizenship projects such as [helping] new Canadians and [being]... active in ... volunteer agencies.¹³⁶ The Good Turn was indeed an integral element of the way Girl Guides understood and practiced good citizenship.

Girl Guide Ceremonials



Girl Guide Enrollment at Shingwauk School Anglican Archives P75-103 S7-247 MSCC Photos

From something as small as the Handshake and Salute to the more elaborate rituals of Colours, a Guide's Own,¹³⁷ greeting a visiting Commissioner, or Enrollment, Guide ceremonies were understood as "an outward expression of an inner feeling" and considered "the beginning of that reverence" in which Guides lost themselves "in something higher and better."¹³⁸ What this leader handbook described as "something higher and better" was often an articulation of citizenship.

¹³⁶ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1963, 30.

¹³⁷ A Guide's Own is defined as "a service by Guides for Guides, in which the dominant purpose is worship of God." It usually involves hymns, prayers, sermons, and stories. "Guides Own," The Canadian Guider, 14:4 (July 1936), 6.

¹³⁸ Longley, FBTO, circa, 1940, 14.

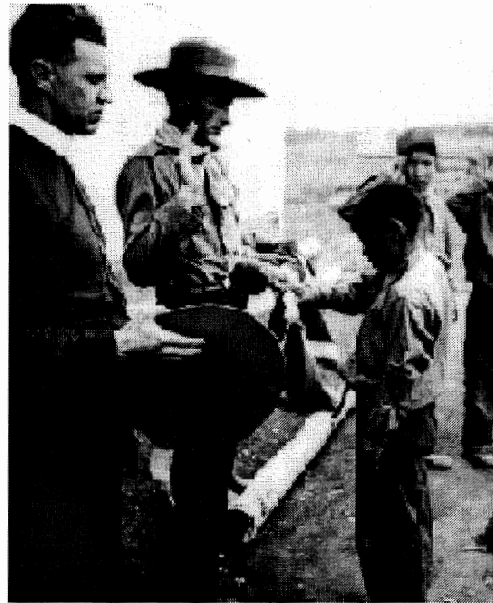
The Girl Guide calendar was marked by the rituals of the movement. Enrollment ceremonies were usually the first of the larger ceremonies in the Girl Guide year, and, in Aboriginal contexts, they provide an interesting text for an analysis of citizenship training. A letter from the Brown Owl of the Fort George Brownie Pack described the Enrollment of her Brownies. She wrote:

I have been careful of the term "first" when it comes to happenings in the Arctic and far North - but I had no hesitation in applying it to this Enrollment of Brownies - it was the first to take place at Fort George Settlement! Our little Indians and Eskimos brought in a bountiful supply of spruce boughs and small trees, we confiscated the aging Christmas tree from in front of the Church, turned the class room into a little fairy woods...

This enrollment commenced "by singing O Canada and The Maple Leaf forever."¹³⁹ That Canada would be recognized first at a Girl Guide Enrollment signified that the organization was highly connected to the state. The audience of Enrollments also underscored the movement's inherent ties to both the community and the nation. In 1937, twenty-five "Eskimo and Indian girls" at Aklavik school were enrolled as Girl Guides "in the presence of the principal and staff of the school, representatives of the HBC, the Mounted Police and 50 Eskimo and Indian parents."¹⁴⁰ Surely the presence of the RCMP added a certain importance to the Enrollment, but it nonetheless reinforced a state presence at the ceremony.

¹³⁹ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1950-51.

¹⁴⁰ CCGGA, A.R., 1937, 8.



**A Cub being enrolled as a Scout at All Saints School, Aklavik, NWT, 1950
Anglican Archives, P7538-831 and 832**

The Girl Guide year was marked by the celebration of a series of events which reinforced the movement's religious and nationalist commitments, including Church parades, Remembrance Day, various Christian holidays, and Dominion Day. But Guides did not only recognize religion and nation on these days, but also their own specifically Girl Guide celebrations, including the most important Guide holiday, "Thinking Day," or Baden-Powell's birthday. One residential school Girl Guide group celebrated this day by sharing "a nice little time in the class-room in the afternoon. While in uniform, the students were told "a little about Baden-Powell's life, and ... [about the] beginnings of Guides." "The Scouts repeated their promise and salute," and the children "sang 2 hymns [as well as] Be Prepared [and] God Save the King."¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ QCCCGGA, A.R. 1950-51.



**Guides participating in a Church Parade in Frobisher Bay circa 1926
National Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives
APH 2552**

Everyday meetings were also filled with ceremonies. All meetings had a "definite opening" and a "formal closing" and were marked by the rituals of Roll Call, reciting the Promise, collection of Dues, raising "Colours" and singing the national anthem and Taps.¹⁴² These rituals repeated and reinforced values of punctuality, loyalty, thrift, and national pride. The inscription of Girl Guide values was systematically evaluated at each Guide and Brownie meeting during "Inspection." The Canadian Guider magazine suggested a "game" for this integral part of the meeting. After asking "Who looks

¹⁴² CCGGA, FCL, 1951, 15.

'specially nice to-day?' the Brown Owl and Tawny Owl were instructed to proceed under the following guidelines: "[i]f Brownie is perfect, she gets a tap on the head and she sits down; if 'half dressed,' a tap on shoulder and she kneels; if all wrong, a poke in the tummy and she remains standing."¹⁴³

The inspection ceremony closely linked girls' appearances with their virtues. In the 1942 Girl Guide Association Survey it was said that "[i]nspection encourages pride in cleanliness and neatness"¹⁴⁴ and a handbook for Brownie leaders stated "inspection is an important part of the meeting and is closely linked with Health Rules."¹⁴⁵ Worried that Girl Guide inspectors might be overly concerned with cleanliness and appearance, an early handbook urged that the aim of the Inspector was to "ascertain to what extent results have been attained ... among the girls ... in the four main branches of our training: Character and Intelligence, Skill and Handicraft, Physical Health and Health knowledge, Service for others." "The Inspector," the book instructed, should "judge ... to what extent the [Patrol] leader is capable of responsibility and leadership, and to what extent the girls are efficient, keen and smart... Guide spirit and Guide proficiency are ... the important points to look for."¹⁴⁶

A number of rituals of the Girl Guide movement were rooted in military training, and aspects of the Girl Guide programme such as Drill, Inspection and its uniform led many to label the movement as a paramilitary organization. Although this was certainly

¹⁴³ Catherine Heaton, "Brownies and Rangers - Pack Programme and Ceremonies," The Canadian Guider 1:2 (March 1932), 4.

¹⁴⁴ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1942.

¹⁴⁵ Longley, FBTO, 1949, 31.

¹⁴⁶ Sir Robert Baden-Powell, B.T., Girl Guiding - A Handbook for Guidelets, Guides, Rangers and Guiders (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1925), 199.

not how the most vocal girls and women within the movement's sources viewed Guide citizenship training, the organization's defense against this claim, as well as its retention of many aspects that are *similar* to military training was arguably one of the defining features of the Guide structure and programme.

Military Style Citizenship Training

Although widespread, support for the Girl Guide movement was not unanimous amongst all women's and girls' clubs, and criticism of the organization by the Canadian Girls in Training highlights the movement's particular style of citizenship training. An important distinction between the two girls' groups is pointed out by Gabrielle Blais: while the Girl Guides had a tight structure of awards and a structured curriculum, "the CGIT programme was purely optional."¹⁴⁷ Moreover, Margaret Prang points out that in 1916 and 1917, the Canadian Advisory Committee on Girls' Work, (a committee established by the various denominational boards of Christian education) found that the Girl Guide program "held a concept of leadership that was too authoritarian, and provided little opportunity for girls to participate in making decisions."¹⁴⁸ These and other elements of the program have led many critics of the movement to interpret Girl Guide training in militaristic terms.

The structure of Girl Guides resembled a military hierarchy and, to Bonnie MacQueen, the only Canadian academic who has extensively analyzed the connection between Guiding and militarism, this was one of the key elements that defined it as an

¹⁴⁷ Gabrielle Blais, "The Complete Feminine Personality: The Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) 1915-1955," Ph D Diss., Carleton U, 1986, 29.

¹⁴⁸ Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be,'" 159.

essentially paramilitary organization.¹⁴⁹ A definite hierarchy existed between the individual girl and the World Chief Guide, Lady Baden-Powell, and the many levels between paralleled both semiotically¹⁵⁰ and in form, those of an army.



**St. Paul's School (Cardston, Alberta)
Anglican Archives P75-103 S7-19 MSCC Photos**

Deference and hierarchy was understood from the time a girl was a Brownie. Brownies saluted another "ordinary Brownie" by raising her hand as high as her shoulder in a "half salute." When saluting a Sixer, Leader or Guider, she would give her a "full salute" by putting her hand up to her hat.¹⁵¹ Guide groups also used a hierarchical structure. Before a girl could become a Guide, she was called a "Tenderfoot." By

¹⁴⁹ MacQueen, "Domesticity and Discipline," 228.

¹⁵⁰ Brownies is an exception to this analysis, as it used an Irish theme, rather than a military theme, with which to organize its "Packs."

¹⁵¹ Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook, (1938), 22.

passing a number of requirements such as knowing the Guide Law, Promise, signs and salute, and understanding the composition of the Union Jack and the right way to fly it, the "Tenderfoot" became a Guide in an official "Enrollment" ceremony. Tests of Intelligence, Handicraft, Service and Health separated "First Class" from "Second Class" Guides within their "Company." The "Company," led by a "Captain" and "Lieutenant," was structurally divided into "Patrols." "Patrols" were similarly led by a "Patrol Leader" and "Assistant" or "Second."¹⁵² Girl Guide uniforms were inscribed by this hierarchy by badges, stripes and other regalia signifying rank. The Girl Guide company joined other companies in a geographically defined "District," many "Districts" formed a "Division," and "Divisions" divided up the "Areas" which made up each Province in Canada.¹⁵³ Each of these levels were led by a Commissioner. Provincial Headquarters was organized into three levels: "Provincial Commissioner," the "Executive Committee" and the "Provincial Council." Provinces were responsible to the Canadian Headquarters, which was organized the same way and headed by the "Chief Commissioner."

Arguably, the organization of the Girl Guide movement had little to do with its aims, but there were many other militaristic aspects of the programme. The arguments of English historians such as Springhall, Summers and Canadian academics Leila Mitchell Mckee and Ross Bragg, who believe that Scouts had a strong militaristic basis, can contribute to this discussion. These academics have pointed to the personality of the

¹⁵² The Brownies had a similar structure to Patrols called "Sixes," the leader of which were called "Sixers."

¹⁵³ Girl Guide groups in the Yukon and Northwest Territories (including what is now Nunavut) were initially encompassed by the provinces of Alberta and Quebec. Guide councils were eventually formed for the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

founder of Scouts (and Guides) in discussions of militarism. Baden-Powell's military career and his advocacy of a strong army and navy¹⁵⁴ certainly contributed to the founding and development of Boy Scouts, which, explains Mitchell McKee, was designed to compensate for military weakness "by training an army of young boys who would be able and willing to defend their country and her Empire."¹⁵⁵ To this end, she argues, Scouting was "predicated on a qualified militarism."¹⁵⁶ Elements of this militarism include military style uniforms, the adaptation of the military forms of Roll Call Formation and Inspection, and the use of military-style signals and commands, military drill and tracking and stalking. Many of these elements carried over to the Girl



**Onion Lake School Boy Scouts seated in front of boys house
Anglican Archives P7538-337**

¹⁵⁴ Baden-Powell's confidence in the British army was significantly challenged by the Boer War.

¹⁵⁵ Leila Gay Mitchell McKee, "Voluntary Youth Organizations in Toronto, 1880-1930," Ph D Diss., York U, 1982, 228.

¹⁵⁶ Mitchell McKee, "Voluntary Youth Organizations," 227.

Guide organization, which maintained, MacQueen argues, "a dual character of domesticity and militarism." She argues that "while persistently serving the community with traditional forms of female work, patriotic Guiders and girls organized their activities in military style around military celebrations."¹⁵⁷

Agnes and Lord Baden-Powell's call to girls in the earliest Guiding pamphlet underscores the militaristic nature of Girl Guide training:

Girls! Imagine that a battle has taken place in and around your town or village - it is a thing that may very likely happen in the cases of invasion by a foreign enemy. What are you going to do? Are you going to sit down, and wring your hands and cry, or are you going to be plucky, and go out and do something to help your fathers and brothers, who are fighting and falling on your behalf?¹⁵⁸

War was one of the main justifications for First Aid training of Girl Guides in the first few decades of the twentieth century, and, argues Summers, "[a]lthough no affiliation scheme was ever formally adopted, Guide activities were very closely modeled on those of women's Voluntary Aid Detachments."¹⁵⁹

The experience of war for Canadian Girl Guides, however, differed vastly from these romantic notions of aiding wounded soldiers. Canadian Guides did their part in World War One by participating in "War Relief Work;" they sent money and clothing to the Belgian Relief Societies, Red Cross, Secours National, Soldiers Comforts, Prisoners of War, and Convalescent Hospitals, and they made consignments of supplies for the Red Cross, knit socks and scarves, and made night shirts for other War Relief projects.

¹⁵⁷ MacQueen, "Domesticity and Discipline," 221.

¹⁵⁸ Agnes Baden-Powell and Lieut.-General Sir. R. Baden-Powell, KOB, Pamphlet B: Gives Subjects of Training - Girl Guides. A Suggestion for Character Training For Girls, (n.p.: n.p., circa 1910), 4.

¹⁵⁹ Anne Summers, "Scouts, Guides and VADs: a note in reply to Allen Warren," English Historical Review CCCCIV (October 1987), 946

During these years, the programme was altered to recognize this work and "War Service Badges" were awarded to those who had contributed one hundred hours of free service to the war effort.¹⁶⁰

The Guide programme was adapted again during the Second World War. The "War Service Committee," commissioned in 1941 to set up a special national war service project for Guides, adopted as a Dominion-wide war service the making of children's garments for children in the "distressed areas in Great Britain."¹⁶¹ Girl Guides also participated in the National Victory Loan and War Savings Campaigns, assisted the Red Cross, collected papers and magazines for salvage and knitted and mended socks for troops.¹⁶² Aboriginal Girl Guides also took part in war service work. For example, the First Erminskin Company recovered "5,600 skeins of wool" from "worn out military socks" returning them to Military District 13 for further use¹⁶³ and the First Maliseet Indian Girl Guide company "donated to the 'Shoes for Britain Fund'" and raised money for the Red Cross.¹⁶⁴ In 1942, Girl Guides of Canada devised a "Wartime Emergency Service Test," which trained girls in discipline, life-saving, first aid and other forms of training particularly useful in times of war. This test, it was argued, demonstrated "their ability to serve their country in a time of national emergency."¹⁶⁵ The usefulness of Guide

¹⁶⁰ CCGGA, A.R., 1915-16, 2.

¹⁶¹ CCGGA, A.R., 1941, 17.

¹⁶² CCGGA, A.R., 1942, 5.

¹⁶³ "Indian Guides of the First Erminskin Company at work on their Handicraft," The Canadian Guider (September 1946), 5.

¹⁶⁴ Mrs. R. W. L. Earle, "The First Maliseet Indian Girl Guide Company," The Canadian Guider (March 1, 1944), 5.

¹⁶⁵ CCGGA, A.R., 1942, 7.

training was proven, the Annual Report argued, by the fact that "hundreds of members of the new women's services have been Guides or Guiders."¹⁶⁶

If the Guide movement saw itself as supporters of the First and Second World Wars, the rhetoric of militarism changed slightly to refer to "national duty," rather than to war during times of peace. One ardent defender of Guides and Scouts, Reverend R. B. Craig, made sweeping statements about the nature of Guides in a 1952 edition of The Canadian Guider:

He [Baden-Powell] knew that since the beginning of history it has always been war that has drawn out ...[the] 'highest' in the individual and created ... an esprit de corps ... War was the face that brought out the 'best' and most 'manly' characteristics of the individual. Now this applies to the female of the species too. ... There were other factors which influenced the beginning of the Scout movement such as B.P.'s desire to see all young people feel the call of the out-of-doors and the romance of nature, but, primarily there was this desire to find a moral equivalent of war - a means of appealing to the highest in youth.

The "moral equivalent of war" Reverend Craig described was found in the uniform, the chain of command, and in the discipline, respect, obedience and fitness of the Girl Guide. But he made one important division between real armies and this "moral equivalent:"

Armies are created to kill and destroy. Their challenge is ... an immoral challenge... [whereas] Guiding and Scouting [present] a moral challenge [by fostering] character, personal health, happiness, prowess and a sense of community and responsibility to one's God, country and neighbour. ... The aim was, and is, education of youth, creating well-balanced citizens who believe in freedom peace brotherhood and cooperation of individuals.¹⁶⁷

In this "moral equivalent of war," disrespect for God, country and character were the enemy, and the goal was to create worthy citizens. In war and peace, the Girl Guide

¹⁶⁶ CCGGA, A.R., 1942, 17.

¹⁶⁷ Rev. R. B. Craig, "Blue-Print for Guiding," The Canadian Guide 22:2 (April 1952), 8.

rhetoric of militarism was used effectively by the Girl Guide organization in its citizenship training.

Universal Girl Guide Sisterhood: The Guiding Umbrella

In the inter-war years, those within the movement saw Guiding and Scouting as providing an important means for international friendship, and, as Baden-Powell stated, a "force for the peace of the world."¹⁶⁸ In 1919, Olave Baden-Powell formed an International Council in order that Guides around the world could keep in touch with one another. This organization formed into the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, or WAGGS, in 1928.¹⁶⁹ This association was founded and developed on the basis that Guiding has certain 'universal' appeal to all girls. It was the objective of WAGGS to "promote unity and common understanding in the fundamental principles of the Girl Guides and Girl Scout Movement throughout the world and to encourage friendship of girls of all nations within frontiers and beyond" while furthering "the aim of the Girl Guide and Girl Scout movement which is to provide girls with opportunities for self-training in the development of character, responsible citizenship and service to the community."¹⁷⁰ There are now Girl Guides or Girl Scouts in over 100 countries around the world.

The origins and subsequent spread of Girl Guides, like Boy Scouts, was often interpreted as spontaneous and unpremeditated; "Like Topsy," Baden-Powell reckoned,

¹⁶⁸ Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Scouting and Youth Movements (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, circa 1930), 107.

¹⁶⁹ World Bureau, Trefoil Round the World, (London: World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, 1999), 6.

¹⁷⁰ The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, Basics (London, World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, 1983), 3.

"it grew without any human agency."¹⁷¹ Guide groups were thought to have "spontaneously sprang up,"¹⁷² with Guides forming "themselves into patrols" on their own.¹⁷³ It was the 'natural' characteristic of the Scout and Guide program, argued parents, Scouters and Guiders, that made the organization so popular. One Guider explained that Girl Guides led "Guides down the happy paths of youth towards happy citizenship" by using the "competitive spirit to teach and discipline" and the "love of adventure to stir and move and satisfy." She believed that "[i]t is precisely because these things are *natural* to the girl's development that Guiding belongs not to any age or any one place. It is the *universal heritage of youth* [my emphasis]."¹⁷⁴ The *natural* appeal of Guiding led the organization to believe its appeal to be *universal* as well. "So long as a child is a child," deduced Lady Baden-Powell in an announcement to Canadian Guides and Scouts, "so long will they want the things we've got in our Scout Guide programme."¹⁷⁵

In 1922, the Canadian Council placed this message in terms of the movement's commitment to citizenship training stating: "There is not a girl or woman in the land who can refuse to advance her training in citizenship."¹⁷⁶ This conviction was still held twenty years later in an article in The Canadian Guider magazine: "Guiding as proper citizenship training is modern because it was conceived by a man with a universal vocabulary and

¹⁷¹ Qtd. in Rosenthal, The Character Factory, 4

¹⁷² National Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives (NCA), History of the Canadian Girl Guides, prod. Michael Koszyca, dir. Kit Hood, The Film Unit, 1995.

¹⁷³ "Lord Baden Powell," Alive! (Jan 1969), 7.

¹⁷⁴ Corbett, "Training For Citizenship," 1.

¹⁷⁵ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archives (CBCA), 611031-01/00: Ted Miller, Host., "Northern Scout and Guide Magazine," (October 31, 1961).

¹⁷⁶ CCGGA, A.R., 1921-1922, 8.

enough of the qualities of a Peter Pan to make his ideas appeal, so far, to three 'younger generations' living under vastly different conditions in different parts of the world."¹⁷⁷

The movement became universally popular, it was explained in the 1960s, because it "embraced all religions and all colours," and "these little differences come together "very happily under the one big "Guiding Umbrella" - all of us honour the Promise and the Law and the principle of international friendship."¹⁷⁸

The two notions, that the founding of Guide and Scouts was 'accidental' and that their message was 'natural' and 'universal,' pose some problems in the history of Guiding — particularly when studying the movements in an Aboriginal context. The "spontaneous, unpremeditated" development of Scouts, argues Rosenthal, was largely based on myth.¹⁷⁹ In England and throughout his Scout and Guide empire, Baden-Powell was enormously talented at public relations and management. He used popular programs of existing youth groups in order to develop and expand his own. Moreover, he had the general support of public schools, Churches and adult organizations. In Canada, Baden-Powell's organizations received government recognition and support.¹⁸⁰

The origin and development of Girl Guides in Indian Schools and Native and Inuit communities cannot, with any accuracy, be described as natural because Guides was initiated and supported primarily by Indian educators, but also RCMP wives, nurses, nuns, and missionary wives who became the leaders of the groups. One Guide handbook

¹⁷⁷ "And Look Wider Still", The Canadian Guider 11:1 (Jan 1, 1942), 4.

¹⁷⁸ "Heritage Camp Badges: No. 1," The Canadian Guide, (April 1966), 8

¹⁷⁹ Rosenthal, The Character Factory, 4.

¹⁸⁰ Canadian Council of the Girl Guides of Canada, Historical Sketch of Guiding in Canada, 1910-1940, (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, 1940), 3.

told a story about how one of these teachers brought Guiding to a northern Indian school:

The story of how a Company of Indian Guides started in Moose Island, Hudson Bay, is interesting. So isolated was their island before the days of the radio and aeroplane, that their post and shopping day was only once a year by canoe and dog train. Miss Barker, the schoolmistress, was on her first holiday for nine years and was having a meal at a restaurant in Toronto when she overheard two people discussing some girls. One said, "If you asked Ellen to do it, you have nothing to worry about; she won't let you down, she is a Girl Guide." Miss Barker made a note of that name, and when she got home to her mother in Croydon, she asked her if she had heard of the Girl Guides. "Yes," said her mother, "and I've seen them marching about; they look pretty smart, but I don't know what they do." Miss Barker found out; became herself, a First Class Guide, and took Guiding back to the Indians, to whom, she said, it meant much to feel themselves part of a large family in the world outside, interested in their achievements.¹⁸¹

This account more likely describes how Guide groups flourished in Aboriginal communities. The spread of Girl Guide groups in the North was supported in the 1960s by a CBC radio program broadcast from Montreal called the *Northern Scout and Guide Magazine*, and in 1970 by a Ham Radio Network aimed to link Girl Guides in the Yukon and Northwest Territories with Toronto.¹⁸² These programmes aimed to connect groups and to carry the messages of the heads of the Scout and Guide movements to remote communities. For example, the Governor General and Chief Scout explained in the only surviving recording of the *Northern Scout and Guide Magazine*: "You belong to a great National ... [and] international movement which will play a great part in promoting peace and order in the world. ... you are ... brothers and sisters."¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Maynard, *Be Prepared*, 317.

¹⁸² "Ham network to link north with Toronto," *Alive!* (March 1970), 6.

¹⁸³ CBCA, "Northern Scout and Guide Magazine." This show ended with a group of Scouts and Guides singing "This Land is Your land."

The universal and natural essence of Guiding is therefore questionable as the movement did not appear to develop spontaneously in Indian schools and communities. It is further called into question, however, by one of the most profound, widespread and longstanding problems of Native and Inuit Girl Guide groups: leadership. Throughout the period of study, activities of Girl Guide groups in Indian schools were continually "suspended" due to "lack of leadership."¹⁸⁴ Evidence the Quebec Council's Annual Reports demonstrated that this problem consistently plagued the Girl Guide organization throughout the period. In the 1950s it was noted that "[t]he greatest need [wa]s still for Guiders" at Moose Factory, where "the Company of 40 Indian Guides" was "unable to resume activities in the Fall because leadership was not available."¹⁸⁵ Since the "many changes in personnel" at St. Phillips School in Fort George, the Quebec Council regretted in the mid 1960s that it had "not heard from the Pack."¹⁸⁶ In the 1960s and in the 1970s, Quebec's Arctic district was expected to dissolve because "another Guider and her husband" were "transferred from Great Whale while the Port Harrison Guide company was still inactive since their Guider and her husband had been transferred."¹⁸⁷

The problem of a "lack of continuity in leadership" was recognized in a newspaper article found in a Quebec Council Archives Scrapbook. The article explained that in the Arctic, "most of the Guiders are wives of missionaries and teachers, and often they leave a settlement after 2 years." To remedy this problem, "[a]n effort [wa]s being made to

¹⁸⁴ QCCCGGA, A.R., 1955.

¹⁸⁵ OCCCCGGA, A.R., 1957, 12.

¹⁸⁶ QCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1963.

¹⁸⁷ QCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1979.

train Eskimo leaders" but there was not much success due to "the girls' home responsibilities."¹⁸⁸ The committee for the Yukon and Northwest Territories identified this problem in 1966, noting that while there were "some Indian and Eskimo leaders, ... the majority are missionaries' wives, wives of the RCMP, school teachers and wives of Government officials." The committee acknowledged that the "constant moving of Guide leaders from one place to another" hindered the development of the Girl Guide movement, but it hoped that more Indian and Eskimo leaders would be trained to take over in the future."¹⁸⁹

Although the Guide organization desired Native and Inuit Guiders and Brownie leaders, for various reasons, there were very few during the period. In residential schools, hostel schools and sanatoriums, most mothers were separated from their daughters by great distances and therefore could not participate regularly in their extra-curricular activities. Furthermore, the policies of the Girl Guide organization discouraged Aboriginal women who could not speak, read or write English and who could not easily access the required training, or maintain contact with Guide headquarters. The rules of the organization stipulated that potential Guiders obtain a warrant, a process that required a commitment to ongoing training, passing a teaching test, reading the handbooks and in some cases, writing an essay about the organization.¹⁹⁰

Groups were frequently visited by Division Commissioners and Field Secretaries

¹⁸⁸ Quebec Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives, (QCA), Scrapbook A995-5-7, 1965-1967:"Arctic Girl Guides Also Housewives," *Gazette* (March 1966).

¹⁸⁹ "Committee for the Yukon and NWT," *Canadian Guider* 36:5 (May 1966), 71.

¹⁹⁰ CCGGA, *Policy Organization and Rules (POR)*, (Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, 1959), 12.

who may well have been able to train leaders, and therefore it also must be considered that perhaps Native and Inuit women may not have been able to spare the time and energy required of leaders. Also, they may not have shared an enthusiasm for Girl Guides.¹⁹¹ Lastly, Aboriginal women were sometimes overlooked as potential leaders. A Special Report on Guiding in the Yukon and Northwest Territories found in 1973 that in many places, "no thought had been given to approaching the native girls [to be leaders] and in one or two cases there was opposition to the idea of approaching them."¹⁹²

There were, nonetheless, some Native and Inuit women who became involved in the movement. As early as 1940, The Canadian Guider magazine noted that one of the Tawny Owls¹⁹³ of the All Saints Brownie Pack "is herself a Lauchean Indian who is training as a nurse in All Saints Hospital and learning to teach Brownie work at the same time."¹⁹⁴ Moreover, Pedersen, an Inuit Guider from the Northwest Territories was a Brownie, Guide and Cadet and later started a Guide company and became a District Commissioner (or "Nunakput" in Inuktitut).¹⁹⁵ In 1966, two Inuit women from Frobisher Bay attended a week of Guider training in Toronto, and a weekend of Guide camp training at Doe Lake, Ontario's Provincial Girl Guide camp. They subsequently ran the

¹⁹¹ For example, in referring to Guiding in Waterways (Near Fort McMurray), a White Guider noted that "We were not long in learning that Northern adults have little or no interest in Church work." "A Northern Company," The Canadian Guider 14:2 (March 1, 1945), 2. Moreover, a Special Report on Guiding in the Yukon and Northwest Territories stated in 1973 that Native women were "not likely to offer Leadership of their own volition" and that "[a] concentrated effort needs to be made to interest the parents" in their girls' activities. Northwest Territories Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives (NWTG), Miss K. Anson and Miss P. McIntosh, Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Yukon and Northwest Territories Council Report on Special Project - Summary of Tentative Conclusions at the End of the First Year, 2.

¹⁹² NWTG, Report on Special Project, 8.

¹⁹³ A 'Tawny Owl' is the second-in-command after 'Brown Owl,' in leading Brownie Packs.

¹⁹⁴ "Aklavik Brownies," The Canadian Guider 9:5 (September 15, 1940), 5.

¹⁹⁵ "Eskimo Guider Elected to Council," Alive! (May 1971), 7.

Guide and Brownie groups in Frobisher Bay. In the same year, an "Eskimo girl" became the Tawny Owl of the Brownie Pack in Pond Inlet.¹⁹⁶ By the end of the period, more Native and Inuit women become involved in the organization, and contemporary evidence from the Chief Commissioner of Quebec shows that currently in Native and Inuit communities, many of the Guide and Brownie leaders are Indigenous.¹⁹⁷ It is important to recognize, however, that leadership in the Girl Guide organization required assimilation to the values of the Girl Guide organization. The Special Report suggested that "[o]ur best native Leaders are the ones who have gradually been given responsibility of the Pack or Company, thus giving them time to understand the programme."¹⁹⁸

The myths of the universal appeal and natural growth of Girl Guides has special significance in relation to the project of creating citizens of Aboriginal people. The Girl Guide movement, like good citizenship, was deemed to be based on fundamental principles that applied to all girls everywhere. Girl Guides therefore fits into the overall Indian policy of integration, absorption and assimilation: both are based on the same principle of uniformity of values. The intention that Indians would in time be integrated was not questioned, and Guides and Scouts was perceived to aid in this project. "Our children never, except on occasions such as this, have the opportunity to meet and compete with white children" wrote one school official, "I am sure that you will agree

¹⁹⁶ "News of the North", Alive!, (August-September, 1966), 7.

¹⁹⁷ QCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1964. The report from the Eastern Arctic division states that "[a]s a result [of the increase in the number of Eskimo Guiders], the Guides are becoming less shy, and, little by little, they are beginning to voice their wishes and opinions and to accept and understand group loyalty, a new concept for them."

¹⁹⁸ NWTGA, Report on Special Project, "Summary of Tentative Conclusions at the End of the First Year," 8.

that such an experience is of great value, particularly in the light of our integration programme."¹⁹⁹ One agent wrote that outings fostered in Guides and Scouts "may serve to bridge the step they are required to take on leaving residential school for attendance in non-Indian schools for higher education."²⁰⁰ The process of integration, of course, involved both absorption into, and acceptance by mainstream society, and Boy Scouts, and Guides by extension, were believed to "show ... important figures how Scouting is of benefit to the Indian peoples and also give them an idea of just what some of the Indian lads can do."²⁰¹ The existence of integrated companies appears to have been a positive sign that integration was working towards positive ends. "In the far north" explains one source, "many companies are made up of a mixture of Eskimo, Indian, Metis (half Indian, half White) and White girls mingling happily and enjoying their Guiding adventures together like the good Canadian citizens they all are."²⁰² That this quote is from a source published before Native people were enfranchised without losing Indian status, speaks volumes about this assumption of universality.

The 'universal' aspect of Guiding was often couched for Native and Inuit Companies and Packs in the terms of a Guiding 'family' and 'sisterhood.' This sense of 'sisterhood' was expressed in three main ways during the period under study: in visits by individuals in the movement to isolated Packs and Companies, by sending gifts to these companies, and by hosting girls from these groups. Isolated groups in the north

¹⁹⁹ NAC, RG 10, Volume 8483, File 675/24-6: Letter from Gordon's (Anglican) Indian Residential School principal John J.T. Johnstone to Regional Inspector of Indian Schools, 1958.

²⁰⁰ NAC, RG 10, Volume 8483, File 675 24-6: Ibid.

²⁰¹ NAC, RG 10, Volume 8483, File 675 24-6: Letter from Henry G. Cook, teacher at Gordon School to Mr. Davey (Superintendent of Education), 1958.

²⁰² "Across Canada News Round Up," The Canadian Guide 6:5 (May 1954), 3.

maintained a connection with other "sisters" in their family primarily through visits by Guide officials such as trainers,²⁰³ Provincial, Division and District commissioners²⁰⁴ and Field Secretaries,²⁰⁵ as well as various Guiders from the south.²⁰⁶

Guide Companies and Brownie Packs also often sent gifts. These gifts were most often new or used uniforms, handbooks, flags, scrapbooks, and dolls, but also often included Guide equipment including craft material, skipping ropes and balls. By the mid-1960s, it was believed that the key to maintaining the sense of sisterhood and belonging was through 'linking' and exchanges. In 1966, The Committee for the Yukon and Northwest Territories expressed this desire to 'link' Companies and Packs with others in southern Canada, in order "to let them know they are indeed a part of a very large Guide organization and that there are many Guides, Brownies and Rangers who are interested in their welfare and happiness to exchange knowledge of the different ways of life."²⁰⁷ The vast majority of these 'links' involved Inuit or First Nations girls visiting non-Aboriginal communities. The sources from this period are filled with stories of First Nations and

²⁰³ Trainer Doris H. Rhys visited Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik and Fort McPherson. Doris H. Rhys, "A Trip to the Northwest Territories," The Canadian Guider 34:2 (February 1964), 22, 28.

²⁰⁴ The Division Commissioner for the Girl Guides of Labrador, visited and camped with girls from St Anthony and Nain in 1964. Isabel Templeton, "There Can be no 'Aksunias'," The Canadian Guider 34:3 (March 1964), 41-42. Also, the Division Commissioner for Simcoe North went to Christian Island to enroll Brownies from there, Lone guides on Bear Island, Lake Temagami were visited by Mrs E. P. P. Russell, the Commissioner of Lone Guides, and the Moose Factory Indian Residential School visited with Mrs. Clysdale, the Provincial Commissioner.

²⁰⁵ Beth Riddoch, Field Secretary of the Alberta Girl Guides made several trips to the Northwest Territories and the Arctic, visiting several communities including Fort McMurray, Waterways, Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, Discovery Mine, Port Radium, Fort Norman, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Fort McPherson, Fort Simpson, Hay River, Fort Vermilion and Yellowknife.

²⁰⁶ For example, Daphne Montefiore, of Montreal made a visit to Frobisher Bay to go camping with the Frobisher Bay Guides in 1964. "Daphne Montefiore, "A Camp in the Eastern Arctic," The Canadian Guider 34:5 (May 1964), 74-75.

²⁰⁷ "Committee for the Yukon and Northwest Territories," The Canadian Guider 36:5 (May 1966), 71.

Inuit Guides going to camps, "training," or host communities in Ontario, Alberta and Quebec.

On a visit to the Inuit Guide group of St Anthony, Newfoundland, the Division Commissioner for the Girl Guides of Labrador worried: "Strange places, strange names, strange customs, strange language, strange people - ... how would we get along together? What would we have in common?" She replied "... [i]t did not take long to have our answer. We were all Guides We put up our tents in a horseshoe formation,²⁰⁸ unfurled our flags, stood for Taps around our campfire and we all shined the same pins for inspection."²⁰⁹ The binary opposition between Girl Guide and Indian was arguably not bridged by pins and horseshoe formations, and instead, the "other" stood apart as one who needed to be taught.

By deconstructing some of the defining features of Guiding, we can see a number of themes. First, Guiding was a product of White, middle class, English, Protestant values. Second, these values were more or less uniform in nature, and accepted difference only within its own terms. Third, Guide citizenship training used the rhetoric of maternal feminism, militarism, imperialism and internationalism. Lastly, because the values of Guiding and their expression were both culturally defined, Guiding had an important role in Aboriginal contexts: it taught girls how to become integrated Canadian citizens.

The Girl Guide programme was culturally defined. This conclusion is vitally important when examining the meaning of Girl Guides to Aboriginal girls participating in

²⁰⁸ The Horseshoe was the Girl Guide organization's standard formation to organize campsites, and as a formation for enrollments, presentations and the raising and lowering of colours.

²⁰⁹ Isabel Templeton, "There Can Be No Aksunias," *The Canadian Guider* 34:3 (March, 1964), 41.

the movement. It is not the purpose of this thesis to determine what Aboriginal people thought about the movement, but to examine how it worked to produce citizens. It is important, nonetheless, to reinforce that the overall aims of the movement were not always necessarily understood according to this principle.

Resistance

Revisionist historians who study in the Aboriginal field have revealed that the process by which our history has been written largely excludes the participation of Native and Inuit people.²¹⁰ They criticize historians who characterize Natives as "reactors," "victims," and "vulnerable tools," arguing that this inscription only perpetuates cultural and racial superiority of White Canadians. Furthermore, by examining the lives, experiences, and politics of the dominant society alone, many have found this nation-centred history to be considerably misleading. J. R. Miller, for example, criticises a general trend in the analysis of the history of Indian policy which assumes that the results of the policies bore direct resemblance to their aims. He argues that instead, the state objectives to control and coerce Aboriginal peoples did not lead inevitably to control and coercion, but that resistance on behalf of Aboriginal people controlled the situation

²¹⁰ Historians Ray and Fisher have shown how Native people exerted control over social and economic functions of the fur trade. Axtell, Eccles, and Jaenen have also analyzed the ways in which Aboriginal people participated in various other aspects of Canadian history. For Revisionist interpretations, see: Arthur Ray, "Fur Trade History as an Aspect of Native History," One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7, eds. Ian A. L. Getty and Donald B. Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978):7-19, R. Fisher "Indian Control of the Maritime Fur Trade and the Northwest Coast," Sweet Promises: A Reader in Indian-White Relations in Canada, ed. J. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991): 279-293, James Axtell, "Through Another Glass Darkly: Early Indian Views of Europeans," Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History, eds. K. Coates and R. Fisher (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996): 17-29, W. J. Eccles, Essays on New France (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), and C. Jaenen "Problems of Assimilation in New France 1603-1645," Canadian History Before Confederation, ed. J. Bumsted (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey, 1972): 265-89.

considerably. Miller argues that even in residential schools, effects of education policy did not match its aims, as the schools were not able to extinguish cultural and religious practices or Aboriginal languages, and through irregular or non-attendance and parental involvement, Aboriginal people exerted considerable power within the institutions.²¹¹

This critique is substantiated by Haig-Brown's book Resistance and Renewal, which examines the ways that Shuswap culture grew, adapted and survived at Kamloops Indian Residential School in spite of Church and state intentions. It is further explored in Fiske's article "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society," in which she argues that Carrier women subverted the social goals of the Lejac Residential School by using their education to nurture skills which supported "traditional values" of women's economic and political participation in Carrier society.²¹²

Although Girl Guide sources repeated throughout the period that Guides helped to "make ... good Canadians"²¹³ of Aboriginal girls, it is important to ask whether Native and Inuit people saw the movement as a means to the same end. Indeed, there is some compelling evidence which points to significant resistance against the overall aims of the movement to produce ideal citizens.

²¹¹ J. R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," Ethnohistory 37:4 (1990) 386-415.

²¹² Jo-Anne Fiske, "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society," Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective, eds. Jane S. Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1991), 131-146.

²¹³ Two examples are: CCGGA A.R., 1951, 36 and Beth Riddoch, "Arctic Adventure," The Canadian Guider 22:3 (June 1952), 12.

Girl Guide groups were frequently noted for the focus of their activities and it appears that, in a number of cases, Aboriginal Girl Guides were known for their craftwork. The First Maliseet Company, for example, knit their own stockings, mitts, and sweaters and wove woolen and cotton cloth for their coats.²¹⁴ Likewise, the Six Nations company of Oshwekan were distinguished for its beadwork,²¹⁵ the Hamilton Sanitorium Brownies for sewing and knitting,²¹⁶ the Chooutla Guides for Rug Hooking,²¹⁷ the Ermineskin Guides for their beadwork,²¹⁸ and Inuit Guides for embroidery. It seems that these Guides may have used the Girl Guide group, as Haig-Brown argues with other extra-curricular activities, as a means to practice "culturally related behaviours,"²¹⁹ and moreover, to continue distinct Aboriginal traditions.

Aboriginal Girl Guides employed the Girl Guide meeting to manufacture craftwork which they would have produced in their own cultural environment. In this way, unlike the Department of Indian Affairs, Indian educators and Guiders, Native and Inuit Girl Guides may not have viewed the movement primarily as a means for their training for citizenship. Instead, it appears that Native and Inuit girls inverted and distorted these aims, using the Girl Guide organization to renew rather than dissolve their traditions; and as a resource that supported rather than transformed their own distinct cultures.

²¹⁴ Mrs. R. W. L. Earle. "The First Maliseet Indian Girl Guide Company," The Canadian Guider 13:2 (March 1, 1944), 5.

²¹⁵ "Guides in the Headlines," Alive! (January 1967), 4.

²¹⁶ Ruby Newcombe, "An Eskimo Brownie Pack," The Canadian Guide 10:3 (March 1958), 5.

²¹⁷ Miss Catherine I. Mackenzie, "Crafts For Us All," The Canadian Guider 7:2 (March 1938), 3.

²¹⁸ "Indian Guides of the 1st Ermineskin Company at work on their Handicraft," The Canadian Guider 15:5 (September 1946), 5.

²¹⁹ Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal, 82.

Guides also frequently sold the material they made at Guides, using the funds to support not only Guide activities, but community projects as well. For example, the First Maliseet girls "sold \$58.00 worth of knitting" and filled "orders" of "scarfs, towels, tatting, baskets and hooked mats." With the money they earned, the Maliseet Guides "bought and paid for a moving picture machine for the village hall, in order that the folks of the village, at a reduced price, may enjoy the movies."²²⁰ There is, moreover, evidence that at least one Aboriginal Girl Guide group actually used the Girl Guide organization as a means to advertize their finished products. The Hay River Guides and Brownies announced in a 1933 issue of The Canadian Guider: "...we are hoping to sell ... mittens and moccasins... for 25 cents. Do you think anyone would be interested in such specimens of native work from the Far North? We could also make serviette rings, embroidered and beaded, for 50 cents."²²¹ These Aboriginal Girl Guides were clearly at an intersection of cultures; while maintaining their own traditions, they employed a non-Aboriginal capitalist economic system and adapted their crafts to Euro-Canadian tastes and habits.

In spite of the rhetoric of nationalism, there are no pure or unique cultures, or, as Fung writes, "[t]here are no clear boundaries where one culture ends and another begins."²²² Where cultures intersect, there is always a mixing, exchanging and sharing of cultural material. Cultural mixing, or hybridity does not mean a dilution of values, or a

²²⁰ Mrs. R. W. L. Earle, "The First Maliseet Indian Girl Guide Company," The Canadian Guider 13:2 (March 1, 1944), 5.

²²¹ "Notes from Hay River, North-West Territory: Indian Mission School Guides and Brownies," The Canadian Guider 1:11 (September 1933), 5.

²²² Richard Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," Fuse (Summer 1993), 17.

crisis of identity. In fact, in these two cases, one could argue that Aboriginal Girl Guides used non-Aboriginal cultural material to support and extend their own distinct cultures.²²³ In the case of the Hay River Guides, they played with hybrid forms of activity to ensure their future. Because Aboriginal cultures have been seriously threatened as a result of various forms of assimilation and colonial domination, the survival Aboriginal people depended upon their ability, through hybridized forms of resistance, to negotiate their future in Canadian society. Arguably, Native and Inuit girls may have inverted and distorted the original aims of Girl Guiding, using the Girl Guide organization to renew rather than dissolve their traditions, as a resource that supported rather than transformed their own distinct cultures, and possibly as a refuge in an alien environment.

This chapter has described many of the features of the Girl Guide movement, focusing on how the organization defined "good citizens" and undertook the training of such citizens. Like other women's organizations, Guide Guides defined girl citizenship in terms of maternal roles, but the programme also followed a military model to weld its disciplined armies of girl citizens. The organization saw itself as having universal principles which were understood by every girl equally. However, when studying these aspects in Indian residential, day and hostel schools, sanatoriums, reserves and northern communities, it becomes clear that Girl Guide citizenship training was politically, socially and culturally constructed and motivated. As such, the organization was not only a tool for the socialization of young Canadian girls, it was also perceived as a means of civilizing, assimilating and integrating Inuit and Aboriginal girls, and an integral element

²²³ This argument requires verification from Native and Inuit women who participated in the organization.

in a broader national project of absorbing Aboriginal and Inuit cultures into a uniform body of Canadian citizens.

Those who are familiar with the Girl Guide movement may point out that a vital aspect of the programme is missing from this analysis of the organization's fundamental elements — its commitment to outdoor activities including hiking, camping and nature study. The outdoors has remained a defining feature of the movement and was largely interpreted within a discourse of the Girl Guide-as-citizen. Baden-Powell believed that "the study of Nature ... and the appreciation of all her wonders and beauties" would inculcate in Boy Scouts and Girl Guides certain "Fundamental Ethics" of religion. "The camp or the outdoor hike," he wrote, "brings girls and boys into close touch with the plants, the animals, the birds, the rocks and their other comrades as God's great family."²²⁴ In fact, in the face of pressure from various Christian denominations to provide specific religious training, the study of nature became a way of supporting Guiding's non-denominational stance. The Guide handbook states that Nature Study

can be used in the development of the elements of religion without in any way trenching on the teaching of any particular denomination - indeed it is helpful to all. We use... the study of Nature as a first step to the realization of the Creator ... [Nature Study] gives [the Girl Guide] an uplifting instinct of reverence for the power of God.²²⁵

Canadian Guiders also observed and experienced Nature in Christian terms. For example, on a hike with the Waterways Guide company (near Fort McMurray, Alberta), Guider Mrs. Morrison recalled being "face-to-face with God's handiwork" when looking

²²⁴ Baden-Powell, "Fundamental Ethics" (July 1924), Baden-Powell's Outlook 111-113.

²²⁵ Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding, 185.

at "the sheer cliffs of the opposite shores and the tar sand oozing from the embankment."²²⁶ A handbook for Brownie leaders also told Guiders that nature developed in the girls a "feeling of closeness to God."²²⁷ In her 1993 Master's thesis entitled "Girls, Guiding and the Outdoors," Catrin Sain Thomas interviewed various women who were involved in Guiding in order to explore the effect of outdoor experiences on the lives of women. She argues that according to her subjects, the world outdoors was indeed often thought of in terms of an "underlying moral code, that was indelibly linked to the idea of being "good" from an ethical or Christian point of view."²²⁸ She concludes in her study that the impact of Guiding's outdoor activities "thus remains very specific, retaining the underlying moral code; this is all part of being a '*good citizen*'"[my emphasis].²²⁹

Along with providing girls with basic Christian teachings as a means of training for citizenship, camping and hiking was also believed to instill various virtues of good character such as "self-reliance, obedience, observation and consideration for others."²³⁰ Furthermore, knowledge of the outdoors was thought to instruct girls specifically to "make better homes when they are wives and mothers."²³¹ According to Camprcraft, a popular camp handbook for Guides, camp provided a means of understanding the importance of sanitation, well-balanced meals, the proper storage of food, correct

²²⁶ Morrison, "A Northern Company," 2.

²²⁷ CCGGA, FBTO, 1958, 109.

²²⁸ Catrin Sain Thomas, "Girls, Guiding and the Outdoors: An Exploratory Study," MA Thesis, U of Alberta, 1993, 43.

²²⁹ Thomas, Girls, Guiding and the Outdoors, 44.

²³⁰ CCGGA, FBTO, 1958, 109.

²³¹ The Girl Guides Association (GGA), Camprcraft for Girl Guides (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1966), 239-240.

disposal of refuse and first aid. Furthermore, it demonstrated the importance of structure, by balancing activity and exercise with rest and personal health and hygiene.²³² In effect, in many ways, Guides extended its citizenship curriculum of health, utility and mothercraft to the outdoors.

Nature study, camping and hiking were also equally and often simultaneously interpreted outside of this paradigm of good citizenship. Activities in the open air and the study of nature were thought to combat the artificial and constricting effects that modern life had on the health of the bodies, minds and spirits of girls.²³³ "Through modern civilization," one text explained, "we have lost something of our heritage of the open air with its free gifts of health and natural alertness, and our unborn understanding of the lives of birds and beasts and plants."²³⁴ Guiding provided a remedy to the artificiality of modern life by allowing girls to "leave behind ... the conventions of civilization."²³⁵ Paradoxically, in order for girls to be trained in citizenship, and ultimately identify themselves as citizens, they needed to leave the civilized world, experience that which was not civilized, and become their surrogate — anti-citizens.

The figure who symbolized this uncivilized world and characterized the anti-modernist values of the Girl Guide self was the Indian, and Girl Guides frequently entered into his world throughout the period, most significantly in their activities outdoors. The constant transgression into the world of the Indian, however, did not

²³² GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides, 239-240.

²³³ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides, (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1936), *Introduction*.

²³⁴ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides, 1966, 12.

²³⁵ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides, 1936, 197.

undermine the citizen as a role model in girl training. In fact, the Indian figure, and the Woodcraft virtues it instructed supplemented the lack at the centre of the disciplined White Christian girl. This ironic junction between Self and Other, Citizen and Indian, will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
Guiding the Imaginary Indian



'Friendship Scroll Arrives in Calgary'
Calgary Albertan, Friday, December 22, 1950

On December 20, 1950, this photograph accompanied an article in the *Calgary Albertan* newspaper entitled "'Friendship Scroll' Arrives in Calgary." "Against a colourful and typical western background," the article announced, Brownies, Guides and Rangers received a "Friendship Scroll and Log Book prepared by Girl Guides of Great Britain for ... Guides all across the Dominion." The "Friendship Scroll" contained signatures of Girl Guides from Britain and Canada, and the "Log Book" told "a story in pictures, sketches, poems, snapshots and handsomely hand printed pages of Great Britain

following the route of the Canadian Army of Liberation in 1945."¹ These gifts, explained Alix Liddell in her short history of the first fifty years of the Guide movement, were part of a project undertaken by girls throughout the United Kingdom to "convey their greetings to their sisters" at the celebration of the 40th birthday of Guiding, and the 13th World Guiding Conference, held in Oxford, England.²

As cultural theorists have shown, photographs are important tools in the production of subjects.³ This photograph in particular is part of a discourse that was working to produce Guides as citizens. The photograph was taken in celebration of the strong connection between British and Canadian "Sister Guides," and among Guides across Canada. The occasion, observed formally in the wearing of full uniform, underscores the Girl Guide organization's commitments to Canadian and international friendship and goodwill, and the commemoration of war. A Ranger (dressed in a white blouse), Guide and Brownie, as well as a large company of Guides and a Provincial Commissioner surround the Friendship Scroll, representing several of the levels within the structure of Guiding. The pins, badges and sashes of these members represent their achievements in the fields of homemaking, intelligence, physical health, handicraft and community and national service. The woman at the very centre of the photo is a T.C.A. Stewardess, who, rather than the captain or co-pilot of the plane (situated behind her) was given the important role of turning the Scroll over to the Calgary Guides after it arrived

¹ "'Friendship Scroll' Arrives in Calgary," *Calgary Albertan* (Dec 22, 1950), Second Section, 15.

² Alix Liddell, *The First Fifty Years* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1960), 111-112.

³ Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, "Postcards of My Past: The Indian as Artefact," *Relocating Cultural Studies*, ed. V. Blundell et al, (New York: Routledge, 1993): 155-170.

by air plane. Her presence in the photo and at the ceremony illuminates the movement's mission to recognize and support women as important members of society. The inherent ties between Guiding and the community and the nation are highlighted by the presence of civic dignitary Mayor Mackay who is situated on the right-hand side of the photograph.

Chief David Crowchild and his son, of the "Sarcee Tribe" (Blackfoot Confederacy), are situated quite close to the centre of this photograph, to the right of the Brownie, and to the left of a Guider, a group of Guides and Mayor Mackay. But bearing the signs of noble savagery — leather, feather and headdress — Crowchild and his son appear to be outside of the discourse working to produce Guides as citizens. Their images work to produce, rather, a primitive, romantic Other constructed in opposition to Girl Guide citizens. However, the two Indian figures are not on the margins of the photograph, but at its centre, suggesting that they did, in fact, represent a functional element of the discourse surrounding the production of citizens. On the one hand, the fringed leather and beads of Crowchild and his son clash with the pins, ties and whistles of Girl Guides and their leaders, especially in light of the organization's role in the assimilation of First Nations and Inuit girls in the contexts of residential and day schools, hostels, sanatoriums, reserves and northern communities. But oddly, their presence also supplemented the Girl Guide citizen identity, and completed a photograph which represented Canadian Girl Guiding.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore why, when the Girl Guide movement aimed to train citizens based on the assumptions of Whiteness, Christianity and womanliness, they used and mimicked a constructed image of the male Indian. In

response to this question, I will argue that the Indian was an Other to the Girl Guide Self, revealing an internal tension within Guide citizenship training that simultaneously required Indianized signs of adventure, savagery, amorality and poverty in order to instruct discipline, morality, modernity and progress. In the words of Philip Deloria, to become modern citizens, Girl Guides needed to experience an historic, racial and social break from Canadian society and temporality. They needed to encounter their primitive authentic Other, the Indian.⁴

This chapter will first explore how Girl Guides encountered the world of the Indian by using the scientific and intellectual disciplines of ethnography and child psychology. Turn of the century psychologists including G. Stanley Hall encouraged children to play Indian because it was seen as an essential element of their development. Using the analogy of human evolution, children were classified developmentally as "savages," and it was deemed natural, even crucial for children to behave as primitive Indians in order to evolve into healthy White adults. Moreover, the use of anthropological and ethnological description of Indians made Indian play an exercise of scientific inquiry that encouraged girls to know useful and important details of Canada's prehistory. Thus, with careful (and even not so careful) mimicry of Indians, children were able to access an authentic Indian world that contradicted, yet defined and completed their own. Ever mindful that the Indian was a necessary supplement to the citizen-Self, and thus internalized through the cultural filters of the Canadian Girl Guide, this chapter will also examine how "playing Indian" evolved in order to suit the changing

⁴ Philip Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

historical definitions of Girl Guide citizenship in Canada. While recognizing these historical shifts, it remains that the Indian was constantly interpreted and inverted in ways that suited the overall imperatives of the Girl Guide movement.

Accessing the Imaginary Indian

It is significant that Chief Crowchild and his son appear in this photograph "[i]n full dress, Indian regalia."⁵ In 1950, when it was taken, the wearing of 'Indian regalia' by Aboriginal people was still officially outlawed by the Indian Act because it was seen to encourage their 'barbaric,' 'superstitious,' 'irrational' and 'unprogressive' customs.⁶ One cannot ignore the stark differences between these meanings of Indian regalia and those of the Girl Guide uniform, which stood for "loyalty, service and obedience."⁷ But while these Calgary Guides rejected the be-feathered and be-buckskinned Indian Other, they also used him as a means to imagine what their modern, civilized world as sorely lacking: genuine adventure, primitive skills and real Canadian wilderness. The Indian Other provided authenticity to a movement which, in this culturally constructed binary had become inauthentic by comparison.

But seeking encounters with the authentic Indian and laying claim to the characteristics Indians had come to represent posed serious difficulties. The authenticity of the Indian world required that it be located entirely outside the boundaries of

⁵ "'Friendship Scroll' Arrives in Calgary," 15.

⁶ See: Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986); Forrest E. LaViolette, *The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); and Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994.)

⁷ A.M. Maynard, *Be Prepared: A Handbook for Guides* (London: Pearson, 1952). 28.

modernity. One had to be very careful when attempting to gain access to a world that gained its power from spacial, temporal, cultural, racial and often gender difference because, as Deloria argues, when one did transgress boundaries, "the very presence of a modern person contaminated the authenticity of the primitive."⁸ There were three main ways, Deloria maintains, in which youth could gain access to this world, and be at once both modern and primitive. First, Guides used scientific and anthropological precision of ethnography in order to re-create authentic Indian customs. Second, Guides gained access to the Indian world by following turn-of-the-century theories of child development which linked children with savages, and encouraged youth to play Indian. Third, by mimicking Indians, Guides produced a doubled identity of both Indian and Girl Guide for themselves. Importantly, each of these methods encouraged girls to play wild Indian in order to become civilized children.

Scientific descriptions of the customs, legends, habits, dress, rituals and beliefs of Indians explained and contained the world of the Indian. Moreover, studying the Indian authenticated playing Indian. Guides were often encouraged to learn about the 'real' Indian by visiting museums. One article in The Canadian Guide magazine encouraged girls to visit museum exhibits such as the Royal Ontario Museum's Indian Plains display which featured Indians, teepees, hunting equipment and pemmican. The article stated that Indian exhibits were a way to "journey into the past,"⁹ suggesting that the museum be used as a medium of transport into the Indian world. The world of the Girl Guide was not

⁸ Deloria, Playing Indian, 115.

⁹ "Here is Our History in Totem and Tomahawk," The Canadian Guide 5:9 (Nov 1963), 6.

completely forsaken, but in fact enriched by this journey, another issue of The Canadian Guide explained. Exhibits of the "primitive people ... Indians and Eskimos" who "made beautiful and useful articles out of leather, and decorated their work with beads, quills and paint" were seen to provide Guides with "lots of ideas" for "proficiency badges ... awarded for skill in Crafts."¹⁰ Ultimately, the article instructed girls, "[a] museum is full of wonderful things which can help you to be a better Guide."

Precise ethnological and anthropological interpretations of Indians and Indian culture often legitimated the appropriation of Indian symbols in the Girl Guide movement. For example, British Columbia Girl Guides appropriated the symbol of the totem pole and the Indian meanings attached to it for their Provincial Badge. "[T]he Thunderbird," an article in The Canadian Guider noted, "has especial honour and is always placed at the top of any pole on which it appears. ... [U]nder the protection of the Thunderbird come brotherhood, peace, plenty and goodwill." The article then became more specific, explaining:

Members of the Thunderbird clan are pledged to live upright honourable lives with Siam (bear) giving them strength and wisdom, they do mamook (good works). They must seek out the silent places and gaze on the sky and green earth and so talk with Sagalie Tyee (the Great Spirit) who lives everywhere on land and sea. They must live simple lives without wastefulness, clean in mind and body, generous, kind and just.¹¹

The ethnological interpretation of the Thunderbird symbol was also regulated through Girl Guide discourse; Lady Baden-Powell's admiration of the "mystic" emblem was inspired by her conviction that it brought "to the fore good qualities for us to think of."¹²

¹⁰ "Get the Museum Habit," The Canadian Guide (February 1965), 10.

¹¹ "The British Columbia Provincial Badge," The Canadian Guider (Nov 1956), 12.

¹² Lady Baden-Powell, G.B.E., Guide Links (London: C. Arthur Pearson Limited, 1936), 141.

Indian symbols were therefore accessed and naturalized by Girl Guides through scientific study and by linking them to Girl Guide objectives. Yet another issue of The Canadian Guider suggested that girls make an "Indian Calendar" for a Christmas gift. This project would teach them "how the Indians named their months or 'moons' and what symbols they used" while at the same time enable them to show their accomplishments during that month, such as "a hike," or "some special good turn."¹³ Here, quite literally, Girl Guides were encouraged to learn the meanings of "Indian" symbols with the express purpose of making them into Girl Guide symbols.

The social and psychological theory of "race capitulation" provided further intellectual support to playing Indian. This theory, propagated by the work of G. Stanley Hall and William Forbush¹⁴ held that every individual lived through the stages of the evolution of human history. Children, it was thought, represented the 'primitive' stage of evolution, making the imitation of the savage a natural phase in their social and psychological development. Furthermore, encouraging children to relive their evolutionary past, it was believed, gave children certain primitive strength and "provided an unflinching guide towards man's true evolutionary destiny."¹⁵

Gail Bederman's Manliness and Civilization explains this theory in a fascinating chapter entitled "'Teaching Our Sons to Do What We Have Been Teaching the Savages to Avoid': G. Stanley Hall, Racial Recapitulation, and the Neurasthenic Paradox." She

¹³ "An Indian Calendar," The Canadian Guide (November, 1964), 7.

¹⁴ Hall and Forbush's work was used and recommended by Lord Baden-Powell. Robert MacDonald, Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 133.

¹⁵ Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the U.S. 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 96.

argues that playing Indian was a form of early inoculation against a turn-of-the century disease called Neurasthenia which resulted when a "highly evolved person seriously overtaxed his body's finite supply of nerve force."¹⁶ The primary cause of Neurasthenia was burning out vital energies by overstimulating them with modern civilization.¹⁷ Ironically, it was feared that if it were not controlled, Neurasthenia would ultimately cause civilization to degenerate. Playing Indian was perceived to provide children with enough nervous force to withstand this negative symptom of over-civilization.

Earnest Thompson Seton, leader of the popular youth club Woodcraft Indians and founder of Boy Scouts of America, used Hall's and Forbush's theories to explain and encourage the "savage instincts of youth," and, in fact, Forbush approved of Woodcraft Indians as an "orderly endeavour to systematize and direct that fever for 'playing Indian.'"¹⁸ The contradiction still remained, however, that the Indian represented a *stage* in boys' development, and was therefore not a model of the "highest type of manhood."¹⁹ This contradiction contributed to a distinct difference between Seton's and Baden-Powell's use of the Indian figure and ultimately led to Seton's resignation from the Boy Scouts of America in 1915: while Seton believed that the Indian provided a total role model for boys, Baden-Powell never fully accepted him as a suitable paragon of manhood.²⁰

¹⁶ Bederman, Manliness and Civilization, 85.

¹⁷ Bederman, Manliness and Civilization, 86.

¹⁸ Forbush, The Boy Problem, 100, qtd. in MacDonald, Sons of Empire, 141.

¹⁹ MacDonald, Sons of Empire, 141.

²⁰ Baden-Powell, "Woodcraft Indians," (October 1920) B.P.'s Outlook - Selections from the Founder's Contributions to the Scouter from 1909-1941 (Ottawa: National Council Boy Scouts of Canada, 1979), 97.

Young girls in the Girl Guide organization were also paired rhetorically with Indians as natural, simple, naive and pre-literate. But unlike the popular American girls' club Campfire Girls, which encouraged girls to play Indian women, the Indian forms used by Guides were largely non-gendered or male and there were very few tangible links between White girls and Indian women. The usage of non-female images may have been due to a number of factors. Much of the structure, activities and handbook material of Guides came from the Boy Scout movement, which used a male Indian image. Likewise, the masculine soldier was used as a role model for the Girl Guide organization, and, in the Indian world, he transformed not into an Indian woman, but a 'Brave.'

Arguably, a more direct reason why girls were not encouraged to play Indian women was deeply rooted in the colonial and imperial values of the Girl Guide movement. As already discussed, for Aboriginal girls, the Girl Guide programme mirrored the aims of Indian policy in Canada – aims that worked upon contemporary prevailing stereotypes of Indians. Like Noble and Ignoble Savages, Indian women were understood in terms of two separate opposing categories as Princesses or Squaws; however, as will be demonstrated, in Canada, the image of the Squaw was far stronger and more virulent than that of the Princess.

White woman had a significant impact on the construction of Indian women as Squaws, and thus the exclusion of Indian women from the Girl Guide programme as models of citizenship. Silvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown have both studied the impact of White women in North America, arguing that their identity inherently symbolized

Christian morals²¹ and values of respectability, civilization, and upward mobility.²² Adele Perry and Sarah Carter have proposed that this construct of the White woman has effected the image of and the policies directed towards Indian women. Perry argues that because White women were perceived to have special power to influence restraint, conformity and self-control, to inspire responsible, permanent settlement, and to instill values of morality, gentility and piety, they were imbued with colonial purpose and power and stood as "symbols of civilization throughout the Imperial world."²³ Native women, who were, by comparison, uncivilized instruments of the degradation of White men, were virtually constructed outside of the racialized category of 'woman.'²⁴ Moreover, these images of Aboriginal women confirmed European notions of cultural and moral superiority.²⁵

These constructed images of White and Native women served to justify the segregation of White and Indigenous people and legitimated regulatory and restrictive policies for Aboriginal women. Inspired in part by fears that the promiscuous, fertile, darker Other would degenerate the nation, Indian women were categorized as "improvident, filthy, impure, and morally depraved,"²⁶ "desolate, dangerous and sinister"²⁷ creatures who had a corrupting and demoralizing influence on those around them. The Indian Act formally endorsed and popularized the image of the loose-moraled

²¹ Silvia Van Kirk, "'The Custom of the Country': An examination of Fur Trade Marriage Practices," *Essays in Western History*, ed. L.H. Thomas, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976), 65.

²² Jennifer Brown "Changing Views of Fur Trade Marriage and Domesticity: James Hargrave, His Colleagues, and 'The Sex'," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* VI:3 (1976), 96.

²³ Adele Perry, "Fair Ones of a Purer Caste: White Women and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," *Feminist Studies* 23:3 (Fall 1997), 502.

²⁴ Perry, "Fair Ones of a Purer Caste," 509.

²⁵ Sarah Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the 'Indian Woman' in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," *Great Plains Quarterly* 13:3 (Summer 1993), 192.

²⁶ Carter, "Categories and Terrains," 190.

²⁷ Sarah Carter, "Categories and Terrains," 190.

Squaw through its stringent regulation of the marital, sexual and familial behaviour of Indian women. The "good moral character"²⁸ of Indian women became a standard prerequisite to many of the laws pertaining to the rights of Indian women to inheritances, ancestral property and even annuities. In an effort to instill "Christian ideals of monogamy, modesty and chastity," the Indian Act, Indian education, the reserve system and missions aimed to discipline sexual relationships and marital arrangements.²⁹ Assimilation of Native women to the standards of sexuality, domesticity, cleanliness and utility espoused by White women was therefore the only means for them to become good citizens.

The most important and readily available method for girls to cross the boundaries imposed by racial, spacial, temporal and even gender difference inherent to Indian play was through mimesis. Perhaps the best way to describe mimesis is by interpreting an "Indian" activity taught in Girl Guide programme, the Brownie "Revel" or party in light of Deloria's description of mimesis and some of its techniques.³⁰

After officially opening the meeting, Fundamentals for Brown Owls and Tawny Owls instructed Brownie leaders to begin an Indian Revel by "magicing" the Brownies into Indians. This reinforced in the girls a sense of difference that was crucial when attempting to cross out of modernity. "Magicing" asserted what Deloria calls a "boundary line between one's always-forming Self [the Brownie at the opening of the meeting] and

²⁸ *Statutes of Canada*, 47 Vict., c. 27, s 5 (20).

²⁹ The attention paid by federal authorities, missionaries and school teachers to the details of the morality of Aboriginal women has been explored by Sangster in a chapter entitled "Native Women, Sexuality and the Law" of her book Regulating Girls and Women. Joan Sangster, Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960 Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001): 168-193.

³⁰ Deloria, Playing Indian, 120.

an Other that is most certainly not self."³¹ After becoming Indians, girls made "headdresses (brown paper headbands with a paper feather attached)" in an effort to make the Other and the Self merge; the imitation and appropriation of the Other through the medium of the body by donning Indian Headdresses made Edmonton Brownies who held a revel in 1961 feel "like the real thing."³² While working on their headdresses, Fundamentals suggested that Guiders teach the following song (to the tune of "The Farmer in the Dell"):

We are Indians brave and bold, We've come out of the west
Having fun and making noise Is what we do the best.

The song enforced the transformation that had taken place, requiring that Brownies refer to *themselves* as "Indians brave and bold." The leader, who, it was suggested, should be named "Big Chief" for the occasion, also assumed the identity of the Other and gained the attention of the Indians by shouting "Wa-hoo."

In order to mimic Indians, therefore, Brownies needed to cross the boundary that separated themselves from the Indian world, and then dress, act, sing and speak as Indians. However, it is important to recognize, Deloria states, that "the channels of mimetic contact with an Other through one's body forced it into concrete social, political and cultural realities."³³ Therefore, when making headdresses, the girls were organized according to the regular Brownie structure of "Sixes," girls were to approach "Big Chief" "in single file," suggested activities during the revel paradoxically included "Semaphore"

³¹ Deloria, Playing Indian, 120.

³² "An 'Indian Days' Revel," The Canadian Guide (Feb 1961), 4.

³³ Deloria, Playing Indian, 120.

and inevitably, nearing the end of the Revel, the Indians were "unmagiced" back into Brownies again, and sang the Brownie Smile song, God Save the Queen and the Closing song.³⁴

While the Indian Revel captured the key aspects of playing Indian, camp was the ideal and most common place to live out authentic Indianist fantasies. Camp wilderness contrasted the modern, industrialized and urban landscape and embodied the purity, simplicity and wholesomeness that modernity lacked and so urgently required. The prevailing image of the Indian "interacting harmoniously with the land"³⁵ made his imitation as natural as sleeping in a tent.

Girl Guide camps were almost always imbued with Indian symbols. For example, at Doe Lake Provincial Girl Guide Camp in Ontario, in an effort to create an Indian atmosphere, many sites or buildings were endowed with Indian names that brought to mind Aboriginal languages ("Opechee," "Canata" and "Wagona"), Indian-sounding broken English ("Many Winds"), Indian legends ("Big Eye"), Indian tribes ("Bella Coola"), and Indian structures (the "Longhouse" was a gymnasium often used for games and campfires). Within the camp context, these words were signs of wilderness and adventure and encouraged campers to connect with the Indian world. This was certainly the case at a Guide training camp held in 1934 which used an Indian theme to take on "the appearance of the early days in Canada." At this camp, campers were renamed according to their duties: the cooks were called "trappers," the dishwashers "Squaws" and

³⁴ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (CCGGA), Fundamentals for Brown Owls and Tawny Owls (FBTO) (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guide Association, 1958), 104-5.

³⁵ Heather Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness and The Aborigine in Selected Ontario Shield Camps," M.A. Thesis, Trent U, 1998, 227.

the Health centre was staffed by "Medicine Men."³⁶ Moreover, girls on a camping trip on Beausoleil Island on Georgian Bay wore Indian costumes while visiting an Indian grave yard. They also visited "a huge rock, shaped like a chair, where Indian women used to go, to pray for husbands."³⁷ For this group, the recognition that the land had once been occupied by Indians was an important part of their camp experience.

Although camp was considered an opportunity for girls to escape their modern lives, its ultimate function was to produce better citizens. The Girl Guide camp, like the home, school, church and the community, was a microcosm of modernist values and the structure of the Girl Guide camp attests to its modern nature. Consider the following camp programme, suggested in a 1920s edition of Campcraft for Girls:

6.45	Cook gets up	5.0	High tea or picnic away from camp
7.00	Reveille	5.30	Camp raiding Woodcraft games etc.
8.0	Breakfast	7.15	Colours Lowered
8.30	Orderly work	7.45	Supper
10.0	Tent and personal inspection Colours and Prayers	8.0	Camp Fire
10.30	Cooks report at store tent Gadget making, singing etc.	9.0	Taps Start to Bed
11.15	Bathing parade. Station signaling Tent pitching	9.30	All in Bed
12.25	Get ready for dinner	9.40	Silence whistle ³⁸
12.30	Dinner		
1.10	Canteen Court of Honour		
1.45	Rest Hour		
2.45	Free Time, or bathing		

³⁶ Katherine Panabaker, The Story of the Girl Guides of Ontario (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), 73.

³⁷ "Guides in the Headlines," Alive! (January 1969), 4.

³⁸ The Girl Guides Association (GGA), Campcraft for Girl Guides: The Official Camping Handbook (London: Gale and Polden Ltd, circa 1926), 74.

The Girl Guide camp itself was structured according to the imperatives and clock of modernity, regulating times for eating, raising and lowering the flag and Girl Guide ceremonies and programme. Even the Indianized activities of Woodcraft and Camp Fire were interpreted and inverted according to these values. Ironically, while camp was perceived to offer the very things modernity lacked, 'open air,' 'commune with Nature,' and 'freedom and romance,' it was considered a "remedy and ... an aid to the school education of girls"³⁹ that enabled girls to return home better prepared to attend to their responsibilities at home and at school, and, as one camp magazine stated, to "face the 21st century."⁴⁰

The Indian constructed by anti-modernist Girl Guides certainly had very little to do with real Aboriginal people. The Annual Report for the Yukon Division lamented that the girls who met at Indian schools "go home during the summer vacation, which limits summer activities considerably."⁴¹ It is likely that during the vacation many of the girls went "home" to summer hunting camps. This meant that, in the eyes of Guiders, hunting camps were not 'true' camps. Although Indian life was a model for its inspiration, Guide camp was not something that Aboriginal kids did or knew how to do. This was clarified by one Guider, who asked after camping with the Frobisher Bay Guides,

³⁹ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1936), introduction.

⁴⁰ Bruce Elkin, "Camp And Character," Canadian Camping Magazine 38:4, (1987), 28.

⁴¹ Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (GGC-GdC), Annual Report (A.R.), 1965. This observation was also made in a 1970 study entitled Scouting in Canada North, which stated that in the north, "...almost universally, scouting groups become dormant during the summer holidays. ... In settlements where many still live off the land, the youth accompany their parents to fishing or sealing camps." Lavern A. Burkhardt, Scouting in Canada North (n.p: Boy Scouts of Canada - National Council, 1970), 111.

Just what benefits had these Eskimo Guides received from this camp experience? Certainly not the thrill of sleeping in a tent and living out of doors, but the opportunity of living as a group, of living the patrol system, and of learning to live a *regular routine life with regular habits*. Because all summer it is never dark in its part of the country, time is of no importance, small children play out at midnight and all are often asleep in the daytime, but in camp the girls could not do this." [My emphasis]⁴²

For Inuit girls, camp was yet another opportunity for assimilation, instruction and guidance from White women. When contemplating how "the general principles of Guide camping" were important for "girls who are used to an open-air life, and in their daily lives do so many of the things that they will also do in camp," Campcraft responded that camping was vital because the training provided at camp would help them to

make better homes when they are wives and mothers. ... the real value of camping is learning to make a happy, healthy and comfortable home in any conditions. ... Think of the many ways in which health and hygiene come into camp life and what valuable training our Guides will receive in understanding the value of sanitation, well-balanced meals, the proper storage of food, correct disposal of refuse, first aid, and a carefully planned daily programme of activities ... exercise, rest, personal hygiene and sleep.⁴³

Reporting on Inuit Girl Guide camps, one Guider assured the movement that "[a]lthough these girls are campers by virtue of their culture, they enjoy the experience of camping together as Guides."⁴⁴

The campfire was an essential element of the Girl Guide camp experience, so essential, in fact, that it withstood severe environmental handicaps. At another Frobisher Bay camp, girls scavenged wood for campfires by collecting "ends and pieces from build-

⁴² Daphne Montefiore, "A Camp in the Eastern Arctic," The Canadian Guider (May 1964), 75.

⁴³ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1966), 239-240.

⁴⁴ Northwest Territories Council of the Girl Guides of Canada Archives (NWTG), Miss K. Anson and Miss P. McIntosh, Report on Special Project (Girl Guides of Canada- Guides du Canada Yukon and Northwest Territories Council, 1973-4), 2.

ings in the town" that were "trucked to the end of the road, and then carried by the Guides over the mountain" because "the only natural wood was a species of willow which grows match-stick thick." Because it never got dark, the campfire "took place in full daylight."⁴⁵

Researching how the campfire came to hold such importance in the Girl Guide movement is not straightforward. Unfortunately, Girl Guide sources explaining the purpose of the campfire are scant. However, the Girl Guide campfire was intricately linked to a discourse on American camping which produced early youth clubs such as Woodcraft Indians. Seton's Woodcraft Indian programme highly influenced Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Programme, which in turn influenced and shared resources with Girl Guides. Therefore, by briefly examining the meanings of the campfire in Woodcraft Indians, we can better understand the importance of the campfire in Guiding.

Seton popularized the connection between 'primitive man' and the campfire in his books for Woodcraft Indians. In The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore, he wrote "When first the brutal anthropoid stood up and walked erect - was man, the great event was symbolized and marked by the lighting of the first campfire." He made the campfire an Indianized element of the camp experience arguing that

[o]nly the ancient sacred fire of wood has power to touch and thrill the chords of primitive remembrance. When men sit together at the campfire they seem to shed all modern form and poise, and hark back to the primitive - to meet as man and man - to show the naked soul. The campfire, ... is the focal centre of all primitive brotherhood.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ruth Trivett, "Night never falls at Arctic Camp," Alive! (April 1970), 12.

⁴⁶ Earnest Thompson Seton, The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore (Suffolk: Richard Clay and Sons, Ltd., 1912), 5.

The Council Fire, or Ring of the Woodcraft Indians club influenced the campfire programme of Canadian summer camps. Heather Dunlop's research on images of wilderness and Aboriginals in camp life provides a detailed overview of the elements of the Indian Council Ring which included the lighting of the Council fires, display of Indian symbols such as totem poles, rattles and scalps, Indian ceremonies such as the smoking of the peace pipe, and Indian games, dances, legends, and songs.⁴⁷ Quite likely, the Girl Guide campfire was heavily influenced by this element of North America summer camp culture.

In many ways, campfire songs were one of the most important ways that Guides accessed and mimicked the Indian and Eskimo. The authenticity required to validate the Imaginary Indian world of the campfire song was often guaranteed in Girl Guide songbooks in the name or author of the song. Songs were often given recognized seals of authenticity in their titles such as *Iroquois Lullaby*,⁴⁸ and some specify the origin of the song, such as *Rain Song*,⁴⁹ which was dubbed "Navajo Indian." More recently, the song *Spirit of the Sun*, was labeled "Canadian Aboriginal,"⁵⁰ and *Prayer to Gitchi Manitou*, "Aboriginal Canadian."⁵¹ Moreover, many Indian songs were sung to familiar melodies, were easily memorized and were therefore natural to sing. For example, "*Indian Chief's*

⁴⁷ Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness," 202-205.

⁴⁸ Pip Rogers and Donna Haley, *Jubilee Song Book* (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada, 1989), 9. Dunlop notes that this song was sung at the Council Ring at Camp Ahmek. Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness," 206.

⁴⁹ Rogers, and Haley, *Jubilee Song Book*, 55.

⁵⁰ Cheryl Pearce and Brandis Purcell, *Celebrate With Song* (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada, 1995), 106. This song is particularly problematic, as it is used with permission from *The Joy of Singing* which is an American source.

⁵¹ Pearce and Purcell, *Celebrate With Song*, 110.

*Blessing*⁵² was about a mythical ritual of Indian Braves marrying Squaws and went to the tune of *One Little, Two Little, Three Little Indians*. It opened with the recognizable and repeated signs of Indian play, bravery, strength and teepees:

Indian braves who want to marry, Go to chief who say don't tarry
If you're brave and strong, but wary, Build a new teepee.
1 brave, 2 brave, 3 brave Indians etc.
10 brave Indians we.

Broken English, the linguistic sign of savagery and primitiveness denoted that the Guides had crossed the border into the Indian world and singing the phrase "10 brave Indians *we*" enabled Guide Selves to actually become Indians. The song continued:

Dance around the fire together Hop on One foot, then the other (touching mouth)
Wha wha wha wha woo woo woo Squaw hunting we will be.
1 squaw, 2 squaw 3 squaw UGH, etc.
10 squaw come with me.

In the second verse, Guides were to use their bodies to mimic non-Indian imitations of Indians by hopping around and touching their mouths while their voices made the familiar and recognized sounds of the Other "wha," "woo," and "ugh." The *Eskimo Igloo Song*⁵³ also permitted Guides to enter into the world of the Indian, provided the recognizable signs of the Other (long winters and igloos), and made Guides imitate the 'Eskimo' sounds of "Hi tuky, tuky, tuky."

These and other Indian songs supported and relied upon prevailing Indian stereotypes. Stereotypes, cultural theorists have argued, are ambivalent forms of knowledge and identification. They are ambivalent because they represent that which is

⁵² Mrs. Eileen Bain, "Indian Chief's Blessing," *The Canadian Guider* 32:9 (November 1962), 136.

⁵³ "Eskimo Igloo Song," *Canadian Guider* 34:10 (December 1964), 151

known, but also that which needs to be anxiously repeated and can never actually be proved.⁵⁴ Indian songs such as "One Little, Two Little, Three Little Indians" have survived as a functional element of the Girl Guide programme precisely because they needed no proof or logic; instead, they produced knowledge of "probabilistic truth and predictability"⁵⁵ which while enabling the Self to access, know and become the Indian Other, never really satisfied this desire.

Mimicry, or what Deloria calls non-Indian imitation of Indians,⁵⁶ reinforced the ambivalence of stereotypes, especially when performed by Indian Girl Guides. Mimicry placed girls in a position whereby they could access and manipulate the Other according to their own culturally-constructed identities. Consider the following statement, made of the Girl Scouts at the Indian Boarding School at Pawnee Oklahoma:

One little, two little, three little Indians... The regular beat of the tom-tom accentuates the rhythm of their feet, as not three, but thirty-two little Indians dance their traditional Snake Dance for the benefit of a visitor from [Girl Scout] National Headquarters. The wind blows their blankets aside revealing Girl Scout uniforms beneath.⁵⁷

Marguerite Twohy, author of this 1932 article in The Girl Scout Leader magazine, was perhaps comforted by this familiar, recognizable non-Indian imitation of Indian song. Relieved that the slippage of the blankets worn by the Indian Girl Scouts revealed the uniform of the Self, she nonetheless was puzzled when the "brownest of little Brownies" of the Pawnee Brownie Pack lapsed "unconsciously into the rhythm of their native

⁵⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge), 66.

⁵⁵ Bhabha, The Location of Culture, 66

⁵⁶ Deloria, Playing Indian, 123.

⁵⁷ Marguerite Twohy, "American Indian Girl Scouts," The Girl Scout Leader IX:5 (May 1932), 49.

dances"⁵⁸ while dancing and singing around the toadstool. Indian mimicry had made locating the identities of Girl Guide and Indian, reality and mimicry, authenticity and inauthenticity very difficult indeed.⁵⁹

The campfire combined such Indian and Eskimo songs with many other songs that mimicked the Other (*Chinese Fan, Zulu Warrior*), songs with nationalist themes (*Something to Sing About, They all Call it Canada*) and religious themes (*He's Got the Whole World, Rock My Soul, Praise the Lord*) and songs specifically about Girl Guides (*Our Chalet, Guides All Guides, On My Honour*) within the highly structured activity of the campfire. This structure arguably lent importance and credibility to the stereotypes in Indian songs but at the same time it inherently disrupted and degenerated their authenticity. The Jubilee Song Book, one of the official songbooks for Girl Guides, explained that a campfire was an "event," that a "good campfire" required "planning" and that the leader should "have in hand a written programme" organized so that the continuity of the campfire was not disrupted. A campfire must have a beginning, which could include a verse and an opening song, a middle made up of well-known songs, rounds, fun and action songs, and an ending comprised of quiet songs, a vesper, a prayer and Taps. Under the direction of this book, girls will be "lifted" and "challenged," the campfire bringing "great rewards in joy and fellowship."⁶⁰

Like songs, games also encouraged anti-modernist Indian play while teaching lessons of modernity. Games were thought to teach girls proper use of leisure time,

⁵⁸ Twohy, "American Indian Girl Scouts," 50.

⁵⁹ Deloria, Playing Indian, 124.

⁶⁰ Rogers and Haley, Jubilee Song Book, 2.

permit Guides creative outlets for their abundant energy, and most importantly, help girls to develop an understanding of Girl Guide notions of good citizenship.⁶¹ In her book An A.B.C. of Games, A.M. Maynard provided a list of "qualities ... developed through the different kinds of games" which included: agility, confidence, concentration, control, courage, discipline, fun and humour, honesty, ingenuity and initiative, leadership and loyalty and observation. In short, Maynard argued, by encouraging fitness, control, concentration and knowledge, play was "the natural preparation for life's work."⁶²

Likewise, Girl Guides played Indian in order to prepare for modern life. Most Indian games pitted an Indian team against some sort of White opposing team. The object of the game *Prisoners and Indians* for example, was to sneak up and rescue a White prisoner who had been tied up to a tree by Indians. While each of the White team members tried one by one to creep up and free the prisoner, the Indian team was seated around a campfire "under a spell," and could only "gaze into the fire." Upon hearing any White rescuer approach the prisoner, they grunted in chorus, three grunts "shooting" the White rescuer.⁶³ For the game of *French Forts*, Guides were divided into two teams called "Settlers" and "Indians," and each group built itself a fort in the woods "by twisting cord around a few trees and hanging out a cardboard sign saying Fort Frontenac or Fort Richlieu." Each Settler started the game with a written message. The object of the game was to get a message through to the Settler Fort by avoiding the Indians who were

⁶¹ Alisa Brambleby, Games With A Point (London: The Girl Guides Association, [n.d.], 7). Brambleby writes "in all games, we try to help the Brownie to develop in her understanding of her Promise of Duty to God, Service to the Queen, and helpfulness to others - all interpreted as widely as possible."

⁶² A.M. Maynard, An A.B.C. of Games (London: University of London Press, 1954), 12.

⁶³ H.B. Davidson, Girl Guide Games and How to Play Them (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1932), 32.

scattered in the bush between the two Forts and tried to capture Settlers. One point was given for every Settler who got her message through to her Fort. At the end of the game, the Indians and Settlers switched teams and the game began again.⁶⁴

These two games demonstrate two important points about mimesis. First, they show that identities can change easily through play supported by authentic Indian sounds and sneakiness. Also, despite carrying quasi-historic themes, both games were indelibly modern, as they placed Whites in active, offensive roles, while the only role that Indians played was to passively hold back Settlers or Whites. The lack of an independent goal for Indian teams, which allowed them only to react to White players mirrored their representation in modern society, as evidenced, for example, in twentieth century school history texts. Like in school texts, these games followed an exclusively White, patriotic agenda that supported the ambivalence with which the Indian image was used. Francis argues that in these texts, Indians were only useful as victims or enemies, implying, if not stating outright, that "[h]istory was something that happened only to White people."⁶⁵

Two other games, *Indian Treasure Hunt* and *Eskimo Adventure to Find the North Pole*, required all players to transform themselves into Indians or Eskimos. To play *Indian Treasure Hunt*, the group was first divided into two teams, the "Reds" and "Blues." Each player wore a headband of either red or blue cardboard with a number directly in front. The Red team laid a trail and hid a treasure, and the Blues followed, trying to find the treasure without being "scalped" by the Red team. A player was

⁶⁴ Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, Pointers for Pioneers, or Camp Skills for Canadian Guides (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, circa. 1951), 38.

⁶⁵ Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 167.

"scalped" when a member of either team could identify an opponent by calling out her number. When "scalped," the player was required to give her forehead band to the other side as a "trophy" and no longer participated in the hunt. Each captured "scalp" counted for 10 points and the treasure counted for twenty-five points. It was suggested that the treasure hunt should "properly end with a war dance by the victors."⁶⁶

While "Headbands," "Scalping" and "War Dances" enabled Guides to transport themselves into the Indian world, the emphasis on score keeping seems to have compensated for historic and cultural inaccuracy. This is perhaps even more visible in the game *Eskimo Adventure to Find the North Pole*. In order to play this game, Guides were divided into three parties of Eskimos, each of which followed a different trail to a different destination (each are considered the North Pole). Before starting, the directions suggested all were "given brown crepe paper etc. to make Eskimo head-dresses and wood string sacking etc. to make sleds."⁶⁷ After they prepared, the "Eskimos" set out to search for the Pole. Having arrived at their destination, the Eskimos hoisted the British flag. The game finished with a Pow Wow and "inventing [an] Eskimo Dance or ceremony." The object of finding the Pole and hoisting the British flag there channeled Indianized values into the cultural, geographical and political space of White Girl Guides.

Francis argues that when describing "the contest for control of the continent," school textbooks often "made room for the occasional Good Indian" who stood "shoulder to shoulder with Canadians in their struggle for independence."⁶⁸ Girl Guide games also

⁶⁶ Quebec Council, Badges for Woodcraft Emblem (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, ca 1950), 52.

⁶⁷ "Eskimo Adventure to Find the North Pole," Canadian Guider (February 1957), 13.

⁶⁸ Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 167.

echoed this aspect of the Indian, as shown in the game of *Indians and Palefaces*. The object of the "Palefaces" was to search out "new hunting ground," a feat that required two things: the benevolent protection of "Great Red Chief," and the cooperation of two groups: "Palefaces" and "Indian Runners." The Palefaces had to follow an intricate trail in order to reach "Great Red Chief," who directed them via messages delivered them by the Indian Runners. Yet again, the modernist elements of the Girl Guide programme supported the anti-modernist image of Indians intimately entwined in this game. The game used the Patrol system as its organizing principle: all patrols were Palefaces and each patrol had a different trail to follow; Patrol Seconds were in charge of the Patrols; and Patrol Leaders were "Indian Runners." The designated area for all Palefaces was called "Headquarters." The game also required the girls to follow the trail to "Great Red Chief" by roping themselves together using "four different knots." The first Patrol to make it back to Headquarters won the territory. At the end of the game, all players were presented to "Great Red Chief" who received "each in turn with the correct Guide Handshake and salute."⁶⁹

Despite the modernist goal of gaining "Paleface" territory, which was the only way to win the game, the word 'Paleface' explicitly implied an anti-modernist questioning of "Whiteness." As Sharon Hall argues in her paper entitled "Improving on Whiteness: 'Going Native' at Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955," the use of the term "Paleface" "reveal[s] attempts to look through Indian eyes and to denigrate contemporary white

⁶⁹ H.B. Davidson, *A Games Book for Guiders and Guides* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1954), 53-54.

culture."⁷⁰ Be it pitted against or helping 'Palefaces,' dressed-up, scalping Indians and North Pole-seeking Eskimos ambivalently acted out misrepresentations of Canadian history to suit their own needs and desires, fears and repulsions. That these games were presumably suggested for Native and Inuit Girl Guide groups underscores the ambivalence required by the game of playing Indian.

Indian craftwork was also an important element of mimesis. Indian crafts most often took the form of weaving, beading, basketry, leatherwork, bows and arrows and drums. The authenticity of these crafts was verified when Guides made crafts that 'real' Indians made – at times taught by real Indians. The 1st Moosonee Company of Ontario learned how to bead from Mrs M. McComb. "The girls were interested in the craft," reported an article about this activity, "because of the predominance of Cree Indians in the region. They learned to make three types of necklaces: Collar necklace, flat necklace and tubular necklace. They also learned to bead on a loom and to bead on material using birchbark as backing."⁷¹ But Guides also made replicas of Indian artefacts using non-Indian materials. The 2nd Warfield Company in Trail British Columbia, for example, made Totem poles out of bleach bottles as a component of their Native Lore Badge.⁷² Indian craftwork was given importance within the Girl Guide programme by the "Native Lore Badge," which required girls to "[m]ake a model of an Indian or Eskimo dwelling, boat or mask, using authentic designs; *or* make a carving of a Native figure or mask or

⁷⁰ Sharon Wall, "Improving on Whiteness, - 'Going Native' at Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955," unpublished paper presented at University of Toronto/York University Conference, "Defining Whiteness," October 14, 2000, 9-10.

⁷¹ "Guides in the News," Alive! (August-September 1970), 4.

⁷² Alive! (November 1971), 6.

totem pole; *or* do a painting, bark or grass weaving or beadwork or embroidered article using authentic designs."⁷³ The badge rewarded girls for the special knowledge of Indian craftwork.

Not surprisingly, the Native Lore Badge asked girls not only to perform Indian craftwork, but also to learn an "Indian or Eskimo game, song, legend, dance or ceremony." Mimetic imitation of Indian camping, songs, games and crafts was an integral element of the Girl Guide programme between 1910 and 1970. It enabled girls to cross the racial, spacial, temporal and gender boundaries imposed upon them by the difference between themselves as Girl Guides and themselves as Indians. But because playing Indian was a non-Indian game, the skills, lessons and values of the Indian Other that Girl Guide Selves learned were interpreted in terms of their own cultural values, ensuring that they crossed back into the Guide world as better citizens.

Citizenship held different meanings for Canadians during the period, and therefore there were various ways and reasons why girls played Indian. Girl Guide texts largely understood citizenship in two main ways: in terms of Empire and Canadian nationalism. The remaining sections of this chapter will interpret the game of playing Indian within the changing political and historical contexts of Girl Guide citizenship in Canada.

⁷³ Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (GGC-GdC), Policy Organization and Rules (POR) (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada, 1971), 107.

Empire Citizenship

The early citizenship of the Canadian Girl Guide was understood as an exponent of her loyalty to Great Britain and carried with it profound assumptions about the history, character and duties of British citizenship. In his 1925 address to the Canadian Council of the Girl Guide Association entitled "Citizenship and the Girl Guides," Dr. Bruce MacDonald, Principal at St. Andrew's College in Toronto, described three of these assumptions. First, the speech provided a brief and simplistic evolution of the concept of citizenship which located the origins of citizenship attached to the development of the State. "In the days of the first parents of mankind," Dr. MacDonald explained, "the State did not exist and consequently citizenship was an unknown condition." But as "man soon proved himself to be a social creature" and sought companionship in the family, then the tribe, this gave way to "a more highly organized community living in a more or less fixed locality." For "self-protection and self-aggrandizement," these communities came together in a mutual organization, which developed into a highly organized state which dealt with conflicts of interest by enforcing "quiescence, if not the elimination, of the weaker."⁷⁴

This natural and organic progress of human evolution was indelibly connected to a second assumption, that in the process towards perfect citizenship, the British Empire had "come closer ... than does any other State." Dr MacDonald impressed upon Girl Guides that "it is a great heritage to ... possess a citizenship which carries with it the rights, privileges and opportunities of the free-born British," reiterating that their citizenship

⁷⁴ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (CCGGA), A.R., 1925, 3.

springs from a loyalty towards Britain. The title of the first official Girl Guide handbook, The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire⁷⁵ attests to the inherent assumptions of Anglo-conformity and loyalty to Empire in early Girl Guide citizenship.

Lastly, in return for guaranteed rights, Dr MacDonald explained that building the Empire was the Girl Guide's utmost responsibility as a citizen. "By personal conduct, by individual example, by unselfish co-operation, by service in the development of the communal self," Dr. MacDonald stated,

we owe it to ourselves we owe it to our fellows, we owe it to the state, we owe it to the world, we owe it to our God, that as we live out our lives we leave nothing undone to improve the conditions, moral, mental and physical of our own immediate community, of our province, of our Dominion, of our British Empire, of the great world itself.⁷⁶

It is not surprising that Dr. MacDonald articulated White maternal roles for Girl Guides in the moral, Christian English and project of early twentieth century state building; theirs was a duty to "sow the seeds of noble character in boys and girls... for the good of our race."⁷⁷

These three concepts of citizenship were based upon a distinct exclusion or destruction of non-British peoples, but ironically insisted upon the active participation of an Indian figure to inform the early twentieth century Girl Guide citizen. Empire citizenship for Canadian girls was closely linked to myths of the frontier, a critical site

⁷⁵ Compare this title to the title of the first Girl Scout handbook, which was published in 1913 and was "based on the British Girl Guide handbook": How Girls Can Help Their Country: Handbook for Girl Scouts. Lillian S. Williams, A Bridge to the Future: The History of Diversity in Girl Scouting (New York: Girl Scouts of the United States of America, 1996), 10.

⁷⁶ CCGGA, A.R., 1925, 5..

⁷⁷ CCGGA, A.R., 1925, 6.

which simultaneously encouraged both Empire loyalty and savage adventure. Moreover, racial and cultural difference imposed by the frontier was maintained in Girl Guiding, despite the moral progressive project of instructing Empire citizenship. Perhaps most ironically, the training of citizen-Selves to uphold and defend the Empire called upon the skills and virtues of the enemy Other.

The stories in early Guide handbooks about colonial life in Canada illustrated the necessary difference between Indians and settlers, and the even more necessary borrowing from the Other in the process of citizenizing the Self. While waiting for her parents who had gone to Church, Ann, the protagonist of a story entitled *A Sunday Service*, heard a noise outside her house, and she was sure it was an Indian plotting harm to those in the Church. Although Ann was petrified, she quickly thought of ways she could warn her father, mother and neighbours and save them from the Indian attackers. She crept closer to the church and then "made one wild dash across the field to the church, scrambled up to the window, and, with her torn and dripping blue dress, stood before the whole congregation. 'The Indians! The Indians!' she cried." Anne was the first to rush to bolt the shutters closed, while the men seized their guns and began loading them. And it was just in time, too, because "almost before the last window was closed a horde of Indians had surrounded the building and would have massacred and taken prisoner every one but for little Ann's clever and prompt warning" which allowed the Englishmen to fire from inside the church and drive off the enemy.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Agnes Baden-Powell and Lt. Gen. Sir R. Baden Powell K.C.B., etc., The Official Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1918), 89-90.

Ann's story describes the Girl Guide discourse on the frontierswoman, who was a model of good citizenship during this early period. It was due to Ann's quick thinking, coolheadedness, physical fitness and helpful nature that she was able to defend her community from the Indians who were "petrifying enemies" and a source of continued "fear," "horror," "terror" and "danger," whose primary motivation was to capture and massacre Anne's family and neighbours.

It may seem contradictory, then, that within four pages of *A Sunday Service*, the Guide handbook glorified Indians in another story entitled *Spooring*. "Far away in the West of Canada," the story began, "many an English girl has had a hard life 'roughing it'... These settlers always learned much from the native Indians, who were very clever with their hands." Even more ironically, this story celebrated the skills of Indians who were, in fact, tracking "white-skinned people" who took their land and shot their game! The story romanticized Indians who "would *hide* and lie in wait for the *palefaces* to kill them with *arrows or tomahawks* ... So *cunning* were those Indians in *tracking* that they could see by the marks in the grass who had passed that way, and would know how long ago, and what age, size the people were, and could *nearly guess what they had been carrying*" [my emphasis].⁷⁹

These two stories reveal a fission in the identity of the Guide-as-frontierswoman. The fear and repulsion Ann felt towards the Indians who continually threatened her home constructed the Indian as an oppositional figure against whom Ann could imagine a civilized citizen Self. Simultaneously, however, girls felt compelled to envy Indians

⁷⁹ Baden Powell and Baden Powell, The Official Handbook for Girl Guides, 94.

their spirit, skill and instinct in what Deloria calls a "'have-the-cake-and-eat-it-to' dialectic of simultaneous desire and repulsion."⁸⁰

The frontier was an important and lasting image within this dialectic. It drew a porous line between the civilized and savage worlds, positioning the Guide in a world with time, structure and discipline, but also providing a point from which Guides could access a world without time, structure or discipline. The separation imposed by the frontier was of utmost importance to anti-modernists in particular because it maintained the authenticity of the Indian world and contained the modernity of its binary opposite. But in order to reaffirm modern identity, girls needed to taste that which was not modern; "to be modern," Deloria contends, they "acted out a heuristic encounter with the primitive."⁸¹ Anti-modernists who perceived their culture as artificial and shallow desired the natural, static and pre-historic world they constructed on the far side of the frontier. Baden-Powell argued that the Indian was skilled in areas in which modern life had made youth soft, such as "observation and deduction, ... self-support, ... discipline, physical self-development ... [and] endurance."⁸² The Indian tribes, explained Campcraft for Girl Guides,

were the greatest examples to mankind of the beauty of perfect physical fitness, and of courage, self-control and endurance. Their methods in attaining this fitness are *worth studying*... We must ... if we are to reach the ideal of a healthy mind and body, ... resolve with the Indians to achieve ... perfection of physical development in order to be of use as *good citizens* [my emphasis]⁸³

⁸⁰ Deloria, Playing Indian, 3.

⁸¹ Deloria, Playing Indian, 105.

⁸² Baden-Powell, "Woodcraft is not Wampum," (July 1920), B-P's Outlook, 96.

⁸³ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides, (London: The Girl Guides Association, circa 1926), 87-93.

Authentic Indian experiences trained girls to be modern by encouraging them to forsake the modern for a primitive past. The Indian Other was inverted, however, by the Self, according to values of modernism. According to Campcraft, living like Indians taught girls to keep their teeth, hair and clothes clean, and to maintain proper diets, and regular habits of rest and exercise.⁸⁴ In an extraordinary passage in the "How to Be Healthy- And Wise" section of the 1938 edition of Girl Guiding, Baden Powell encouraged girls to breathe through their noses like Red Indians.⁸⁵ The inversion of 'Indian' values was a necessary, but ironic element of constructing and crossing the frontier. It also importantly, but perhaps redundantly, reinforced that the Indian was entirely a product of the desires and the fears of the Self. For Girl Guides, the Indian served to celebrate the joys of frontier, correct the blemishes of civilization and, with his courage, virility and natural instinctual gifts, fortify the empire.

The "quaint," "magic" "wild creatures" of Britain's Empire were a constant delight to Lord and Lady Baden-Powell while on tours of their Guide-Scout kingdom. Although the official purpose of the visits was to meet Guides and Brownies, maintain Empire citizenship training and encourage World Guiding, the couple was consistently entertained by the Indigenous people of the various colonies they visited. In her book

⁸⁴ GGA, Campcraft for Girl Guides, 1926, 87-93.

⁸⁵ Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers and Guiders, 1966 Reprint of the 1938 edition as last revised by Lord Baden-Powell himself, (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1966), 116-117. MacDonald, a historian of the Scout movement, has also noted the undeniably modern nature of Indian play, arguing that Earnest Thompson Seton, an influential leader in the Boy Scouts of America, and founder of the boys club Woodcraft Indians, and player of Indians par excellence, "echoed the self-denying ethic of [his]... Presbyterian upbringing... [and] Seton's Indian was an expression of Seton's own dream of the uncomplicated life, his protest against his own over-sophisticated culture." MacDonald, Sons of Empire, 140-142.

Guide Links, Lady Baden-Powell provided a veritable ethnography of the customs of Indigenous peoples and highlighted the features she found most fascinating. In Australia, she explained, "these simple primitive people have some uncanny way of sending messages to each other, either by smoke signals, or by passing along "letters" ... in the form of little sticks." In New Zealand, she adored the "most cultured" people of the "Maori race" who she described as "tall and well built," brave, dignified, proud, and charming.⁸⁶ In Canada, however, Lady Baden-Powell did not just watch and record, evaluate and appropriate, but she *participated* in one of the most celebrated games of Indian play - she received an Indian name and was inducted as an honorary member into the "Sarcee Indian tribe."

In "full regalia" of feathered headdresses, beaded jackets and moccasins, Chief Joe Big Plume and his leading men named Lady Baden-Powell in an event that would become an important feature of Guide history. Lady Baden-Powell's account of the naming survives in Guide Links:

Seated in the middle of a circle of ... braves were half a dozen men with drums, all sitting facing inwards and leaning forward, with their heads almost touching, and as Chief Big Plume started to read a kind of address of welcome they punctuated each sentence with resounding beating of drums. ... A beaded mat was suddenly produced and laid on the ground at my feet, and I was made to kneel down in front of our grand friend, and, placing his hand on the top of my Guide hat, he made a long incantation in his own Sarcee dialect and named me "Otter Woman" - an honorary squaw of the Tribe! The whole lot of leading men, their squaws, and several of the Guiders and Scouters who had come with us ... then indulged in a frenzied dance, cavorting around the 'band' ... ⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Lady Baden-Powell, Guide Links, 112-115.

⁸⁷ Lady Baden-Powell, Guide Links, 153-154.

An account of the ceremony and the legend of "Otter Woman" as told in Sarcee by Pat Grasshopper, medicine man of the tribe, and interpreted by Chief Big Plume, was preserved in I Promise ... A History of Girl Guides in Alberta:

A long time ago, Otter Woman was a good woman who brought up her own children and other children in the tribe to be good people, kind to others and mighty hunters. She did good work for other people's children and everyone loved her. No one has borne her name for one hundred years, but now we give it to you because you are wife of Spotted Eagle [Baden-Powell's Indian name] and bring up his children and all children to be good people. We give you the name of "Emonis Ake", Otter Woman.⁸⁸

This event is important for several reasons. It was celebrated with the signs of the Indian world - drums, feathers, Indian tongue and legend. Moreover, the delicate boundary of racial difference had been crossed gracefully by Lady Baden-Powell and through careful mimicry, she had been inducted with an Indian name as a *member* of an Indian tribe. In a bizarre twist of Imperial Girl Guide logic, Lady Baden-Powell had *become* Indian, was endowed with Indian qualities and was celebrated as an Indian Girl Guide. She did not *give* the Sarcees Anglicized names, which was the normal practice of Imperial nomenclature espoused, for example, by residential school administrators. She reversed this strategy in a ceremony that completed her identity as a leader of a movement which represented a particular brand of citizenship that required more than a self-contained White civilized girlhood and encompassed its binary opposite. Receiving and Indian name bestowed upon her certain virtuous qualities, knowledge and credibility

⁸⁸ Copied from the Calgary Herald in: Girl Guides of Canada Alberta Council, I Promise... A History of Girl Guides in Alberta (Edmonton: Girl Guides of Canada Alberta Council, 1984), 88-89.

which complimented, rather than undermined, the British imperial, colonial, and frontier values of Girl Guide citizenship.

While Lady Baden-Powell used this ceremony to elevate her status as the world leader of the Girl Guide organization, Chief Big Plume may not have thought of the ceremony in these terms. Why then, did Chief Big Plume and his leading men participate in this ceremony? Because there is no available written or oral record of their thoughts, we must speculate about their reasons for permitting the Girl Guide organization to use the naming ceremony. First, they may have agreed with Lady Baden-Powell that Indians were good role models for Canadian youth. But moreover, recognizing that Indian Others possessed authentic knowledge that Canadian youth organizations appeared to crave, they may have used the Indian imagery of Girl Guide movement as a means of challenging negative stereotypes of Indians by constructing positive images and attaching them to real, modern Native people in the twentieth century.

Their identity was hybridized. They connected themselves with their Sarcee roots by donning traditional clothing, but at the same time, they were imitating non-Indian imitations of Indians; they were, as Deloria shows, channeling both their Sarcee past and the Canadian-constructed anti-modern Indian Other through the medium of their bodies in a complex, hybridized, and bicultural mimesis.⁸⁹ Their hybridity makes defining authenticity and authenticity, reality and mimetic reality all the more difficult.

⁸⁹ Deloria Playing Indian, 123.

As the Girl Guides entered the mid twentieth century, they began to view Indians differently. Indians' role as models for citizenship did not change, however Canadian nationalism replaced Empire loyalty, and the Indian came to play a large part in how Girl Guides constructed the country to which they promised to do their Duty.

Canadian Citizenship

In 1964, the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada, recently formed from the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, made an important addition to the Girl Guide Promise; instead of Promising to do their duty to God and the Queen alone, the girls made this oath to the Country as well.⁹⁰ The recognition of a distinctly Canadian Guide movement and a desire to pledge loyalty to Canada resulted from, and inspired a flowering of indigenous Guide literature in this second period. The Canadian Guide magazine, Alive! and other Provincial magazines joined the Canadian Guider as material published specifically by and for Canadian Girl Guides. When Canada was chosen as one of the four countries to host the World Guide Jamboree in 1957, Canadian Guides were mobilized throughout the country to celebrate not only World Guiding, but Canadian nationalism.

The nationalism celebrated by Canadian Girl Guides at the Jamboree intricately involved the reverence of Indian peoples and Indian pre-history. In an effort to display national symbols of Canada, the entire camp was based on an Indian theme, and was divided into four sub-camps "each named after an Indian tribe: Cree, Bella Coola,

⁹⁰ GGC-GdC, A.R., 1964.

Micmac and Iroquois."⁹¹ Guides came from forty six countries and each country represented had an exhibit. The Canadian exhibit, "under the direction of a museum expert," displayed photos of Indians, information on canoeing, and print-outs of Indian legends.⁹²

As the World Jamboree demonstrates, the Indian had a distinct role to play in popular nationalism in Canada and playing Indian had become an expression of 'being Canadian.' Thus we must also explore how the Indian became an expression of Canadian diversity, provided a sense of identity and belonging for citizens in Canada, and lastly, became a means with which to construct and encourage civic duty of Canadian citizens.

The imperatives of the project of shaping a Canadian identity had shifted after the Second World War and the wave of immigration that followed it. Richard Day, in his book Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity argues that by the end of the Second World War, Canadians realized that immigration was proving to be a problem for long-term goals of Anglo-conformity. In response, the Canadian government added to its task of training Others to be Selves the job of "training Selves to accept the signs of Otherness that were being preserved" or worth preserving.⁹³ These recognizable signs of Otherness were ultimately blanketed in terms of national spirit, toleration and respect. Integrating the cultural signs of Otherness into the larger Canadian society was a solution

⁹¹ Joan Woodland, Doe Lake Memories Book (Toronto: Girl Guides of Canada Ontario Council, 1999), 12.

⁹² Deborah Ann Allen, "'The Best Things of the Best Indians': The Appropriation of Native Lore by Youth Organizations in North America," Unpublished Masters Paper, University of Toronto, 2000, 46.

⁹³ Richard Day, Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 165.

to this problem of diversity⁹⁴ but it was no less a form of assimilation, "in which the preservation of certain signs of Otherness was seen as permissible, perhaps even Desirable."⁹⁵

The Girl Guides too, by 1954, had recognized these symbols of difference, encouraging in some parts of the country "Ethnic Girl Guide Groups" whose "Companies and packs emphasize[d] their former national culture in programmes ie: dancing, singing, embroidery and history."⁹⁶ The job of the "Ethnic Groups Department" of the Girl Guides Association was to establish and maintain contact with ethnic group Guiders in order to "draw them more closely into the Canadian Association," to get them to accept the "Basics of co-operation laid down by the Canadian Council" and to run their groups according to the "Policy, Organization and Rules"⁹⁷ established by the Executive Committee of the Canadian Association. While Girl Guides did encourage cultural diversity in ethnic groups, they clearly discouraged the maintenance of national identity and independence and the "resistance to assimilation of any kind by ... their older members" in favour of understanding these organizations' differences in terms of their connection to the Canadian Association.

At this time, full assimilation of the Indian was also no longer desirable, and the Canadian government insisted, in fact, that certain 'cultural traits' of the Indian like those of the immigrant, should be preserved.⁹⁸ A pamphlet called The Indian In Transition

⁹⁴ Day, Multiculturalism, 146.

⁹⁵ Day, Multiculturalism, 165.

⁹⁶ CCGGA, A.R., 1955, 33. The Annual Report mentions Estonian, Latvian, Polish, Lithuanian and Ukranian "Ethnic Groups" an Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia.

⁹⁷ CCGGA, A.R., 1955-6, 24.

⁹⁸ Day, Multiculturalism, 170.

published by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration underscored this desire for an "increasing appreciation of the Indian-Canadian heritage," stating

Indian-Canadians have made a tremendous contribution to the life of this country [in their]... songs, legends, dances and handwork... totem poles, carvings, masks, ceremonial baskets and weaving.... The names of the nation itself, its federal, and three of its provincial capitals, and four of its provinces, are all Indian designations. After centuries of indifference, the desire of non-Indians to help Indian citizens is finding expression ... [m]uch remains to be done, nevertheless, if the Indian-Canadian is to take the place in Canadian society that is rightfully his.⁹⁹

The Department's program of assimilation no longer considered Aboriginality and citizenship mutually exclusive, and permitted the Indian child to grow up to be an Indian adult albeit a hyphenated Canadian citizen. By the 1950s and 60s, Indian educators had come to the conclusion that instilling "Indian pride" was an important feature of Indian education. The absence of Indian culture within the curriculum was deemed a grave oversight, and the Department was urged to draw up a curriculum specifically aimed at Indian children which included "Indian dancing" and "Handcraft." The health curriculum for Saskatchewan Indian schools required teachers to inspire "pride in Indian heritage" in order to develop their attitudes of social health.¹⁰⁰ "Indian heritage" meant understanding and assimilating Indian signs in terms of Canadian diversity, or Canadian social values, it was not an element of cultural independence.

Girl Guides followed this trend by celebrating authentic Indian traits of Aboriginal

⁹⁹ Department of Citizenship and Immigration - Indian Affairs Branch, The Indian in Transition (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964), 19-20.

¹⁰⁰ Saskatchewan Indian School Teachers Association, Classroom Objectives and Activities with Pupils of Indian Background (Saskatoon: SISTA, 1961), 80 and 85.

girls. For example, in 1954, the Guider at Fort George, Quebec, boasted that her Guides knew "far more about tracking than most White leaders" and for them, "the outdoor Guide programme" was "no novelty"¹⁰¹ because "[f]rom infancy, they have excelled in Nature and Woodcraft." Whereas in periods before, only Girl Guide leaders were experts in authentic Indian culture, by the late 1940s and early '50s, Aboriginal girls were encouraged to participate in and indeed teach certain aspects of Indian culture such as woodcraft, dancing and craftwork.

During this period, there were a number of changes in the Girl Guide programme that encompassed the Indian Other as the movement understood it. For example, the Promise and a few Guide songs were translated into syllabics. Also, Inuit Guide groups like the ones in Pangnirtung and Broughton Island developed their own patrol symbols. Instead of being named for southern birds, patrols were called "Ookpik (Owl), Meeteil (Crow), Pitsolak (Duck) and Tulagaek (Mudhen)"¹⁰² in Pangnirtung, and Ulu, Taserkut and Koodlerk¹⁰³ in Broughton Island. Furthermore, Chesterfield Inlet Brownies re-wrote Brownie songs using the names of northern birds. They also used a "seal-oil lamp called a kudlik"¹⁰⁴ in place of the traditional Girl Guide campfire. The constant adaptation of the Guide programme in the Yukon and Northwest Territories demonstrates a keen interest on the part of Girl Guides of Canada to recognize and regulate cultural difference in order to make the programme suitable for northern girls. The formation of a separate

¹⁰¹ Quebec Council of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (QCCCGGA), A.R., 1954-5.

¹⁰² "A Guide Company at Baffin Island," The Canadian Guider (December 1965), 162.

¹⁰³ "Guides in the News," Alive! (May 1970), 5. The article explains "The ulu is a woman's cutting tool. The taserkut is a scraping tool, also used by the woman to stretch and scrape dry skins. The Koodlerk is a stone lamp which in the old days was used for lighting, cooking and heating."

¹⁰⁴ "Ham network to link north with Toronto," Alive! (March 1970), 6.

council for the Yukon and Northwest Territories in 1965 was believed to enable it to place emphasis on "adapting the programme to meet the needs of the girls in each part of the north with special attention to such areas as nutrition, health, child care, first aid, service to their community and encouragement of native talents and skills."¹⁰⁵ While the argument that Aboriginal Girl Guides resisted the aims of Indian policies by expressing their cultures within the Guide meeting still stands, craftwork was performed with the complicity of their White Guide leaders and the movement itself, because these crafts were no longer perceived as threats to the assimilation of Girl Guides, but fit into an overall shift in Guide and Indian policy.

The changes in the programme served not only to show diversity within the Girl Guides of Canada, but they also brought the Other into familiarity with Girl Guide programme by approving of modern ways for Indians to perform themselves. This did not represent self-determination and cultural independence in the eyes of the Guide organization, but the underlying commonality of Girl Guide citizenship and sisterhood that brought together girls throughout Canada. A Scouts Canada study on the encouragement of the "native culture and thus self-pride" of Northern boys helps to illuminate this paradox. The study states, after reviewing the many aspects of the program that are ethnically specific, that "a sensitive balance must be obtained between perpetuation of ethnic pride and encouragement of assimilation into the Canadian society." While focusing on the "functionality of their traditional way of life," the study concluded that programme should, at the same time, encourage "the assimilation of those

¹⁰⁵ NWTGA, Report on Special Project, 2.

attitudes, values, skills, and educational prerequisites for the functioning of an individual — regardless of his/her ethnicity — in the industrial Canadian society."¹⁰⁶

It appears, then, that Scouts and Guides aimed to prepare youth to adapt to and support Canadian society, and led them to understand regional differences in terms of this goal. A 1973 study of the Girl Guide programme by the Yukon and Northwest Territories Council of the Girl Guides of Canada provided the basic premise behind this approach. While the study encouraged emphasis on programmes that were "meaningful in the particular circumstances," of girls from the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the fundamental assessment of the Girl Guide groups was based on their understanding of and adherence to "the fundamental principles of Guiding (ie. the Promise and Law and "Guide" way of life.)"¹⁰⁷

Within this structure of Girl Guide values, the Other was in fact rewarded, as shown in the proliferation of badges that have to do with Native culture: in 1967, for example, the National headquarters encouraged the Saddle Lake Brownies to set out rules for a beadwork badge, stating that Indian Guides "were anxious to preserve one of their Native crafts within the framework of Guiding."¹⁰⁸ The Citizen badge was revamped in 1966 to include a section on Indians, the Heritage badge, introduced in 1966 also had a number of requirements based on knowledge of Indians, and the Native Lore badge was introduced in 1970.

¹⁰⁶ Burkhardt, Scouting in Canada North, 141.

¹⁰⁷ NWT, Report on Special Project- Summary of the Tentative Conclusions at the End of the Second Year, 2.

¹⁰⁸ Barbara Villy Cormak, Landmarks: A History of the Girl Guides of Alberta (Edmonton: Alberta Council Girl Guides of Canada, 1967), 81. The "Beadworker" proficiency badge was introduced into the official programme in 1972.

The Native Lore Badge clearly demonstrates how Native and Inuit cultures were to fit into a broader understanding of Canada. The badge itself bears the recognizable symbols of Canadian-style Indianism -- a teepee and an igloo. Besides the game, song and craft requirements already described, the badge asked girls to visit a museum or library to discover how "Indians and Eskimos in different parts of Canada lived," to "find out how the Indians and Eskimos helped the later explorers and pioneers to cross the country," and to "know the provinces which have names of Indian origin.... what languages these names came from and their meanings."¹⁰⁹ The badge clearly understood the "lore" of "Indians and Eskimos" as a factor of *Canadian* geography, *Canadian* expansion and *Canadian* history.

Many other badges that tested knowledge of the history and politics of Canada involved Indian and Eskimo components. The Heritage Badge, asked girls to present a mime with their Patrols "depicting an Indian or Eskimo legend" and to describe or show to the tester some examples of "Indian or Eskimo handcrafts."¹¹⁰ When the Citizen badge was introduced to the programme in 1948 the requirements all focused on understanding the process by which citizenship was attained, and how the Canadian political and tax system was structured. But in 1966, however, the following test was added as the last requirement of the badge: "Tell briefly about the way of life of a group of Canadian Indians or Eskimos."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ GGC-GdC, POR, 1971, 107.

¹¹⁰ GGC-GdC, POR, 1966, 78.

¹¹¹ "Heritage Camp Badges: No. 2," The Canadian Guide (May 1966), 9.

Daniel Francis argues that the appropriation of Indian customs, ceremonies, songs, stories crafts and costumes in an effort to make them representative of mainstream Canadian society had a particular function in the process of constructing symbols of collective Canadian identity. He believes that non-Native Canadians used Indian symbols and were compelled to "go native" in order to acquire a sense of belonging in Canada by establishing "a relationship to the country that pre-dates their arrival and validates their occupation of the land."¹¹² Playing, knowing and understanding the Indian, Canadian style, was an expression of a Girl Guide desire to belong in a land that did not belong to her ancestors.

This explanation is based on the use of an unchanging image of the ancient, pre-historic noble Indian who was untouched by the evils of modern society. However, this was not the only Indian image used by the Girl Guides; in their pursuit to build character, the noble Indian was joined by his unfortunate descendent, the assimilated 'Charity Indian.' Baden-Powell was all too familiar with this 'darker' side of the Indian and warned Scouts in 1920 that "I know a little about the Red Indian, and he is not ... all he is pictured by some who write about him only on his sunny side."¹¹³ "[W]hen I came to know the Red Skin personally," Baden-Powell wrote, "he was no longer all that history and romance had painted him; so-called civilisation had played havoc with him morally and physically."¹¹⁴ Unlike Seton, Baden-Powell did not fully support the Indian as a suitable model for training boys, believing that he was "lazy, drunk, too much of the

¹¹² Francis, *The Imaginary Indian* 190.

¹¹³ Baden-Powell, "Woodcraft is not Wampum," *B.P.'s Outlook*, 95.

¹¹⁴ Baden-Powell, "Woodcraft Indians," *B.P.'s Outlook*, 97.

native"¹¹⁵ to inspire the necessary patriotism, loyalty, good health and self-sufficiency that the programme desired in a role model.

But even this downfallen Indian had a purpose in the Girl Guide programme and the Girl Guides required the Charity Indian, like they required the Noble Indian, in order to learn to become citizens. Just as bows and arrows, war cries and scalplings filled the lack at the centre of the Girl Guide, so too did helping "less fortunate" Indians. In one issue of The Canadian Guide, magazine, the organization boasted:

Guides in many countries are helping to fight poverty. In France, they have been sending tools and equipment to Algeria and Crete. The Girl Guides of Ghana have challenged themselves to teach social-responsibility and character building. In Peru the Guides were given a school building and now give elementary school lessons to 500 children. Here at home, Guides in the Northwest Territories are helping establish educational centres for Indians and Eskimos."¹¹⁶

Indians joined poor children, the sick and senior citizens as the most frequent subjects of charitable Good Turns. For example, non-Aboriginal Guides and Brownies "invited twenty-five Indian girls from the Gordon Indian and Residential School ... for a friendship weekend"¹¹⁷ and sent "boxes of clothing" to "Indians of the North"¹¹⁸ and "gifts" to "needy ... Eskimos and Indians."¹¹⁹ "[T]hinking of their Eskimo sisters" the Ottawa Area sent "scrapbooks ... dolls and ... stocking fillers for the Northern

¹¹⁵ MacDonald, Sons of Empire, 142.

¹¹⁶ "More and More News," The Canadian Guide (April 1966), 11.

¹¹⁷ "Guides in the News," The Canadian Guide (Aug.-Sept, 1964), 3. The visitors" were taken to the movies, the museum, on a shopping trip and to a Guide-Scout tea."

¹¹⁸ Ontario Council of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (OCCCGGA), Annual Report (A.R.), 1955, 14.

¹¹⁹ Ontario Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (OCGGC-GdC), A.R., 1963, 39.

missions."¹²⁰ Guides sent cards and packages to Indian hospitals,¹²¹ Brownies sought to "Lend a Hand to Northern Schools for Indians,"¹²² and "good reading"¹²³ was sent to Northern outposts. In Manitoba, "sewing sets - 24 of them - were outfitted and sent to an Indian School."¹²⁴ Guide groups also sponsored individual Indians. In Manitoba, a group "helped two Indian girls who burned in a fire that took their mother" and sent a gift of money to help an Indian orphan girl who is training to be a Nurse."¹²⁵ Chester Girl Guides in Nova Scotia "discovered a Nova Scotia Indian boy who is a patient at a T.B. Hospital and ... selected a very beautiful basket of Easter specialties to send for him."¹²⁶ Frequently, as with the Manitoba Council Annual Reports, there was more coverage on non-Aboriginal girls helping Charity Indians than on Aboriginal Girl Guides.

Good Turns were also directed towards Native and Inuit Brownies and Girl Guides, and the charity extended towards Indian and Eskimo "sisters" was often expressly perceived as an act of Canadian nationalism. For example, in 1967, the "Centennial Project" for the Georgian Area Guides and Brownies of Ontario was to donate "[n]ew uniforms, books, skipping ropes, balls etc. ... to our sister Brownies and Guides in the Yukon and Northwest Territories"¹²⁷ and, wrote the Talbot Area, "[t]he fever of Centennial Year was evident ... the Area offered to buy and send Canadian or Company

¹²⁰ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1968, 19.

¹²¹ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1969, 20.

¹²² OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1966, 30.

¹²³ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1967, 20.

¹²⁴ Manitoba Council of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (MCCCGGA), A.R., 1959.

¹²⁵ MCCCGGA, A.R., 1957.

¹²⁶ "Here and There," The Canadian Guide (June 1951), 11.

¹²⁷ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1967, 14.

flags to any units of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. By the end of the year, approximately a dozen flags, poles, covers and holders had been sent."¹²⁸

The Indian Other was already recognized as a constitutionally separate category regulated by special federal policies directed specifically towards such areas as housing, education, economic and social development of Aboriginal people and communities. Girl Guides brought this regulation to their understanding of benevolence towards the Indian. For example, projects such as *Operation Outlook*, which ran for a few years in the late 1960s and early 70s, regulated the recognition and creation of the Other as a specific group requiring "leadership skills."¹²⁹ Girls placed on "three remote Indian Reserves" in 1971 ran "an interesting and exciting programme ... [for] Indian Children." Besides offering aid to these communities, *Operation Outlook* provided girls with "first hand the joys of sharing and the true meaning of citizenship."¹³⁰ Clearly, part of this "true meaning of citizenship" was a certain obligation to "work with" or provide for Indians.

The "Good Turns" of Native and Inuit Girl Guides, almost without exception,¹³¹ were directed towards their own immediate communities. For example, the Cape Dorset Brownies carried water for "older citizens," assisted "the nurse at clinics by interpreting and looking after babies and young children," collected materials for Christmas decorations, and helped to "make a tape recording of Christmas messages for members of the community away from home in hospitals."¹³² Baker Lake Guides delivered "packages

¹²⁸ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1967, 20.

¹²⁹ "Share Leadership Skills," Alive! (December 1969), 12.

¹³⁰ OCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1971, cover.

¹³¹ Native and Inuit Girl Guides participated in war projects and in *Operation Outlook*.

¹³² QCCCGGA, A.R., 1962

of goodies to the elderly and the shut-ins in their community,"¹³³ Pond Inlet girls "raised money by selling pop-corn and soft drinks at community dances, then used their funds to buy a Christmas gift for the community,"¹³⁴ Fort McPherson girls did "odd jobs around the grounds of the Anglican church,"¹³⁵ Aklavik girls "made and stuffed toy animals and dolls which were given to children outside their own school at Christmas time,"¹³⁶ Carcross Guides "made articles and assisted the members of the women's auxiliary to serve at a Women's Auxiliary tea"¹³⁷ and Maliseet Guides "produced beautiful towels, luncheon sets ... knitted 100 pairs of socks and mittens for the parish"¹³⁸ and "bought and paid for a moving picture machine for the village hall."¹³⁹

In a way, the Good Turns of Aboriginal Guides and Brownies can be interpreted as an expression of their own cultures. The Annual Report for the Eastern Arctic district of Quebec, for example, saw Good Turns to be "something of a mystery" to Eskimo girls, who "do them all the time." But the Annual Report no less falls into the regular logic of the Girl Guide organization, interpreting this "integral part of their family life" in terms of Guide discourse despite recognizing that girls had done them "for generations and generations."¹⁴⁰ By understanding the Good Turn in this way, it is not a symbol of resistance and renewal of Aboriginal cultures, but a means of assimilating Aboriginal people, dividing communities into helpers and helped, and reinforcing values of the

¹³³ "Guides in the Headlines," Alive! (February 1967), 4.

¹³⁴ "More News and Notes," Alive! (April 1967), 5.

¹³⁵ "Guides in the Headlines," Alive! (November 1967), 4.

¹³⁶ "Aklavik Brownies," The Canadian Guider (September 15, 1940), 5.

¹³⁷ "Across Canada," The Canadian Guider (September 1962) 103.

¹³⁸ CCGGA, A.R., 1950.

¹³⁹ "The First Maliseet Indian Girl Guide Company," The Canadian Guider (March 1st 1944), 5.

¹⁴⁰ QCGGC-GdC, A.R., 1964.

dominant society by making them indigenous. This technique of acculturation has a long history in Aboriginal communities, and was espoused first in missionary work. Historian Jean Usher explains that the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England (CMS) believed that in order for the 'universal Church' to be adopted in all nations, it must be made "indigenous and not exotic, with many centres instead of one." By studying "the national character of the people among whom they laboured" and learning "to understand their ways of thinking," the missionaries hoped that the converts "would never have to choose between nationality and religion."¹⁴¹ Like the CMS, Girl Guides believed their organization to be designed for all girls, regardless of race, and wanted to extend its programme to as many girls as possible. In order to this, they made their programme accessible and useful to Aboriginal girls and interpreted their tenets according to their cultures. Training Aboriginal Guide leaders was a task of equal importance.

Canadianizing distinct elements of Aboriginal cultures was a means of bringing them into line with the Girl Guide programme. It provided non-Aboriginal Guides with an understanding of Indians and Eskimos that did not contradict the aims, Promise, Law and Motto of the organization and ultimately made them better Canadians. Lastly, it provided proof of the existence of a universal sisterhood, and that the organization not only could, but should be extended to all girls in the name of training for sound Canadian citizenship.

¹⁴¹ Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: the Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," Histoire Sociale - Social History (1971), 42-43.

One cannot explore the discourse of the Girl Guide movement without constantly encountering the imaginary Indian and Eskimo. These figures, as much as the soldier and the mother, shaped Girl Guides into citizens; the emulation of Indian wilderness skills enabled Guides to cope as frontier women and indigenize themselves as Canadians, and aiding Charity Indians and Eskimos taught girls their civic duty as Canadians. Knowing and playing the Other trained girls to be better Selves by filling their desires for authentic outdoor adventure and enabling them to act out the fears and desires that helped them, in turn, to define themselves. Playing Indian was therefore a game that was at once both anti-modernist and modernist in nature, and permitted the Guides to use their own discourse, in the name of the Indian, to interpret popular stereotypes according to their own needs. The Girl Guide Indian was more than s/he ever could be in reality; s/he taught character and duty, loyalty and identity, and ultimately trained young girls to be proud, dignified and responsible Canadian citizens.

The Indian Guides imagined was either noble or poor, lived close to nature in a lifestyle, and, while not used as a role model by the programme, could at least be understood within its terms. Therefore, it is odd that Girl Guides did not use the Indian when embracing an environmentalist stance in the 1970s and '80s. While environmental organizations such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club used the image of the Indian, tribal metaphors, native religion and material culture to invoke simple lessons of respect for nature,¹⁴² Girl Guides embraced a more secular view of the environment. The two new

¹⁴² Shepard Krech III, The Ecological Indian - Myth and History (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999).

Guide environmentalist badges introduced in the period, *Ecologist* and *Conservation* trained girls to become environmentally-minded citizens by understanding the environment in terms of environmental law and scientific observation.

By the 1970s and '80s, the construction of the Indian and the appropriation of Indian culture had declined in the Girl Guide organization. Deborah Ann Allen suggests that the fervour of playing Indian had plateaued during this period as a result of the disappearance of the frontier and the decreased popularity of Indian stories and Indian movies.¹⁴³ While Francis might agree to some extent with this conclusion, he also points to a more active role for Aboriginal people in the transformation of the image. He argues that in the face of Indian-White confrontations, roadblocks, constitutional disagreements and threats of secession, the stereotype of the Indian who would disappear, be obedient and assimilate was clearly no longer viable.¹⁴⁴ Indians did not exist only in the imaginations of White children, on movie screens and in history books, but were taking positions of power within Canadian society.

Even within the Girl Guide movement, the Indian was no longer a construct that could be protected from external and internal criticism. While Aboriginal girls posed for Girl Guide propaganda, it became more and more difficult to construct the Indian image without considering the realities faced by Aboriginal people. At the same time, while the Girl Guide movement and Canadians at large could no longer deny the Indian a role in contemporary society, they also could not deny that their roles as beneficiaries of

¹⁴³ Ann Allen, "'The Best Things of the Best Indians'," 37.

¹⁴⁴ Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 219-220.

colonialism. The attempts to connect themselves, not to White "invaders" but to victimized Natives were feeble, and the appropriation and construction of Indian culture gauche and politically incorrect.

This is not to say that the Indian image did not persist. Deloria argues that during the past 30 years, playing Indian has been as much about reading books and "knowing about Indians" as it has been about meeting Native people and promoting inter-cultural interest and understanding. He contends that the image of the Indian continues to be viewed apart from questions about inequality and power. As a conclusion to this thesis, I would like to discuss in more detail how the image has thrived because of colonial power and inequality.

CONCLUSION

Guiding Is An Empire Game

"Guiding is an Empire Game. It owes its origin to the lessons taught in the first great Empire war of a British General, Sir Robert Baden Powell. It is played by the Empire Guides in Canada..."¹

Lady Baden-Powell's reference to Guiding as a "game" in this excerpt from the 1927 Annual Report of the Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association was a standard analogy of the movement that used the concepts of "Empire" and "play" as a means of training youth for citizenship. Like most games, Guiding had an objective, standard rules, and taught lessons to its players, Brownies, Guides and Rangers. The object of the game was to support and unite the Empire and later, the Canadian nation, by fortifying girl citizens with mental, physical and moral stamina. Girls strove towards this end by obeying game rules: living up to the Guide Promise, Law, and Motto, and meeting various challenges of character and intelligence, skill and handicraft, physical health and hygiene and service for others. The goal and rules of the game led girls to take on various roles in their pursuit to construct themselves as citizens; to learn about home-making and domesticity they played mothers, to learn discipline and deference, they played soldiers, and to learn wilderness skills, they played Indian.

The "game" of Guiding was wildly popular. By the time Lady Baden-Powell made this statement, the game of Guiding had spread to over forty countries. Canada was one of the first countries outside of Britain to play along, joining the organization in 1910, only a year after it was conceived. In Canada, Guiding was encouraged by women's and church organizations which also sought to train girls in the fields of homemaking, health

¹ The Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association (CCGGA), Annual Report, (A.R.), 1927, 19.

and patriotism. Guiding was also supported by theories of child development; when child psychologists defined adolescence as a vulnerable stage at which young girls were easily influenced for bad or good, Guides was viewed as a positive factor in their development into women. Canadian schools also advocated for Guiding, because it was seen to provide worth-while extra-curricular activities that would encourage the all-round development of girls. Lastly, Girl Guiding also enjoyed the recognition and financial assistance of the Canadian government.

Numbers of Brownie and Guide packs multiplied enormously, and by the end of the 1920s, there were already more than 30 000 members of the Girl Guide movement in Canada.² By 1970, this number had peaked and levelled: there were 273, 569 Canadian girls in the movement in that year.³ The popularity of the organization has led many to believe that Guiding was a 'natural,' 'spontaneous' and 'integral' part of growing up for all girls in Canada, regardless of their racial, cultural and religious background. Statistics of Inuit girls in northern Canada seemingly demonstrated the 'universal' nature of the movement. In a 1974 survey by the Yukon and Northwest Territories Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada, it was found that while one out of every 78 Canadian girls was in Girl Guiding, this number leapt to one in 33 in the Yukon, and one in 20 in the Northwest Territories.⁴

² CCGGA, A.R., 1929, 7.

³ Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada (GGC-GdC), A.R., 1970.

⁴ Northwest Territories Council of the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada Archives (NWTCA), Miss K. Anson and Miss P. McIntosh, Report on Special Project (Yukon: Girl Guides of Canada - Guides du Canada, 1973-1974), 3.

This thesis has explored the cultural meaning of Girl Guide citizenship training for Native and Inuit girls who participated in the Girl Guide organization between 1910 and 1970 at residential schools, federal day schools and hostels, sanatoriums, on reserves, and in northern communities. It is clear that in its moral and religious instruction, its nationalist stance and its domestic training, Guiding supported and reflected Canadian Indian policy, seeking also to make Aboriginal girls into good Canadians. These aims had a particular cultural meaning for First Nations and Inuit people, because for most of the twentieth century, becoming a Canadian citizen required them to reject their Aboriginal identities and forfeit their rights to self-determination.

For Girl Guides, as for Department officials and Indian educators, the Indian was a culturally constructed category that stood outside of the boundaries defining the 'normal' citizen. But if the ultimate goal of Canadian Girl Guiding were to develop citizens who held Euro-Canadian, middle-class and Christian virtues, why did the organization encourage girls to also undertake the binary opposing roles of the savage Indian and igloo-bound Eskimo? I have argued that Canadian girls played Indian in order to construct themselves as citizens. To become disciplined, moral and Christian Selves, they needed to take on the identity of the savage, amoral and primitive Other. Ironically, the Guide movement encouraged girls to study, preserve and mimic Indianized signs that it simultaneously, as a beneficiary of federal Indian policy, aimed to destroy.

This thesis has critically examined the Girl Guide movement as a socializing institution that worked to regulate the lives of Aboriginal girls according a model of female Canadian citizenship. As such, it has not addressed important questions about

how Girl Guides actually functioned reciprocally within Canadian and Aboriginal communities. This is an important line of questioning upon which further studies should be built. One cannot unconditionally criticize the Girl Guide movement. Like most Canadian institutions, Girl Guides followed colonial and national policy with regards to Indians and it constructed Indian images and appropriated Indian symbols with the freedom and enthusiasm that Canadians had come to expect from youth movements. The organization was a product of its environment and evolved under the direction of contemporary popular opinion. It withstood criticism of its paramilitary training methods by focusing on a commitment to self-education and self-confidence, rather than obedience and discipline. It also considered and adapted to feminist criticism by encouraging new and progressive roles for girls and women. More recently, the Guide movement responded to popular pressure to omit 'God' and the Queen from the Girl Guide Promise in order to respect the varying cultures, religions and loyalties of the girls in Guides.

Guides also questioned some aspects of popular opinion and ideology. At its founding, the Girl Guide movement "scandalized" the public, and many parents discouraged their girls from joining Guides because it challenged long-standing notions of the roles and activities suitable for girls and women.⁵ Guiding offered to girls and women opportunities to participate in outdoor activities like camping and hiking, and to become active in sports. It aimed to produce girls and women who were leaders: creative, politically aware, independent and strong. For many, Guides was a way to become active

⁵ Barbara Moon, "The Girls Who Gatecrashed the Boy Scouts," Maclean's Magazine (August 17, 1957), 56.

in communities and learn new skills. Importantly, then, Guiding permitted some girls to confront an image of femininity that they did not accept, and to create a more resourceful, active notion of womanhood.

With its commitment to an all-female membership, Guides also offered girls positive female role models and provided a forum for girls and women to talk about issues of interest and concern to women. The single-sex environment permitted girls to learn and practice new skills without fear of failure, exclusion or ridicule. Author/journalist Michele Landsberg describes Girl Guides as a "safe place" for girls "within a society that continues to be misogynist and generally unsafe for women."⁶ Because of the movement's commitment to inclusion and participation, Guiding was accessible to girls in most communities in Canada.

Lastly, and most importantly, the Girl Guide movement cannot be unconditionally criticized because many girls and women recalled that they "liked the Girl Guides"⁷ and the voices of these participants should not be ignored or diminished. Certainly, this can be said of various Aboriginal women who participated in the movement between 1910 and 1970. Although evidence is scant, various personal accounts of residential school life recorded in Elizabeth Graham's book support this claim. One woman, who was a student at Mohawk Institute recalled: "I got to belong to Brownies and Girl Guides. That was

⁶ Keynote address: Unfolding the Future Conference, 1989, qtd. in Aniko Varpalotai, "A 'Safe Place' for Leisure and Learning - The Girl Guides of Canada," Loisir et Societe/Society and Leisure (Spring 1992), 119.

⁷ Elizabeth Graham, The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools (Waterloo: Heffle Publishing, 1997), 398.

something I wouldn't have had if I had stayed home."⁸ Another ex-student "used to look forward to Girl Guide meetings." She remembers with pride a visit from Lady Baden-Powell when, "out of all the Troops in Brantford" the Mohawk Institute Guides "won everything - the inspections for the Brownies and the Girl Guides." Camping with the Girl Guides was another positive experience, and she recalls "[t]hey used to take the ones that stayed there [at Mohawk Institute] in the summers they used to take them camping. I went with them one time when they went to Chiefswood and we had a fabulous time."⁹ For these First Nations women, Girl Guiding provided experiences and memories that have stayed with them long after their youth. Some girls may have welcomed Guides as a release from the regime of residential schooling, using Guide meetings to meet and communicate informally with other girls their age. Others may have found the skills and training offered in Guiding to be useful in their adult lives. Still others may have used Guiding as a means to resist the strategy of assimilation in the schools, and to practice some culturally-related behaviours. The experiences of Guiding were coloured by both Guide policy and group practice, regulated instruction and unregulated leisure, inclusion and exclusion, traditional and non-traditional female pursuits. It would be impossible to completely condemn the Girl Guides. Its programme was for everyone and no one; it stood for Anglo-middle-class conformity but adapted to all conditions; and despite the hierarchical structure of the Girl Guide organization, which placed girls and leaders at the bottom rungs, it was the girls and leaders who most influenced the experience of Guiding.

⁸ Graham, *The Mush Hole*, 390.

⁹ Graham, *The Mush Hole*, 386.

But from this brief study, it is nonetheless clear that part of being a Girl Guide in Canada should involve engaging girls in a discussion of the movement's past. First, the notion that the origins and spread of Girl Guides were spontaneous, its programme being organic or 'natural' for all girls, should be dispelled. Second, because so much of its past is tied to an image of the Indian, Girl Guides should also discuss cultural appropriation and citizenship training, becoming aware of the political and cultural issues from which they arise, and which they in turn impact.

In many ways, the Girl Guide movement still closely adheres to a myth started by Baden-Powell that Guide training is organic and its adoption in countries throughout the world happened “spontaneously, without propaganda or urging.”¹⁰ This myth has endowed the history of Guiding with a certain 'purity,' making Guiding appear 'natural' to girls, divorcing the initiative of Girl Guiding from imperialism and downplaying its social function of training youth.

One needs only to glance at the title of the second official handbook published for Guides, The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help to Build the Empire, to understand that the Girl Guide organization was inherently connected to the imperatives of upholding the British Empire, and deeply embedded in a discourse working to produce imperial subjects. Baden-Powell thought of the Empire as a “bundle of sticks,” which, when “bound tightly together by the bond of patriotism” would be “unbreakable.”¹¹

¹⁰ Baden-Powell, Scouting and Youth Movements (New York: Jonathon Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930), 102.

¹¹ Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, Girl Guiding - A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers and Guiders (London: C.Arthur Pearson Ltd.,1938), 67.

When asked what patriotism implied for youth overseas, he responded that the inculcation of the “idea of the British Commonwealth” would stem the “disintegration of the British Empire.”¹²

Strengthening of the bonds of Empire, Baden Powell believed, would bring “the assurance of peace in the world through a better understanding and fellowship between the nations.” He believed that Scouting and Guiding offered “broad-mindedness” and a “common tie,” which would help to erase “hard to wash out” “local racial differences” within and among the colonies. Baden Powell was convinced that girls and boys of “whatever origin” were “equally attracted” to Guiding and Scouting, and when they found themselves in the “same uniform, under the same promise, working for the same ends, inspired with the same ideals,” they would “forget their respective little differences” in the larger sisterhood and brotherhood.¹³ This basis for international Guiding therefore carried cultural meaning for the various girls who joined.

Scouting and Guiding’s international stance grew out of an imperial concern over the capacity of England to sustain her Empire.¹⁴ Attempts to bridge (or “wash out”) cultural difference, must therefore be considered within a context of colonial policy towards Indigenous Peoples. Although Baden-Powell and Guide literature insisted that in Guiding, all girls were equal, the imperial ideology which supported the organization was built upon the assumption that the people whose lands were colonized were inferior and

¹² Baden Powell, “Overseas Scouts,” (June 1913) B.P.'s Outlook - Selections from the Founder's contributions to the Scouter from 1909-1941 (Ottawa: National Council Boy Scouts of Canada, 1979), 32.

¹³ Baden-Powell, “Overseas Scouts,” B.P.'s Outlook, 31-32.

¹⁴ Michael Rosenthal, The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 254.

desperately needed British aid. Baden-Powell certainly espoused this view. In his writings and sketches, he denied Indigenous people fully independent adult status, and qualified their only virtues in terms of British values of intelligence, loyalty, character, will power and honesty.¹⁵ Colonial stereotypes of Indigenous people informed not only the way indigenous people were represented in Scout and Guide handbooks, but also whether and how they participated in Scouts and Guides.

Guide and Scout literature constructed the African in terms of popular colonial stereotypes: he was savage, stupid and indolent. Michael Rosenthal notes that Baden-Powell not only supported slavery "for the native of limited ambition and talent" but also presented the native as an "animal to be hunted and a recalcitrant child to be disciplined."¹⁶ The virtues of the African were few in number, and constructed in ways to encourage British youth to maintain their standards of loyalty, strength, and, in some cases, health. "Occasionally," writes Rosenthal,

'cheerful-looking blackies' are invoked to help encourage British youth in some healthy practice, as for those of an African tribe with 'great grinning mouths, showing their white, even teeth,' which they keep clean.... [Baden-Powell continues]: 'I hope that Wolf Cubs, at any rate, will not be beaten by a blackie at this, and that you will clean your teeth, as they do, every morning and every evening.'¹⁷

This image of Africans fueled a controversy surrounding the admission of Blacks into South African Scouting and Guiding, and the eventual segregation of Black and White Scouts and Guides. In spite of official objectives to overlook "all differences of creed,

¹⁵ Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, 253-278.

¹⁶ Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, 256-258

¹⁷ Baden-Powell, *An Old Wolf's Favorites: Animals I Have Known* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1924), 61, qtd. in Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, 260, and.

colour, country, caste and class,"¹⁸ when the question arose of extending Guiding to Africans in 1921, the fear of parental disapproval of association with Black children led Lord and Lady Baden-Powell to ban African girls from the organization. Alix Liddell's account of the first 50 years of Girl Guiding justified this exclusion by stating: "it was thought that the time had not yet come."¹⁹ Following South African colonial policy of segregation, the "Wayfarers" movement was started in 1926; this group for African girls only promoted similar ideals of loyalty and ethics of good citizenship to those of Girl Guides, but used "a suitably adapted handbook, distinctive uniform and badge."²⁰ Wayfarers was eventually incorporated as a branch member into the South African Girl Guides Association,²¹ however it was not until 1970 that the Association held rallies and jamborees in which African and White Guides took part together.²²

Scout and Guide literature perceived the East Indian qualitatively differently from the African, but the image was no less congruent with popular stereotypes. While Baden-Powell saw Africans as a people requiring the aid of British civilization to arrive at a state of cultural maturity, he viewed the Indian as more sophisticated. He believed that the Indian pretension to superiority or – just as bad – equality, needed to be held in check

¹⁸ Report of Baden-Powell's on Indian for Director (British Scout Archives, Box B, South Africa, 1931-38) qtd. in Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, 260.

¹⁹ Alix Liddell, *The First 50 Years* (London: Girl Guides Association, 1960), 27. Rose Kerr writes in her history of the movement that when the "question of including native girls in the local movement was discussed" in 1921, "it was felt that the time was not ripe for such a policy." Rose Kerr, *The Story of A Million Girls - Guiding and Girl Scouting Round the World* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1939), 70.

²⁰ Rose Kerr, *The Story of A Million Girls*, 71.

²¹ Black Scouts also developed a different group called "Pathfinders."

²² "Chief Guide to visit South Africa," *Alive!* (April 1970), 12.

until they possessed sufficient character and honesty to function on their own.²³

Rosenthal argues that the fear of subversive action by Indians caused Scouting authorities to be wary about extending Scouting membership to Indians. As for Girl Guides, Liddell states that “European opinion was sharply divided” on the subject of permitting Indian girls to join, remarking vaguely that “[m]any people thought the movement unsuited to Indians, if only on account of climate and customs.”²⁴ An interesting controversy illuminates Baden-Powell's racist stereotypes of Indians and helps to explain this curious comment. In the late 1930s, Baden-Powell made a claim that shaping Indian character along proper lines was impossible because in the Hindustani language, there was no word that “carried the full weight of the Scout conception of 'honour.’”²⁵ In spite of protest from Indian Scout officials that this comment implied that Indians *had* no sense of honour, Baden-Powell refused to apologize for his statement. It was, arguably, this form of 'customary' difference that disallowed Indian girls from joining Girl Guides until 1917, and then only permitted Indian girls to join subject to the discretion of the Chief Girl Guide Commissioner.

In India, it appears that most Indian Girl Guide groups were closely connected to Indian schools, and at one point it was proposed that any successful applicants for school teachers' posts be Guiders.²⁶ Rose Kerr remarked that in India, Guiding provided important “all-round training” in such areas as infant welfare, health and hygiene and

²³ Rosenthal, *Character Factory*, 264.

²⁴ Liddell, *The First Fifty Years*, 39.

²⁵ Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, 266.

²⁶ Kerr, *The Story of A Million Girls*, 228.

maternity to Indian girls, who, she argued, were "destined to play such an important role in the development of their nation." As in Canada, training women was seen to be a key means of assimilation, and Kerr argued that "[t]he woman's influence is all-important in the Indian home," because "she has the power of handing on the inspiration and the training acquired in the Guides to her sons as well as her daughters."²⁷

Native Guides in Australia constituted, for the organization, "a special problem." Kerr explained that, the way that Guiding saw it, "[t]he mainland Aboriginal cannot be said to be quick in the uptake, [and] Native morality is not the same as our morality." Nevertheless, she stated, "the native Guide knows what honesty and cleanliness mean, and is taught to value them."²⁸ Lady Baden-Powell's views of Aborigines were largely instructed by the dubious science of eugenics and theories of racial hierarchy. In her book about her 1935 world tour, she recorded a history of Australia in which she described the nature of the "black 'Abo'":

There used to be a large number of [black native people], living an absolutely wild ... life ... As white people came and settled in the land these wild creatures fled before them, not because white men drove them, but simply because they were entirely a savage race like animals, and they wanted to keep by themselves and away from other humans and could not bare civilization creeping towards them. ... Many have probably never seen or been seen by white men, just as there are still large herds of wild buffalo too, out in the bush, which have never been chased or hunted.²⁹

Her images of Guides from the Islands off Australia were decidedly more favourable, but no less condescending:

²⁷ Kerr, *The Story of A Million Girls*, 228.

²⁸ Kerr, *The Story of A Million Girls*, 192.

²⁹ Lady Baden-Powell, *Guide Links* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Limited, 1936), 63.

They were dear people to look at and to talk to, with rather big faces and wide mouths and with very fuzzy, very black hair ... Have you ever looked into the eyes of a black spaniel dog when he has been naughty, and is asking you not to be cross with him? You know the saying: 'A woman, a spaniel, a walnut tree, The more you beat them the better they be.' A spaniel seems to know this and carries an appealing expression in his eye. He is, I think the most affectionate and adorable .. of dogs... Well the eyes of those Guides of Badu Island touched me like that, and I shall never forget their dear, good, smiling black faces and their wistful, dog-like, trusting eyes.³⁰

Meanwhile, she described "the Maori race" as "tall and well built," claiming that they were "most cultured people" who were "charming" and "delightful," and who held "dignity" and "pride of race."³¹

From the information provided in Kerr's book, it appears that in Australia, as in Canada, Guiding followed colonial Aboriginal policy of assimilation. According to Kerr, Guiding played into the transfer of the "Islands" to the "jurisdiction of the Queensland Government Aborigine Department," and the Department was anxious to "begin Guide work in the Aboriginal Reserves both on the mainland and in the Islands."³² Moreover, Guiding spread to Aboriginal girls on the Moa Islands by White Guiders stationed on the Islands as school teachers, and, as in Canada, Aboriginal Girl Guide groups on the Islands continued for many years to be entirely led by White leaders. Miss Hawthorn, the Trainer for Queensland in the mid 1930s, explained that due to language difficulties (Guide texts were not translated into Aboriginal languages) "[t]raining the native girls to take charge of companies" was a "difficult problem" and girls were not permitted to "take control and

³⁰ Lady Baden-Powell, Guide Links, 70-71.

³¹ Lady Baden-Powell, Guide Links, 112-115.

³² Kerr, The Story of A Million Girls, 193.

organise companies without some supervision." In response to this problem, the Aboriginal Department co-operated with Guides by appointing a White, qualified Scouter as a "relieving teacher" who, along with the Protector of Aboriginals (who was also a Scout Commissioner), overlooked the companies on the Islands.³³

This brief overview of Guiding in the colonies of South Africa, India and Australia reveals that, internationally, the Girl Guide movement justified the exclusion, segregation or special treatment of colonial Others in terms of Imperial philosophy and colonial policy. The Canadian movement needs to be seen within the broader contours of this imperial history. Unlike in Africa, at no time were Aboriginal girls excluded from participating in Girl Guides in Canada, nor were they actively segregated within the movement from European girls. But like the Wayfarers, the South African Association and the Indian and Australian Councils, the Canadian Council, later the Girl Guides of Canada-Guides du Canada, reflected and abetted the colonial administration of Indigenous people. In Canada, Aboriginal people were already effectively segregated in the federally-run Indian education system through which most Aboriginal Girl Guide groups were oriented. Furthermore, Guides mirrored the curriculum of Indian schools, emphasizing domestic skills training such as washing floors, preparing food and mending clothes. Baden-Powell's eugenically informed conviction that "[f]or natives, whose skulls are not constructed for reception of modern Western school methods, the Scout and Guide training has been found to be efficacious in ... the schools for Red Indian children

³³ Kerr, The Story of A Million Girls, 195-196.

in Canada”³⁴ appears to be a common justification for maintaining Guide groups in schools for the Empires 'darkies,' 'Abos,' and 'savages.' Under the influence of predominantly White Guiders, Girl Guide groups worked in tandem with colonial Indian policy to train Aboriginal children to become useful Empire and Canadian citizens.

Indian policy used the image of the 'bad Indian as a foil. For example, the policies directed towards Indian women that sought to regulate their sexual, marital and household patterns, required an image of the loose-moraled Squaw in order to justify attempts at assimilation. Likewise, the Indian Act required a virtually invisible Indian woman in order to justify their exclusion from band government and their automatic enfranchisement upon marrying a non-Aboriginal man. Indian policies would only make sense if there were an image of the immoral woman to reform. Girl Guide training also worked to erase Aboriginal cultures while it continued to construct Indian images of adventure, savagery, amorality and poverty. Arguably, the imagery required of policy directed towards Indian women was so acute that Guides virtually excluded Indian women from their programming altogether. Because of their commitment to all-female membership and leadership, the use of a predominantly male Indian image is significant. Arguably, it shows that for Girl Guides, Indian women were constructed outside of the boundaries of womanhood, a process instructed by the popular imagery of Indian women and reinforced by Indian policy.

As long as the Girl Guide organization holds to its myth of 'spontaneous' origin and 'natural' expansion, it cannot fully understand its historical role in youth training in

³⁴ Baden-Powell, Scouting and Youth Movements, 101.

Canada. Even worse, it will dissociate itself from the colonial and, at times, hypocritical policies which shaped the organization, therefore permitting the organization to reproduce colonial practices of domination, racism and inequality that underline its sisterhood.

Discussing Indian policy may not be an obvious exercise for Girl Guides. But if Guiding continues to aim to produce good Canadian citizens, girls should at least be aware of how the construct of citizenship is created, its history and implications for Aboriginal people, and how problematically Girl Guides used Indian symbols in the past.

Cultural theorists have argued that the Indian is a tangible figure who has been and continues to be an important feature of our society and culture. They have found that the Indian was written into our popular literature; he was produced at the museum and managed by the Department of Indian Affairs and his identity and destiny were determined through academic study of his character, history, customs and politics. We have constructed Indians for the purposes of entertaining Canadian children, designing and administering Indian policies and satisfying historical and anthropological inquiry. Through these various projects, the image of the Indian was bestowed with currency and authority. Its truth and authenticity were created only according to a colonialist desire to define and complete Canadian literature, Canadian history, Canadian law, and Canadian identity.³⁵

The Indian the Girl Guide movement constructed was a romanticized figure, who, by being uncivilized, pre-historic and primitive, inspired anti-modernists with ways to devise a better society. But this image affects the ways that Canadians view First Nations

³⁵ Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Random House, 1978).

and Inuit peoples. First, by using an image that could not, by definition, exist outside of the past, the Girl Guides rendered contemporary First Nations and Inuit people virtually invisible in modern society. Because the Indian, by definition, remained fossilized and pristine, Native peoples' contact with non-Aboriginal people, and the assimilation of their cultures that ensued, were perceived as a corruption or loss of the 'true' Indian identity. Moreover, the image obscured the reality of colonial laws and oppression which subjected First Nations people to forced assimilation in residential schools, banned their ceremonies, pushed aside their claims to land, and neglected their treaty terms. By mimicking the Indian, Girl Guides and their leaders could literally deny their roles as beneficiaries of colonialism by identifying themselves with the very cultures they aimed to replace.

Cultural appropriation means "to take and use as one's own."³⁶ While cross-cultural exchange happens all the time, we must become aware of when this exchange results from domination. Important questions we need to ask when addressing issues of cultural appropriation include: Who controls and benefits from cultural resources?"³⁷ Does this exchange respect and is it accountable to Aboriginal people and cultures? Is there equal access to resources of cultural production?"³⁸ In the early twentieth century, First Nations people were largely excluded from the production of their own Indian narratives while the Girl Guide organization, its leaders and its literature became the true heirs of Native traditions. It was the Girl Guide organization, rather than Aboriginal

³⁶ Richard Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," *Fuse* (Summer 1993), 17.

³⁷ Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," 18.

³⁸ Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," 22.

people who defined what was Indian. The Girl Guide movement profited from Indian imagery, using it to sell adventure as a means to entice children to camp and join Guides. By the mid-twentieth century, Guides also benefitted politically from Indian imagery, using Aboriginal girls as a means to demonstrate a 'sisterhood' of Guiding and a liberal stance on Canadian multi-culturalism.

It was about this time that Canadians began to ask questions about the restrictions and inequities faced by Aboriginal people in Canada. A post-war concern for upholding the principles of democracy led to academic and popular criticism of racism against Indians as well as other ethnic groups. In the face of public criticism for negative stereotyping of Indians as, for example child-like, primitive and animal-like, youth movements have responded in two ways: they either removed Indian imagery from their programmes, or they emphasized 'positive' images.³⁹ Neither solution adequately responds to the issue of cultural appropriation: dismissing the image denies its historical, political and cultural use by Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people while the normalizing judgement of "positive" fails to examine how and why this imagery gained discursive power in youth movements. The critique of cultural appropriation should, rather, involve examining the process by which images are constructed and subjects produced. In the case of Girl Guides, the Indian image - positive or negative, was used to produce White, Christian middle-class girl citizens. The Indian subject was produced as a way for White middle class organizers to satisfy their anti-modernist fantasies while

³⁹ Heather Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness and The Aborigine in Selected Ontarian Shield Camps," M.A. Thesis, Trentu U, 1998, 222.

they simultaneously worked to dismantle the cultures of contemporary Aboriginal people.

Heather Dunlop, in her study of Ontario Shield Camps rejects the suggestion that camps should "erase the Indian completely from the camp landscape," justifying the use of a "highly romantic and quite stereotypic" image of the Indian in camps for two reasons: first, the image is positive and second, it has inspired "inter-cultural interest and understanding."⁴⁰ The pursuit to construct positive symbols of Indianess is closely connected to efforts by youth clubs and scholars alike to distinguish "authentically portrayed aboriginal cultures"⁴¹ from false representations which have been fabricated or marred by non-Indian interpretation. In her paper on the appropriation of native lore by youth organizations, Deborah Ann Allen notes that

more youth organizations are recognizing the necessity of establishing lessons which explain the origins behind what is appropriated, and discriminating fact from fiction. That is not to say that the imaginary Indian is dead. He is still alive and still as influential on the minds of young children, but at least an effort is being made to educate children on the 'real' Indian.⁴²

In the place of "the cardboard, two dimensional, idealized Indian," Dunlop encourages camps to embrace an "up-dated" Council Ring "featuring Natives who explain themselves, their historic link to the land, and the significance of the canoe to them within their landscape." She also suggests inviting "local Amerindians for workshops on

⁴⁰ Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness," 222.

⁴¹ Dunlop, "The Role and Image of Wilderness," 234.

⁴² Deborah Ann Allen, "'The Best Things of the Best Indians: The Appropriation of Native Lore by Youth Organizations in North America,'" 2000 Paper, U of Toronto, 1998, 53.

cultural activities, for discussions of current issues, for presentations of their real lifestyle, [and] for comparisons of the imaginary and the real Indian."⁴³

But these suggestions do not delve deeply into questions of what is authenticity, and who creates it. Arguably, authenticity is a perceived state, determined only by its juxtaposition against inauthenticity. When Euro-Canadians believed their own children were suffering from the effects of urbanization, industrialization and artificial modes of education, they looked to the wild Indian, who was untouched by the negative side-effects of civilization. The Indian provided truth in a world that had seemingly become shallow. But because inauthenticity was determined by contact with modernity, the authentic Indian was never available to Girl Guides. Girl Guides attempted to both cross but also preserve the boundary that separated authentic Indians and inauthentic Canadians. They did this by using psychological theories that twinned the child with the savage, by precise ethnographical and anthropological study and by Indian mimicry. Ultimately, though, the Indian Other was still channeled through culturally constructed filters, and therefore Guides interpreted, inverted and reinterpreted the Indian according to their own imperatives. Playing Indian was part of the Empire game. It was a way of managing and producing Empire, and later, Canadian citizens. The game permitted girls to fabricate, restructure and have colonial authority over an Indian "Other" from which they ultimately gained strength and identity.

Canadian citizenship is a politically, historically and culturally defined concept that establishes and transgresses distinctions between citizens and non-citizens, settlers

⁴³ Dunlop, "The Role of Wilderness," 231, 233.

and indigenous peoples, morality and immorality, past and destiny. There is an ambivalent tension at the border of citizenship that is informed on the one hand by notions of Empire, colonial Indian policy and Canadian nation-building aims to absorb Native and Inuit people, and by a desperate desire to maintain the Indian in order to define and reproduce citizens on the other. This thesis has attempted to show that the Girl Guide movement defined citizens not only in its Promise, Law and Motto, uniform, badge and testing system, but also in its Indian programming. Although the pursuit to produce citizens through Guiding has been carefully disconnected from questions of colonial domination, inequality and assimilation, it is clear that the construction and appropriation of Indian culture permitted the movement to wield power against Indians while simultaneously drawing power from them.

This simple deconstruction becomes complicated, however, by the participation of Aboriginal girls in the movement. While the Canadian Girl Guide movement used Indian imagery to train Empire and Canadian citizens, Indians also used Girl Guides as a means of self identification. Arguably, First Nations and Inuit girls used the Girl Guide movement to resist assimilation and to support their own cultures. Furthermore Chief Big Plume and "his leading men" at the naming ceremony of Lady Baden-Powell, and Chief Crowchild and his son at the arrival of a Friendship Scroll from British Guides, used authentic Indianess in order to attach the values and power of Indian imagery to modern Aboriginal people. Like Aboriginal Girl Guides, the identities of Crowchild and Big Plume were hybridized. They used both a Girl Guide discourse of Indianness and

citizenship, and their own Aboriginal traditions in order to survive as Aboriginal people.⁴⁴

While this argument makes authenticity and inauthenticity, assimilation and resistance difficult to locate, it also supports endeavours to recognize and enforce Aboriginal rights. The analysis of regulation in the Girl Guide movement therefore needs to be balanced with a study of resistance, by examining the experience of Aboriginal Girl Guides, both in historical reconstruction of the Girl Guide movement, and in contemporary Girl Guide programming.

⁴⁴ See: Jo-Anne Fiske, "'The Womb is to the Nation as the Heart is to the Body': Ethnopolitical Discourses of the Canadian Indigenous Women's Movement," Studies in Political Economy 51 (1996): 65-95 and Gerald Vizenor, Manifest Manners - Narratives on Postindian Survivance (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

APPENDIX

**Residential School Girl Guide Groups that have been
Recorded in Girl Guide Annual Reports and Magazines, 1910-1970**

Aklavik All Saints School - Northwest Territories
Alberni Residential School - British Columbia
Blood - Alberta
Brandon - Manitoba
Carcross - Yukon Territory
Choooutla Indian School - Yukon
Coqualeetza School - British Columbia
Ermineskins - Alberta
Fort Albany - Ontario
Fort George (RC) - Quebec
Fort George (CE) - Quebec
Fort Resolution - Northwest Territories
Gordon Indian Residential School - Saskatchewan
Hay River - Northwest Territories
La Tuque - Quebec
MacKay Boarding School - Manitoba
Mohawk Institute - Ontario
Moose Fort - Ontario
Mount Elgin School - Ontario
Old Sun School - Alberta
Onion Lake - Saskatchewan
Pointe Bleue - Quebec
St. Alban's Indian Residential School - Saskatchewan
St. George's School - British Columbia
St. Michael's Residential School - British Columbia
St. Paul's Residential School - Alberta
Sandy Bay - Manitoba
Sept-Iles - Quebec
Shingwauk Indian Residential School - Ontario
Sioux Lookout School - Ontario

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