

In 1883, “Public Works Minister Hector Langevin told the House of Commons, ‘In order to educate the (‘Indian’) children properly we must separate them from their families. Some people may say that this is hard but if we want to civilize them we must do that.’”¹ At minimum, 150,000 indigenous children were forced by law to attend Indian residential schools in Canada; today there remain approximately 80,000 survivors.² These schools can be theoretically located in Foucault’s borderline heterotopia,³ at the border of crisis and deviation.⁴ It is a heterotopia that has been politically constructed and maintained by Canadian political administrations from the late-nineteen century to the late-twentieth century, one that has insisted on the stealing of indigenous children from their homes to be placed in residential schools. However, the ideology of Canadian nationalism or unity (the tangible image before the mirror) is countered by the visible yet invisible (the mirror-image itself) incarceration of the children: visible when framed by missionary benevolence, invisible through historical erasure and denial of the abuse of the children.

This essay will illuminate how successive Canadian administrations and Christian institutions for over a century have inhibited access to damning archival documents that would confirm their complicity of engaging in genocidal tactics against Canada’s indigenous population. Disturbingly, legal and bureaucratic actions of current and recent Canadian administrations would indicate a political desire to erase the crime of genocide from Canada’s historical legacy. Notably, the Canadian government has strategically manipulated Canadian law to circumvent prosecution for genocide in the case of Indian residential schools,⁵ and has threatened to destroy evidence secured through the Independent Assessment Process (IAP), hearings that are occurring under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA, 2007).⁶ Significantly, it will be argued that documentary reenactment serves as a countermeasure to political rhetoric,

one that has the potential to deconstruct highly problematic historical inaccuracies pertaining to the Canadian government's relationship with the indigenous peoples of these lands, while simultaneously reconstructing a truer Canadian historiography that makes impossible erasure of the horrors of abuse of children at Canada's Indian residential schools. Films such as the docudrama *We Were Children* (2012) that incorporate dramatic reenactment with first-hand testimony also bear the potential to influence many to contest politically motivated white-supremacist-colonialist ideologies that led to such abuses in the first place. Critically important for documentarians and Canada's indigenous communities, however, is the archival preservation of all materials secured through IAP proceedings. Such preservation would allow for reconstruction of a Canadian history that could potentially undermine and render Canada's anti-genocide law impotent. Canada may yet be forced to take a long, hard look in the mirror.

Manifestation of the Image in the Mirror

In 1990, First Nations Chief Phil Fontaine shared his own experiences and knowledge of extensive abuse of members of Canada's indigenous community while they were interned at Indian residential schools,⁷ a form of abuse that is now unofficially being classified as genocide.⁸ His testimonial can be construed as the mirror image that has now manifested itself as reality, an image that contests and confronts the political constructs of Canadian national unity. As a direct result of an increasing amount of testimonies, the Canadian government is being challenged to face its violent and repressive history of "demonological racism."⁹ It is a challenge that ultimately calls for the rewriting of Canadian history, a history that has been politically constructed to hide, deny and erase its legacy of genocide against the First Nations people of this land. After all, the mirror without its image cannot be a mirror at all, just as 'history' cannot be truly

be considered history if it denies or erases truths. Chief Fontaine's declares that, "we are going to write the history, this missing chapter."¹⁰

Tim Wolochatiuk's poignant docudrama, *We Were Children*, tackles this issue head-on as it intertwines oral testimony with reenactment of the abuses suffered by two children while interned at Indian residential schools. By combining these two methodologies, the film provides an important reconstructive history that clearly illuminates particularly painful aspects of the genocidal legacy of the Canadian government and Christian institutions. Thus, it will be argued that transcripts or recordings of oral histories, along with other evidence secured during IAPs must be considered privileged historical documents to be archived indefinitely. In addition, it will be argued that reenactment, especially when combined with first-hand oral testimonies, can serve as an important deconstructive-reconstructive historical tool when governments attempt to hide behind rhetorical masks of 'nationalism' and 'regret.'¹¹

Schools to 'Civilize' the 'Savages'

First, it is imperative to shed some light on how Canada's indigenous children suffered while interned at Indian residential schools. Nagy and Sehdev write, "'Home' to more than 150,000 children from the 1870s until 1996, the residential school system was aimed at 'killing the Indian in the child' and assimilating First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children into white settler society."¹² One of the many means used by governments of white-supremacist settler society to destroy the very fabric of Canadian indigenous society was a law¹³ that gave the government and its authorities the right to steal indigenous children away from their families, children as young as four-years of age.¹⁴ This law translated into the construction of policy that ensured the violent severing of ties between

indigenous children from their family members.¹⁵ Woolford sheds light on the plights of the children. He observes that,

By 1920, residential schools were made mandatory for all Aboriginal children. At many schools, conditions were so inadequate that large numbers of children died from ill health, exposure to the elements, and poor nutrition. Others suffered physical and sexual abuse, as well as constant verbal assault on their cultures, traditions, communities, and families.¹⁶

At some schools as many as fifty percent of the children died;¹⁷ as many as four thousand children perished.¹⁸ Other children died trying to escape. Often parents were not notified of the deaths of their children and the bodies were never returned to their communities to be buried on sacred grounds.¹⁹ Those who made it through the residential school experience alive have been faced with an overwhelming sense of cultural dismemberment.²⁰ Many have suffered “continuing cycles of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, as well as addiction, suicide, and other markers of intergenerational trauma...residual effects of the residential school experience.”²¹ These often-deadly consequences are directly attributable to the white-supremacist policies of successive Canadian governments. By suppressing the political motivation behind pre-given truths, by wielding state control over institutes by acting as divine teachers of the nation, and by continuing to enforce the ‘right’ of the state to intern indigenous children in residential schools,²² Canada has been complicit in the crime of genocide, a crime to which the government and other perpetrators are immune to prosecution.²³

Archives as Sites of Privilege and Exclusion

According to Jacques Derrida, archival materials are housed in places governed by people in positions of power “by virtue of a privileged typology.”²⁴ The archive is a “shelter itself and sheltered, to conceal itself.”²⁵ But to whom, and for what purpose, we

might ask. Featherstone argues that, "The construction of archives can be seen as furthering governmentality and the regulation of internal and colonial populations."²⁶ Governments often authorize the archiving of materials that for legal or security purposes of the state may be drawn upon in the future.²⁷ Significantly, archives are considered extremely valuable as they embody the history of the nation-state,²⁸ and are important in the construction of "national memory."²⁹ Although a country's archives are supposed to be a depository to be reasonably accessible by the public, governments at times would prefer that no evidence remain with respect to issues that defy a country's 'national history.' Problematically, access to a vast amount of archival materials related to Indian residential schools has been hindered by the Canadian government as well as the Christian churches that administered the schools,³⁰ obscuring the true history of the nation.

In the case of the abuse of children at Canada's Indian residential schools, the Canadian government has been resistant in providing millions of documents that could be relevant to Canada's IAPs, documents that as of January 2013 remained in storage at Library and Archives Canada, thereby delaying settlements for many survivors.³¹ Considering that the burden of proof often rests with individuals making claims for compensation,³² it seems clear that the stalling tactics of the government are designed to dissuade many from filing claims, or from pursuing the IAP path once they realize the government is not a fully cooperative party.³³ Another harsh slap in the face to Canada's indigenous population has been the recent decision to destroy thousands upon thousands of recordings, testimonial documents, and evidence secured through the IAPs.³⁴ While the government claims that the process of archiving of documents and the proper redaction of names would be too cumbersome and costly, it has been interpreted as a

strategy to protect perpetrators of abuses to ensure erasure of their crimes from Canadian history.³⁵ To some this would be the equivalent of making the unthinkable decision to destroy all documents related to the Holocaust.³⁶

In June of 2014, chief adjudicator of the residential claims process, Dan Shapiro, called for the destruction of nearly 800,000 documents that have been integral in revealing abuses committed by the Canadian government and Christian institutions against Canada's indigenous peoples.³⁷ In August 2014, a court partially acquiesced to public pressure by ruling that all records from IAPs must be held for fifteen years at which point survivors will be asked whether or not they wish testimonial documents relating to their cases to be held as archival material.³⁸ However, residential school survivor Michael Cachagee realistically claims that, "it will be logistically tough to get the consent of survivors, many of whom have passed away or moved since giving their testimony."³⁹ The implications of destroying evidence secured during the IAPs would be massive. In the words of TRC lawyer Julian Falconer, "Destruction of those documents will have a deep, irreversible impact on the state of the record...the minute you destroy the information, you alter the ability for generations to come to remind people of what was done to these victims."⁴⁰ Significantly, destruction of such important and revealing documents would place huge limitations on documentarians. Documentary filmmaker Tim Wolochatiuk emphasizes that, "all Canadians should raise our voice(s) loudly to let the government know that we are opposed to these measures (the destruction of materials and evidence obtained through the IAPs) and want the historical record to grow and be preserved...not quashed and erased under the disingenuous claim of protecting ones privacy."⁴¹

We Were Children (2012)

Tim Wolochatiuk's powerful and poignant docudrama film, *We Were Children*, is one that has a "willingness to tackle often grim, historically complex subjects."⁴² It blatantly challenges governmental attempts to erase from Canada's national history the issue of abuse of indigenous children at Indian residential schools. Critically important, the film includes the life stories of residential school survivors, Lyna Hart and Glen Anaquod, making governmental attempts of erasure manifest themselves.⁴³ Said another way, "speaking, giving voice to a view of the world, makes possible the necessary conditions of visibility to see things anew, to see, as if for the first time, what had, until now, escaped notice."⁴⁴ By cleverly intertwining the first-hand oral testimonials⁴⁵ of Lyna and Glen with the unfolding of their poignant stories and experiences through reenactment, *We Were Children* "digs toward an impossible archaeology, picking at the scab of lies which have covered over the inaccessible originary event."⁴⁶

Nichols writes that reenactment is a paramount task as, "history does not repeat itself, except in mediated transformations such as memory, representation, reenactment, fantasy—categories that coil around each other in complex patterns."⁴⁷ *We Were Children* successfully unravels a hundred years of governmental hypocrisy as it deconstructs what we have been taught (or have not been taught) about the indigenous peoples of this country and simultaneously reconstructs the horrifically abusive history of Canada's indigenous peoples by the Canadian government and churches. Ultimately, the film challenges viewers to contest a politics and historiography of deceit and erasure. Reenactments such as this necessarily "reconcile...apparent contradiction by acknowledging the adoption of a distinct perspective, point of view, or voice."⁴⁸ In this

instance, we hear the voices of Lyna and Glen, two survivors of Indian residential schools whose voices echo thousands of others.

We Were Children immerses viewers in the heterotopia of Canadian Indian residential schools. With both Lyna and Glen, viewers become privy to a profound sense of loss and dehumanization. For example, Lyna is removed from her family home at a very young age⁴⁹ and once arriving at the residential school, reenactment along with her testimony allows us to understand that the church (and the government by proxy) did everything in their power to strip her of her indigenous identity in ways that were acutely painful, both psychologically and physically, including being violently raped as a young girl.⁵⁰ Significantly, mirrors act as important messengers of abuse and racism in the film. In two separate scenes, Lyna is either directly in front of or in close proximity to mirrors. In the first instance, a nun positions Lyna in front of a mirror at the Indian residential school after her identity has been stripped away from her, and the girl she sees she does not recognize.⁵¹ In another scene, an older student and Lyna are in the bathroom. The older girl is scrubbing her own skin to make it 'whiter', and as she does so, she points out that Lyna's skin is darker making her a 'dirty' Indian. Thus, the mirror shots in *We Were Children* symbolize the white-supremacist ideologies of Canadian administrations that denied beauty and worth unless the image reflected was one of 'whiteness.' More importantly, the mirror shots serve to counter benevolent political rhetoric by showing that genocidal acts were indeed being inflicted upon the children at Canada's Indian residential schools. Crucially, testimonials and the simultaneous unfolding of the stories within the film make us painfully aware of how abuse and rape of both boys and girls was systematic and systemic, wielded as a dark tool of punishment and dehumanization by those who were supposed to guide and protect them.⁵²

Conclusion

Considering persistent failings of the archival system in Canada with respect to the abusive treatment of children at Indian residential schools, the making and release of *We Were Children* necessarily perpetuates the argument that Canada's history must include an admission of our abusive and genocidal past. Oral testimony is another incredibly important tool of historical reconstruction that can help to build a far truer Canadian national history than the one we have been taught.⁵³ In addition to arguing for the importance of archiving indefinitely all recordings, testimonial transcripts, and evidence secured during the IAPs, it has also been argued that filmic reenactments have the potential to deconstruct and simultaneously reconstruct imperfect national histories while influencing viewers to move forward with contestation of the political.

It is time for the Canadian government and Christian institutions that administered Indian residential schools to confess their crimes of committing genocidal acts in order to make practices of erasure manifest themselves, in order to ensure Canadian nationalism becomes truly national through inclusiveness, and in order to ensure that Canada's history moves nearer to the truth. After all, "how can a government speak of healing and reconciliation and then cynically attempt to erase history as if it never happened?"⁵⁴ Preservation of all materials from Canada's IAPs along with public access to these records is a critical piece to finding light at the end of the tunnel, and of reconciling the mirror with its image. Considering the incredible harm done to Canada's indigenous communities by the Canadian government and the churches that administered Indian residential schools, covering the costs of name redaction and archival processes seems an incredibly small price to pay.

Making Erasure Manifest: The Importance of Archives and Reenactment in the Case of Canada's
Indian Residential School Survivors
By Susan G. Enberg

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools" (Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Report, 2012): 5. Langevin's statement came after the Davin Report (1879), a report that looked at indigenous boarding schools in the United States. The ultimate goal of the Canadian government was to sever students' attachments to family and community in order to decimate indigenous ties, to weaken them to the point of obsolescence. With these weakened ties, the Canadian government had hoped to lessen greatly their obligatory treaty obligations to help care for Canada's indigenous populations. The government also believed that by dismembering indigenous communities, they would be able to lessen and eventually silence indigenous dissent and resistance. See pages 10, 11, 13 of the report.

² David B. MacDonald and Graham Hudson, "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada," In *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 45:2 (June 2012): 431.

³ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* (October 1984): 3-4. Foucault contrasts 'heterotopias' with utopias: "Utopias are sites with no real place...they present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down." With regard to "heterotopias," Foucault writes, "there are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. *Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call these heterotopias.*" (my emphasis in italics)

⁴ Ibid 5.

⁵ David B. MacDonald and Graham Hudson, "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada," In *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 45:2 (June 2012): 430.

⁶ Tim Alamenciak, "Survivors of Residential Schools Push Back against Document Destruction," in *thestar.com*, GTA Section (20 June 2014), online resource, <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/goc/cep/index.shtml> http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/06/20/survivors_of_residential_schools_push_back_against_document_destruction.html Accessed 17 December 2014. The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (2007) is the largest class action suit in Canada's history. Survivors of Canadian Indian residential schools must pursue the Independent Assessment Process in order to claim a Common Experience Payment in the form of a \$10,000 lump sum for the first year of internment at an IRS, plus \$3,000 for each additional year they were interned at an IRS. See Government of Canada, "People Serving People," online resource, <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/goc/cep/index.shtml> Accessed 18 February 2015.

⁷ CBC Digital Archives of The Journal, *Phil Fontaine's Shocking Testimony of Sexual Abuse*, Phil Fontaine interviewed by Barbara Frum (30 October 1990) online resource, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/politics/parties-leaders/phil-fontaine-native-diplomat-and-dealmaker/shocking-testimony-of-sexual-abuse.html> Accessed 19 December 2014.

⁸ David B. MacDonald and Graham Hudson, "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada," In *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 45:2 (June 2012): 430. The word "unofficially" has been utilized due to differences existing between international law and Canadian law. Most notably, it seems likely that Canadian law has been strategically crafted to avoid being charged the crime of genocide against its indigenous communities. MacDonald and Hudson write, "Genocide is more narrowly defined in Canadian law than in international law. In the Canadian criminal context, prosecutions may not be initiated against persons for allegedly committing genocidal acts within Canada *prior to July 17, 1998* (my emphasis). For example, crimes committed would not be indictable as the last Indian residential schools in Canada were shut down in the mid-1990s.

See also Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools" (Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Report, 2012): 20.

⁹ Arnold Harrichand Itwaru, "Master Race, Murder and Gory Globalization," in *The White Supremacist State: Eurocentrism, Imperialism, Colonialism, Racism* (Toronto: Arnold Itwaru, 2009), 58.

¹⁰ Sheri Shefa, "First Nations Chief Addresses Panel," *Canadian Jewish News*, Vol. 38, Issue 45 (13 November 2008): 23, 25.

¹¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools" (Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Report, 2012): 2. According to the report, Canadian churches began to apologize for their part in the abuse of indigenous children as early as 1986, while the Canadian government under Prime Minister Stephen Harper did not formally offer an apology until 2008.

¹² Rosemary Nagy and Robinder Kaur Sehdev, "Introduction: Residential Schools and Decolonization," in *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 27, no. 1 (2012): 67.

¹³ John F. Leslie, "The Indian Act: An Historical Perspective," in *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (Summer 2002): 25. This law is Article 11 in the amended 1894 Indian Act.

¹⁴ Rosemary Nagy and Robinder Kaur Sehdev, "Introduction: Residential Schools and Decolonization," in *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 27, no. 1 (2012): 67.

¹⁵ Andrew Woolford, "Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples," in *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 4:1 (April 2009): 85.

¹⁶ *Ibid* 85.

¹⁷ *Ibid* 92.

¹⁸ Mark Kennedy, "At Least 4,000 Aboriginal Children Died in Residential Schools, Commission Finds," *National Post: Canada*, online Resource, 3 January 2014 <http://news.nationalpost.com/2014/01/03/at-least-4000-aboriginal-children-died-in-residential-schools-commission-finds/> Accessed 11 January 2015.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁰ Andrew Woolford, "Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples," in *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 4:1 (April 2009): 85.

²¹ *Ibid* 85.

²² John F. Leslie, "The Indian Act: An Historical Perspective," in *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (Summer 2002): 25.

²³ See David B. MacDonald and Graham Hudson, "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada," In *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 45:2 (June 2012): 430. Significantly, an increasing number of scholars as well as many within Canada's indigenous community do not hesitate to "describe their experience of colonialism as 'genocide,' and by this it is meant "the attempted annihilation of the targeted group."²³ However, the crime of genocide cannot be applied to genocidal acts committed prior to July 1998 under recently crafted Canadian criminal law, a crime in and of itself.

²⁴ Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever," in *diacritics* (Summer 1995): 10.

²⁵ *Ibid* 10.

²⁶ Mike Featherstone, "Archive," in *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 23 (2006): 591.

²⁷ Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever," in *diacritics* (Summer 1995): 10; Mike Featherstone, "Archive," in *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 23 (2006): 592.

²⁸ As the nation-state sees fit, and politically appropriate.

²⁹ Mike Featherstone, "Archive," in *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 23 (2006): 592.

³⁰ Rosemary Nagy and Robinder Kaur Sehdev, "Introduction: Residential Schools and Decolonization," in *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 27, no. 1 (2012): 67.

³¹ Globe and Mail, "Ottawa Ordered to Find and Release Millions of Indian Residential School Records: (Ottawa: 30 January 2013), online resource, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-ordered-to-find-and-release-millions-of-indian-residential-school-records/article8001068/> Accessed 4 November 2014; CBC News: Aboriginal, "Documents Related to St. Anne's Residential School to be Released," (Canada: CBC news, 11 June 2014), online resource, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/documents-related-to-st-anne-s-residential-school-to-be-released-1.2672256> Accessed 4 November 2014. In addition, Miranda J. Brady shows that the government's resistance to culpability in the case of Indian residential schools is apparent in our national museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization. As a topic of controversy and contestation, she writes, "Opened in 2003, the First Peoples Hall addresses many aspects of First Peoples histories and contemporary experiences, but only briefly mentions residential schools toward the end of the exhibit." Miranda J. Brady, "The Flexible Heterotopia: Indian Residential Schools and the Canadian Museum of Civilization," in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (American Psychological Association, 2013): 410.

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- ³² Mark Cherrington, "Oh, Canada!," in *Cultural Survival*, 31:3 (Fall 2007), online resource, <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/canada/oh-canada> Accessed 20 December 2014; Donovan & Company, "Major Victory at the Supreme Court of Canada: Unanimous Court Rules in Favour of Residential School Survivor," in *Aboriginal Law Newsletter*, Volume 12, Issue 1 pp. 2-4 (Canada: July 2010), online resource, <http://www.aboriginal-law.com/~aborig/uploads/documents/PDFs/July2010newsletter.pdf> Accessed 20 December 2014. Providing the burden of proof is highly problematic in many cases as some IRSs did not keep accurate records of their students. Also problematic is the fact that until recently oral testimony to abuse has not been considered a privileged form of burden of proof in a Canadian court of law. It was worth little to nothing for those making claims for compensation until the Supreme Court of Canada stated otherwise in 2000/2001. See also Marites N. Sison, "Church Receives 'Rare' Photo Archives," in *Anglican Journal* (February 2007), online resource, <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/church-receives-rare-photo-archives-7064> Accessed 4 November 2014.
- ³³ CBC News: Aboriginal, "Documents Related to St. Anne's Residential School to be Released," (Canada: CBC news, 11 June 2014), online resource, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/documents-related-to-st-anne-s-residential-school-to-be-released-1.2672256> Accessed 4 November 2014.
- ³⁴ Tim Alamenciak, "Survivors of Residential Schools Push Back against Document Destruction," in *thestar.com*, GTA Section (20 June 2014), online resource, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/06/20/survivors_of_residential_schools_push_back_against_document_destruction.html Accessed 17 December 2014. The article states that the materials of 38,000 survivors are at risk of being destroyed by the Canadian government. Alamenciak writes, "To date, 800,000 documents have been generated as part of the hearings and 19,500 written decisions have been issued, forming what one researcher called the most comprehensive oral history of the residential school system."
- ³⁵ Tim Alamenciak, "Survivors of Residential Schools Push Back against Document Destruction," in *thestar.com*, GTA Section (20 June 2014), online resource, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/06/20/survivors_of_residential_schools_push_back_against_document_destruction.html Accessed 17 December 2014.
- ³⁶ Tim Alamenciak, "Survivors of Residential Schools Push Back against Document Destruction," in *thestar.com*, GTA Section (20 June 2014), online resource, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/06/20/survivors_of_residential_schools_push_back_against_document_destruction.html Accessed 17 December 2014.
- ³⁷ Tim Alamenciak, "Residential Schools Top Official Seeks to Destroy Documents," *thestar.com*, online resource, 20 June 2014, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/06/20/residential_schools_top_official_seeks_to_destroy_documents.html Accessed 15 January 2015.
- ³⁸ Tim Alamenciak, "Survivors of Residential Schools Push Back against Document Destruction," in *thestar.com*, GTA Section (7 August 2014), online resource, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/08/07/judge_orders_destruction_of_residential_school_documents_after_15year_holding_period.html Accessed 17 December 2014.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Colin Perkel, "Residential Schools Canada: Judge Urged to Preserve Survivors' Accounts," *Huff Post: Politics, Canada*, 15 July 2014, online resource, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2014/07/15/residential-schools-canada-survivors-records_n_5588116.html Accessed 11 January 2015.
- ⁴¹ Tim Wolochatiuk, director of *We Were Children*, personal communication, email of 21 December 2014.
- ⁴² Linda Williams, "Mirrors without Memories: Truth, History, and the New Documentary," in *Film Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Spring 1993): 11.
- ⁴³ See Jason Whyte, "Vancouver Film Festival 2012 Interview: WE WERE CHILDREN director Tim Wolochatiuk" (Vancouver, B.C.: Filmcritic.com, 2012), online resource, <http://www.efilmcritic.com/feature.php?feature=3438> Accessed 4 November 2014. *We Were Children* was directed by Tim Wolochatiuk, scripted by Jason Sherman.
- ⁴⁴ Bill Nichols, "Documentary Reenactment and the Fantasmic Subject," in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (The University of Chicago Press, Autumn 2008): 78.

⁴⁵ Paul Richard Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21-22. Thompson writes, "Oral history is a history built around people. It thrusts life into history itself and widens its scope...It helps the less privileged, and especially the old, towards dignity and self-confidence....Equally, oral history offers a challenge to the accepted myths of history, to the authoritarian judgment inherent in its tradition. It provides a means for radical transformation of the social meaning of history."

⁴⁶ Linda Williams, "Mirrors without Memories: Truth, History, and the New Documentary," in *Film Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Spring 1993): 15.

⁴⁷ Ibid 73.

⁴⁸ Ibid 80.

⁴⁹ Brad Oswald, "We Were Children Docudrama Lays Bare Residential School Horrors," in *Winnipeg Free Press* (19 March 2013), online resource, <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/arts-and-life/entertainment/TV/docudrama-lays-bare-residential-school-horrors-198912311.html> Accessed 1 December 2014. Lyna Hart was just four-years old when she was removed from her family home; Glen Anaquod was six-years old.

⁵⁰ Tim Wolochatiuk, *We Were Children*, film, directed by Tim Wolochatiuk (Canada: National Film board of Canada, 2012), DVD. Lyna's testimony and accompanying reenactment bring us into the school where she is told she is a 'savage' that must become 'civilized.' She is stripped of all her clothing and personal belongings, her hair is deloused with DDT then shorn to sever her identity with her indigenous self. The children were fed foods that they were not familiar with, or that were lacking in nutritive value, especially in comparison to foods served to the nuns and priests. The children were not permitted to speak their own languages, and were punished brutally for doing so. In one scene in particular, Lyna illuminates how children were forced to kneel and hold their tongues (literally), sometimes for an hour or more, for the crime of not speaking English, the crime of speaking their native languages. Significantly, both Lyna and Glen provide testimonial to the systematic use of sexual assault and rape of the children by priests.

⁵¹ Tim Wolochatiuk, *We Were Children*, film, directed by Tim Wolochatiuk (Canada: National Film board of Canada, 2012), DVD.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See generally Stephanie P. Lysyk, "Evidentiary Issues—Oral Tradition Evidence," in *Aboriginal Practice Points* (British Columbia: Continuing Legal Education Society, 2006). Supreme Court rulings in Canada that recognize the validity of oral tradition as a legal means to express 'truths' may potentially allow for the usurping of historical untruths, while allowing for a history far truer to all,⁵³ most especially those most deeply affected by atrocities committed at Canada's Indian residential schools. Such rulings may also provide great weight with respect to the preservation of many important materials gained through the IAPs: see also Paul Richard Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21-22.

⁵⁴ Tim Wolochatiuk, director of *We Were Children*, personal communication, email of 21 December 2014.