

was being done by the local Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby, his wife, Emma, and the school matron.<sup>605</sup> Between January 1958 and March 1960, a period of just over two years, the Alert Bay school lost fifty-eight staff members. Of these, nineteen had been fired because they were deemed to be incompetent. Eight others left because they were angry with the principal.<sup>606</sup> In 1958, the Benedictine Sisters announced that their order would no longer be providing the Christie, British Columbia, school with staff from its monastery in Mount Angel, Oregon. According to the prioress of the Benedictine monastery, Mother Mary Gemma, meeting residential school needs had left the members of the order physically and mentally exhausted. "One of my youngest teachers had to have shock treatments this year and two others may have to." In the previous two and a half years, the order had lost fourteen teachers.<sup>607</sup> These examples are confirmed by the overall statistics. The average annual turnover rate for all Indian Affairs schools from 1956–57 to 1963–64 was 25%.<sup>608</sup>

The schools were heavily dependent on female labour. The Roman Catholics relied on female religious orders to staff and operate the residential schools.<sup>609</sup> The Protestants were equally reliant upon the underpaid work of female staff. Austin McKittrick, the principal of the Presbyterian school at Shoal Lake in northwestern Ontario, acknowledged this when he wrote in 1901, "I think if we men were to put ourselves in the places of some overworked, tired-out women, we would perhaps not stand it so patiently as they often do."<sup>610</sup> One missionary wrote that, knowing what he did about what was expected of female missionaries, he would discourage any daughter of his from working for the Methodist Women's Missionary Society.<sup>611</sup>

Although women usually worked in subordinate roles, the 1906 Indian Affairs annual report listed eleven female principals. All worked at boarding schools, as opposed to industrial schools. Seven of them were Roman Catholic, two were Anglican, one was Methodist, and one was Presbyterian.<sup>612</sup> One of these principals was Kate Gillespie. After teaching at day schools on reserves near Kamsack and Prince Albert, she was appointed principal of the File Hills school in 1901, a position she held until her marriage in 1908.<sup>613</sup>

The schools employed many more people than principals and teachers. Most schools were mini-communities. There were cooks, seamstresses, housekeepers, matrons, disciplinarians, farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, engineers (to operate the heating and electrical generators), shoemakers, and even bandmasters.<sup>614</sup> Smaller schools such as the United Church Crosby Girls' Home in Port Simpson, British Columbia, made do with a staff of only three people in 1935.<sup>615</sup> The Roman Catholic school at Kamloops, British Columbia, had at least nineteen staff in that same year.<sup>616</sup> The Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, residence had over fifty employees during the 1966–67 school year.<sup>617</sup>

Workloads were heavy, and time off was rare. The seven-day week was the norm for many employees. An 1896 report on the Mount Elgin school noted, "No holidays are given or allowed to the staff; all days or parts of days lost time are deducted from their wages."<sup>618</sup> The policy at the Anglican schools into the 1920s was to allow "one full day off duty each month."<sup>619</sup> Indian agent F. J. C. Ball predicted that a sixty-three-year-old employee of the