

The Pictures of Health:
Images from the Inkameep Day School and the Canadian Junior Red Cross.

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Please cite the Virtual Museum of Canada Inkameep Day School Site if using this paper as a reference.

Art produced by students at the Inkameep Day School as well as photographs of the students performing their plays were published as part of the Canadian Junior Red Cross (CJRC hereafter) magazine between 1936 and 1942. Through the publication/circulation of their art and images, the children who attended the small one-room schoolhouse in the Okanagan Valley visually interrupted dominant narratives around childhood, citizenship, identity, nationalism and health in Canada during the interwar period and exposed the ambivalence towards aboriginal children in this period of growth for the young nation-state. The CJRC magazine was issued once a month around the world to Red Cross members of the junior rank (children under High School age). At the end of the interwar period, membership in the Junior Red Cross topped 19 million active members worldwide representing over 49 countries. This essay specifically addresses the Canadian version of the CJRC journal that was circulated in Canada to approximately 800,000 children by the beginning of WWII.

The history of the Red Cross began as an idea by the now-infamous nurse Florence Nightingale out of her experience in the Crimea War (1853-55) where she envisioned civilians providing medical assistance for injured soldiers. The actual birth and naming of the organization, the Red Cross, did not take place until 1864, and was the product of the work of Henri Dunant. He convened agreeable countries in Geneva and they created the Red Cross organization and designed the Red Cross on white cloth to compliment the flag of the country of the organization's origin, Switzerland. It is of note that the first time a Red Cross flag was flown in Canada was 1896, during the Riel Rebellion. Major General Dr. George Stirling served as a medical officer during this conflict and he flew a makeshift flag to indicate his medical personnel and equipment. It was in 1909 the Dominion's first Charter was passed as "The Canadian Red Cross Act" and the organization was made official. The history of the Junior Red Cross officially starts in Canada in 1919, but approximately 400 children in the province of Saskatchewan were acting as junior members since 1915, helping out adult members during the Great War effort.



Figure 1 Junior Red Cross float advertising the Hygiene and Home nursing course in the Calgary Street Parade, 1921. Courtesy Canadian Red Cross Archives.

After the Great War ended, and during peacetime, the Red Cross turned its attention to serving in the areas of education and public health. Here the emphasis was upon “keeping well” rather more than caring for people after the harm was done. A three-fold ideal of health, service and International friendliness became the mandate for the Junior Red Cross in Canada. This mandate was played out through: 1. Creation of Rules for Good Health, 2. Production of a plan for caring for crippled children, and 3. Building a method of interchange of portfolios (art and writing and photographs) with Juniors in other countries. The CJRC magazine helped to accomplish points 1 and 3. The magazine was filled each month with new arts and crafts ideas, games and activities, as well as Red Cross Reports, stories, news and letters of other Juniors from abroad, and tales from far way lands, or educational stories about Canada.



Figure 2. Canadian Red Cross nurse teaches children in Toronto, Ontario the Junior Red Cross Health Rules. No date. Courtesy Canadian Red Cross Archives.

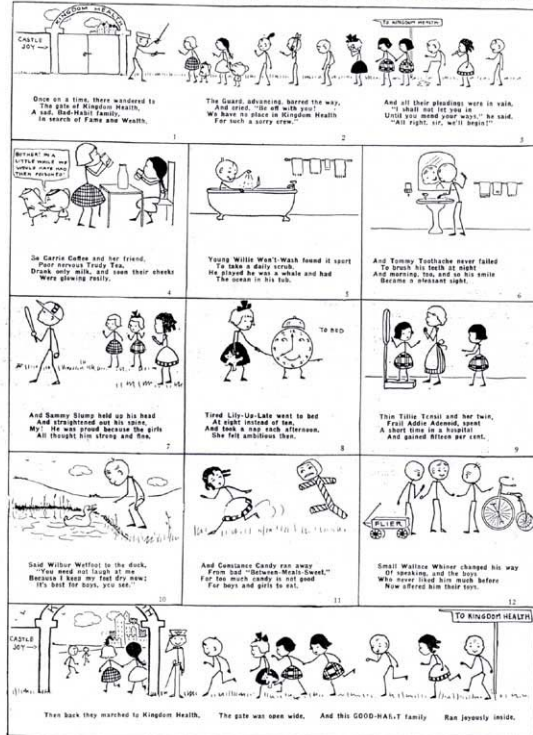
The journal demonstrated the concerted effort made towards health education for children. This education was forwarded through the 12 Rules for Good Health. Periodically an essay would appear in the journal that focused on one rule at a time and expounded on the virtues of keeping healthy and well. The essays appear in the journal from the late 20s through the early 40s. At the beginning of this period good health is equated foremost with decent morality, intelligence, and this is linked to being a good Christian and citizen of Canada (vol. lx no. 1 Jan.30 p. 18). One essay declares, “our natural tendency is to abuse our bodies” (vol. 1x no. 3 Mar 1930) and that intelligent people will follow the health rules, and that “(b)y doing these things they will be strong and healthy men and women, able to enjoy life at its best, and able to be useful citizens and able to continue to live up to the ideals of Junior Red Cross until it shall please God to call them” (ibid.).

12 RULES OF HEALTH:

- 1.Eat healthy food
- 2.Drink Milk
- 3.Get plenty of sleep
- 4.See the doctor
- 5.Get fresh air and exercise
- 6.Use correct posture
- 7.Brush your teeth
- 8.Bathe the body daily
- 9.Wash your hands
- 10.Do not abuse tobacco
- 11.Keep pencils, pens, fingers, erasers, rulers away from the mouth and nose
- 12.Do not spit & use a handkerchief

The breaking of individual rules ranges from metaphors of misdemeanours to major crimes as in the case of breaking rule #9 (washing hands) which is seen to be “offensive in appearance and a serious breach of good manners” (vol. Xx no. 2). The same is true for the breaking of rule #12, which defines spitting as a rude and objectionable act. In the case of rule #12 about spitting, the essay proclaims that “spitting until recently was almost universal” and it wasn’t until scientists “began to understand that diseases were being spread by the spitters...spitters with tuberculosis, spitters with influenza, spitters with ‘colds’ and so on” (ibid.). Science proved the dangers of “something disgusting” and deservedly illegal, was not an activity in which Red Cross Juniors should participate should they “not wish to be looked upon as disgusting barbarians” (vol. lx no.2 Feb 30 p. 16). An evolutionary theme emerges again in rule #6 where man’s (sic) superiority is claimed by his ability to stand erect, and those children who slouch, choose to express their inferiority.

HOW THE BAD-HABIT FAMILY GOT INTO KINGDOM HEALTH!



Reprinted from "Hygein," May, 1924

Figure 3. The Rules for Health were taught with the aid of diagrams that told stories about people who practiced good health that used Christian ideals and beliefs to form the basis for the tale.

In March of 1930 the editors of the journal write that "health is not something we enjoy "naturally" and "(n)ow we know that we have to seek after and work for health just as we have to seek after and work for knowledge, wealth or power" (vol. Xi. No 3 March 1930). Health was something to be "secured and preserved" and that disease was described as "sins against bodily welfare". These sins are repeatedly described as being created through "wrong and foolish" acts and general "foolishness" (ibid.). By 1941, the Health Rules move away from a base of morality and religion to being entrenched as a personal obligation of children in the war effort. The editors write: "Young people who cannot take up arms for their country's defence can do one great service – they can build up their own health and help to protect other people's. If all the pupils and students in Canada undertook this task they would be exemplifying practical patriotism of the very best quality. (vol. xx Jan 41). In the late 1930s, the concept of building the House of Health emerged, and was directly related to the Health Rules for good eating and nutrition.

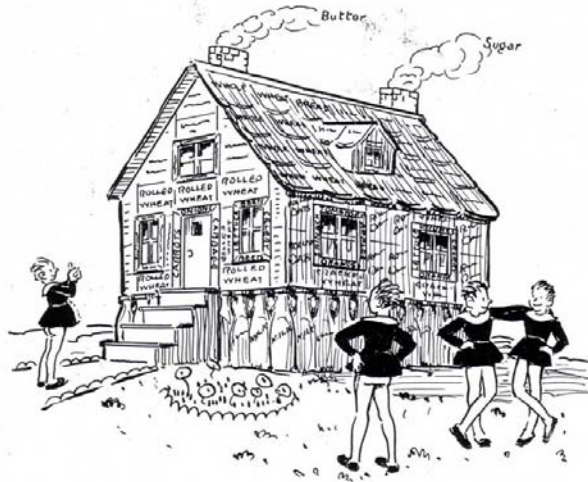


Figure 4. The “House of Health” was built using the Health Rules. Using the House as metaphor for the nation, the Health Rules produced strong bodies as its foundation.

In March of 1940 an essay titled: “How Children can Save the Empire” submitted by a grade seven student from Toronto, Ontario claims that “(b)uilding a strong body is one of the most essential things in life. This also is very necessary in serving your Empire. The twelve Health Rules, if followed regularly, are the source of good health. There are many different ways in which you can assist by having a strong body. The most important is that your children and grand children will inherit sturdy bodies, in this way helping to build stronger and healthier future generations.”

He shall not go naked into battle

Some day he must stand up and fight the battle of life. That day let him be armed with health. Along his way to manhood enemies wait to wrest from him his strength; chief among them malnutrition and typhoid, measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria, smallpox and tuberculosis.

Once, few hoped to escape. Some were killed, others were poisoned with lurking infections. Man was helpless.

But now the power of these diseases is shackled. In civilized lands, smallpox is little more than a dim-remembered horror. Medical science is conquering diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever and typhoid. Tuberculosis wanes.

In the field of nutrition investigators lift the veil. Infant feeding has developed so that babies deprived of mother's milk now grow

and flourish on artificial feeding. The perils once of the vitamins have been unfolded. Children still suffer from rickets, but the means to banish rickets from the earth is here.

Modern medical science has won such victories in our time that parents, today, can see their children armed for life's battle as they themselves were never armed.

During more than three-quarters of a century the name of Squibb has been closely identified with progress in the medical and dental professions.

Any product bearing the Seal of the House of Squibb merits your fullest confidence—whether it be dental cream, a vitamin product, a medicinal preparation for home use or a serum or vaccine for the hospital. Squibb is a name you can trust.

AN INDIVIDUAL CONTROL NUMBER
Every Squibb product bears a Control Number. This means that each detail in that product's manufacture has been subjected to an altered number of strict tests to assure its being fully up to the high standard set for all Squibb preparations.

E. R. SQUIBB & SONS OF CANADA, LIMITED
Manufacturing Chemists to the Medical Profession since 1851

Figure 5. A baby formula add visually reinforces the relationship between the health of children and the health and welfare of the nation.

Tied to this notion of duty is that of being a good citizen. In the late 1930s two series of essays appear written by CJRC editors titled “On the Hilltops of Citizenship” and “Am I a Good Canadian”. On the Hilltops chronicles the lives of several children as they act inappropriately (being dirty, impolite, acting unfriendly to new Canadians, stealing, and being unreliable) and then learn to act as good citizens. In fact the editors turn these morals into play as they encourage children to “play the citizenship game” with each other.



Figure 6. Citizenship and duty to Canada were emphasized in the Canadian Junior Red Cross Journal.

Notably, many of the stories are children who must learn to act responsibly in the absence of fathers who are stated implicitly to be at war, or dead from the war. Children are told that there are certain kinds of citizens that they should strive never to be: the POOR citizen (read: the criminal only interested in money and resents paying taxes), the INDIFFERENT citizen (read: women who don't vote or belong to community or religious organizations), the PREJUDICED citizen (read: people intolerant of new Canadians), the DANGEROUS citizen (read: the political agitator, endeavouring to break down existing society, without having any better thing to offer in its stead, the more clever, the more dangerous), and the SICK citizen (read: the pitiful drifter who is a burden and expense to society who was as a child dull and lazy).

In general, the presence of representations of aboriginal people in the CJRC magazine is in the formats of generalizing essays about aboriginal cultures and peoples written in a pseudo ethnographic manner to a series of essays on “Canadian Arts and Crafts” that includes the work of aboriginal peoples from across Canada”. In

almost all the cases, aboriginal cultures, but not peoples are spoken about as of the past.



Figure 7. Aboriginal people and their material culture are represented as part of Canadian history and identity.



Figure 8. Aboriginal culture is seen here as an activity for Red Cross Juniors to explore creatively.



Grey Owl meeting little beaver into camp, Federal Albert National Park, Saskatchewan, Canada.

Grey Owl and the Beavers

By G. W. RICHARDSON

WHY do boys throw stones at birds and chase squirrels and other little animals? That is a question which has often puzzled me. Injuring, or killing, birds and animals is not sport. The real fun comes in taming them and having them as pets and friends.

Instead of going into the woods hoping to kill these harmless little creatures, there would be a great deal more enjoyment in trying to photograph them or in arranging a contest to find who could observe and describe the greatest number of species or varieties of birds and animals. Such a contest is exceedingly interesting. It is difficult, too, because in order to be successful boys and girls, and even adults, must know the names and be able to identify at least the more common species. When a new species is observed a note should be made of colour, size, and other features, so that the new find may be identified by a teacher or by using a good reference book.

Good photographs can be taken even with a cheap camera or kodak. In fact I have seen some very good photographs taken with a camera that cost about one dollar. In order to take good close-up pictures of birds it is usually necessary to set up a "blind." A "blind" is a canvas enclosure in which the photographer hides being cut in the canvas through which the birds may be seen and the photographs and waded through the waterways of Ontario and eastern Quebec seeking new trap-

ping grounds. A few years ago he became amazed and alarmed at the scarcity of fur-bearing animals. He saw at once that the reason for this scarcity was the greed of the trappers and hunters, and he indignantly decided to stop trapping.

He had a small cabin near Rivière-du-Loup in Temiscouata county, Quebec, in a solitary spot in the forest. There he found a family of young beavers. Their mother had been trapped and as they were too young to take care of themselves Grey Owl and his wife took them to the cabin and fed them until they were old enough to run around and feed on the bark of trees. Grey Owl did his best to prevent them from running away. As they became older they were allowed complete freedom but they did not attempt to run away and they followed Grey Owl about like pets.

Beavers are very industrious little animals. They always seem to be busy making new dams and repairing old ones. But they are most of their work at night and they are very careful to keep out of sight of any person or any animal that would harm them. They dive in the water and are out of sight in an instant. I mention this so you may know how remarkable is Grey Owl's experience with them.

One young beaver he brought to the lake near the cabin but the little fellow refused to remain with and every evening, before they

Figure 9. Aboriginal peoples connections with the land and environment were emphasized through the inclusion of Grey Owl, a non-native who portrayed himself as a native person as part of his agenda to educate people about the environment.

Aboriginal people are at times worked into the magazine's focal mandate on health and citizenship as exemplary role models. Visual representation of an aboriginal persons is found as part of the Health Rules when for rule #6 a sculpture of an Indian rider is noted for his exemplary posture while on his horse.

The Health Rules

The Sixth Rule

By DR. J. L. BODDIE
Local National Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross.

THE first fact to be considered in connection with this rule is that from the mechanical point of view the human body is a beautiful piece of work. The arches of the feet are buffers, softening the jar of walking or running. The strong bones of the hip carry the weight of the head and trunk safely and powerfully. The big, solid hip bones which form what is known as the pelvis, provide a rigid and strong central point, a foundation stone, as it were, for the whole skeleton. The column of bones that form the spine allows of both strength and flexibility. The ribs are so constructed and attached that the chest cavity can be made larger or smaller by raising or lowering them, and the fact that they are somewhat flexible helps in the protection of the organs they surround. And, finally, the hollow but of the skull furnishes the best imaginable container for the brain and the special sense organs.

The motion of all these bones is controlled by beautifully adapted muscles, so that the most vigorous as well as the most delicate movements are possible, and this is accomplished, in part at least, by an arrangement of the muscles by which each is balanced by the other. For example, the muscles that bend the fingers are "opposed" by those that straighten them, and so on.

The next point about our bodies is that they are the only bodies in the world capable of a completely erect posture. No other animal can stand straight up and look the world in the face. No other animal is so erect as man on his hind feet as a man is for a man's balance when standing is perfect and perfectly natural, whereas with all other animals the balance is in the erect position is at the best imperfect and slightly unnatural.

The scientists say that a great deal of man's superiority to all the other animals came from his being able to stand upright securely, leaving the

hands completely free from any responsibilities at all in the matter. Under these conditions his hands could be used to pick up and examine all sorts of objects. They could investigate and manipulate everything in the surroundings. They could develop a dexterity which would have otherwise been impossible. They could, in short, serve him in the marvellously efficient fashion that they do.

So standing upright has brought us very incalculable benefits. It has lifted our heads and eyes well away from the ground so that we can see much more of our environment, and it has made us able to touch and handle and experiment with, and so learn about all the exciting and stimulating objects that the world is so full of. This faculty of standing up has been, in short, the basic reason for the difference in knowledge and intelligence and ability between us and all other animals. This is our physical claim to superiority over the whole of created life.

Do we value this aspect of our superiority? Are we so proud of it that we make the best use of it? Or, as may have been hinted in some of the earlier discussions of the Health Rules, are we inclined to be lazy and indifferent about it? Any of those who may need these remarks may answer those questions for themselves, for the hardest thing for all of us in this business of living is not to slack over it. Lessons and games, getting up in the morning and doing our personal and household chores, going to school or to work and coming home again, we seem instinctively to want to choose the easiest way—we want to do as little of those things we have to do as we think will pass muster. And this applies very directly to the way we hold ourselves.

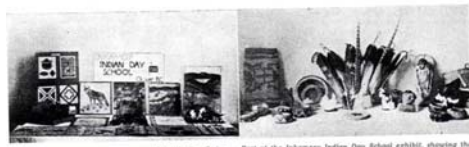
It is easier, perhaps, to round the shoulders than to keep them straight. It is easier to curl up in a chair than to sit upright. It is easier to slouch than



Figure 10. The aboriginal rider portrayed in the sculpture is seen to have good posture and as such is an excellent example of Health Rule no. 6.

Aboriginal people are also referred through the text of the magazine. The first essay for the series "Am I a Good Canadian" begins with a discussion of "what we mean by being a "good Canadian". The editor begins to answer a request from a young reader to know more about "the early days of Canada and how it developed into such a wonderful civilization as it is today" (vol. xix no. 7 Sept 1940). Her answer starts with the sentence "we're going to start with Canada itself and think of our country as it was several hundred years ago, and of her first citizens, the Indians". The essay then proceeds to give sweeping generalizations of Native peoples and cultures beginning in the Atlantic region. She notes first and foremost that all Indian children played in their youth and then learned survival skills "without complaining". The Algonkian tribes as having "lived almost entirely by hunting and fishing" and that "(e)verything the Indian needed for living he had to obtain from the woods and waters around him". The Iroquois are noted for their abilities to as multiple families in longhouses, and that they had excellent government structure and systems. Continuing across Canada she notes that the Plains Indians, like the Algonkians were nomads "or wanderers... but they had a good deal of system about their moving" She writes, "(t)hey could make or break camp with great speed because in camping or travelling, we are told, they had a place for everything and everything was always in its place." She asks: "I wonder if anyone could write that of us?" Plains camps are described as "one continual picnic" with outdoor family meals, stories, and children running and playing. The Plains people also celebrated with the Sun-Dance, "a festival held to offer thanks to the Great Spirit, which was their name for God." Making it to the westcoast she notes the exemplary carpentry and architectural skills of the westcoast people, and claims their deep sense of respect for the dead and understanding of history in the display of totem poles. The editor concludes by quoting what she says is a Thompson tribe lesson for children: "It is bad to steal, to lie, to be lazy, to boast, to be cowardly, to be inhospitable or stingy, to be quarrelsome. It is good to be pure and cleanly, to be honest, truthful and faithful; to be brave, industrious and grateful; to be hospitable, liberal and friendly; to be modest and sociable." She concludes that left out of that list was the quality of loyalty and states that Indians "loved their country and were loyal to it".

The ranks of the Canadian Red Cross Juniors did include a small number of junior organizations made up of aboriginal children. To my knowledge, it was the efforts by non-native teachers and educators that developed all of these groups as part of their classroom activities. The journal specifically mentions four such groups during the interwar years. The children at Inkameep are without doubt, the most active aboriginal junior group if one accounts for the number of their mentions in the CJRC magazine. In it they and/or their art appear in no less than 14 articles between 1934 and 1942.



—Photos by Cory Fisher
Drawings made by the Juniors of Inkameep

Part of the Inkameep Indian Day School exhibit, showing the Indian headstresses of teachers in the center, the Indian response strapped to a board to which it is carried to the mother's bank, at the left a basket, and, in the foreground, several pieces of pottery.

Achievements of Indian Juniors

SOME of the outstanding Branches of Junior Red Cross in Canada are organized in Indian Schools. The Union Jack Branch of the United Church Indian Day School at Berens River, Manitoba, is one of these. This Branch has been very active in all phases of the Junior Red Cross programme. It has carried on international correspondence of excellent quality with Japan. The latest consignment, destined for New Zealand, is of remarkable interest. It consists of articles, maps, water colour drawings, Indian bead work, embroidered buckskin, knitted mittens with intricate designs, moccasins and a small pair of snowshoes. One box of specially lovely bead work is designated as Hiawatha's Treasure Box.

In order that our readers may know something of the Union Jack Juniors who live over a hundred miles from the nearest railway, we publish their introductory type-written letter below:—

"Dear Brother Juniors:
"This is the very first time I typed a letter. Please forgive all my mistakes.

"Our Branch greets your Branch with thoughts of love and admiration. We organized three years ago and have had a successful Branch. All our Juniors have tried to be loyal. We are very far from our ideal, but hope to improve ourselves more every year.

"We live over a hundred miles from the railway and nearly a hundred miles from the nearest doctor or hospital. Anything in Red Cross teaching about health or first aid is very welcome to us. I am keeping a scrap-book called 'The Doctor' with the clippings for which I cut out of 'The Winning Free Press.' Most of our sickness comes in the winter. In the summer we are very seldom sick. This is because we camp out all summer and eat plenty of good fresh fish. November, December and January are the months of sickness, as the days are shorter and the sunshine has diminished. We begin bathing in June and this helps to make healthy Juniors.

"Very soon now we shall set our nets under two feet of ice and catch nice big pike and red suckers. These fish always come up our river at this season. Some of our Juniors will soon be leaving school for a short time. They go up the river with their parents to hunt muskrats. The muskrats are worth perhaps \$1.00 each so we shall all try hard to get some.

"We have our school holidays in July and August. We swim, hunt, pick berries, meet the steamboats, and watch the seaplanes. We also play baseball and football. In a few weeks now we shall have our boys and girls out. Some of the Juniors are good shots. Last spring we used Lockley's target and hit it often.

"We played football nearly all winter. We stuffed the football cover with paper. Last month we played a little rugby but have not yet learned the correct rules. This month we made a small rink on the river. We cleared the snow away. Then we cut a hole in the ice and carried many pails of water to flood our rink. The snowforms and big winds kept covering up our work, but we have had a few games of hockey already. We made hockey sticks from willows and used an old blackboard eraser for a puck.

"The river will open next month and the lake will open in May. About the time the leaves are out we shall hear the steamboat blow three long whistles. Then we shall run like the wind to see all the interesting people



Francis Butler, the gifted young artist of the Inkameep Indian Day School, Oliver, British Columbia, with his favourite pony.

Figure 11. Mr. Anthony Walsh wrote about the students at Inkameep and their achievements that highlighted the international recognition they received for their art and drama programs.

JUNIOR RED CROSS NEWS

TALENTED INDIAN JUNIORS
The talented Juniors of the Inkameep Indian School in Oliver, British Columbia, have put their talents to good use for the Red Cross. They have put on concerts of plays, songs and dances in various centres and were given a special award at the Southern Okanagan Drama Festival. They netted \$100 for the Red Cross, a very large sum indeed for such a small number of Juniors to earn. Johnnie Skalka whose photograph is reproduced on this page was the bronze star for 1940 for the Royal Drawing Society War Time Competition. His picture was seen by the Queen.

A MILE OF PENNIES
The Ahmak (Beaver) Branch of Grade VII, Haverhill College, Toronto, made a special project of outfitting five girls of their own age to England, whose homes have been bombed. The members decided they would need \$100 for this plan, and at once set to work to try to raise the necessary funds. They decided on a mile of pennies. This is how one of the members described the undertaking:
"The mile of pennies was on a Friday. We had it around our

playground and along a walk.
"We had pieces of coloured paper, each a yard long, to put the pennies on.
"When our bus got there, there were already many pennies down. We did not get quite around the playground, but all the same, we got enough money to suit our purpose.
"The mile of pennies lasted all day, and when we counted it next day, we found that we had almost a hundred dollars!"
All the members of the Ahmak Branch with their teacher went to a large department store to do their shopping. They divided into groups, each group having their own specialty. They bought a double-breasted lamb's wool coat, hat to match; a wool dress, underwear, stockings and various accessories for five girls. They had been promised a 10 per cent discount by the manager of the store, but when he saw how well the Juniors were carrying out their project, he gave them a 20 per cent discount. With the additional money to spend, they bought more warm woolen sweaters.

HOSPITAL JUNIORS GIVE SUCCESSFUL ENTERTAINMENT
On the last day of October, the patients in the convalescent scarlet fever ward at the Alexandra Hospital in Montreal gave a most enjoyable Halloween entertainment. The performance was carried out by the children under the direction of members of the staff, and was attended by the nurses and doctors of the hospital. The programme consisted of a short play, recitations, a drill, and songs. Tap dances were performed by two little girls. The proceeds amounted to \$5.35, which the children

Happy New Year
to over 600,000
Canadian Juniors

Figure 12. The Inkameep Juniors were often noted as award winning artists and actors in the Canadian Red Cross Journal and their monetary contributions to the Canadian Red Cross were included as part of their activities.

In May of 1938 the Inkameep Juniors submitted the CJRC magazine their Okanagan version of the 12 Health Rules. The images, like other pieces of art, were created in the form of a long frieze. The slide shows that they were published out of their original numeric order and cropped to fit the journal's page formatting. One immediately notes that different from the human family that entered the Kingdom of Health, these families are comprised of animals practicing the rules of good health. Notably, the children have been encouraged to interpret the Health Rules from their point of view, and experience as Okanagan people. This is particularly evident in Rule #8 of bathing the body where a sweat lodge and lake are shown instead of a bathtub in a room.

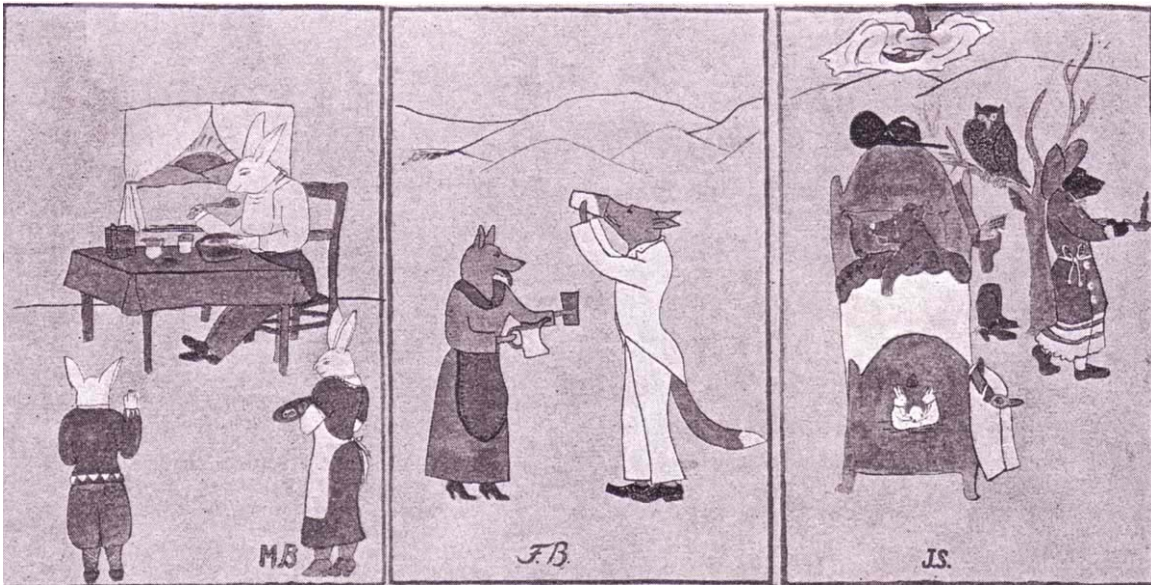


Figure 13. Health Rules 1,2 and 3. Eat healthy food, drink milk, and get enough sleep.

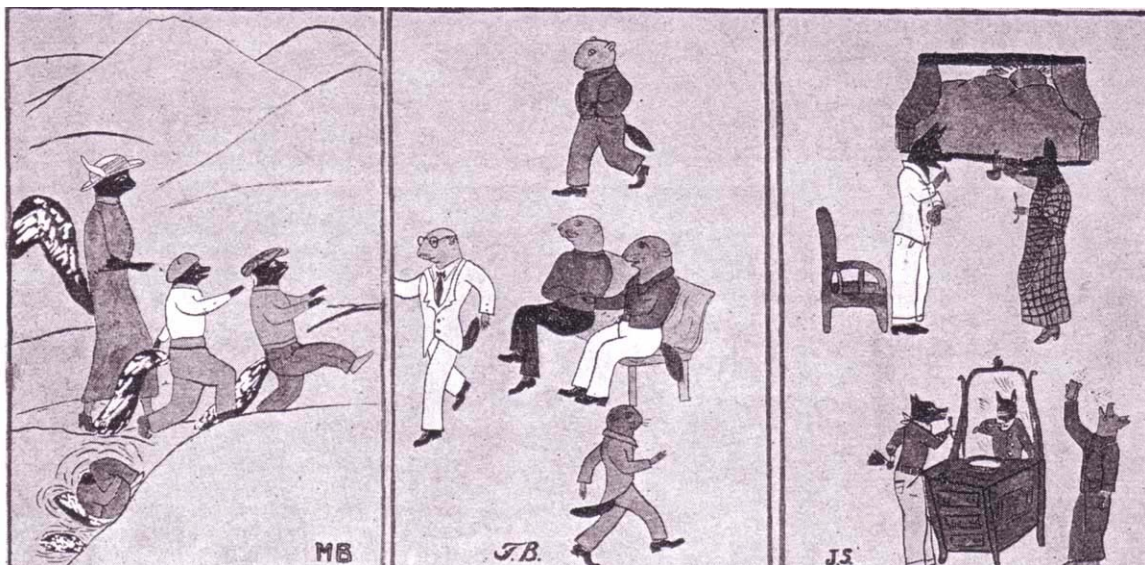


Figure 14. Health Rules 5, 6, and 7. Get fresh air and exercise, use correct posture, and brush your teeth.

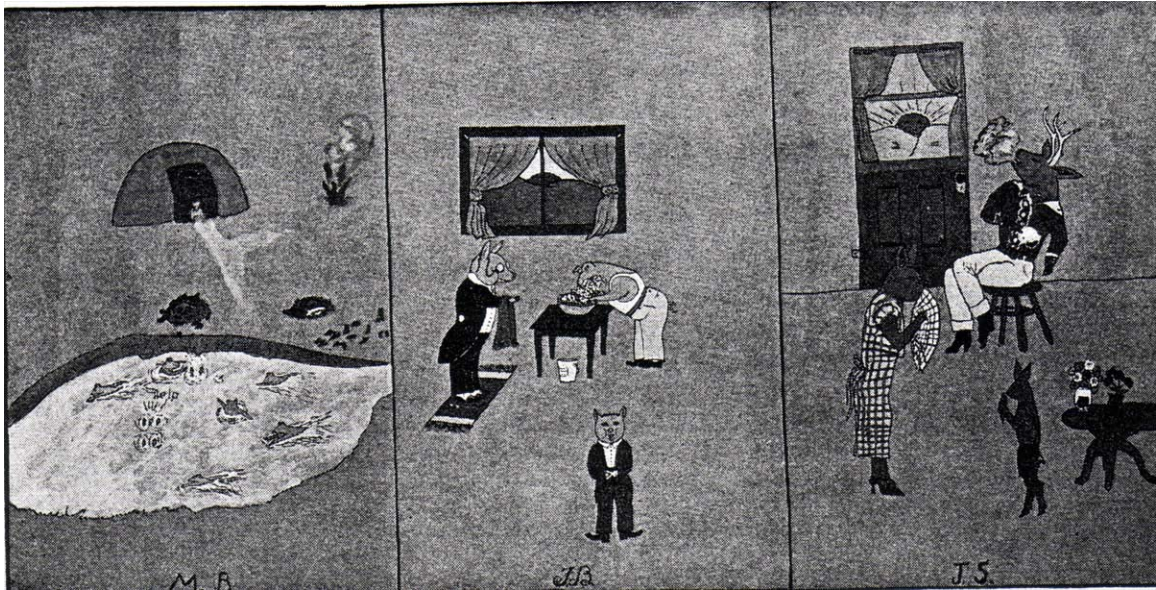


Figure 15. Health Rules 8, 9, and 10. Bathe the body daily, wash your hands and do not abuse tobacco.



Figure 16. Health Rules 11 and 12. Keep pencils, pens, fingers, erasers and rulers away from the mouth and nose, and do not spit and use a handkerchief.

At the Inkameep School, the secular curriculum for British Columbia schools was taught; however, the students were encouraged to learn and speak their language, and to know their histories as aboriginal peoples. With Mr. Walsh's encouragement and help from the children's mothers, plays that were modern versions of Okanagan stories and history were created and performed first for families of the children, then most often for local non-native Okaganan area audiences. Children often illustrated

these plays, and there exist photographs of them in rehearsal and in performance that are part of various British Columbia museum collections (namely the Osoyoos Museum, the BC Archives, and the Royal BC Museum).



Figure 17. Photograph taken between 1939 and 1942 of the Inkameep Drama group rehearsing a play. Note the stump on which the middle actor stands and that the photograph the children are dressed in costume.



Figure 18. A drawing by Clotill (Bertha Baptiste) one of the actors at the Inkameep School.

Note again the stump that appears in the above photograph; it references the place of the event depicted in the drawing. Dissimilar to the photograph representation, the artist portrays herself and her fellow actors not as children in costume, but as the animals they became.

The drawings that illustrate these plays are unlike photographs taken by adults. The fundamental difference lay between the documentation of the event as a spectator versus that from the perspective of a participant. Photographs take by adults are best described as pictures of children rehearsing in animal costumes. Whereas the children draw the same scenes and/or events as they experienced them as actors, or as I want to argue, as individual animals.

The concept of transformation is found widely amongst many aboriginal peoples' beliefs; it is also found in the stories and history of the Okanagan people. The concept of transformation is useful in a consideration of the drawings of the Health Rules by the Inkameep students. For if the drawings of their plays do not

depict children in animal costumes, but the animals themselves, then it might follow that the animals in the Health Rules drawings are not animals, but real people. Evidence for this kind of thought and action is found in another drawing of Health Rules by a group of aboriginal Juniors from the southeast interior of BC, in Lytton (also published in the CJRC). Interviews with elders who were children at the school under the tutelage of Mr. Walsh described how the Health Rules were practiced on a daily basis. Included in the daily regime were the washing of faces and brushing of teeth before class, regular outdoor soccer games and activities, and that almost year round, art and drama was created and performed out of doors.

The issues of the CJRC magazine in which the drawings done by Inkameep students appear, circulate through Canada a full twenty-five years before aboriginal people would be given Canadian citizenship by the federal government. The purpose of the CJRC magazine was to promote the health of the nation through individual practice of good health and acts of exemplary citizenship by young children and youth. In the case of the Inkameep Juniors, they performed their duties as good citizens by not only practicing their Health Rules, they raised money for the Red Cross for its humanitarian causes through the sale of their drawings and collection of donations at their dramatic play productions, and they promoted international goodwill by exchanging portfolios with other Juniors around the world. Archival records detail the exhibition of their work in the cities of Prague, Vienna, Paris, Dublin, Glasgow, London, and throughout North America. The Canadian Red Cross sponsored the touring of their art.

In spite of the manner in which the art and drama from the Inkameep School worked as part of the mandate of the Junior Red Cross, the publication of the students' drawings and articles written about their activities did expose a wider-felt ambivalence toward aboriginal children and youth as participants in the nation-building project by the Federal government at the time. Universal narratives that naturalize childhood appear alongside specific narratives in which aboriginal children are both included and excluded. In many visual and textual examples from the magazine aboriginal cultural knowledge and histories exist outside of the emerging nation's future, but are represented as evidence of its foundation, or its past. However, photographs of the children, and their bodies represented through the practice of the Health Rules animals are regarded and labelled Canadian. As such the children, their images, and acts of citizenship are neither a part of, nor completely separate from the place and people of Canada. The ambivalent representation of aboriginal children in the magazine is also evident in the simultaneous publication of generalizing stereotypical narratives and images of aboriginal peoples written by the editors of the journal and the specific images depicting individual experiences by the Inkameep students and particular texts written by both Mr. Walsh and older students that speak of real Inkameep student's activities.

The analysis of Inkameep student's representation and participation within the CJRC journal follows Jane Helleiner in her investigation into the relationship between local constructions and experiences of childhood and national and global economies. The question asked by Helleiner as to what roles children and childhood have played in the development of modern nation states and nationalist projects is an important one. She notes in her work on racialized childhood in Canada during the interwar

years, that children are seen as assets of the nation and as such move to the centre of the political agenda in terms of health and education mandates. In this agenda, the site of the school was paramount to the creation of patriotic citizens, and that the separation of aboriginal children from this mandate is most evident in the form of the residential school system for aboriginal children where they were viewed as wards of the state (Helleiner 2001). Unlike residential schools, the Inkameep School was a day school located on the Osoyoos Indian Band Reserve. The school was built with the direction of the chief of the band, George Baptiste using his personal funds; he even hired and paid the first teacher for the school in 1919.

This paper, influenced by the work of Helleiner has attempted to demonstrate the need to examine the disproportionate influence of discourse by adult political agendas on the lives of children via the issue of the Red Cross Journal. In spite of this discourse being about the lives of children, an analysis of the arenas in which such discourse circulates has remained at the level of adult circulation and consumption. The research currently being conducted on the Inkameep Day School and my reading of the production and circulation of Inkameep children's drawings through the Canadian Junior Red Cross Journal is intended to open another line of analysis - one that focuses on the explicit circulation of adult national political agendas for children's consumption. In so doing it is important to look in this particular instance for fissures in adult generated narratives of health, identity and citizenship offered by children themselves, such as those offered through the drawings from Inkameep.

Cited Bibliography

Canadian Red Cross Journals are referenced by number and issue in the text.

Jane Helleiner "The Right Kind of Children, Childhood, Gender and "Race" in Canadian Postwar Political Discourse" in *Anthropologica* XLIII pp. 143-152.