INDIAN EDUCATION IN CANADA
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By

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: The following paper examines the Canadian Indian educational system, viewing it as a method of directed acculturation and assessing its results. Both the historical and contemporary scene are examined in detail. The former begins with European contact, tracing the establishment of missions, schools, teachers and curriculum through the French, British and Canadian period until 1960. The latter section is divided into two parts — an overall picture of Canadian Indian education today, and a detailed, province by province, description of the contemporary situation. Such topics as enrolment, teachers, curriculum, Indian
Studies Programs, adult education and occupational and vocational training are enumerated. Unfortunately, many of the problems prevalent over a century ago such as unqualified teachers, inadequate curriculum, lack of student motivation and large dropout rates still remain unsolved today. The findings of the study clearly indicate that as a positive force for acculturation of the Indians, the educational system imposed upon them has not brought about the anticipated results. The future will continue as in the past unless educators and administrators begin to seriously consider the Indians' thoughts and feelings on formal education.
PREFACE

As the greater part of the contemporary data found in the following pages is taken from unpublished sources, I have many people to thank for providing me with this information. Seldom did my requests go unanswered, and the majority of Indian Affairs' Superintendents were more than willing to send me pamphlets, brochures and enrolment statistics. In addition, several high school teachers in Ontario and across the country provided me with curricula and outlines of Indian Studies Programs for which I am indebted.

Finally, I wish to thank my supervisor Dr. E.S. Rogers for bearing with me over the past year. Without his help and guidance this paper could not have been written.

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1 page
Introduction

The present paper is concerned with the history of Indian education in Canada since the time of European contact and its effects on the native people. Before this can be dealt with however, the term "Indian" must be defined for there are those, not legally registered as Indian but of native ancestry, who are unaccounted for in the annual records and thus cannot be included here. In addition, it is necessary to discuss the acculturation process and its relationship to Indian education, as well as the previous studies which have been done in this field in Canada.

Nearly five centuries ago Christopher Columbus set sail from Spain, bound for the East Indies. He never reached his destination. However, because of his intentions, Columbus named the natives of the land where he debarked, "Indians". Since that time all New World people of aboriginal stock have been known as "Indians" — not a word they chose themselves, but rather one imposed on them by the European. Thus, the implications of this
mismomer set the stage for all forthcoming white-Indian relations — economic, religious and educational — that were to be formed throughout the following years. Canada, with its native population, was as much involved in this process as any other area of the New World.

During the opening decades of the 17th century, missionaries began arriving in New France with the hope that they might civilize and Christianize the "savages." North American Indians have been dealt with ever since on the basis of this premise. The western educational system began to be applied to the Indians at this time and has continued in one form or another to the present.

Nevertheless, until the last few years, the general public willingly ignored the plight of the Indian. The prejudices and injustices done to this minority group were of little consequence to Canadians. Perhaps it was the Negro unrest in the United States or the misfortunes of ethnic groups in other countries around the world that forced Canada to take a look at what was going on right under her nose. However, even though the situation has been recognized by some, little in the way of constructive policies has been done to make up for the past 400 years of cul-
ture change dictated by the dominant white society.

In fact, it is only within the last few decades that anthropologists such as George and Louise Spindler, Norman Chance, Irving Hallowell, A. Richard King, Ralph Linton and Edward Spicer have taken an interest in the effects, both harmful and beneficial, of the acculturation process on the various native groups in North America.

The following study investigates one area where directed acculturation has been attempted and, for the most part, has failed—that of Indian education. Although this topic has been dealt with by other writers, this is the first time that both a detailed historical and contemporary view of Canadian Indian education has been presented. The study endeavours to illustrate the major factors—white teachers, the curriculum, poor teaching and learning facilities, the Indian Affairs Branch, etcetera,—which have influenced the Indians' reaction to formal education. What has been the acculturative effect? Are the Indians really getting anything out of the system which will be useful to them when they graduate? Moreover, the paper examines, both generally and specifically, the educational policies in each of the provinces across Canada in—
cluding such topics as curriculum, teachers, (their qualifications and salaries), integrated schools, Indian Studies Programs, vocational and occupational training, and adult education. Finally, the paper summarizes the main problems facing the Canadian Indian upon graduating from today's educational system and compares them to years gone by. Has the system improved any over the past 50 or 100 years, or are the educators still as unaware of the acculturation process as they were then? The feelings of the Indians on formal education, how well they do in the system and where they finally go remain questions which unfortunately cannot be answered in the following pages. Intensive field work among the native people is needed to determine the solutions to such questions.

Before going any further the term "Indian" must necessarily be explained. This may be done in several ways: biologically, culturally and legally. Most people, especially whites, who are unfamiliar with the legalities attached to the word "Indian" regard the former criteria as the most important. To this majority, an Indian is one who bears certain stereotyped physical characteristics which have come to be connected with the "race", traits such as brown skin, thick straight black hair, a wide face
and dark eyes, often oblique, are the most common. However, even these features vary greatly from east to west; so much so that perhaps it is not really appropriate to group these people under one biological heading "Indian".

One of the greatest difficulties encountered by many who come from white life into contact with the Indians is in realizing that the Indians are diverse people. Somehow by applying the same name Indian to all the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the continent we lose sight of the fact that the term covers a greater number of race and culture groups than are found among whites on the European continent (Beatty 1944:34).

The second, and perhaps the most important way of delimiting an Indian, is by a cultural definition. This is "Indianness", a term used to describe the basic values which seem to underly the behavioral patterns of all native peoples be they registered or non-registered, east or west coast Indians. One such concept is sharing.

The Indian concept of sharing was a most logical response to the Indians' early environment. The land appeared to be limitless; there was no need to consider dividing it. Game was
plentiful and no highly organized social effort was required to satisfy subsistence needs. Time was endless and not to be counted... The periods of shortage or calamities of nature were unpredictable. There was no way to prepare or to provide to meet them except to share what one had in the expectation of reciprocal treatment (Levasseur, O.H.I., c.1966:1).

A second concept is harmony with nature.

Only by living in harmony with nature he found could he provide for his own subsistence... There seemed to him no use in trying to master nature, in making plans or attempting to organize life so that nature might provide more adequately. Only by his feeling for nature could he understand and make full use of her or occasionally outwit her. The Indian, therefore, attaches more importance to feeling than to any logic or reason (Levasseur, O.H.I., c.1966:1-2).

That these values are still an intricate part of Indian life is immediately evident. In the classroom, Indian children often try to aid one another rather than doing their work individually, thus emphasizing the fact that the sharing concept is still with them. Moreover, time is of relatively little importance even in today's fast-moving world. Working men might show up for their jobs three or four days out of six, not out of laziness, but out of "Indianness". Occasionally, however, people
with some Indian background, especially those living in the city), assume these values as an excuse for absenteeism when, in actuality, they are just too lazy to work. This often applies to children caught cheating in exams. They are just "playing Indian" at the expense of others. Unfortunately, this spoils it for those others who legitimately hold such ancestral values.

Although this cultural attitude seems to be a most important way of defining an "Indian", it is evident that to many natives today their legal status is the most meaningful criteria—the only way that they can retain some remnants of their culture.

Retaining the legal status of Indians is necessary if Indians are to be treated justly. Justice requires that the special history, rights and circumstances of Indian People be recognized... The only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights (Indian Chiefs of Alberta 1970:5).

This then brings us to a third and final means of defining an Indian, a legal definition. According to the Indian Act of 1951, an "Indian" means a person who... is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian." (Dept—
ment of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1963:1). He is entitled to be registered if:

(a) on the 26th day of May, 1874, he was, for the purposes of An Act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordinance Lands, Chapter 42 of the statutes of 1874, considered to be entitled to hold, use or enjoy the lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada;

(b) is a member of a band
   (i) for whose use and benefit, in common, lands have been set apart since the 26th day of May, 1874, have been agreed by treaty to be set apart, or
   (ii) that has been declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act;

(c) is a male person who is a direct descendant in the male line of a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b), or

(d) is the legitimate child of
   (i) a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b), or
   (ii) a person described in paragraph (c);

(e) is the illegitimate child of a female person described in paragraph (a), (b), or (d) or

(f) is the wife or widow of a person who is entitled to be registered by virtue of paragraph (a), (b), (c), (d), or (e).

(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1963: 5).
Unfortunately "this simplistic legalism...eliminates roughly 250,000 native people who, under the American system, would be recognized as Indians." (Cardinal 1968:18).

The legal aspect of defining an Indian is not a recent problem. It began in 1869 and 1870 when the Hudson's Bay Charter was terminated (Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada 1970a:9). Within the next few decades a number of treaties were made with the native peoples of northern Ontario, Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, the Prairie Provinces and northeastern British Columbia, in order to obtain from them a surrender of their land.

The individuals in those groups who signed the treaties were called treaty (and registered) Indians. Upon obtaining this status the government promised them special treaty rights including reservation land and, in a few cases, hunting and fishing rights. In return for this treaty status these Indians were not allowed to purchase liquor, nor were they able to exercise the right to vote.

As well, there were a number of tribes with whom treat-
ies were not made. Individuals in most of these groups were al-
lowed to become registered Indians if they so desired, and each
was given a band number. However, there were many Indians who were
not on their reserves at the time of registration. They were not
given Indian status. For all governmental purposes they simply
and conveniently did not exist as an ethnic group. However, this
now appears to be in the process of change.

Furthermore a registered or treaty Indian could become
enfranchised. Before this happened though, the individual had to
have proof that he was self-supporting. With enfranchisement
the native was given access to liquor and the right to vote,
rights which were given to all registered Indians as of 1956
and 1961 respectively, (that is, unless they live on a reserve
which has voted to be "dry"). If a man gave up his Indian status
he could never return to the reserve without band approval, nor
could he reclaim his original status again. His children were
denied Indian status as well. Theoretically speaking he was a
white man (Cardinal 1962:18-19).

To add to all this legal confusion, if any woman, be she
Indian or not, married a treaty or registered Indian she auto-
matically become an Indian herself. However, if an Indian woman married a non-Indian man she would automatically have to give up her Indian status. (Recently at least the Court of Appeal for Ontario has reversed this rule.) Thus "where full-blooded Indian families have for one reason or another enfranchised, they and their children are, in the eyes of the law, non-Indian, Metis or even white —— in theory." (Cardinal 1969:20).

Today there are approximately 250,000 registered, and an estimated 250,000 non-registered Indians in Canada. In the following pages where the term "Indian" is used it is in reference to those who make up the former group. This is done out of necessity, since data are lacking in large measure regarding non-status individuals of native ancestry.

Before proceeding further a word must be said regarding education and the Indian. At the time of contact there were two concepts of education — the informal type of the Indian and the formal type of the European. Although the acculturation process has attempted to wipe out most of the informal learning and replace it with a rigid, educational system involving schools and similar institutions, it is evident that a clash of values
still prevails today, resulting in a high Indian drop-out rate.

Originally Indian children were not sent to school to receive an education, for such institutions did not exist. Rather they were taught by their parents and elders the skills and knowledge necessary for survival. Nor would native children have had any time to take part in formal education, for most of their days were spent actively participating in the life of the community. Almost from birth, a child was expected to assume responsibilities according to his strength and experience in order to be of help to his family. Generally young boys would accompany their fathers when hunting and trapping, while the girls would take care of younger siblings.

Since the primitive society had less specialized knowledge and fewer skills to transmit and since its way of life was enacted before the eyes of all, it had no need to create a separate institution of education such as the school (Kneller 1965:73).

Indian children acquired their cultural heritage by imitating their superiors in festivals, rituals, hunts and the like.

Thus with European contact and the encroaching mission-
aries, much of the early enculturation process was destroyed. From the beginning Indian education "took a practical form with the emphasis on agriculture and handicrafts, an emphasis which has been maintained up to the present in varying degrees." (Joblin 1946:15). In fact Indian families were taken from their villages and placed in settlements where they were to eventually take up farming. The Iroquois became well adapted to these circumstances as they were sedentary people to begin with, but many hunting groups such as the Algonquin and Montagnais had no desire to pursue this way of life. The feeling was that only through agricultural pursuits could the Indian become civilized and Christianized. At the same time, this settled existence would give scope to the European educational system.

However, formal education did much damage to the Indian student and his family. Parents suffered because they no longer had their children's help in trapping, fishing and hunting, as well as taking care of the household. Children lacked the knowledge they once received from their elders and, as a result, when they returned home, they were no longer able to fit comfortably into reserve life. The skills which they needed were sorely missing.
Today the situation appears no more hopeful for the young than it was fifty or one hundred years ago. Most of the reserve schools are teaching the Indian children subjects which the educators feel will be useful to them after they graduate and settle down on their reserves. Unfortunately no one has attempted to discover what the Indians themselves want. Basics such as mathematics and reading are being supplemented by courses in homemaking, gardening and manual training — the same curriculum that was used over a century ago. On the other hand, the provincial schools are trying to gear the children toward an urban life. As well, vocational schools have been introduced in many areas. For those who wish to take post secondary school courses, the government provides scholarships and bursaries to registered Indian students for this period. On the adult level however, there are now many training programs which may prove useful in the near future.
A. Previous Studies in Canada

Although an extensive amount of literature has been produced on the educational process as regards both the public and separate schools, little attention has been given to the more problematic topic of Indian education. As Joblin in the mid-1940's stated: "Apart from historical works and the writings of anthropologists and ethnologists there has been very little material published on the education of Indians in Canada." (Joblin 1946:26). Although this situation has improved slightly since he wrote, there is still an urgent need for more work to be done in this field.

In general the authors of books and articles dealing with Indian education have approached the subject from one of two points of view — either the historical or the contemporary. One of the earliest papers written from the historical point of view is H.J. Vallery's *A History of Education in Canada*, in which he discusses the school system from the time of contact until the 1940's. In 1945 the Reverend E.E.M. Joblin wrote a paper for the Department of Educational Research entitled
The Education of the Indians of Western Ontario. Like Valley, he reviews the history of education in the area but then narrows the essay down to focus on five schools—Kettle Point, the St. Clair Reserve school, Walpole Island, Moravian Town and Mount Elgin.

In 1965 the Indian Affairs Education Division published "The Education of Indian Children in Canada" in the Canadian Superintendent. Within it the history of education is discussed, including schools, teachers and curriculum. As well, the Indian Affairs Branch has published four short books on the Indians of the Maritimes and Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia in which are found brief histories of education among the Indians.

L.G. Marshall wrote a Master's thesis, The Development of Education in Northern Saskatchewan, for the University of Saskatchewan in 1966. His paper traces the role of the English and Roman Catholic Churches, and the federal and provincial governments in Northern Saskatchewan. As well, the history and educational policies in the areas of Cumberland House, Lac LaRonge, Montreal Lake, and the West Side are discussed in

The first author to deal with the contemporary problems of Indian education in this country was Elmer Jamieson. While a teacher on the Six Nations Reserve, he wrote his Master's thesis entitled Indian Education in Canada. The essay deals with the many problems found in Indian day and residential schools, and the reasons why children are so often academically behind those in white schools. Some years later he wrote another paper, The Mental Capacity of Southern Ontario Indians. In doing so, Jamieson examined the work of several pupils from the Six Nations Reserve, the Mohawk Institute and the Lount Elgin School at Nuncy. From this study the author concluded that the Indian children were just as intelligent as whites, but were handicapped by outside factors such as parents, unqualified teachers and inadequate curricula.

In May of 1935, the United Church of Canada issued a report on Indian schools including an evaluation of both the day and residential schools as well as several recommendations as to how to improve them. This was followed four years later by a sem-
inar on today's North American Indian. Put on by Yale University in collaboration with the University of Toronto, it was eventually published as a book. One chapter, "Part VIII" by J.F. Woodsworth, deals with the Indian and education, the curriculum, the problems encountered, and the churches' role in education.

Throughout his paper runs the theme that education is designed for the white child rather than the Indian and, as such, fails to prepare the vast majority of students for a future life on the reserve.

With the integration of Indians into provincial schools in 1948 came a Master's of Education thesis, Integration of the Indian Canadian In and Through Schools with Emphasis on the St. Clair Reserve in Sarnia, by H.J. Dilling. The author discusses the effects of integration on the Indian children of the St. Clair Reserve, both academically and emotionally, after entering the Bluewater Public School. In 1965 Dilling wrote a Ph.D thesis entitled Educational Achievement and Social Acceptance of Indian Pupils Integrated in Non-Indian Schools of Southern Ontario. In this paper he examines several of the integrated
schools and compares the academic achievement of the Indians in day schools, those in integrated schools, and white students. As well he looks at the reasons for Indian failure to attain as high a standing as whites.

Quite recently several books and articles have been published on the topic of Indian education. In 1958 Father André Renaud completed a book, Indian Education Today. Throughout it he discusses the residential and day schools and their role in educating the Indians and preparing them for a life on or off the reserve.

In 1964 John M. MacLeod completed an unpublished Master's thesis for the University of New Brunswick entitled Indian Education in Canada.

The main purpose of this report was to discover and make known opinions, criticisms, desires, satisfactions and felt needs about Indian education as expressed by contemporary Indian people, the major religious bodies in Canada, secular groups interested in the Indian people and the Saskatchewan provincial government (Institute for Northern Studies 1963:23).

That same year "Education North of 60" was published
for the **Canadian Superintendent** by members of the Canadian
Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors for the
Department of Indian Affairs. The article deals with the cur-
riculum, teachers, adult education and problems of education in
the north, especially focusing on the Mackenzie District. In
1965 *"The Education of Indian Children in Canada"* was pub-
lished by the Indian Affairs Education Division for the
Canadian Superintendent. In addition to the history of educa-
tion, there are several chapters on contemporary curricula,
teaching staff, second language instruction, adult education and
proposals for the future.

During the late 1960's a group of anthropologists and
educators prepared a report for the Indian Affairs Branch en-
titled *A Survey of Contemporary Indians in Canada*. Divided into
two parts, both deal extensively with the education of the
Canadian Indian. Such topics as curriculum, teachers, voca-
tional training, adult education, Indian attitudes, integration and prob-
lems in Indian education are reviewed. In addition, several
recommendations are made as to how the educational system
might be improved.
As well there have been many case studies of Indian education written during the past ten years. One of these, *A Kwakiutl Village and School*, by H. Wolcott deals with the writer's experience as a teacher in Blackfish Village, a small community on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. Among other things he discusses the attitudes of both the children and their parents toward education, the curriculum, the lack of communication between teachers and pupils, and the high drop-out rate.

Another monograph, *The School at Mopass: A Problem in Identity*, by A. Richard King, examines the life-style of the students living in residence at the Mopass School in the Yukon Territory. In this case study the author explains how the pupils come to learn the subculture of the Mopass School and how the intended aims and goals of the administration are defeated. Moreover he discusses the way in which the children learn to live with the adult-made world they are surrounded by; how they strive to get along in the environment by setting up defense mechanisms; and finally, how the pupils, teachers and
parents interact and communicate, (or do not communicate), with each other.

Another source of information on Indian education is the Indian-Eskimo Association which has published several articles on the topic. One of these, *Dilemma in Indian Education* by James Mulvihill, released in 1963, deals with the problems of integration and the reasons for its failure. The author feels that reserve living is responsible for the failure of integration to take hold, as well as the parents' outlook on formal education. He states that if integration is to successfully occur at all, it must be gradual.

Two articles published on education in the north are D. Wattie's "Education in the Canadian Arctic", and Eric Gourdeau's "Cross Cultural Education in the North". The former discusses the history of education in the area, the teachers and the curriculum, in addition to briefly dwelling on the educational programs in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. Gourdeau's article, reprinted from *Arctic*, reviews the educational conference held in Montreal in August of 1969.
Here 150 specialists from all over the world participated. Such topics as teaching methods, curriculum, staff development, and the family and education were discussed.

Another article, *Indian Education Program* published in 1969, assesses the value of the current educational program for Indian students and makes recommendations as to how it can be brought up to the Ontario provincial school level.

In 1970, the Indian- Eskimo Association issued an article by Vera Kirkness, a Cree from Manitoba, entitled *Contemporary Indian Education*. The paper discusses the accomplishments of such well-known Indians as Harold Cardinal and Duffy Sainte-Marie. Moreover it reviews the main problems in Indian education and what, especially in Manitoba, is being done about them.

On the subject of curriculum, Basil Johnson has devised an outline for the schools called *American Indian Oriented Man in Society Studies*. The topics discussed include the life-style of the Central, South and North American Indians before and after the time of contact; the ideas and value systems of the peoples in these areas; and whether or not there has been a regeneration of the old culture.
Just recently the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario released a report entitled *Post-Secondary Educational Opportunity for the Ontario Indian Population*. Its purpose is to evaluate the Indian educational system as it currently stands, and to point out how it might be improved. In this endeavour the needs of the Indian students are taken into consideration. The report focuses mainly on the contemporary scene, presenting the facts and figures on Indian education both in Ontario and across the country, although it does give a brief historical outline of federal schools in Ontario. Throughout the document runs the theme that Indians should be given a greater say in the type of education their children will receive.

In addition to these sources, the Indian Affairs Branch has put out several brochures dealing with Indian education. One of these, *Vocational Opportunity and the Canadian Indian*, lists the various scholarships and awards which are available to Indian students who wish to further their education. Another pamphlet, *The Indian in Transition*, discusses the problems in Indian education, Indian schools, the curriculum, integration, vocational opportunities
and adult education.

Finally there are several Indian magazines which publish articles on what is currently happening in the field of education. Three of the more noted ones are *Indian Magazine*, produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Indian News*, and *Northian*, a magazine designed for teachers in Northern communities.

Although such papers as those by E.E.M. Joblin and H.J. Vallery have aided my own work on the history of Indian education over the past 350 years, only one monograph, *The School at Kopenas*, by A. Richard King, gave some understanding of the school in terms of the acculturation theory. However, even this failed to provide any adequate responses to two very important questions. Does formal education aid acculturation as educators have always felt, or does it, in fact, hinder the process? Does the Indian socialization process at work during these years before the child begins school have an effect on his attitude and thus impede acculturation? Hopefully, the answers to these queries will be more apparent after examining the historical and contemporary scene.
B. Acculturation

It was not until the 1930's that anthropologists became deeply interested in the chain of events which take place when two or more cultures come into contact and formulated the concept of acculturation. By the late 1950's and early 1960's acculturation studies had reached their height of popularity. Today the number of works on acculturation, especially those dealing with the Indian, are diminishing. It is possible that the repeated failures by anthropologists and administrators to apply the results in any beneficial form to the Indian has caused anthropologists to reconsider their approach to the situation.

The term "acculturation" has been in use by anthropologists almost as long as the word "culture". However, although many anthropologists understood what the word implied, "acculturation" had no definite, standardized meaning. Thus in 1935, after studies by Herskovitz, Redfield, Shapera and Spicer revealed that the process of culture change had become of great
interest to anthropologists, a council was appointed to delimit the term "acculturation". Unfortunately they were unable to come up with an adequate meaning suitable to all concerned (Spicer 1961:22).

It was not until 1953 that the Social Science Research Council, under the guidance of a subcommittee, produced the following definition.

...acculturation may be defined as culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes ...; it may be delayed ...; or it may be a reactive adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors (Broom et al., 1954:974).

As well as a standard definition the subcommittee devised a list of "what to look for" in an acculturative situation. This included the characteristics of, and conjunctive relations between, the two cultures; the actual contact situation itself; and the processes involved.

Unlike physical scientists, anthropologists are not for-
tunate enough to be able to experiment with the constants and variables of acculturation. Instead they must be taken in their natural state. Thus by the time the anthropologist is able to observe the cultural systems involved, they have already come into contact and, oftentimes, have been that way for several years or centuries. One must then study "the total situation as it exists at the present time", taking previous 'readings' obtained from old informants, historical records and archaeological data. Simultaneously, long range studies can also be done by the anthropologist. "These readings on an acculturation situation and sequence can then be compared with other situations and sequences where the variables ... are different in specified ways." (Broom et al., 1954: 992-993).

Rarely does the acculturation process result in complete acceptance of one culture by the other, nor does it fail to leave a mark on the recipient culture even "where there is marked hostility toward innovations, whether imposed or freely accessible."(Broom et al., 1954) Thus, where change occurs with
"Great rapidity and encompass a large segment of the population, severe disruption results, whereas when changes are slow or cautious, such disturbances are less likely to occur." (Chance 1966:81).

Furthermore, in every contact situation, certain features of the original culture change more than others. However, anthropologists are often in a state of disagreement as to why this is so.

That which was traditionally learned and internalized in infancy and early childhood tends to be most resistant to change in contact situations. This suggests that we view a culture from the perspective of cultural transmission, the process by which the content of culture is learned by, and communicated to, members of the society (Bruner 1966:194).

In addition to acculturation, diffusion, assimilation, and integration are all aspects of culture change as well. Diffusion involves a trait, or traits, which is moving between two cultural systems. Here the contact is brief and only a small amount of "cultural inventory" is exchanged (Driver 1961:323). On the other hand assimilation, the final step in accul-
turation, occurs when the old cultural system disappears
and the individuals who were once a part of it adopt another
one. If there were to be complete assimilation "no separate
social structure based on racial or ethnic concepts"
would remain (Simpson 1968:438).

Based on the data available, especially that relating to
education, it is only too obvious that assimilation of the
Indian has not occurred. Although many culture traits have
diffused from white culture to that of the Indian, and vice
versa, the native people have held tight to their old beliefs
and values. What they desire is integration rather than acculturation, thereby allowing them to be different yet equal. This
understanding of equality must be achieved first through teachers
in the schools while the students, both white and Indian, are
still young and indiscriminating. At present this is merely a
theory.
Formal education in an acculturative situation can be regarded as a "cross-cultural transaction", with the teacher representing one culture and the student another. Moreover, all too often, the instructor tries to pass on his culture, ideas and values, both consciously and subconsciously, to the pupils thereby failing to recognize the cultural background from which these children have come. The process then becomes one of directed culture change.

For the child that is undergoing early enculturation into the family and society, the ongoing events of acculturation carry very little influence. However, where culture change is accelerated, especially where new behavioural patterns are being forced upon a people, or where a child is taken from his home and transported to a school located many miles away, early enculturation "may leave scars that will be mani-
fet in later disorganization of personality of the sort sometimes found among peoples who have experienced such treat-
ment." (Herskovitz 1952:56).

This is true of many Indian children in Canada who have been removed from their village and their way of life and urged to attend white boarding schools. Their cultural heritage has hindered most students from readily adapting to city life, yet the schooling they have received has prevented them from establishing a life on the reserve.

It is not surprising then that generally the most acculturated members of a society undergoing culture change are the students. This is true for two reasons:

1) Continuing in school means that "they have survived a selective process which eliminates many of those with a more traditional orientation."

2) Those that stay in school "have been more thoroughly exposed to the influence of the wider society, and the farther they advance the greater these influences be-
come." (Miller and Caulkins 1964:150). However, this situ-
ation seems to be in the process of change as many Indians now completing high school or university are disillusioned with the white world and wish to return to their reserves and the Indian way of life.

Of those adolescents that have become acculturated, most move into the cities upon completion of their education rather than returning to their reserves. Miller and Caulkins have this to say about Chippewa students:

The students seem no better prepared to create a reservation culture conducive to materialistic goals. They showed no inclination to contribute to the efforts of the tribal council or to develop resources and the economy of Deer Lake. Their tendency to seek a place elsewhere means that the tribe is losing some of its potential leadership (Miller and Caulkins 1964:159).

Thus, in the following pages, the education process as applied to the Canadian Indian will be examined in terms of what has been said as to the concept of acculturation and how these statements conform to the facts seen in the history of Indian education.
A History of Indian Education

In order to fully appreciate what is happening today in Indian education, it is necessary to become acquainted with the missionaries' and government's early attempts at setting up institutions of learning for the natives. This section therefore reviews the history of Indian education from the 17th century, when the French ruled over what is now Canada, until the current time. Following this are three sections — one on schools, one on teachers, and one on curriculum — that present the changes which have taken place over the years in these areas. Upon conclusion of the chapter it should be apparent, in terms of what is known about acculturation, why in the majority of cases the white administration has failed to attain its twofold goal — that of educating and Christianizing the Indian. In other words, assimilation has not occurred although partial acculturation has.

-34-
Before the coming of the first white man to North America the primitive Indians ... had a definite system of education ... and as a result ... a definite culture. That culture is still inherent in the Indian of the present day. Their school was nature. Their system of education was made to suit their most immediate and pressing needs, as well as to fit them to play a part in the community ... (Vallery 1942: 4-5).

During the sixteenth century European adventurers who were looking for quick and lucrative profits in the fish and fur industries soon began journeying to Canada. Before long, occasional contact had given way to an era of constant infiltration of European traits into the newly discovered land.

At this time Roman Catholics were required to eat fish on Friday. Thus the codfish, caught off the banks of New France in large quantities, found an eager market. Then too, with the increasing emphasis on dry-fishing, more and more voyages were made to remote areas of the coast bringing new tribes under European influence. Timber was needed for stag-
ing and ship masts, as well as better harbours for dry-

fishing. Innis states,

... Codfish was ... a commodity available in large quantities, ... having a ready market in Europe with its primitive agricultural methods and scarcity of meat. Increasing demands for improvement in handling fish led to the development of dry-fishing which reduced the outlay on such commodities as salt, and economized shipping ... Dry-fishing stimulated the search for harbours suitable for drying and preferably with ample supplies of bait. With competition for better harbours and the increasing scarcity of timber available for staging came a constant search into the remoter areas of the coast (Innis 1970:9).

Initially, the fur trade was incidental to fishing. The Indians of the St. Lawrence River, with whom early contact was made, "were members of the Huron-Iroquois family and possessed cultural traits adapted to the forest area south and southeast of the Canadian shield." (Innis 1970:11). As well, agriculture was practised among them. It is not surprising then, that the fur trade was not developed to any extent with these Indians. Moreover the early trade was concerned with the "fancy fur" rather than the "staple fur" such as the beaver. Unfortunately, both the small demand and "the
intensely technical character of the commodity requiring
knowledge of the characteristics of fur on the part of the
purchaser, combined to retard the development of a trading
organization on a large scale." (Innis 1970:12).

However, as the interior gradually began to open up
and the agricultural Indians were driven from the St. Law-
rence River by those who favoured hunting, the fur trade
began to assume importance as well. In fact, by the end of
the sixteenth century, the fur trade had taken over the
dominant economic role in Canada.

The abundance of furs and the inexhaust-
ible market for them made North America a
unique theater of interracial contacts ... The ease of acquisition, the apparently limit-
less supply, the ready market and the permanence
of the white settlements permitted the constant
participation of every native, expanded the bus-
iness of trade to unprecedented proportions, and
changed, almost overnight, the fundamental
conditions of aboriginal economy (Hunt 1960:4).

During the first years of contact the Indians seemed
well adapted to the fur trade. Techniques used in hunting and
trapping such as the canoe, pack strap, snowshoes and toboggan,
as well as a vast knowledge of the terrain and the plants
and animals which inhabited it, enabled them to travel great
distances, bringing back many furs. Moreover, "the rapid
development of the trade was further dependent upon the
Indian method of treating fur and upon the character of the
felting process" (Bailey 1969:10).

Unfortunately European contact had harmful effects
as well. Foods brought over by the explorers and fur traders
often caused an imbalance in the diet of the natives, thereby
lowering their resistance to disease. Eventually this led to
a decline in the birth rate of several Eastern Algonkian
bands (Bailey 1969:13). In addition, the fur trade placed
both economical and political pressure on the central tribes
and was an important factor in the revival of the inter-
tribal warfare which soon followed,

The persistent and increasing demand
for European commodities led to the
more rapid extermination of the beaver,
to increased hostilities, especially
between Indian middlemen such as the
Iroquois and the Hurons, to the west-
ward flight of the Indians, to the spread
of new cultural traits, and to a further
Thus the quest for furs had literally divided the tribes into those who possessed them, and those who did not.

Along with this white intrusion and the fur trade came a new type of education for the native. "The Indian at once began to pass through a profound change as a result of his contact with a more advanced race." (Vallery 1942:14).

In fact Indian children were schooled in the same classroom as the French in order that they might acquire French manners and customs and eventually become one people. That the administration has failed in these efforts is evidenced by the fact that in many areas "Indianness" still prevails today. (Bailey 1969:107).

It was the missionaries who first realized the need
for Indian education, and although their methods were often strict, they made an honest effort at establishing schools and seeing that they were well-attended. Within this process, the missionaries sought to implant European attitudes of proper housing, nutritional foods and healthful living. "In addition to preaching the gospel and the salvation of souls, the missionaries taught their converts to apply the principles of Christianity." (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:8). Thus, from this time forward, education among the Indians of Canada has been very largely tied in with the various religious denominations — their aim being to make "white men" out of the aborigines.

On the whole, the period prior to 1613 was one of breaking new ground and becoming accustomed to the Indian mind, rather than of substantial accomplishment on the part of the missionaries. The barrier of language, the sometimes bad conduct of the traders, the hostility and jealousy of the native shamans, the deeply-seated religious beliefs and practices, and the traditions of their ancestors,... conspired to minimize and dissipate the religious zeal and moral example of the first missionaries (Bailey 1969:23).
The first French missionaries to attempt the task of converting and educating the Indians were Father Massé and Biard who, in 1610 and 1611, began setting up missions in Acadia. While Biard remained at Port Royal Father Massé went to live among the Micmac, located at the mouth of the St. John River. To aid them in their task, the priests attempted to learn the native language as well (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol.I:13). In 1613 France sent over Gilbert du Thet and Father Quentin to join them. Unfortunately their new colony on Mount Desert Island was destroyed shortly after they arrived (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol.I:13). By 1619 both Fathers Biard and Massé had moved to the Penobscot River to continue their work. The mission on the St. John River was taken over by a group of Recollets from Aquitaine. "Five years later ... they abandoned
the task, the survivors joining the Quebec mission of their

By early in the seventeenth century, missionary work
was being done in what is now Ontario and Quebec. In 1615
Champlain brought Fathers Jamay, Le Caron and d'Olbeau to Que-
bec. Father d'Olbeau's task was to convert the Montagnais of
the Lower St. Lawrence to Christianity while Le Caron was
assigned the conversion of the Hurons (Jesuit Relations 1896,
Vol. I:7). By 1620 Father Jamay and Pacifique du Plessis had
begun the construction of a monastery, Notre Dame des Anges
in Lower Canada, consisting of a church, a seminary and a
dwelling house. Unfortunately many problems plagued the mis-
sionaries during their stay.

They found conversion by preaching a
somewhat hopeless task, and they soon
realized that evangelization could only
come as the result of the careful, pa-
tient training of the savages. Institutions
for the education of the Indian children
were essential. Without the necessary funds
the mission to the Indians would languish.
(Sulte, Fryer and David 1908:21).

Thus four years later, this small group of Recollets
sought the aid of the Jesuits who, in turn, sent them Fathers Massé, Lalemant and Jean de Brébeuf. These men spent three years among the Hurons learning and observing their customs and way of life. Later Father Brébeuf went south to work among the Neutrals (Kennedy 1950:36).

During the years 1629-1633 the English took over New France and the missionaries returned to their homeland. At the end of this period when the colonies were returned to France, the Company of the Hundred Associates, appointed to govern the area, refused the right of entrance to the Recollets. However the Jesuits returned to Canada and sent out missionaries from their centre in Quebec to various parts of the country (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol. I:8-9). In that year too, the monks of the Order of St. Francis returned to Acadia to reestablish the missions on the St. John and at Miscou (Hannay 1879:138).

Although the missionaries in New France were trying
to instill formal education into the natives, it was greatly hampered by the fact the Indians persisted in their migratory way of life. Thus the teachers had to follow their pupils, travelling to such places as Quebec, Tadoussac and Three Rivers during the summer months, and accompanying the hunters and trappers in the winter (Jesuit Relations 1896 Vol.1:8).

To help remedy this situation the Jesuits started a seminary in Upper Canada in 1633. The purpose of this institution was to separate the Huron children from their families who were impeding the educational process, and give them proper instruction. To facilitate their learning, the missionaries insisted upon using the language of the groups among whom they were working.

In 1637, after many difficulties, Father Le Jeune opened up a school at Quebec for French and Indian children. He hoped "that these heretofore wild youths might be induced to become tillers of the soil, thus affording a needed example
to their fellow savages." (Jesuit Relations 1898, Vol.XII:2). Moreover Father Le Jeune suggested that every year an Indian child should be sent to France in order to learn the language (Jesuit Relations 1897, Vol.VI:85). Two years later he supervised the building of another mission post at St. Joseph, four miles outside of Quebec (Kennedy 1950:41).

At approximately this same time Father Julien Perrault established a mission on Cape Breton Island followed, two years later, by one at Miscou (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol.I:14).

Meanwhile in Lower Canada the Jesuits, keeping the sedentary policy in mind, built a palisaded mission four miles above Quebec. "Here were at first gathered twenty of the Indians who began cultivation of the soil varied by occasional hunting and fishing trips." (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol.I:19). By 1640 a Jesuit mission had been set up at Tadoussac. The man responsible for this was Father Jean du Quen. In his teaching he was aided by a former Montagnais convert, Charles Meïachkwat
Meanwhile in Upper Canada Father Le Moyne was working among the Iroquois of Lake Ontario, making an attempt to learn their language and customs (Woodley 1944:76). In 1660 Father Menard journeyed to Lake Superior to build a mission for the Ottawa Indians. Five years later he set out for the same area and built a chapel of bark at Chaquamegon Bay, (that is Lapointe Mission). For many years thereafter Father Menard taught the Ottawa, Nippissing, Ojibwa and Hurons, and eventually established missions at Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol.I:32-33).

In 1668 the educational system was augmented when several priests arrived in Canada from France, thus enabling the more outlying settlements to be supplied with missionaries. As well Bishop Laval made a visit to Tadoussac where he set up a seminary to educate Indian boys and girls "in the French mode of life and language," (Jesuit Relations 1899, Vol.III:9-10).
That same year the Jesuits built a mission at Caughnawaga for the Christian Iroquois (Kennedy 1950:45).

By 1670 the Recollets had returned to Canada along with Father Allaird and four others. During this time they were aided by Bishop Laval who had done much in the way of Indian education himself. The Bishop provided the travellers with food and lodging for more than a year and gave them three missions located at Île de Perce, Three Rivers and Fort Frontenac. That same year, 1670, Father Dreuilletes established a mission at Sault Ste. Marie to which came Indians from all the outlying areas (Jesuit Relations 1900a, Vol. LXI:71).

As well the Sulpician Fathers founded a mission of LaMontagne on the Island of Montreal in 1676. Here they built a well organized school which was eventually placed in the hands of the Congregation Sisters. By 1760 the mission site had been transferred to the Lake of Two Mountains on the Ottawa River (Jesuit Relations 1896, Vol.I:31).
At this time the Jesuits remained the chief apostles to the Indians as they hoped in 1610. But the general attitude of the French toward Canada had changed mightily in the hundred years since the arrival of Father Biard. Hope had given way to grim determination, apostolic schemes to sectarian rivalries and imperial visions to bivouacs and bushbeating (Kennedy 1950:51).

In 1744 Father Potier took over the mission at Bois Blanc, becoming Superior when De la Richardie retired. To aid him in his work, Potier spent a year at Lorette studying the Huron language. In fact his interest in it was so great that he occupied his leisure time by writing a Huron Grammar and Dictionary (Middleton and Landon 1927:20). Unfortunately the war caused the Hurons to gradually decrease in number and the ever increasing French population soon replaced them in the mission church (Jesuit Relations 1900b:305).

On the Prairies the first missionaries were Father Coquart, who established a mission at Tadoussac in 1747, and and Father de la Morénerie, both of the Jesuit Order (Jesuit Relations 1900b, Vol. LXIX:17). The latter was discouraged
with the little amount of good he was accomplishing and returned to Michillimackinac in 1751. Unfortunately he was not replaced until almost 65 years later (Morice 1910:46-47).

In Acadia Father Maillard continued his work among the Micmac but upon the French defeat at Louisburg in 1745, the majority of missionaries left for other areas. "Thus by the time that New France was absorbed into the British Empire in 1763, the Roman Catholic Church was widely involved in Indian education." (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:12).

(b) The British Period (1763-1867)

After the Revolution had ended the New England Company attempted to bribe Indian parents to send their children to school by offering them two suits of clothes and two blankets per year, in addition to a pipe and a parcel of tobacco each
week. However their plan failed as the tuition for each student soon proved too expensive for the Company to afford. Indian parents were anxious to have their children released from school and the students themselves usually took to the forest as soon as school was finished (MacNutt 1963:78-79).

In the Maritimes the first permanent missionary to enter the area was the Reverend Thomas Wood of the Church of England in 1764. While here he worked among the Indians of Annapolis Royal, learning their language and teaching them the words of the Bible whenever possible. In 1769 Reverend Wood travelled to the various settlements along the St. John River, preaching to the Indians as far away as the village of Aukpaque just above Fredericton. By 1786 several mission schools had been set up in the region by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Shortt and Doughty Vol.1 1913:200-210).

In Upper Canada Joseph Brant had established a school
on the Grand River by 1785, while a year later a church and a teacher were provided for the Indian people at the Bay of Quinte (Shortt and Doughty Vol.11, 1913:221). In 1827 a day school was opened up under the instruction of Captain John Brant, near the Mohawk Church in Brantford. Twenty-five children attended the institution (Johnston 1964:255). Gradually it developed "into an enlarged school for the teaching of handicrafts such as Blacksmithing, Waggon-making, Tailoring and Carpentering for Boys, and Spinning and Weaving for Girls." (Hodgins 1910:170).

Soon after the school began operating there were ten boys and four girls in attendance. Two years later Henry Steinhauer, an Ojibwa Indian, was given a teaching position at Credit Mission. It was felt that his knowledge of the Ojibwa language and the customs of the people made him well qualified for the job (McLean 1918:103-104).

In Quebec the establishment of schools and missions proceeded with more or less the same rapidity as it had in
Acadia and Upper Canada. Early in the nineteenth century a school was established by the Jesuits of Lorette. Under the headship of a Huron Indian schoolmaster, the institution usually maintained an attendance of twenty to forty pupils.

In 1821 James Evans and his family came to Canada making their home in Lachute, Quebec. It was only a few months after their arrival that he began a school near L'Original (McLean 1918:29).

Eight years later Sir James Kempt, Administrator of Lower Canada, helped to provide the funds for six boys to attend the English school at Chateauguay. The plan was so well received that Lord Gosford agreed to the establishment of an agricultural school and experimental farm at Christieville near St. John's (Shortt and Doughty Vol.5, 1913:347).

By this time church schools had been set up on the Prairies for some ten or fifteen years. The Reverend Joseph Provencher organized a school in 1818 and conducted it in the chapel of St. Boniface mission on the Red River. Emphasis was
placed on teaching agricultural methods to the Indians, as well as reading, writing and catechism. In addition, Father Provencher trained the Indian boys for service in the Church. Later that year Father Dumoulin established a school at Pembina and placed Father Edge in charge of its sixty students (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 20, 1913:418).

On October 14, 1820 the Reverend John West, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company arrived at the Red River Settlement, taking up residence at Fort Douglas. Since he was especially interested in educating Indians, West built a school near his home as well as two other residences -- one for boys, the other for girls. To his school came children from as far away as Brandon House and York Factory. Here the pupils were taught reading, writing and agricultural methods (Morton 1937:634).

By 1829 Angelique Nolin had organized the Prairies' first school for Indian girls in the district now known as Manitoba. Bishop Provencher introduced weaving at the school
in order to give the girls training in some type of occupation (Morice 1910:125-130). In fact Provencher encouraged all the natives, both young and adult, to leave the nomadic way of life and settle down. That same year he began a school of his own in an attempt to tie the Indians to the land. Stress was placed on agriculture and domestic industries. However it met with little success (Fr. Dominic 1956:190).

Bishop Provencher was not slow in impressing on his people the necessity of leading a less nomadic life. He taught them agriculture and ... put his own hand to the plough. He had already persuaded the Saulteaux to sow wheat in four different localities. He then planted fruit-bearing trees, but with little success; and in order to prevent idleness... he cultivated hemp, had weaving taught to the girls of St. Boniface school, and ordered cards for combing wool (Shortt and Doughty Vol.11, 1914:125).

As well an experimental school, conducted by the Reverend George Belcourt, was set up at Baie de St. Paul (now St. Béatique) in 1833 to train the Indian boys in agriculture. This was followed five years later by a similar institution at the junction of the Winnipeg and English
Rivers. Delcourt also managed to prepare a grammar of Chippewa language during this time (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 20, 1913: 419). By 1840 a Cree mission was established at the Pas under the organization of Henry Budd, an Indian whom the Reverend West had converted years earlier (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 11, 1913: 227-228).

Between the years 1836 and 1838, Sir Francis Bondhead was appointed Lieutenant-Governor for Upper Canada. He wanted to see all Indians placed on reserves, far removed from the "corrupting" white population. However the commissioners were against the idea, feeling that the time had come for those Indians who were educated and experienced in farming to be granted "patents for the lands they cultivated as advice for encouraging their less-favoured fellows to acquire prerequisite skills." (Johnston 1964: xciv).

Within this same period several day schools were built across Ontario -- Alderville, Credit River, Thames River, Saugeen, Lake St. Clair and Lake Simcoe -- where children and adults
alike were being instructed in agricultural techniques as well as academic subjects (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 5, 1913: 333-350). The model for all these villages was the settlement at Credit River. "In about four years the Mississauga Indians are said to have changed from a wandering, dissolute band to a progressive community." (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 5, 1913:333).

However since many Indians were still leading nomadic lives — hunting, fishing and trapping — their children were often unable to attend school for any length of time. Thus in 1835 a project was introduced whereby Indians from small scattered bands across Ontario were gathered together and settled on Manitoulin Island. The first of these settlements was completed in 1836 (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 5, 1913:334-339).

From this colonizing experiment Sir James Kempt drew up a report on the most effective means of helping the Indians promote their religious and educational improvement. These were:
1st To collect the Indians in considerable numbers, and settle them in villages with a due portion of land for their cultivation and support.

2nd To make such provision for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry as circumstances may from time to time require.

3rd To afford them such assistance in building their houses, rations, and in procuring such seed and agricultural implements as may be necessary... (Shortt and Doughty Vol.5, 1913:333).

In 1847 a report was issued advising the construction of manual training schools for Indian children. The students were to remain in residence at these institutions for the entire school year so that they could receive religious training and other skills in addition to their agricultural courses.

Following the advice of the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, one of the first residential schools was set up in Alderville in 1847 to serve the Chippewa children of Lakes Huron and Simcoe and the surrounding region. Ryerson felt that the manual training or industrial school was one of "the best methods of promoting the moral, social and intellectual improvement of the
Indians." (The United Church of Canada 1955:17). Four years later the Mount Elgin School at Muncey Town was established.

Both this institution and the school at Alderville "were supported by an annual per capita grant." (Shortt and Doughty Vol.5, 1913:350).

The only school in Lower Canada being paid from government funds at this time was the institution at Lorette. Here the curriculum and textbooks resembled closely those used in other schools of the area. Furthermore there were five mission schools located in the major settlements of what is now, the province of Quebec (Shortt and Doughty Vol.5, 1913:347).

In the West the Wesleyan Methodist Society began its missionary and educational work when the Reverends James Evans, Henry Steinhauer and Peter Jacobs set up a school at Norway House in Manitoba in 1840. Here the Indian boys and girls were taught reading, writing and singing. The following year James Evans came in contact with the Cree at Norway House.
Previously he had devised a syllabic system of which the Bible Society in Toronto did not approve. However when he moved west he discovered that the Cree language "belonged to the Algonquin family language" and thus began teaching it to Indian adults and children once again (McLean 1913:42).

The first missionary of any church to travel to the Edmonton area was the Reverend Robert Rundle. On September 5, 1840 he started a school for twenty-five Indian pupils who desired to read the Bible in their own language. Rundle often accompanied these people on their hunting expeditions in order to teach and preach to them. Two years later Father Thibault, the first Catholic missionary to enter this part of the country, journeyed to Fort Edmonton. That same year he established a school at St. Anne's Mission (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 20, 1913:477-478). By 1845 Father Lacombe had joined the other missionaries and was preaching to the various tribes in the vicinity (Morie 1910:170).
Meanwhile British Columbia and the Northwest Territories were gradually being infiltrated by missionaries of various religious denominations. However educational progress was much slower here than in the other regions of Canada. In 1839 Father Demers visited the Okanagan Valley, preaching and teaching to the Shuswap Indians. Three years later he travelled to the Lower Fraser River to work among the Indians living there. In 1848 Father Nobili, following in Demers footsteps, journeyed as far as Lake Babine where "crowds of Indians received him as the special envoy of the Deity." (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 11, 1913:131).

By 1856 the government's attempts to improve the conditions of the Chippewas and Ottawas of Lake Huron and Manitouwaning in Upper Canada were declared a failure. Twelve years prior to this, the government had placed several instructors in the settlement including a blacksmith, a mason, a carpenter, a shoemaker, a cooper, a charcoal burner and five labourers, hoping to encourage the Indians to settle in one place. Work-
shops had been built, as well as a church and a school. By 1856 the schoolhouse was destroyed and the workshop deserted. "The formal village, with its automatic subsidized labour and its regular monotonous tasks had been repellent to the Indian who was invited to freedom by the open lake." (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 5, 1913:350).

Three years later the Mohawk Institute underwent renovation by the New England Company, thereby making provision for 90 pupils. More emphasis was placed on preparing the pupils for trades pertaining to agriculture. In fact the other trades were eliminated from the program entirely (Annual Departmental Reports 1931:17).

In the Maritime region attempts to educate the native population were still continuing although the rate of mission building had decreased somewhat. In 1839 Dr. Spencer established a Theological Institute for the Indians of that area. Soon a number of natives were preaching in the Church of England and
others were studying to be ordained as ministers (Tocque 1878:35).

On the west coast one of the first Protestant workers was William Duncan, who arrived there in 1857. A year later he opened a school for the Tsimshian Indians at Fort Simpson, where 140 children and fifty adults attended. By July of that same year an additional school was in the midst of being constructed (Begg 1894:302-340). In 1858 Father D'Herbomez was appointed vicar of all the missions on the mainland. Soon schools were founded at Okanagan and the Lower Fraser River. In June, 1859, Father Demers returned from Europe with four sisters of St. Anne. The latter immediately set up a school at Victoria.

By 1862 William Duncan had moved to Metlakatla Island where he established a large school, preaching and teaching there for twenty-five years. The following year St. Mary's Mission, the first industrial school for Indian children on
the Pacific Coast, was set up (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 11, 1913: 145-146). At this time the Reverend Thomas Crosby, a Methodist, erected a school at Nanaimo and thereafter contributed notably to the progress of the Indians along the Fraser River and at Fort Simpson (Begg 1894: 487).

Meanwhile on the Prairies, the Reverend George McDougall and his son took it upon themselves to inspect the missions in the district of Norway House. They found that Henry Steinhauer had set up a school at Whitefish Lake, but unfortunately it did not have a full-time teacher to instruct the children. Three years later the McDougalls established a school of their own at Victoria (Nix 1960: 34-40).

At this time too, the Northwest Territories had four schools which were organized by the Grey Nuns. These were built at Lac Ste. Anne, forty-five miles west of Edmonton, Île à la Crosse, St. Albert and Fort Providence (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 11, 1913: 138-149). However the progress of
building missions in this area was notably slower than in other regions of the country.

By 1867, with the passing of the British North America Act, the federal government of Canada took over where the British had left off.

(c) Canada Takes Over (1867-1960)

As soon as possible after Confederation steps were taken for a more vigorous Indian policy. The schools conducted by the various religious denominations at once became public schools — in this sense only — that the income hitherto contributed by private individuals or companies was supplemented by government grants, in no case exceeding $12 per pupil per annum for public schools; but the Government reserved the right of contributing to the establishment and support of industrial schools in as liberal a manner as they might see fit (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:166).

Most of the Indian bands in the southern regions of Canada were settled upon reserves by this time. Even those in the northern areas of Ontario and Quebec were finding it increasingly difficult to pursue their traditional means of subsistence. Thus many Indian children were now able to
attend school the year round. In fact, as of 1869, the attendance in Indian schools was 1,635. Three years later, it had increased to 2,261 (Canada Sessional Papers 1873:4). During the following two decades several treaties were made with various groups stating that the federal government was to provide schools and teachers for those Indian bands with whom they had made agreements (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:166).

Phase I (1867-1948)

In the Maritimes educators soon realized the need for more schools as well as an increase in the number of government grants allocated each year. Thus in 1873 a school was built on Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, at a cost of $245 (Canada Sessional Papers 1976:31). One year later a school was completed at Eskasoni, Nova Scotia. By 1879, five more schools had been established at Burnt Church and Tobique in New Brunswick, and Bear River, Whycomagh and Pictou in
Nova Scotia (Canada Sessional Papers 1880:10).

The enrolment on the Atlantic coast was beginning to increase as well. In 1885; 225 children were irregularly attending schools in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Here they received instruction in spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and geography (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:168).

Similarly the province of Quebec had erected a number of educational institutions during this period. In 1874 a school at Lac St. Jean was completed. In addition, the government promised financial aid to the Roman Catholic Church to build a school on the Temiscaminque Reserve (Canada Sessional Papers 1875:6-7). The following year two schools were built at Lake of Two Mountains -- one maintained by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the other by the Wesleyan Missionary Society (Canada Sessional Papers 1876:19). However, ten years later, despite the fact that there were 71 reserves * in the province,

* This figure appears to be extremely high since the territory known as Quebec was much smaller at this time than it is today.
only 15 schools had been erected, with an enrolment of 476 pupils. The largest school was located at Caughnawaga and had an average attendance of 86 pupils (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:168).

As well several schools were established in Ontario immediately after Confederation. By 1874 the Mount Elgin School, originally set up in 1851, had 34 pupils enrolled. Thirty of these were supported by a $60 per annum contribution from Indian funds. That same year an industrial school was erected at Garden River for Indian children. Unfortunately, it was destroyed by fire not long after its completion. To replace this building, the government set up the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie (Canada Sessional Papers 1874:26-27).

In 1875, another industrial school was erected at Wik-wenikong (Canada Sessional Papers 1874:27). Then too, a new school house was completed on the Sarnia reserve by the Wesleyan Methodist Society, at an expense of $1500. In addition,
the Department gave grants of $50 per annum to each of the Indian day schools on the Six Nations Reserve (Canada Sessional Papers 1875:5).

By 1877, many of the mission schools were finding it difficult to keep the average attendance required. Thus the industrial schools, while initially more expensive, were thought to be "more prudent and economical" (Canada Sessional Papers 1877:33). The purpose of the industrial schools was "not only to instruct the children in the ordinary branch of education, but also ... to give them a knowledge of trade, and thus enable them to procure their own subsistence upon leaving the establishment" (Canada Sessional Papers 1875:4).

... the only practical way of accomplishing the education and industrial training of the children of these nomads would be the establishment of the industrial type whereat the children could be kept, fed, clothed, educated and trained to a knowledge of agriculture or of some useful trades (Canada Sessional Papers 1893:xxi).

As of 1880, there were educational institutions on the Mississauga, Harvey Inlet and Shawenaga Reserves, on Blind
River, at the Pic on Lake Superior and on Christian Island (Canada Sessional Papers 1880:6-7). Two years later schools were opened at Serpent River and Manitowaning Bay (Canada Sessional Papers 1883:3). As of 1885 there were 69 Indian schools in Ontario (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:166).

Generally the curriculum consisted of composition, dictation, drawing and French, although those students in the industrial schools took courses in algebra, Euclid and, occasionally, Greek and Latin (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:7).

On the Prairies, the erection of educational institutions proceeded with about the same speed as in the other areas of Canada. In the region of Manitoba there were several schools in operation, situated in such locations as Fort Alexander, St. Peter's Reserve and Fairford. In addition to the $300 grants which each of these schools received, grants of $300 per annum were made to the newly proposed schools at Berens River, Norway House and Nelson. To be eligible for these grants, each school
was to have an enrolment of 25 pupils or more (Canada Sessional Papers 1875:9). Moreover after 1870 "each reserve in Manioba had an instructor with at least one assistant, hired by the government, to teach the Indians how to cultivate their land, and raise livestock " (Macoun 1882:572).

By 1872, Father Remas was conducting classes at Lac la Biche in a log shanty which he had built himself. Five years later, Father Pafard began a school at Fort Pitt for the Indians of that area (Morice 1910:106-120), while Bishop McLean established Emmanuel College in Prince Albert to train the natives as pastors, catechists and school teachers (Shortt and Doughty Vol. 11, 1914: 243).

In Manitoba, the year 1883 saw the beginning of a boarding school for young girls at St. Boniface. It was felt that the school was "but the adjunct of the church and the complement of the Christian home." (Morice 1910:152). By 1884 three industrial schools had been set up at Battleford, Qu'Appelle and High River (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:142). At Qu'Appelle,
the industrial school which was to become the prototype of all such institutions, the contractor built a stable and a storehouse. Later a milk house, ice house, bake-oven, root-house and closets were added. The pupils were required to participate in five hours of school work and three hours of fatigue work a day, including cutting fire wood, weeding the garden, cleaning the stables, ploughing, planting potatoes and washing their own clothes. The enrolment totalled 30 boys and 9 girls (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:137-138). In 1885, the Indians of Sandy Bay finished building a new schoolhouse complete with a teacher-age (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:49). By 1890, an industrial school was opened at St. Boniface and plans were drawn up for another institution of the same type in Regina (Canada Sessional Papers 1891:xi).

In total then there were 44 day schools and 3 industrial schools in operation on the Prairies as of 1885, with 1,300 attending the classes. For the most part the curriculum focused
on reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, English, agriculture and stockraising (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:169). However, although white contact had occurred on the Prairies over a century before, the Indians were not adapting to the way of life expected of them. While agriculture was encouraged, it was with great reluctance that they put their hunting techniques behind and picked up a hoe.

On the west coast Indian education was still in its initial stages. However "by 1872 the Church of England was operating an industrial school with an attendance of 300 pupils at Metlakatla and a boarding school at Kincolith." (O'Reilly 1970:12). Then too, several mission schools had since been set up. One of these, operated by the Methodist Church at Nanaimo, had an attendance of 50 pupils. As well, there was a boarding school and a convent at St. Mary's which accommodated 40 to 60 pupils and two missions, one located at Williams Lake and one at Okanagan (Canada Sessional Papers 1875:9).
Like the other provinces, British Columbia received grants for its schools beginning in 1874. Unfortunately many schools with an insufficient number of students were forced to close down. That same year the Reverend Thomas Crosby journeyed to Fort Simpson and, almost immediately, set up a schoolhouse. In his labour he was not to be disappointed for that winter the day school had approximately 120 students in attendance. As well, Reverend Crosby established an annual fair in the community (Begg 1894:488). On September 20, 1876, three Sisters of Ste. Ann arrived at New Westminster, founding an industrial school for the Indian girls of the Williams Lake District. Shortly thereafter, in 1877, another day school was completed at Nanaimo (Morice 1910:352-355).

About this time British Columbia began their adult education program for Indian men and women. In one of these classes at Kincolith there were over 26 adults enrolled (Canada Sessional Papers 1877:87).
To help young students to read and write, Father Morice devised a syllabic system of writing for the Stuart Lake Indians. Most of his publications were in the form of prayer books, readers or primers. In the southern regions of British Columbia Father le Jeune "applied the French system of stenography to the Chinook language" and taught it to the Indians with what he considered good results (Morice 1910:337).

By 1888, Ste. Ann's Academy in British Columbia was begun by three sisters who, with the aid of a loan, were able to secure a lot costing $1100. Eventually the Academy so expanded that 15 sisters had to be employed as teachers (Morice 1910:386). That year an industrial school was established at Metlakatla as well (Canada Sessional Papers 1891:xi).

During the 1890's very few Indian schools were built across the country. In fact many of the day schools were closed down with the result that more and more children were attending the industrial or boarding schools. The thought that underlay
the building of industrial schools is epitomized in the following statement:

Indians show little interest in improvement of the mind. On the other hand they are very fond of industrial training, and make good progress therein. They manifest an inclination for farming, and we make it a point to encourage it since farm work will be their principal means of earning a living (Sessional Papers 1896:18).

By the close of the century there were 6,491 students attending day schools, 1,958 attending industrial schools and 1,157 attending boarding schools. The distribution of schools across the country was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students living on premises</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Treaty Limits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sessional Papers 1900:xxxii).

During the opening years of the twentieth century several day schools were built as well as many closed. On the Atlantic coast no residential schools had been built to this date. However educators felt that they were sorely needed for although the educational process had been going on for some time in that area, a great majority of Indian families still
persisted in their nomadic habits.

Although the province of Nova Scotia has been settled and cultivated for many years, the condition of the Indians in many areas is that of nomads. They have failed to reside permanently upon reserves and make their living by agriculture. They are prone to wander from place to place. These habits render somewhat difficult to give the children the benefits of day school education (Sessional Papers 1910:275).

Thus in 1910 the Department arranged for a school garden to be set up at Tobique, Nova Scotia "with a view to interesting the children, and through them the parents, in the cultivation of the land." (Sessional Papers 1910:202). That year too, Burnt Church School and Oromocto School were established in New Brunswick (Sessional Papers 1919:315-318). Five years later Red Bank School was set up in this same province (Sessional Papers 1915:132).

In Quebec the turning of the century brought the establishment of the Maniwaki school in 1901. Here plain sewing was taught and several different articles of clothing were made by the students (Sessional Papers 1913:132). Four years later two more
schools were opened at Congo Bridge and Escoumins. However many areas in the province were still without educational facilities, their only means of instruction being the annual two week visit by the missionaries (Sessional Papers 1906:xxxiii-15). By 1912 separate schools for both boys and girls had been built by the Roman Catholic Church in the Caughnawaga Agency. In the Boys' School "English was the chief language taught... which was aided by the limited use of the written Iroquois..." (Sessional Papers 1913:319-320). By this time too, several students from across Quebec were attending such institutions as McGill University, Levis College, Grande Ligne Mission, Lachine, St. Laurent College and the Quebec Seminary (Sessional Papers 1915:125).

Generally the residential schools were still more popular than the day schools in Ontario. By 1907 boarding schools were set up at the Albany mission, Moose Fort and Kenora in Ontario. As well, an Indian school was opened by the Methodists on the Whitefish Lake Reserve (Sessional Papers 1907:xxxii).
The following year a boarding school was established at Chapleau under the auspices of the Church of England. Here boys were taught to saw, split wood and garden, while the girls were instructed in housework, cooking and needlework. To supplement their programme both were given moral and religious training. Day schools at Moraviantown, Albany and Fort Frances were also built in Ontario during the opening decade (Sessional Papers 1910:294-429).

In 1911, several of the schools began granting prizes to their pupils and giving them a noon-day meal. It was hoped that these innovations would make the institutions more attractive and thus increase the attendance (Canada Sessional Papers 1911:xxvii). As well, a new payment scale was given to the boarding schools. Those in the eastern region, including all boarding schools in Ontario except Albany, Moose Factory, Fort Frances and Kenora were to receive between $80 and $100 per annum. Those in the northern region, that is those located 200
miles or more from a railway, were granted $125 per annum. All other boarding schools in Canada were to receive between $100 and $125 (Sessional Papers 1911:294).

By 1913 the Department of Indian Affairs began awarding annual scholarships of $100 each to five pupils attending the Six Nations School in Brantford. Furthermore, six scholarships were offered to the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph for those pupils who fulfilled the necessary requirements (Sessional Papers 1913:309).

In the western provinces the story was much the same. Although two new day schools were built at Eagle Lake and Little Grand Rapids in Manitoba, four were closed down. On May 31, 1905, St. Boniface Industrial School was shut down as well, since there was not sufficient land for agricultural operations and only a limited amount of gardening could be done. Eventually the trade shops had to be closed as well, thereby losing the industrial nature of the school.
Between 1907 and 1910 several schools were built in the west. Institutions at Clear Water Lake in Manitoba, Lac la Ronde and the John Smith Reserve in Saskatchewan, Red Deer and Davisburg in Alberta and Providence Mission in the Northwest Territories were erected (Canada Sessional Papers 1907:xxxiii and 1910:308-320). By 1913 plans for a new boarding school at Norway House were drawn up and a federal grant was set aside for this purpose (Sessional Papers 1913:xxvii). Two years later a school of the same nature was built at the Pas (Sessional Papers 1915:xxix).

On the West Coast four new schools were started in 1905 at Clayquot, New Town, Ohiot and Yuquot (Sessional Papers 1906:xxxiii). By 1907 schools were built at Andimaul and Atlin. In two years' time institutions were established at Koksilah, Sliammon and Quamichan (Sessional Papers 1910:328).

Unlike many of the Indian families in the western areas of Canada the Indians of British Columbia did not undergo any
Immediate serious change with the disappearance of the buffalo.

Thus the government pressure to farm for subsistence was not as great as in the other provinces.

The Indians of British Columbia have been from the earliest times self-supporting and the advent of the white population, which in the west caused the complete disappearance of the buffalo, did not occasion any serious change in their source of food supply... Thus they were able to more easily adapt themselves to the demands made upon them as labourers and general helpers (Sessional Papers 1910:327).

However in later years they were to suffer from a shortage of food supply.

By 1915 provincial separate and public school inspectors began making semi-annual visits to schools in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In New Brunswick and British Columbia the Indian Affairs Department sent agents to inspect the institutions, while schools in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the Northwest Territories were inspected by men from the various Indian agencies (Sessional Papers 1915:xxx).
On the Prairies the Department had an assistance program by 1918 for expatriates of boarding and industrial schools who were felt "to be deserving". Upon graduation a male pupil might to expect to receive several horses or cattle, tools and building materials. Former female students were given household furniture or sewing machines (Sessional Papers 1918:24).

By 1920 there were 12,196 Indian students enrolled in 247 day, 58 boarding and 16 industrial schools across the country (Sessional Papers 1921:13-14). While this number of pupils seems large, in reality the educational picture was no more encouraging than at the turn of the century. Of the 12,196 students, 4088 were in Grade 1 but only 1,373 (one third of the Grade 1 total), were in Grade 2. Attendance progressively diminished until Grade 5 found only 229 enrolled (Sessional Papers 1921: 56-63).

Moreover the majority of these schools were still under the auspices of the various religious denominations. As of
1920 the distribution was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Residential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sessional Papers 1921:14).

During the early part of the 1920's there were only a few Indian schools erected, due to the economic situation in Canada. However, between 1925 and 1930 schools were built in Ontario near McIntosh, at Sioux Lookout and Tyendinaga, Buzwah and Manitoulin Island, while in the west Indian residential schools were established on the Piegan Reserve, Manitoba; at Morley, Alberta; Onion Lake, Saskatchewan; and Lytton, British
Columbia (Sessional Papers 1927:17-18 and 1929:16). Toward the end of the decade the Department began building a large boarding school at Shubenacadie in Nova Scotia on a farm site which they had purchased some time back (Sessional Papers 1930:18).

By 1930 the total enrolment had climbed to 15,743, the reported average attendance being 11,529. Moreover the total expenditure for Indian education for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1930 was $2,330,438.21 (Sessional Papers 1931:13-14). For the most part Indian schools followed the provincial curricula but special attention was given to reading, language, agriculture, manual training and domestic science.

In Quebec a residential school was completed at Grouard in 1931. That same year three schools of a similar nature were established at Brandon, Manitoba; Punnichy, Saskatchewan and Gleichen, Alberta. As well a grant was provided for the Providence Indian Residential School in the Northwest Territories (Annual Report 1932:13). By 1934 the beginnings of a
new school were made to replace the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School in Manitoba which had since become outdated (Annual Report 1935:19).

Meanwhile in Ontario a grant was set aside for the Albany Indian Residential School on James Bay in 1931 (Annual Report 1932:13). Three years later the foundations for a new residential school were laid near Sault Ste. Marie. This building was to take the place of the Shingwauk school which had gradually become outmoded (Annual Report 1935:19).

By 1940 farming in all provinces was being encouraged. In fact many agencies in Manitoba supplied tractors for men. Moreover the Department assisted the Indians of Ontario by providing them with the loans necessary to purchase farm equipment (Department of Mines and Resources 1941:184).

During the next ten years several schools were established in the west. In 1946 six new schools opened in the Norway House Agency, Manitoba.
improvement in attendance during the year, probably due to the distribution of Family Allowances (Department of Mines and Resources 1947:20). In Alberta a program was initiated whereby additional day schools would be constructed to provide educational services for those children who had not yet been able to obtain a formal education. The first two schools built for this purpose were located in the Edmonton Agency. However the story was much different in Saskatchewan that year.

"Lack of necessary building material restricted the building of day schools to one at the Assiniboine Reserve, Crooked Lake Agency." (Department of Mines and Resources 1949:210).

Phase II (1948-1960)

The year 1948 marks a change in the thinking of administrators in the educational system. At that time the policy of educating Indian and non-Indian children in the same school wherever possible was put into effect. This was to be carried
out through the cooperation of the Provincial Departments and the various local school boards. While the day and residential schools continued to be used, their importance waned considerably with this new integration policy.

By 1950, 2000 Indian children were enrolled in provincial schools across Canada. This figure may be compared to the total Indian school population which was 23,409. Of this latter number 8199 were in Grade 1, but only 3,686 were in Grade 2. What is more astonishing is that out of the total 623 had reached Grade 8 and only 11 were enrolled in Grade 12 (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1950:87). It is only too plain that with these revealing figures staring educators in the face, something should have been done about the current educational system. However, when the new Indian Act was passed by Parliament and brought into effect in September of 1951, it continued to support the existing system of day and residential schools under joint departmental and religious control (Department of Citizen-
ship and Immigration 1952:43). Thus it appeared that no new policy was in sight. Although some progress was reported, nothing remotely approaching the scale necessary to prepare the Indians for the kind of life which they as a part of the white world would have to lead.

In New Brunswick a large addition was made to the Tobique day school, and two new day schools were built at St. Mary's and Woodstock in 1952 (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1952:50). Moreover, in Quebec a new day school was completed at the Lorette Agency and a large residential school was established at Seven Islands (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1951:60). On the Prairies schools were opened at Hay Lake, and on the Blackfoot and Horse Lake Reserves in Alberta. As well, seven day schools in Saskatchewan and seven in Manitoba were built that year (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1952:46-48).

In the more northernly regions schools had been esta--
lished at Aklavik, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Resolution and Fort Simpson by 1953. That same year three students received scholarships totalling $1200 from the Territories' Government. By providing these awards it was hoped that the students would be encouraged to continue their education beyond the Grade 12 level. In addition three bursaries of $1200 each were set up for pupils who wished to pursue further vocational training (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1954: 25-115).

During the year adult education classes were conducted at various centres throughout the Territories. The Fort Smith Roman Catholic Hospital sponsored a course for nurses' aides while home economics and citizenship classes were offered at the high school in Yellowknife (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1954:115).

On September 29th, 1958 the Sir John Franklin School and Ahaitcho Hall in Yellowknife were officially opened. Three
weeks prior to this, a new 100-pupil residence was opened as well (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1959:106). The curriculum to be used in the school included such subjects as carpentry, building construction and mechanics. Those students in Grades 10 to 12 were allowed to take a technical elective in either Industrial or Home Economics (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1960:30).

In the Yukon Territory 13 schools were in operation by 1953. One of these, a new public school in Whitehorse, was completed the previous year. At first accommodation facilities were adequate, but as the year progressed and more students enrolled, plans were drawn up for additional rooms (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1954:12).

Unfortunately the majority of schools in the Yukon only go as far as Grade 8. Thus, unless the parents have enough money to send their child to school outside the Territory, a student's education is generally terminated at this level.
By 1954 nearly all the residential schools in Canada had such visual aids as radios, record players and film projectors. In areas where facilities were available, instruction in swimming and lifesaving was added to the curriculum (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1954:60). The following year a basic guidance program including "the use of permanent individual records, information sheets, tests and counselling" was developed (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1956:53).

In 1957 school committees composed of Indian adults were formed on a number of reserves across Canada "to introduce a measure of democratic practice to the conduct of Indian educational matters." (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1957-62). The Department felt that this would help arouse the parents' interest in their child's work, and thereby have a beneficial effect on the child as well.

By 1960 the enrolment across Canada had increased to 40,637.* In addition to this figure, over 1000 Indian adults were attend-

* See Appendix
ing classes (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960: 55-62). That year it was decided that each region was to be divided into school districts in order to provide closer supervision over the schools. In British Columbia this policy had already been carried out in 1959. The province was subsequently divided into five school districts, each presided over by a superintendent (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960: 58).

The program of "joint education" had also gained momentum by this time. As of 1960 there were 9,479 Indian students (or 1/4 of the Indian school population) enrolled in non-Indian schools. In this the residential schools played an important part by providing accommodation for those students attending the integrated schools (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960: 55-60).

(d) Schools

The earliest European institutions of learning for Indian children were not schoolhouses as such. Generally speaking, teaching was carried out in the churches themselves or conducted
out-of-doors. An example of this type of institution was found at Sillery, a populous village in Lower Canada, where young Indians were taught how to read and write as early as the 17th century (Shortt and Doughty Vol.16, 1914:335-336). It was not until the late 18th and early 19th centuries that one-room schoolhouses began to be erected. However even these were, at best, poorly constructed and unkempt, making education all the more unattractive to the pupils.

Originally there were two basic types of schools— the boarding or residential school and the day school. Attendance was generally irregular in the day schools, especially during the late autumn and winter seasons. Since many bands were still nomadic or semi-nomadic, it was often difficult for the children to receive a formal education. As time progressed educators began to feel that boarding schools were needed in order to keep the pupils in one place for the entire year.

Thus in 1864 a report was issued recommending that
manual labour schools be established for the Indian children of Upper Canada. Pupils were to reside as boarders in such schools in order that they might receive religious instruction in addition to their agricultural courses. Eventually it was hoped that the graduates would settle on a piece of land and take up farming.

During the next few decades industrial schools were built on the Six Nations' Reserve, Alderville and Mount Elgin in Ontario, and St. Mary's Mission in British Columbia. The day schools, although less expensive to build and operate than the industrial or boarding schools, were having little success. In fact between 1880 and 1925 many of the day schools had to close down for lack of students. Thus the residential schools appeared to be the only means of ensuring good attendance, and seeing that the children were well-fed.

By 1910 the teaching of trades was no longer carried out in the industrial schools. In their place instruction in
carpentry and agriculture was given. The girls received courses in general housekeeping. As well, residential schools were given financial assistance from the federal government on a per capita grant for each Indian student enrolled (Sessional Papers 1910:274-275).

By this time too, improvements were sought in the day schools "to give such inducements for a full and regular attendance as would overcome these obstacles to success."

(Sessional Papers 1910:274). Accordingly each school was to supply its pupils with footwear as well as a hot mid-day meal where possible. In addition, simple calisthenics were introduced into the classroom to provide a change from academic exercises.

After the Great Depression in the late 1920's, day schools were on the increase again. The following chart shows the popularity of day and residential schools between 1890 and 1960.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Boarding</th>
<th>Industrial</th>
<th>Total Residential</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>247</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>247</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>272</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>288</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>329</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Boarding and industrial schools now called residential schools*
Since the early days of education, the government has taken over more and more of the functions which the church once carried out. Today the government hires teachers and pays them their salaries, as well as owns residences and schools. Moreover they aid some of the more promising students by giving them scholarships to continue their studies upon completion of high school.

Although most residential schools in Canada are non-existent today, or function in other capacities, day schools still flourish. Then too, many Indian students are now being educated in integrated schools. This policy was initiated in 1948, but it took several years before the Provincial Departments of Education put it into practice. Between 1948 and 1958...
the number of children attending integrated schools has increased from 1,406 to 7,330, the latter figure representing almost 20% of the entire Indian school population (Canada Indian Affairs Branch 1958:24). Eventually it is hoped that integration will enable the Indian students to, both academically and emotionally, make the adjustment more easily from elementary to secondary school.

(e) Teachers

The first attempts at educating the Indians of Canada were made by the French missionaries who, for the most part, had Christianization, rather than formal education, as their goal. They looked upon the natives as "savages". The only way to help them was to "save their souls". Oftentimes the work was dangerous as "unarmed and alone among strangers they braved the wild terrain... with little heed for personal safety or comfort." (Kennedy 1950:31).

Generally the missionaries tried to learn the language
of the people with whom they were working. This precedent was set by Fathers Biard and Massé who worked among the Indians in Acadia. Thus the Canadian missionary filled many roles — he preached and heard confessions in forts and villages, he taught in the colleges, and upon occasion he explored, traded, or served as a government agent (Kennedy 1950:81). Gradually however the missionaries' job as educator was taken over by laymen who seldom had much knowledge of Indian culture or teaching techniques.

Until a few years ago, capable teachers were few and far between. This may, in part, have been due to the meagre salary that was paid them. As of 1867 there were less than fifty schools operating in Canada. Yearly salaries ranged anywhere from none at all to $250. By 1886 a salary of $300 per annum was paid to teachers in each school which was "wholly supported by the Government and $12 per annum for each pupil over the number of 25 and up to ...42...", the whole not to
In 1913 teachers in Indian schools were promised an increase in salary provided they would attend summer courses at the University of Toronto or the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph. The subjects which teachers were encouraged to take were domestic science, elementary agriculture and horticulture (Sessional Papers 1913:359).

Elmer Jamieson reports that by 1921 teachers of Indian pupils were being paid $500-$800 per year, plus an annual bonus of $150 retroactive to 1917. This could be compared to the salary being paid to an elementary school teacher in Ontario during the same period which was $1,348 for males and $817 for females (Jamieson 1922).

Since 1948 teachers have been receiving a salary schedule approved by the Treasury Board and the Privy Council. This is determined on the basis of academic and professional training, previous teaching experience, and supervisory or educational administrative experience (Department of Citizen-
ship and Immigration 1960:57). Moreover, salary is no longer based on the sex of the teacher as it was in former years.

However even at this late date the Department was not responsible for the payment of instructors in Indian residential schools. The salary still corresponded to the number of students attending each year, and was paid to them by the denomination under which the school was run. On September 1, 1949 the Department took over the job of paying the salaries in three Indian residential schools. This experiment proved so successful that by September 1, 1954 it was paying the staffs in all government-owned residential schools (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1956:51). By 1958 another salary increase had been granted to the teachers. The following chart shows the salary schedule in effect for teachers in 1958 as compared to 1948.
### Day Schools

**Teacher Salary Schedule**

*(showing maximum and minimum)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1958</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Principal</td>
<td>no provision</td>
<td>4520-8960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>1800-2820</td>
<td>3800-7700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Principal</td>
<td>1800-2820</td>
<td>4000-6900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Teacher</td>
<td>1920-3060</td>
<td>3240-7560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Teacher's Aide</td>
<td>1260-1560</td>
<td>2400-4400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1440-2520</td>
<td>2700-6300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's Aide</td>
<td>1020-1320</td>
<td>2000-2370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Residential Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1958</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>not employed by the Department</td>
<td>3800-7700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Principal</td>
<td></td>
<td>4000-6900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>2700-6300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's Aide</td>
<td></td>
<td>2000-3700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Canada Indian Affairs Branch 1958:25-26)*
Moreover, in order to keep the salaries of those teaching in Indian schools on a par with those in the provincial schools, both uncertified and certified teachers are allowed to take a leave of absence to improve their academic standing (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1957:56-57).

Today many Indians are now entering the field of education. As of 1953 there were only 45 teachers of Indian status employed in Indian schools. By 1960 the number had increased to 116. As well there were 33 Indian students enrolled in Teacher Training Colleges across Canada that year (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960:45).

In addition to these improvements, various teacher training projects are now underway. In North Bay, Ontario an orientation course was held for those teachers planning to instruct in seasonal schools. As well during the fall of 1959, teachers' conventions were organized in five of the
eight regions. That winter "local teacher institutes and discussion groups met with their school superintendents to discuss common problems and to receive assistance with special ones."

(Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960:59).

However there is still much to be done as far as teacher training is concerned. An elementary school teaching certificate plus a one week course given by the Indian Affairs Branch, does not prepare the teacher for the problems he or she will face on the reserve.

Too often the net result of all those conditions is that the teacher, when faced with a class of Indian children, is at first puzzled by their failure to respond, then annoyed and finally discouraged (Joblin 1947:68).

(f) Curriculum

The first missionaries in New France did not have a definite curriculum for their Indian pupils to follow. Rather they were concerned with the conversion of these little "savages"
into Christians and teaching them a knowledge of the "true" God.

The missionaries instructed both adults and children alike in the French mode of life, the language, and all the habits and customs of the French people. This manner of teaching continued well into the 18th century, until the British victory in 1763.

During the opening decades of the 19th century the emphasis in teaching was placed on arithmetic, reading, writing, spelling, history, and geography. Soon, however, educators realized that most of those children attending the schools would return to their reserves upon completion of their education. Thus, in 1847, Dr. Egerton Ryerson suggested that industrial boarding schools be established, their main purpose being the introduction of plain English to the farmer and mechanic, as well as kitchen-gardening, mechanics and agriculture (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:13). Until this time the only school of an industrial nature was the
Mohawk Institute which was equipped with a mechanics' shop and facilities for teaching tailoring and carpentry to boys and spinning and weaving to girls. Later, as the government began encouraging the Indians to take up farming, a course in agriculture was added to the curriculum (Annual Departmental Reports 1931:17).

By the 1880's several industrial schools were built across Canada. In addition to their academic work, the students had to participate in a few hours of fatigue work daily. This generally consisted of weeding the garden, cutting firewood, cleaning the stables, planting crops and washing their clothes (Canada Sessional Papers 1886:137-138).

Gradually educators and employers alike began to equate the native with agriculture and farming merely following the missionary and Western philosophy regarding the Indian. This outlook often deprived would-be scholars of an academic education. The following statement reflects the feeling of
Speaking in widest terms, it is now recognized that the provision of education for the Indian means an attempt to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment. It includes not only a school education, but also instruction in the means of gaining a livelihood from the soil as a member of a mercantile community. To this end the curriculum has been simplified, and the practical instruction is such as may be simplified...
(Shortt and Doughty Vol.7, 1913:616).

To encourage agriculture among the natives, school gardens were inaugurated at many institutions beginning in the late 1800's. Fall fairs began to be organized on several reserves as well, It was felt that these innovations would stimulate the Indians' interest in farming.

During the opening decades of the twentieth century Indian schools began to adopt the curricula used in the province in which they were situated. This enabled textbooks to be obtained more readily for the schools. Once finished Gr.8 children could now transfer to a collegiate. Generally the emphasis was placed on reading, language, manual training, domestic
However Jamieson reports that as late as 1921 the "programme of studies prescribed for Indian schools was not a composite of the provincial courses of study".

An examination of the course of study shows that a pupil in an Indian day school is not advanced as far in certain subjects such as arithmetic for instance, at the completion of his public school education, as the white who has followed, let us say, the Ontario course of study. It appears that the course of study was made simple and constructed differently to accommodate Indian pupils (Jamieson 1922).

In the industrial schools of this era the curriculum taught consisted of housework, sewing, darning, cooking, making breads and pastries, washing, ironing, dairying, milking, dusting, sweeping, scrubbing, lessons in hygiene, proper habits in eating and drinking, home nursing and garden work, for the girls. Educators did not feel it necessary or useful to teach the boys trades or professions while they were in school.

Rather their apprenticeship should begin after they had
completed their formal education. School training consisted of dairying, stock-raising, the care of animals and fruit-raising, all on an advanced level. Moreover,

the manual training should be designed to teach the elementary portions of those trades most likely to prove useful to the farmer. The classroom work should be so merged as to give a thorough practical training with the aim of making the boy an all-round farmer. Each of the employees in charge of particular lines of work should give lectures periodically in industrial topics,... After these lectures... the teacher in the classrooms should require compositions on the subjects taken up by the lectures from all senior scholars (Ferrier c. 1915:32-33).

By the 1930's increasing emphasis was placed on manual training and vocational courses in the day schools as well. Materials were supplied to the day schools in order to encourage boys in gardening and carpentry, and girls in domestic science and dressmaking (Department of Mines and Resources 1938:195).

In 1940 a special textbook was brought out for the day schools emphasizing such topics as forestry and conservation (Department of Mines and Resources 1941:166). Around this same
time the principals in residential schools began to feel that the care and feeding of animals should be made a part of the curriculum. Accordingly the residential schools of Qu'Appelle, in Lebret Saskatchewan, and Morley, in Alberta, established mink farms shortly thereafter. As well, students in the industrial school at Brandon, Manitoba engaged in a bee-keeping experiment that year (Department of Mines and Resources 1940: 223).

By 1952, the Department was providing grants for interested Indian students to attend vocational training centres across the country. In addition, the establishment of recreation and physical education centres, both on reserves and in the schools, was continued (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1952: 56).

In 1953 Indian schools began to be equipped with audio-visual aids in the form of motion picture, radios, and phonographs. In addition to these facilities the Education Service
maintains a small film library for the teachers' use (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1954:60). By this year all practical arts were being taught in residential school. This included courses in needlework, cooking, child care and other household chores for girls; and metal work, woodwork, farming and motor mechanics for boys. As well, in some of the day and residential schools, individuals were able to take part in folk dancing, tumbling, basketball, volleyball, softball and soccer (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1953:60).

By 1956 a basic guidance program was developed for the schools. This included the use of information sheets, permanent records on each individual, emotional and intelligence tests and counselling. The Department hoped that this would gradually evolve into a job placement and follow-up program to help young Indian graduates find permanent employment in the occupation best suited for them (Department of Citizenship and
Immigration 1956:53). That this expectation has yet to be fulfilled is a mild understatement indeed.
D. The Present Day Situation

Although three centuries have passed since the white man first began "educating" the Indian, many of the problems which were encountered then still remained unsolved today. Certainly, for the most part, the Indian is no longer consciously looked upon as a "savage" with a "primitive" culture. In fact the majority of modern day schools are finally beginning to recognize the Indian child's background and needs.

Since World War II, the situation has improved tremendously. More schools have been built, more and better qualified teachers have been hired, provincial and even regional inspectors have been appointed, teachers' conferences have been held, and a few special summer courses have been offered at one or the other of the Canadian universities. Little by little a genuine professional movement is shaping up which aims at appraising more scientifically the true educational needs of the present day Indians (Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission 1953:4-5).

While this may be an overstatement of the situation, it does represent the way most educators view today's Indian
educational system. Unfortunately, in looking through rose-coloured glasses, they are by-passing many of the important problems yet to be solved.

Thus, in the subsequent pages, the topics of major concern in Canadian Indian education are listed and briefly discussed. Following this general outline the educational policies in each area — the Maritimes, Ontario, Quebec, the Prairies, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, and British Columbia — are presented in detail. Unfortunately, information on some of the provinces was not readily available, owing to a lack of cooperation by the Superintendent of Education in providing brochures, articles and statistics. Whether this represents a general feeling of apathy on the part of the administrators toward the Indians of those few regions, or not, is a question which is particularly important at this point in the paper.

I A General Outlook

(a) Enrolment

During the last two decades the number of Indian children in the schools has grown tremendously, as has the total pop-
ulation. In the fiscal year ending March 31, 1951 student enrolment stood at 23,409 (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960:55). As of January, 1969 there were 62,834 Indian children in school. Of these, 33,351 attended the provincial schools (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970a:134). Although these numbers seem high, the great majority of students are enrolled in the lower grades, Grades 1 to 5.

The Indian Affairs Branch operated 299 institutions across Canada in 1969, the distribution being as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1969</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Classrooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>229</strong></td>
<td><strong>1118</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970a:135)

One year later, 66,707 pupils were attending schools
either on or off the reserve. However the number of federal day schools has decreased by nineteen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Classrooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritime</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1971a:126).

Federal school enrolment usually declines after Grade 5 when a great majority of the Indian students transfer to provincial schools. By the end of Grade 8 all children are placed in the regular high schools, financially aided by the federal government. The percentage of Indians in federal and provincial schools for both the past and future years is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>Non-Federal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the university level, the enrolment is still small although it has increased over tenfold in the past decade. As of 1959 the number of students attending university across Canada was 41. By 1970 it had climbed to 432.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario 1971:142).

(b) Teachers in Indian Schools

Unlike the provincial schools, there is a great shortage of qualified teachers in the federal schools. Thus most of
those hired are generally ones who have failed to obtain jobs in the city and therefore must take the first opportunity that comes along. Unfortunately, what most educators fail to realize is that the teachers who choose to teach in the Indian schools should be better qualified and more understanding than those in the white schools as the job is a much more demanding one.

The teacher is the product and representative of one culture-dominated group. Unless he has been sensitized to such notions as cultural differences, cultural change and acculturation, he can by-pass the problem all-together and never understand the sociological process in which he has agreed to take part (Renaud 1958:47).

Thus we find that many of the teachers, especially in the remote, northern areas, are deviants in the society from which they come — spinsters, Euro-Canadians who cannot speak English fluently, or "bottom of the barrel" teachers' college graduates. When the teachers venture north they sign a two-year contract. However, "the rate of contract renewal is so low that the teacher turnover rate is almost 30% annually." (Brant and Hobart 1967:183). Thus, quite frequently, Indian students find themselves at the mercy of inexperienced instructors. Moreover, most teachers see their job as a temporary one and therefore feel no com-
mittment to the pupils or to the community itself.

Apart from a small number of dedicated and understanding educators, the Indian child is often taught by a person who feels herself that she is being discriminated against by being expected to teach Indians. This feeling is inevitably in her attitude toward the children and all too often, this is the pattern after which Indian children will see all White people... (McKenzie 1969:12).

Today it is almost essential to possess a certificate from a teachers' college in order to teach. Only in the remotest areas of the country might it still be possible for an eager applicant to obtain work with just his high school diploma. In addition to this, a brief course is required to introduce the teacher to the Indians' culture and background. Needless to say, this preparation is insufficient and it is only within the past five years that educators have begun to realize the necessity for teachers to enroll in such courses as Anthropology, Sociology, and Psychology on the university level.

The teacher must not only be aware of the background of those whom he serves, he must be unique-aware of himself, his own background, and the environment in which he himself was enculturated... They must understand that majority educational goals may not necessarily
be the goals of the...community they serve (Indian-Eskimo Association 1970:3-4).

Moreover, the number of university courses taken helps to increase the teacher's salary. Salaries are based upon the type of teaching certificate one has, any additional courses taken beyond a university degree, and any extra responsibilities that he or she may take on. Furthermore, those teachers who are appointed to remote areas are guaranteed isolation pay as well. In 1965 this latter amount ranged from $240 per year for single teachers to a possible $2100 for those who are married. As well, any travelling costs incurred during the year are reimbursed under the Isolated Posts Regulations (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:33-41).

(c) Curriculum

Any realistic programme of schooling aimed at acculturating the Indians must be based on respect for his ethnic and cultural background and on the desire to meet his special needs (Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission 1958:13).
Formerly the day and residential schools offered "dual purpose" courses designed to give the pupils a taste of both academic education and the traditional occupations — hunting, trapping and fishing. Unfortunately, those children who did not manage to graduate were neither equipped for life in the city, nor for life on the reserve. (Hawthorn 1967:37).

Today all federal schools follow the same curriculum that is used by the province in which they are situated. However, the regulations state that the course of studies should be flexible enough to meet each student's needs. Unhappily, for the most part, this latter clause has been completely overlooked. "The curriculum is subject-matter centered, and fails to recognize the interests and experience of the pupils, or their maturity or readiness to learn." (Joblin 1947:69).

Another problem which has just recently come to light concerns the textbooks used in Indian schools. Most were definitely designed with the white Canadian child in mind and thus have little or no relevance to the Indian student. In some areas only minimal measures have been taken to improve the situ-
The only progress which has been made toward the production of Arctic-related material consists of two experimental Curricular Guides, one a Social Studies Program and the other a Language Arts Program, produced in the Mackenzie District. For neither is there specially prepared accompanying text-book material (Brant and Hobart 1967:190).

Then too, the teacher contributes to this ethnocentric attitude portrayed in books.

When she teaches reading she deals with the middle-class characters and institutions surrounding Dick and Jane, and John and Janet... In social studies, the Indian hears the history of Canada and the United States but hears little of the part played in the development of the two countries by the Indian. Apart from hearing himself referred to historically as a "savage" the saga of the Indian is buried in the battles of the conquerors (McKenzie 1969:12).

Recently however, the Manitoba Department of Education released a series of Social Studies Program supplements in order to present a less "coloured" picture of Canadian history.

Today, in many areas of the country, schools are still using
textbooks geared to white children living in urban communities with no additional program to help foster a sense of "Indianism" among its pupils. "During the summer of 1966 a first detailed study was made of Canada's residential school system" under the guidance of George Caldwell. The findings revealed that in the majority of school areas the curriculum is academic "with no vocational training except that woodworking and domestic science classes are scheduled for the older boys and girls a half day a week." (Caldwell 1967:15). It seems then, that the schools tend to follow the provincial curriculum rather than preparing special courses for the Indian students.

One new addition has been the introduction of kindergarten instruction for Indian children who are not ready to enter Grade 1. As of 1967 "kindergarten was being given to approximately 3,800 Indian children in federal and provincial schools". At the present time the number of kindergarten students is probably well over the 5,000 mark. It is felt that these classes will enable the young pupil to better cope with the Grade 1 program (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1968b:49).
(d) Integration in the Schools

Today, more than ever, Indian children are being encouraged to attend provincial schools in the hope that acculturation will be more easily facilitated. During the 1950-51 school year, 2,032 Indian students were attending "joint schools" across Canada (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1951:90). By 1960 this number had risen to 9,479 (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1960:55). Ten years later the enrolment in provincial schools was 38,837 (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1971a:125).

Today many of the old residential schools have been converted to hostels for those Indians attending integrated schools in nearby towns or cities. During the past decade teacher counsellors have been placed in these residences to serve as liaison officers between the pupils and the provincial school staff and guidance counsellors to help the students in adjusting to their new surroundings (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1963:22).

Moreover, there are several advantages to the integrated school. First, the close proximity of Indians and non-Indians
helps the former to learn English and fosters an understanding, on both sides, of the strange culture next to them. This cannot occur in the day schools. Secondly, the level of teaching offered in the "joint schools" is much higher. Thus it is hoped that the Indian child will be better equipped, both academically and socially, to enter high school upon completion of his elementary training.

As can be expected, there are numerous objections to an integration policy. Many Indians feel that they will lose their ethnic identity if their children are forced to attend provincial schools. "Still others see this policy as a manoeuvre on the part of the federal government to abandon its responsibilities to the provinces or to the Indian communities." (Hawthorn 1967:36). It is the religious groups, however, which offer the most resistance to the "joint schools", for once the residential institutions cease to function it will become increasingly difficult to pay the missionaries working on the reserves.

While many educators acknowledge the fact that integration is inevitable and, at the same time, beneficial, they feel that perhaps the process is occurring a little too quickly for the
Indian students' good. As Mulvihill states:

Education can be geared for this pluralistic society better than it can be adjusted for integration. An Indian integrated school exists only in the mind of some educators, it has no existence in fact... Does the fact that they sit beside each other in class and smile... make it an integrated school? ... our Indian people should be allowed to enjoy their way of life while they can. ... integration will take care of itself in good time... (Mulvihill O.M.I. 1970:4).

However since Mulvihill, as a member of the O.M.I., does not wish to see the day schools eliminated from the reserves, (they are the sole support of the church in many areas), perhaps his statement reflects the axe he has to grind.

(e) Indian Studies Programs

Within the last decade educators and teachers in the provincial schools have become increasingly aware of the need for Indian Studies Programs to be added to the curriculum. Not only would it give white children a better knowledge of the original inhabitants of their country, but also a better understanding of the contemporary Indians' values, ideas and "problems".
Many of the programs offer field trips for the students in order that they may see, firsthand, what is going on today. While it is doubtful that they will see the true picture, nevertheless it is a step toward destroying ethnocentric attitudes.

As well, Cross-Cultural Education Programs are offered on the college and university level throughout Canada. These courses generally delve more deeply into contemporary problems than those courses offered in the high schools. Programs include such topics as "Eskimo Cultures", "North American Archaeology", and "Contemporary Indian Problems". However Indian Studies courses will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

(f) Occupational and Vocational Training

Upon completion of high school, many Indian students now take post-secondary courses in vocational skills, nursing, teacher training, technology and university subjects. As of 1969, 3,833 Indians were enrolled in the following fields:

- Pre-vocational: 1443
- Vocational: 1393
- Technology: 364
In order to assist the students in their future careers, the government offers several scholarships to "promising" students. This includes 9 university awards, 5 teacher training scholarships, 7 nursing grants, 11 cultural awards, and 28 vocational training awards. This small incentive however, is not enough to motivate Indian children to finish their education (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970a:137).

Although the situation seems to have improved some in the past decade, difficulty still arises once these programs are completed and the Indian attempts to seek employment. Prejudice and discrimination often takes precedence over the Indian's qualifications. In 1967 the Indian Affairs Branch states that 2,357 adults and student graduates were given full-time employment and 8,231
were engaged in part-time or short term employment (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1968a:51). Unfortunately it does not state how long they remained at these jobs. If we can believe these figures then some progress is being made. However, when we compare this to the number of registered Indians living in Canada, approximately 250,000, there are still a great many unemployed men and women.

(g) Adult Education

In order to complement the system of education and to regain lost ground, the Indian Affairs Branch has organized an adult education program.

The adult education program is aimed at illiterate Indians living in remote areas and at those who have very little schooling...

The upgrading courses are offered to young people and adults who have left school before completing their studies... (Hawthorn 1967:39).

In a survey undertaken in 1956 by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, it was revealed that a vast number of Indians in Canada, especially those living in remote areas, were illiterate. On 25% of all the reserves, one half of the adults could neither read nor write (Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development 1969:17). Thus the following year the
Indian Affairs Branch took it upon themselves to initiate an
adult education program. This consisted of literacy classes for
those who could not speak English; continuation courses for those
who had dropped out of school and now wished to raise their
level of education; trade and vocational classes; and a community
improvement program designed to raise the community's standard
of living (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:88).

Today more and more Indians are realizing the necessity
of an education. In fact enrolment in these courses has in-
creased from 798 during the 1958-59 academic year to 3,482 in
1964 (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:89). As of 1969,
13,067 Indian adults were enrolled in such education programs
(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970a:
137).

In 1965 the Department offered upgrading courses for those
students who had only a few years of schooling to their credit.
These programs were located in nine centres across Canada. In
addition, upgrading courses were provided for Indian adults who
had Grade 8 education and wished to gain admittance to a voca-
tional school. A total of 562 students were enrolled in such programs that year (Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1966:35).

As well, under the federal government’s Adult Occupational Training Act, many programs have been initiated in regions where there are a concentrated number of Indians. Moreover, the Ontario Manpower Retraining courses were recently transferred to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology across the country in order to provide greater service to those Indians living in remote areas.

Some of the projects undertaken include the establishment of a welding shop in the Maritime region to give trainees experience in working under the guidance of local instructors; an Adult Training Centre in Winnipeg built as a training residence for Indian homemakers; and a Day Release Program in Alberta designed to assist those Indians who have been released from prison (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:1-18).

However, much still remains to be done in this field. Planned in the back-

Proud of traditional culture

Patterns and based on the needs,
interests and aspirations of participants must be well-rounded, flexible, individualized, interesting and informative...
Most important, every phase of the program must include elements of follow-up. Information alone is not enough; the student must learn how to apply his knowledge to the solution of his individual problems and to his life in the community (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965: 93).
II The Provincial Picture

Although many policies have been drawn up with regards to the Indians of Canada as a whole, generally speaking, where education is concerned, each of the provinces has progressed at its own rate. Thus, in order to give an accurate account of what is currently happening in Indian education, it is necessary to take each province or area and review it individually. Once this is done it may be seen that there is a vast difference between the educational program of the Maritimes where the Indian population is quite small, and that of Ontario or the Prairie Provinces, where the number is much larger.

(a) The Maritimes

The Maritime provinces show less interest in Indian education than do the more densely populated provinces, mainly because they have a smaller number of Indians with whom to be concerned. In Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the
federal government looks after educational matters. The Newfound-
land government however, takes care of the few Indians within its
jurisdiction.

Schools and Enrolment

Children on the Atlantic coast now begin their educational
training through a two-year pre-school program. The purpose of
such a course is to help the youngsters adjust to the regular
school system more easily. In this area, because of population
density and other factors, federal schools still operate on a
number of reserves. As of 1969 there were 7 federal schools in
New Brunswick, 4 in Nova Scotia and 1 in Prince Edward Island
(Departmental Statistics Division 1970). After the elementary
grades have been completed all children attend the public schools
of the province in which they reside. The enrolment in both these
and the federal schools for the 1960-61, 1964-65 and 1969-70 school
years was as follows:
Grades 1-12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.B.</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.I.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td></td>
<td>2066</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1969-70 Federal</th>
<th>1969-70 Non-Federal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.B.</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.I.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2580</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution by grade in both the federal and provincial schools respectively for the 1969-70 school year is shown on the following page.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federal Nova Scotia</th>
<th>Prince Edward Is.</th>
<th>New Brunswick</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spec.</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Provincial          |                   |               |               |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| K1                  | 28                |               |               |
| K2                  | 75                |               |               |
| 1                   | 68                | 1             | 34            |
| 2                   | 54                | 2             | 39            |
| 3                   | 51                | 1             | 30            |
| 4                   | 44                | 1             | 65            |
| 5                   | 48                | 1             | 109           |
| 6                   | 44                | 2             | 121           |
| 7                   | 73                | 2             | 84            |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spec.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Deartmental Statistics Division 1970).

**Teachers**

In order to teach in the federal schools of this area one must have a teaching certificate. As of 1970 there were 3 day school teachers in Prince Edward Island, 30 in Nova Scotia and 30 in New Brunswick. Of these, 2 in Nova Scotia and 1 in New Brunswick were of Indian status (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970d:7-8).

The salary schedule for teachers of Indian schools in the east is some $300-$500 lower per category than in Ontario. The following chart shows the salaries paid to these teachers during
the 1970-71 school year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ed</td>
<td>+ 1 year</td>
<td>+ 2 years</td>
<td>+ 3 years</td>
<td>+ 4 years</td>
<td>+ 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expe</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ience</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>edue</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3825</td>
<td>4440</td>
<td>4760</td>
<td>5570</td>
<td>6560</td>
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<td>4080</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4335</td>
<td>5040</td>
<td>5370</td>
<td>6190</td>
<td>7318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4590</td>
<td>5340</td>
<td>5675</td>
<td>6500</td>
<td>7697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4845</td>
<td>5640</td>
<td>5980</td>
<td>6810</td>
<td>8076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5100</td>
<td>5940</td>
<td>6285</td>
<td>7120</td>
<td>8455</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5355</td>
<td>6240</td>
<td>6590</td>
<td>7430</td>
<td>8834</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7500</td>
<td>8360</td>
<td>9971</td>
<td>11160</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Anon. c.1970b)
Curriculum

Indian schools in the Maritimes follow no special curriculum. Since all children will eventually be attending provincial schools, the curriculum of the province in which these schools are located is used.

Integration

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island all have entered into agreements with either their local school boards or, in the case of New Brunswick, the Department of Education, to provide integrated education for Indian children. As of 1970, eight such agreements had been made across the Atlantic provinces (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970d:33).

Occupational and Vocational Training

Upon completion of their high school training all Indian
students are encouraged to continue further in their studies. During the 1970-71 school year, 14 graduates enrolled in university courses, 6 in post-secondary programs, and numerous others in technical schools. In order to provide counselling and guidance for the students there is a staff of two Guidance Counsellors, two Vocational Counsellors and two Counsellor Technicians ready to help them.

The previous year the Department of Manpower and Immigration, together with the Department of Indian Affairs, provided assistance and training for 236 students. This program was so well received that 400 others were given training in numerous courses purchased from either private sources or the Provincial Departments of Education. Upon completion of the programs twenty-five men were able to find full-time employment in the Port Hawkesbury area as labourers, steel-riggers, carpenters, welders, machinists and farmers. Then too, five men were trained as textile workers in Truro's carpet factory.
As more openings became available other Indians were accepted as trainees as well (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:2).

Of particular interest are the results of the 12-month Pilot Project Carpentry Course sponsored by the Department of Manpower and Immigration for twenty-one candidates on the Shubenacadie Reserve in 1968. The following year it was shown that "20 were taking training, 19 were completing training, 18 were seeking employment while 18 were employed in carpentry..." (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:2).

**Adult Education**

In the Maritime region 415 people participated in adult education during the 1969-70 year. One such program provided for a welding shop to be established in order to give trainees experience while still under the guidance of instructors.
On the Kingsclear Reserve several men attended a course on the repair and maintenance of small gas engines. In Oromocto, a training course in Small Business was given for those interested in selling Indian handicrafts at the tourist outlet soon to be established there (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970:1).

Another profitable course in scuba diving was given that year to seventeen men who hoped to develop the viable oyster beds in the Bras D'Or Lakes. As a result of this survey the oysters are now able to be procurred at a greater depth.

As well, several other courses have been offered for women in such areas as child care, food and nutrition, home nursing, handicrafts, typing, office practice and academic upgrading (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970:1).
(b) Quebec

Information on current Indian educational policies in the province of Quebec is particularly hard to come by. From the material available it seems that the province is not as progressive as those in the west, or Ontario, in attempting to offer a special Indian curriculum in the federal schools. However, Quebec does have Indian Studies Programs going on in two high schools which is an encouraging sign.

Schools and Enrolment

Quebec's Indian students have the opportunity to commence their formal education at the age of four. From here the pupils in the federal schools follow the non-graded system which continues as far as Grade 6. At this time they are transferred to the closest provincial high school in the south to complete their educational training.
Although the number of federal institutions is declining in Quebec, there were 20 English and 9 French schools of this type in operation as of September, 1971. Student enrolment in both these and the provincial schools in that year was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>Proval</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K1</td>
<td>256</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>547</td>
<td></td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>557</td>
<td></td>
<td>256</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>447</td>
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<td>285</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>275</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>516</td>
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<td>243</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>381</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>509</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>521</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>200</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spec.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3606</td>
<td></td>
<td>3735</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Departmental Statistics Division; 1970).
Teachers

Little information has been published on teachers in Quebec. As of 1969 there were 161 teachers in the federal schools, 15 of which were of Indian status (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970d:7-8). Salaries for schools in the south of the province range from $4,450 to $12,500 according to qualifications and teaching experience. In Nouveau-Quebec, the salary schedule is from $4,400 up to $15,000. As well, an isolation posts allowance is given to these teachers.

Curriculum

The curriculum followed in Quebec's federal schools is that of the province. However, the students' parents have the opportunity to choose whether the language of instruction will be English or French. It appears that there are no special education programs for Indian children. If there are any, the information on such courses is not readily available.
Indian Studies Programs

Co-ordination of Indian Studies Programs is currently under way between the History Departments of Howard S. Billings High School in Chateauguay and Chomeday Polyvalent High School in Laval. The director of the program is Mr. Ray Baillie. Chief Andrew Delisle of the Caughnawaga Reserve is acting as consultant. The project is to involve ten study units, all of which were to be completed by September, 1971 and entirely revised by July, 1972. Eventually a half-credit course will be offered at the senior level.

Several goals for the program have been drawn up. They read as follows:

1. To give the students, for the most part non-Indian Canadians, an understanding and appreciation of the Indian way of life.

2. To make non-Indian Canadians aware of the present-day conditions and problems of the Indians if Canada.

3. To help the student develop a more open attitude toward the Indian in general and the Iroquois specifically.
4. To develop a study program that is of interest and a challenge to young Canadians with the hope that newly developed motivations will lead to the building of research skills and abilities.

5. To develop the units in such a way that students may learn social science skills and that such such skills may be adequately tested (Anon., c.1970:1).

At the time the outline was published only the first two units of the project were completed. They are "The Indians of Canada --- A Study of Poverty", and "Being Indian:Indian attitudes toward organization, and competition, bringing up children, leadership and power, learning, work, material culture, nature."

The titles of the eight subsequent study units are "Political Organization: United We Stand, Divided We Fall", "The Clash of Cultures: --- The Indian Way --- was it destroyed?", "The Reserve --- Ghetto or Sanctuary?", "Upholding Treaty Rights --- Realistic or Idealistic?", "Red Power --- Real or Imagery?", "Education --- Preservation or Assimilation?", "The Iroquois Attacks --- Aggression or Survival?" and "Full Citizenship: Is the Price too High?"

There will be no syllabus drawn up for the course. However, directions on the various uses of the units will be eventually given. Each unit will contain suggested sources and teaching aids, including books, pamphlets, films, slides, filmstrips and transparencies.

Integration

Quebec is in favour of the complete integration into the provincial system of the schools attended by the Indians including school administration, and the ownership of buildings and equipment. The incorporation of the reserves into the provincial school districts is also favoured on condition that the Indians contribute in one way or another to the costs (Hawthorn ed., 1967: 45).

Several of the Indian communities in Quebec have been completely integrated with nearby non-Indian towns. These include Escoumins, Pierreville, Maria and Restigouche. As well, Maniwaki, Temishaming and Oka, while operating one-room schools for Grade 1 pupils, send the remainder of their pupils to local pub-
lic schools. However, after Grade 6, Indians in almost all areas are transferred to provincial schools. Generally these students are placed in boarding homes with one or more educational counsellors to orientate them to their new surroundings and to provide them with information on what they should expect in the provincial schools. The Department provides financial aid by paying the tuition, textbook costs, clothing supplies and room and board. As of March 31, 1969 there were twenty-four agreements for joint schools in the Province of Quebec (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970d:33).

**Occupational and Vocational Training**

During the 1969-70 year several vocational training projects were carried out. At Paint Hills 15 Indians received training as tourist guides, while Cape Jones offered 60 Indians the opportunity to be trained as guides for hunting and fishing.

As well, numerous carpentry courses were given during the
year. The trainees at Manowan and Obedjiwan, two of the centres, were able to construct houses on these reserves as part of their in-service training. Another carpentry course at LaRomaine was operated under the auspices of the R.M.C. and the local school board. Upon successful completion of the program, each of the men were granted a certificate (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:4).

**Adult Education**

In Quebec, many adult education centres have been set up over the past decade. One of the most active of these is located at Oka. As recently as 1970, 44 Indians were receiving instruction at Oka in the Iroquois language. The main purpose of this project was to aid the adults in retaining their language and culture. As well, Oka sponsored a seminar for 15 farmers on animal feeds and feeding. In addition, courses in landscaping, handicrafts, nutrition, budgeting, banking and conservation were carried out at the centres in Oka, Schefferville, Bersimis and
In a look toward the future, three qualified teachers are in the process of developing new methods of teaching upgrading courses to adults. At the present time the results of the project are still unknown.

Moreover, Indian women are now taking part in Quebec's adult education programs. In 1970 a pilot program was held at Roberval to train women in home economics. Upon completion of this course the women were sent to aid families living on those reserves where French is the language spoken (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:3).
(c) Ontario

Of Ontario's 53,000 Indians over 14,000 are currently attending either the federal or provincial schools. The educational program which is available to them is probably the most extensive of any offered to Indians in Canada. In addition to this there are several Indian Studies Programs being carried out in the secondary schools and universities, to acquaint white children with the various Indian groups, their culture and background.

Schools and Enrolment

In Ontario Indian children attend either the elementary schools operated by the federal government, or the provincial schools. Since the trend has been for Indian parents to send their offspring to the provincial institutions, most of the federal schools are now only maintained on reserves which are some distance from urban centres or in isolated northern communities.
Thus the students are able to live with their families rather than having to go away to school. However, in families who migrate over wide areas, hunting and trapping the year round, the youngsters must attend a residential school. Upon completion of Grade VIII, these northern children can attend the nearest high school.

Federal schools are situated in such places as Kettle Point, Walpole Island, Saugeen, French River, Mountbatten, Lake Helen, Sioux Lookout and Deer Lake. Most of these are composed of two to four rooms, although some of the larger day schools are equipped with as many as fifteen classrooms. For the most part the schools are well furnished with stoves, modern lighting, stationary seats, a hot plate for preparing lunches and a teacherage.

Moreover, the enrolment in the federal schools is just about equal to that of the provincial schools. As of 1969 there were 6,668 students enrolled in the former type and 7,276 in the
The following chart shows the distribution by grade in both the federal and provincial schools for that year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1076</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>268</td>
</tr>
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<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6668</td>
<td>7276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Departmental Statistics Division, 1970)
Teachers

Teachers in Ontario's federal schools are located in three areas across the province — the southern, central and isolated northern region. The southern area includes such reserves as Caradoc, Moravian, Kettle Point, Rice Lake and Rama. Generally the turnover of staff in these schools is small. Most of the teachers do not live on the reserves but rather commute daily to the schools.

The central area comprises such communities as Mountbatten, Heron Bay and Mattagami. Usually the teachers in this region find it difficult to commute to schools. Thus, most of the instructors live on the reserves in government-owned residences.

The third area includes all the communities located north of the main C.N.R. line — Moose Fort, Sandy Lake, Attawapiskat, Round Lake, Whitedog, etc. All of these, with the exception of one, are accessible only by airplane. In order to instruct
in these schools the teachers must live in government-owned housing. (Indian and Eskimo Affairs Branch c.1971:2). Where accommodation is provided for the teachers, it usually consists of three-bedroom bungalows, two bedroom apartments or bachelor units. As well, the residences generally come equipped with electricity and full plumbing (Indian and Eskimo Affairs Branch c.1971:3)

In order to teach in the federal schools it is necessary to possess a teaching certificate which is recognized by the Department of Education — that is an E.S.T. Standard 1 or a Type-B High School Certificate. If a person from outside the province wishes to teach in Ontario a Letter of Standing is required. Generally preference is given to those applicants who are of native ancestry or those who have taken the courses offered in Indian Studies at Trent University.

Unfortunately the majority of teachers in Ontario's federal schools are white rather than Indian. In fact of the 341 teachers
employed in 1970, only 65 were of Indian status (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970d: 7-8).

In addition to the teaching certificate a brief course, usually two weeks in length, is offered in order to acquaint the teachers with the culture and background of the students he or she is going to teach. Needless to say this preparation is insufficient, and the school system, in encouraging its teachers to take university courses, is realizing this.

The salaries paid to federal school teachers are based upon the type of teaching certificate one has, any additional courses taken beyond a university degree, previous teaching experience, and any extra responsibilities that he or she may take on. Furthermore those teachers who are appointed to remote areas are guaranteed isolation pay as well. In Ontario this ranges from $30.00 to $150.00 per month for single teachers, and from $50.00 to $200.00 a month for those who are married. In 1970 the
the salary schedule for federal school teachers was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Jr. Matric Jr. Matric Jr. Matric Jr. Matric Jr. Matric</th>
<th>of + 1 year + 2 years + 3 years + 4 years + 5 years</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>9450 9940 11334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Shad, Jan. 1971)
Moreover there are some 4,000 teachers in the provincial schools who are giving instruction to approximately 21,000 pupils of Indian ancestry. They receive the same salaries as would those teachers who have only Euro-Canadians in their classrooms. Since they have children from two distinct cultures to deal with, they need to have more patience and understanding than would a teacher in the federal school system. Recognizing this, a group of fifteen persons assembled at Glendon College in 1968 in order to discuss a course for the teachers of Indian children. From this, a tentative summer course consisting of four main sections was drawn up.

I Culture
(a) Historical Background
(b) The Contemporary Situation

II Role of the Teacher in the Community

III Classroom Practices

IV The Socialization Process of the Teachers
(Indian-Eskimo Association 1970:1-5).
Thus, beginning in the summer of 1970, a five-week credit course was offered by the Department of Education in order to prepare the teachers to work with Indian pupils, either in the day or provincial schools, by giving them a background in Indian values and culture (Monture ed., 1970:6).

Curriculum

As in the other areas of Canada, the federal schools in Ontario generally follow the curriculum used in the provincial schools. Unfortunately this means that most schools are still using textbooks geared to white children living in the cities, with no additional program to foster a sense of "Indianness" among its pupils.

However one major breakthrough has occurred at the Ohsweken School near Brantford. Here the children begin in Grade 1 to learn about the life, customs, values and material culture of the traditional Indian nation. This training continues until Grade 5
when a general review of the Indian tribes of North America is given. By Grade 6, an advanced study is made of Iroquois life, followed by a history of the Six Nations in Grade 7. The program is completed the next year by a course on the Six Nations of today (The Northian Newsletter, Dec., 1970:2-3).

As well, in 1969 the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada put out a Proposed Study of Indian Education Program. The purpose of the project was to "assess the education program for Canadian Indians and gain insight into how the educational attainment can be brought up to the Ontario standard." (Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada 1969:1). The program is divided into three phases, the first of which examines the province of Ontario itself and encompasses such matters as:

(a) Past and present philosophies in Indian education,

(b) The various jurisdictions over the past centuries in Indian education,
(c) The importance of culture and value systems in Indian education,

(d) The quality and scope of programs,

(e) Discrimination and the forms it takes (textbooks, stereotypes, etcetera),

(f) Environmental factors and education,

(g) To what extent do Indians have a part in planning, organizing and carrying out their educational programs?

Phase II This phase involves Indians in all the Canadian provinces and would entail a series of regional workshops where the people would be able to talk to researchers and educators.

Phase III This final phase "would be the development of a national dialogue on native education to consider the findings of all the research, and develop recommendations for changes." (Indian-Eskimo Association 1969:1-3).
Integration

Today many Indian parents are being told by educators to send their children to non-Indian, provincial schools in the hope that acculturation will be facilitated. In several areas of the province local school boards have collaborated with the Indian Affairs Branch in order to provide accommodations for the Indian children in their schools. The cost to date for such programs has totalled more than $3,700,000.00 (Ontario Department of Education c.1970:2).

In 1957 a public school was established on Moose Factory Island under an agreement made by the Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the school board to provide an education for both the Indians and non-Indians on the Island. All federal buildings were given over to the board and additional classrooms were subsidized by the federal government. By 1964 the old residential school was amalgamated into the public school
board; which has since taken over all education on the island (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:68).

A good example of successful integration, at least in the educators' eyes, has occurred in the Bluewater Public School in Sarnia. In 1954 an agreement between the Indian Affairs Branch and the Sarnia Board of Education permitted all children of school age on the St. Clair Reserve to attend the public school. Here integration was aided by the fact that these were more acculturated than numerous other bands across Ontario, due to the several industries and job opportunities located nearby. Moreover, through the sale of their land they have become comparatively wealthy thereby enabling their standard of living to approximate, more closely, that of the whites (Dilling 1961:76).

In the program's first year, 95 Indians were enrolled in the Bluewater School. By 1958 the attendance had increased to 102 pupils. Those who lived closest to the school, (31 members in all),
managed to miss an average of 7.4 days during the entire school year, while the others were absent 15.5 days. Thus we see that absenteeism is still a problem even in the integrated schools.

Moreover, from Grades 1 to 3 Indian pupils had less failures than non-Indians. However, by Grade 4, the failure rate for Indians had begun to increase, reaching its peak around Grade 7 and 8.

On the whole it has been felt by parents, teachers and pupils alike that the Bluewater School integration policy was a good idea. Here both Indians and non-Indians can receive such special opportunities as the Academic-Vocational classes for children who are having social, physical and academic problems. These pupils are transferred from the larger classroom to one where the enrolment is smaller, thus enabling them to receive the special attention which they so desperately need. Moreover, "the frustration of having to grasp concepts beyond their ability
is removed." (Dilling 1961:126).

Then too, both accelerated and enrichment classes are available for the more progressive students. In 1956, 5 Indians and 3 non-Indians and 3 non-Indians were put into the accelerated program. Of these, 2 Indians and 3 non-Indians successfully completed it. It seems then, that somewhere between Grades 2 and 4 Indian children lose interest and have less motivation than whites of the same age and intelligence level. Unfortunately, the educators and researchers have yet to come up with a solution to this outstanding problem. However,

...two general values were seen in integration; Indians received preliminary orientation as children to life among non-Indians, and they acquired an education that would enable them to compete more successfully in higher education (Dilling 1961:136).

Integration has also been introduced in many other areas across Ontario — Midland, Cornwall, Wallaceburg, London; Parry Sound, Eganville, etcetera, — with much the same results. Here
too, there are numerous problems facing the educators. First, several principals report that attendance is irregular. Often the pupils return to school without a note of absence and, in many cases, truancy is suspected. Secondly, shyness when asked to respond orally is still a factor which inhibits the ability of the Indians to communicate their thoughts and ideas. Moreover, in most instances, Indian achievement falls behind that of non-Indians.

Despite the problems facing it, it seems that for the most part integration has been successfully received by teachers and pupils alike. The children are taught by better qualified teachers who specialize in one or two fields, thus increasing the quality of education considerably. Then too, many of the teachers have arranged study periods from three-thirty until four o'clock in which children can complete unfinished homework.

H.J. Dilling reports that in comparison with the Indians
taught in the day schools on the reserves, those in integrated schools did better on both the vocabulary and comprehension tests. However, non-Indians achieved better results than both types (Dilling 1965:300-303).

Indian Studies Programs

Today Indian Studies Programs are becoming more numerous as educators begin to realize just how poorly Indian history and culture is being taught. In fact there are at least six such programs going on in Ontario to help acquaint white children with the Indian way of life, both past and present. The courses are located at Thornlea Secondary School, Manitoulin Secondary School, Fanshawe College of Applied Arts and Technology, Frontier College, Trent University and The North American Indian Travelling College in Cornwall, Ontario. In addition to these programs Basil Johnson has drawn up an "American Indian Oriented Man in Society Studies" program. While there is much
more to be done in the field of Indian studies, these attempts are, at least, a step towards understanding the Indian, his culture and values.

(i) Thornlea Secondary School

The purpose of this thirteen-week program is to provide an understanding of the Indian in present day society, by means of an historical approach. The course is divided into three sections and all the students are expected to present a seminar on one of the topics outlined.

1. Historical Perspective - a brief historical survey of the Indian in North America from his coming to this continent to the present.
   Topics will include: (a) Origin - theories
   (b) Settlement patterns
   (c) Early Indian - White relations
   (d) Indians of Huronia: A Case Study

2. Indian Culture - selected topics to illustrate Indian cultural heritage and differences among tribes.
   Topics will include: (a) Indian cultural contributions to white society
   (b) Religious beliefs and practices
3. The Indian Today—contemporary issues and problems facing the Indian.
Topics will include:
(a) The Reserve System
(b) Discrimination in a white society
(c) Indian education
(d) "Red Power" Movement
(e) Indians in the City
(f) Government Action and/or Inaction

(Bogle c.1970:1).

During the 1970-71 year the students were given two main books to read—The Indian Tribes of Canada by E. Jenness, and American Heritage Book of Indians by W. Brandon. However Mr. Don Bogle, chairman of the Social Science Department and instructor of the course, felt that both these textbooks were in need of improvement. In the future he plans to center his program around one or two representative areas, perhaps the Northeastern Wood-
lands, instead of presenting a broad survey of the various tribes across Canada.

In addition, he suggested that such books as S. Steiner's The New Indians and H. Cardinal's The Unjust Society, should be consulted for more information on contemporary problems. As a general text he finds The Indian Heritage of America by A. Josephy, the most appropriate for his purposes. As well, Mr. Bogle feels that field trips are an essential part of any Indian Studies Program. In this manner, interested students can talk directly with chiefs, band administrators and councillors, or visit the reserve schools. On the whole, he is very pleased with the students' reaction to his program. Since the course began, several students have ventured to the reserves on their own or have volunteered to work there in the summer. The program for the 1971-72 school year was to be much the same except for a few modifications in the texts and course outline.
(ii) Manitoulin Secondary School

This program primarily focuses on Amerindian problems, examining such issues as racism, government policies, origin theories, acculturation, etcetera. It is more intensive than the Thornlea program for it gets at the heart of the problem — ethnocentrism. In addition, the readings required for such a study are much more extensive. However, surprisingly enough, the core books are almost identical to those chosen by Mr. Bogle. In brief, the basic outline for the Manitoulin Indian Studies Program is as follows:

Unit 1: "Raising the Issues". This section examines the contemporary Amerindian problems.

Unit 2: "Cultural Perspectives". All cultures are equal but different. Origin theories are examined by looking at the mythology and archaeology, as well as the total culture of the various groups across North
Unit 3: "Amerindians and European Cultures Make Contact".

While acculturation should be the exchange of traits between two or more cultures, too frequently one culture dominates over the other because of some type of superiority. It examines early Franco-Huron contact and Aztec-Spanish contact.

Unit 4: "Facets of Historical Experience in a Canadian Context". This section looks at the fur trade era and government policies to 1885.

Unit 5: "The Manitoulin Experience". In this unit reserves, treaties and the fur trade on Manitoulin Island are discussed.

Unit 6: "Looking Back to Look Ahead". What can be learned from Amerindian cultural experience and beliefs to enrich the quality of Canadian life? (Clark c.1970: 1-12).
(iii) Fanshawe College

The Indian Studies Program at Fanshawe College, begun in 1970, consists of one survey course which is open to students taking various types of specialized programs at the College. Some of the topics discussed during the course include:

1. The history of the tribes of the Iroquoian and Algonquin language groups, and their cultural value as revealed in their arts and language;

2. The history of Indian/non-Indian relations in such areas as education, law, social services, civil rights, government, and the church;

3. The Ontario Indians today: a reawakening in the electronic age, the identity crisis, pan-Indianism Red Power, the spiritual legacy of the native peoples (The Northian Newsletter, Jan., 1971:10).

(iv) Frontier College, Fort Hope, Ontario

During 1968 the Indians adults living in the Fort Hope area requested that an education program for themselves be started. Accordingly, Frontier College recruited two volunteers
to organize the project designed "to reinforce self-awareness and confidence and to promote community self-help in cooperation with existing community based organizations." (Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario 1971:89-90). In this, the Indian adults were consulted as to what subjects they wanted to see taught. The most popular courses were English and the maths as the people felt that these would aid them the most in obtaining employment.

(v) The North American Travelling College

The purpose of the North American Travelling College is "to bring a combined program of modern knowledge and ancient wisdom to the bands of Canada via Earnest Benedict and a Volkswagen van." (Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario 1971:88). Instruction is given in the language of the community visited with the hope that not only the Indian chil-
dren, but the adults as well, will participate in the process.

(vi) Trent University

In 1969 the Indian-Eskimo Studies Program was introduced at Trent University. That year only one course was offered — Indian Eskimo Studies 100. The total number of students enrolled was 28, 4 of which were of Indian ancestry. By the beginning of the 1971-72 academic year, five more courses had been added to the program and the enrolment had climbed to 290 students. Of these, 20 were of native descent.

At the present time the program of studies is as follows:

Indian-Eskimo Studies 101
A survey of the political, economic and social processes which affect the native Canadian in the contemporary Canadian society.

Indian-Eskimo Studies — Anthropology 201
Native Societies of Canada

Indian-Eskimo Studies 210
The Indian Identity

Indian-Eskimo Studies 300
Regional Problems of Development
(vii) "American Indian Oriented Man in Society Studies" Program

This course of studies was drawn up by Basil Johnson and published in March, 1971. Briefly, the outline is as follows:

(A) The "Period of Independence" in Central, South and North America and the part the government played in the acculturation of the tribes in these areas. Among other things this section looks at religion, social structure, economy, ideals and values, wealth concepts, private property, time concepts, sharing and humour.

(B) "Dependence" This unit examines the attitudes of the Europeans toward the Indians and vice versa, the removal and expropriation of Indian lands, westward expansion,
formal education, employment, alcohol, and the law, health and social services, enfranchisement and economic development.

(C) "Emergence" Has there been an awakening by the Indians to the problem at hand? What roles have the radicals played? Are the Indians as a whole uniting, or are they being drawn further apart (Johnson 1971:1-8)?

Occupational and Vocational Training

The province of Ontario conducts several courses in occupational and vocational training for Indian adults. During the 1968-69 year the Department introduced a special program that would train young Indians to become key-punch operators, a field which provides jobs in both government and industry (Department of Social and Family Services 1970:43). That same year another training program was set up at McIntosh near Dryden in order to provide the men with courses in carpentry, lumbering
and woodwork.

In 1970 the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, in conjunction with the Ontario Department of Education, conducted a 36-week training program in band administration. The course enabled the graduates to obtain work as junior clerks or band administrators, and also to be employed with such industries as the Hudson Bay stores and other companies in Northern Ontario (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:6). Then too, the Ontario Department of Mines sponsored a one-week program for 100 Indians in northern communities across the province. According to the results the program has provided work for some 30 candidates with various mining companies "and have made it possible for Indian people to stake their claims on their own behalf" (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:6).

In addition to these courses a contract was signed with the Y.M.C.A. in Toronto to provide Indian women with courses in
social orientation and skill development. It is felt that such a program will make these women better qualified for additional vocational training and employment (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:7).

Adult Education

Today an increasing number of Indian adults are realizing the importance of education programs for both their own and their children's sakes. Under the federal government's Adult Occupational Training Act, many programs have been set up in areas where there are a concentrated number of Indians. Recently, the Ontario Manpower Retraining courses have been transferred to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology across the province in order to provide a greater service to those Indians located in remote areas. Two of these are Confederation College at the Lakehead and Northern College in Timmins.

In addition, the Department of Education has also en-
couraged those Indian adults still living on the reserves to take up English as a second language by providing special courses and instructors for them. On several reserves as well, retraining courses in academic upgrading and business practice have been set up. Moreover, during the summer months, the Indian Affairs Department sponsors a week-long training program for the young adults who wish to serve as recreation directors and supervisors.

Finally, "Indian leaders with sufficient academic background may further their education by taking courses in leadership...offered in various universities across the country" (Hawthorn 1967:39). Here they will discuss such topics as the organization of meetings, decision-making, problem solving and communication techniques.

Quite recently, an Education Centre was completed at Moosenee in Northern Ontario. This community was chosen for the
special consideration because of its large population and isolated position. The Centre contains a nursery schoolroom, craft rooms, occupational shops, a large gymnasium and a cafeteria. Courses are offered to adults in building construction, the operation and maintenance of heavy machinery, hotel management and hospital services, as well as such academic subjects as English, mathematics and social sciences. In addition, there are evening classes in sewing, woodworking and handicrafts. While the results of this project are not yet known, the educators and administrators have high hopes for the adult training program at Moosenee.

Moreover in 1969, the Department of Indian Affairs provided a grant of $28,000 to Frontier College "for the purpose of setting up a program of adult education in the Northern Indian communities of Armstrong and Aroland." (Department of Social and Family Services 1970:12). Once the project is completed, the teachers will be conducting their classes in seminar fashion, instructing the adults in such skills as sewing, reading and writ-. 


ing.

A similar grant was given to the Rural Learning Association in June of 1969 to help defray the costs of eight study seminars to be conducted in several areas across Ontario — Georgian Bay, Thunder Bay, Gull Bay Reserve, Bruce County, Grassy Narrows Reserve, etcetera. The lectures are planned to foster the development of Indian culture and leadership.

Called 'folk schools', the seminars will consist of a series of group discussions lasting four to six days. Discussions will centre on cultural history and the changing social conditions of the Indian. Part of the folk school program will be a leadership course... (Department of Social and Family Services 1970:30).

It is hoped that such leadership programs will awaken in the Indian an awareness of his own capabilities and potential.

(d) The Prairie Provinces

Indian education in the Prairie Provinces is probably
the most progressive of any area in Canada. Not only are teacher education courses given in all three provinces, but the salary schedules offered to the instructors appear to be higher than in any other region with perhaps the exception of Ontario.

Enrolment

In Manitoba the total number of Indian students attending schools, both provincial and federal, for the 1970-71 year was 10,796. Of these, 5,658 were enrolled in the federal schools.

Federal and Provincial

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
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**Federal Schools Only**

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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3409</td>
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Thus it appears from the preceding chart that the federal schools are much more popular in the eastern regions of Manitoba than in the west.

In Alberta the situation is much the same. Beyond Grade 8 the percentage of dropouts is extremely high. Until the past decade only a small minority of Indian students attended school after the age of sixteen. However, this attitude is gradually changing and several students now complete Grade 12 and go on to attend post-secondary schools. The following chart shows student enrolment from 1937-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indian Day Schools</th>
<th>Indian Residential Schools</th>
<th>Provincial Total Schools</th>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1951</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>3137</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>7493</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>3620</td>
<td>Included in Day School Enrolment</td>
<td>8041</td>
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</table>
(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1971b:1).

Similarly, Indian children in Saskatchewan attend both "joint" and federal schools. However, in the northern areas of the province the percentage of Indian students in provincial schools and high schools is much lower. In 1961 only 15% of those children living in northern communities were in public schools and only 3% were in high schools. This may be compared to the total Indian enrolment in Saskatchewan where 40% were in Grade 7 or better and 25% were in high school. The lack of attendance is due to two factors — students not being prepared in northern federal schools and insufficient high school facilities (Buckley et al., 1963:93). While this situation has changed over the past ten years, the drop-out rate is still much above what it should be.
Today the Indian Affairs Branch operates 52 schools in Saskatchewan, comprising 151 classrooms. Of these, 8 are residential schools ranging from 1 to 6 classrooms. The student enrolment in this province for the 1967-68 and 1970-71 school year was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1967-68</th>
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<td>102</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4795</td>
<td>4330</td>
<td>9125</td>
<td>3388</td>
<td>7362</td>
<td>10750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bean 1971:3)
Teachers

During the past decade the Prairie Provinces have done a great deal to improve the standard of teachers which they hire. For many years the teachers in northern schools especially, tried to force their white values and culture on the Indian and Metis students. This problem has since been recognized and the University of Manitoba is now offering a Bachelor of Education Degree in Indian and Northern Education to teachers who wish to instruct in this area of Canada.

Similarly, a special "Intercultural Education Program" has been set up at the University of Alberta. In this course both practical education and theory are involved. Moreover, in addition to academic courses, two summers must be spent by the students working with people from different cultural backgrounds before a degree is granted.

In Saskatchewan, the need for teacher training in Indi-
Education was met in 1961 when Father Renaud undertook the task of conducting a summer course in this field. By 1963, Education 457 was introduced. Today the University of Saskatchewan offers a Bachelor of Education Degree as well as a Master of Education Degree for teachers of Indian students. The requirements are as follows:

Academic requirements for Bachelor of Education

1. English 102
2. Sociology 101
3. History 103
4. One of Biology, Geology or Psychology
5. Geography 202
6. Linguistics or a second language
7. Anthropology
8. Three senior electives two of which must be in the same subject

Professional requirements for those in Program for Teachers in Indian and Northern Communities —
First and Second Year as an Elementary Program

Third and Fourth Year

EDPDT - 407

EDIND 357 - the school program in Indian and Metis communities

EDIND 457 - Curriculum Development
Requirements for Master of Education Degree in Indian and Northern Education

Prerequisites
Bachelor of Education Degree + EDIND 357 and EDIND 457

Must complete
EDRES 895 A - Research Methods
EDRES 901
+ any four of
EDIND 507 - History of Indian and Northern Education in Canada
EDIND 597 - Individual reading class --- special problems
EDIND 820 - Administration in Indian and Northern Education
EDIND 821 B
EDIND 850
EDIND 851 B
EDIND 809 - Comparative Transcultural and Intercultural Education

(In Indian and Northern Curriculum Resources Centre: 1968:71-73).

In addition to these courses the applicant must write a thesis.

Although the salaries for teachers of Indian children in Saskatchewan are improving, they are not as high as those
in the provincial schools. The following chart shows the pay scale effective September 1, 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4240</td>
<td>4650</td>
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<td>6010</td>
<td>7450</td>
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<td>4485</td>
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<td>6345</td>
<td>7864</td>
<td>8579</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4730</td>
<td>5200</td>
<td>5955</td>
<td>6680</td>
<td>8278</td>
<td>8983</td>
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<td>9106</td>
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<td>6025</td>
<td>6975</td>
<td>7685</td>
<td>9520</td>
<td>10195</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>8335</td>
<td>9025</td>
<td>11176</td>
<td>11811</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11590</td>
<td>12215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Anon. c. 1970c).
Curriculum

Of all the Canadian provinces, those in the west seem to be making the most progress in developing special courses to suit the needs and background of the Indian pupils. In Manitoba, special modifications have been made to the Provincial curriculum in order that it might be more relevant to the Indian pupils using it. Three such adaptations are:

(a) Special emphasis on oral English and an intensified Language Arts program,

(b) Cultural courses which discuss native language, folklore, art, etcetera.

(c) The Kindergarten program helps to prepare non-English speaking pupils for an English language program.

As well, a special pilot program began in September, 1971 for those children entering kindergarten. Instruction is given entirely in the native language. Over a period of five years
this will decrease so that by the time the student reaches Grade 3, only 20% of the teaching will be conducted in his native tongue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Native Language</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre K</td>
<td>100% native</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>80% native</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>60% native</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40% native</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20% native</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ross 1971:2).

Until the past decade nothing had been done in the way of revising the white-oriented textbooks used in Indian schools. In 1964 the Indian and Metis Conference Committee of the Community Welfare Planning Council in Manitoba conducted a survey in the schools of that region in order to discover to what degree they tended to "promote a patronizing and degrading attitude on the part of the white people toward Indians"
and are harmful to the Indian child's sense of racial dignity and deal accurately with Indian life." (Sluman 1964:cover).

Accordingly, Mrs. Kenneth Sluman, a local author with some knowledge of Indian culture and history, undertook to review a number of texts used in Social Studies courses in the various schools across the province. The five books examined were:

Canada — Then and Now, Canada — a Nation, Building the Canadian Nation, Pages from Canada's Story, and The Canadian Pageant.

There are startling errors of omission as well as commission; the ancient Indian religious beliefs are always contemptuously dismissed; the authors find it necessary to repeatedly point out the lack of cleanliness of the wigwams and the food while more important virtues go ignored; and once we reach the period of Confederation there creeps in that smug paternalism that so undermines Indian pride and imposes on him either lethargy or a destructive resentment (Sluman 1964:1).

As well, the Manitoba Department of Education has drawn up supplements to the existing program for classes from Grades 1-4 in which Indian and Metis students are enrolled. It
is not a separate program of Social Studies and should only be used as background information when a teacher is preparing a lesson. The first six pages of the study, (for Grades 1, 2 and 3), introduce the various problems children have had in the educational system. In it, such topics as integration, transculturalization and curriculum selection are discussed as well as the objectives of the program. These are,

1. To assist the child of Indian ancestry to learn in a more meaningful fashion of the contribution to man's progress of individuals and groups from prehistoric to modern times.

2. To assist the child of Indian ancestry to more clearly see his role in relation to the dominant culture.

3. To assist the child of Indian ancestry to develop an appreciation of his history and cultural heritage (Manitoba Department of Education 1968:7).

The supplement for Grade 1 consists of six units in which aims and objectives are developed and suggestions given. The following year's outline has three units. Here reserve life, travel-
ling and agents of travel are discussed. For Grade 3, the six major culture groups among Canadian Indians are listed, as well as the various linguistic groups found on the Prairies.

In addition to this there is a Grade 4 supplement. It is an extension of the textbook entitled *Around the World*. While the textbook deals largely with geography and map skills, the supplement, divided into three parts, discusses the cultural aspects of Peru such as religion, marriage, education, clothing and agriculture.

In Alberta, the students who attend provincial schools follow the curriculum designed by the Alberta Department of Education, with little or no modification. Where there is a large percentage of Indian students the schools generally try to incorporate Indian Studies into their Social Studies program. The program offered in the federal schools is very similar to that offered in the provincial schools. Many institutions such as St.
Mary's in the Blood Piegan District do make special provisions for their Indian students. Here the pupils are allowed to take courses in the Blackfoot language, rodeoing, Indian arts and crafts, industrial arts and home economics.

As well, the Indian Affairs Branch has set up kindergarten classes on many Alberta reserves or in neighbouring towns. Since the provincial government does not provide funds for any kindergarten programs, any non-Indian children who wish to attend these classes must enroll in private ones.

Similarly, the federal schools in Saskatchewan follow the provincial curriculum. However most of the students, approximately 70%, are attending the "joint" schools.

**Occupational and Vocational Training**

The first vocational training program begun in Saskatchewan was carried out on an experimental basis in 1960. By 1963 it had been revised and several improvements were made. The school
term was lengthened and academic study periods were added to
the curriculum (Buckley et al., 1963:95).

By 1966 the universities of Saskatchewan and Alberta
had established special classes in pre-service and in-service
training. At this time it was recommended that training pro-
grams be provided for young Indian adults across the Prairies
in order to prepare them for immediate employment (Department
of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1968:50). Thus, as of
1970, the Department of Manpower in Manitoba had set up several
training-in-industry projects. Among these were a Pulp and
Timber Cutter's course at Moose Lake and Sandy Bay, a Pre-fab
Housing course at Brandon and a Tourist Guiding course at Little
Grand Rapids and Waskiowaka. As well, a number of Indians were
able to receive training in steel rigging, and twenty men from
Fairfield and Lake St Martin were fortunate enough to secure jobs
building the Nelson Transmission Line (Department of Indian Af-
fairs and Northern Development 1970b:10).
Moreover, numerous chiefs, councillors and band staff in the area were trained as instructors for a school at Cranberry Portage. Similarly, several Indians have been granted admittance to a Fisheries Training School in Hauesa where instruction is given in Sauiteaux, Cree and English. For men twenty-six years of age and over with experience in carpentry, there is a three month upgrading course offered in Manitoba. This enables the students to write their journeymen's papers and thus gain recognized qualifications upon graduation (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970:10-11).

As well, the province of Alberta has many on-the-job training projects. In 1970 the Indian Affairs Department and the Haico Manufacturing of Lethbridge initiated a program whereby an Indian labour force would be trained for a trailer industry operating on the Blood Indian Reserve. In the field of teaching, twenty-six teacher-aids were trained during that same year at
Mount Royal Junior College in Calgary. Moreover, several Indian women have been trained as instructors for Home Economics courses in the schools (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:15-16). The following chart reveals the number of students who have enrolled in vocational training programs for the period from April 1, 1970 to December 31, 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Type</th>
<th>Discontinuations</th>
<th>Completions</th>
<th>Total Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Preparatory Courses</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Vocational Training Courses</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Vocational Training Courses</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Courses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Courses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training Courses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-Service Training</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-the-Job Training</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticeship</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1971c:1-4).
Thus out of a total enrolment of 631, 104 students discontinued their courses indicating a 16\% dropout rate.

In Saskatchewan, the Indian and Metis have established a Scrap Metal Salvage Company in Regina. Forty-six people are employed in the company, ten of whom have been trained as heavy equipment operators, arc and acetylene cutters and business and office management personnel. Additional training programs in this province include the cutting of pulp for the new mill at Hanson Lake; the training of waitresses and managers for the tourist camp at Pelican Lake; and a Pre-fab Housing and Designing course (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b: 12-13).

**Adult Education**

In addition to the occupational and vocational training programs, adult education programs are also very popular in the western provinces. Manitoba, for example, has had special train-
ing programs for Indian leaders since 1967 (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1968:139). As well, a Social Animation course has been set up to help prepare students for further upgrading courses. Here, previous work is reviewed in addition to the teaching of the social graces. It is hoped that this will instill a feeling of self-pride in the students, thereby enabling them to better adapt themselves to continuing education situations. In Winnipeg, an Adult Training Centre, to be used as a residence, has been established for Indian homemakers during their training program. Upon completion of the course, the women are able to return to their own communities where they will serve as part-time teachers (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:9).

The Home Economics Branch of the Department of Agriculture in Alberta has set up several homemaking programs in Assumption, Blackfoot, Hoblema and Saddle Lake. This province has also provided for upgrading courses to be carried out on the
various reserves across Alberta. As well, there are Game and Fishing courses, a Tractor Care, Maintenance and Operation course in Lethbridge and an Oil-rig Work-Training Program in Edmonton (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:15-16).

Recently a new school for adult education was opened on the Blackfoot Reserve. Training is offered in practical skills such as farming and in academic subjects as well. The latter courses are supposedly oriented to Blackfoot culture. At the present time there are only white instructors employed at the school (The Spectator 1971:66).

In Saskatchewan the upgrading programs have provided educational opportunities for 729 people. Here too, homemaking classes are underway. In 1969 approximately 2,015 women took part in such courses. In addition to these projects, the Provincial Highway and Traffic Board sponsored a driver training course in maintenance repair and small gasoline motors.
British Columbia

The educational system for the 46,000 Indians of British Columbia is probably as extensive as any in Canada. Included in it are several Indian studies programs, a few teacher education courses, adult training centres and occupational and vocational training programs.

Schools and Enrolment

British Columbia follows a completely integrated program, enrolling all students according to academic qualifications. This usually involves sending the child out to a boarding home or dormitory situation. In several areas however, Indian children are still educated in elementary federal schools, or parochial schools, but this is left to the parents' discretion. Where the Indian schools operate they follow the same rules and regulations outlined in the British Columbia Schools Act.

As of 1968 approximately 12,300 Indians were enrolled in elementary and secondary schools. In addition, 325 students
were attending some type of post-secondary institution. Of this total figure 8,200 were enrolled in the "joint schools" while only 1400 were attending the residential or reserve day schools (McKenzie 1969:4). The following chart shows the distribution of students by grade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Integrated Schools</th>
<th>Residential and Reserve Day Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>610</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>670</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>480</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As well there were 340 Indian children enrolled in special classes (McKenzie 1969:4).

Teachers

The teachers in British Columbia's Indian schools receive salaries approximating those in the provincial schools. In remote areas, isolation allowances are given in addition to the regular monthly payment. Here too, furnished teacherages are provided at modest rates. Generally these come equipped with kitchen utensils, living room and bedroom furniture, a refrigerator, stove and washer.

At present some progress is being made by teachers and administrators to help them to better understand the background and needs of the Indian students. In 1970 a summer course entitled Education 479- Indian Education was offered at the
University of British Columbia in which 72 teachers participated.

The program made use of resource personnel, discussion panels, films, book reports and projects, and movie films. As well many Indian people — artists, dancers, actors and high school students, including such men as Chief Dan George, George Clutesi and Chief Phil Paul — spoke to the class. It was hoped that at the end of the session the teachers would go away with a more positive and involved outlook on Indian education. At the time an objective evaluation of the course was being conducted but the results were still being compiled (Indian Education Resources Centre 1970:5).

In the Williams Lake District, the Teachers' Association set up a committee in September of 1970 to look at Indian education. Their initial project was to distribute questionnaires to all administrators and teachers "requesting information, ideas, and criticisms of what the district was doing for the Indian students." (Indian Education Resources Centre 1971:2).
As well several of the schools in North Vancouver have developed a series of teacher workshops. The first meeting took place on January 14th of this year, its purpose being to familiarize the teachers with some of the problems that Indian students are confronted with in the schools and to give them a list of places where they can receive further information. It is hoped that the workshop will increase in size, thereby enabling both parents and teachers to assemble and discuss some of the problems the students are encountering in class. (Indian Education Resources Centre 1971:3).

Integration

... According to Department of Indian Affairs spokesmen, integration appears to be the most promising approach to Indian education. In spite of the fact that the traditional curriculum is used, and in spite of the fact that there is a high incidence of grade retention among Indian children, the students seem to function best in the integrated system (McKenzie 1969:5).

This opinion was stated at a conference in 1967 where teachers from across the province gathered at the University
of British Columbia to talk about Indian education. The conclusion drawn was that integrated schools offered the best hope for the future only if the needs of the Indian children could be met (Mckenzie 1969:5).

Integration has been going on in British Columbia public schools for the past two decades, and in the Roman Catholic schools for some fourteen years. The federal government has helped in paying for the costs of the schools as well as the tuition fees for the Indian children. Today there are in excess of 8200 registered Indians attending integrated schools. Of these approximately 1300 are enrolled in the Catholic schools (O'Reilly 1970:13).

Indian Studies

Several Indian Studies programs are being taught in British Columbia at the present time. One such a course has been adapted by the high school in Prince Rupert. It is an elective and goes for two semesters. The main emphasis is
naturally on the Indians of British Columbia, particularly those living on the Lower Skeena, but the course also discusses such topics as archaeology, Indian culture in general, and the contemporary situation of the Canadian Indian.

Another program was conducted this past spring in Pember-ton at the Signal Hill Elementary School. However it was much shorter in length, lasting only two weeks. Here all the courses with the exception of Mathematics was in some way connected with an Indian theme. The course was to be under the guidance of an Indian student for four hours each day. Throughout the program many Indian personalities were to appear as guest speakers.

In January 1971 the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of British Columbia began encouraging Indian students in that province to become interested in recording their own language, culture and history. Once these ethnographers are trained they will return to their reserves.
to collect the necessary data for such a project. First, however, one Indian historian is going to be sent to a Lower Mainland tribe to investigate the history of an important incident in their past. When this is finished, a copy of the project will be sent to all the tribes in British Columbia (The Northian Newsletter no. 19, 1971:11).

**Occupational and Vocational Training**

Indian students in British Columbia take their vocational training either in the provincial schools or in the vocational schools. Some of the courses available to them are Trained Family Aides, Assessment and Orientation, Art, and regular Vocational Courses. In 1970 the Boilermakers' Union and the Apprenticeship Branch trained a number of Indians as boilermakers. As of that year more than 1500 students were enrolled in such programs (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:18).

In addition many Indian guides are taking courses in the
care and feeding of sportsmen, and the piloting and servicing
of planes, boats and snowmobiles. Wherever feasible the Indian
Affairs Branch uses the National Employment Service to place
trainees. However, the regional branches have special placement
officers to do this job as well (Department of Indian Affairs

When a new industry moves into an area the Indian Affairs
Branch runs a short training course to acquaint the Indians with
the type of work needed for the job. For example, in 1969 the
Branch held a training school near Williams Lake where the
Indians were taught the skills of logging. Eventually they hoped
to secure jobs with the pulp and paper industry located nearby.
(In Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970c:20).

Another such program concerned forty Indians from the
Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, who were trained as
guidance officers, correctional officers and assistant parole
officers. During the first five weeks of the course the men
were given formal instruction in Kingston. This was followed by a second phase of on-the-job training which lasted for a maximum period of ten months. Each of the men were put under the supervision of an experienced officer. It is felt that "successful trainees will be hired by the federal correctional services and will help in the rehabilitation of Indian law offenders." (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970:20).

**Adult Education**

As the Indian population becomes increasingly aware of the need for adult education, more and more centres to serve these desires are being built and utilized across Canada. In British Columbia leadership training programs are conducted with the help of the University of British Columbia extension departments. Here the role and needs of band chiefs are discussed with several recommendations being made at the conclusion of the course (Indian Affairs Education Division 1965:90).

As well the Victoria Centre has an adult education program for those who have not completed Grade 11 and 12 and would like
to do so. The course is recognized by the Department of Education and graduates may go on to institutions of higher learning.

Another project is the Day Release Program. This is designed to help those Indians who have been released from prison make the adjustment to urban life. These classes are also conducted at the Victoria Centre (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:18).

In the Williams Lake area members of the Stone Reserve near Hanceville have developed a program consisting of twenty films on the Canadian Indian. It is felt that these films will give the Stone Indians an insight into what is currently happening in other areas of Canada and perhaps, from this, they will acquire some ideas on how to develop their own community (Indian Education Resources Centre 1971:2).

In addition to these projects, the Miller Bay Hospital in Prince Rupert is sponsoring a Community Aides Health Course in cooperation with the Department of National Health and
Welfare. The program's purpose is to train Indians to be of assistance in raising the standard of health education on reserves (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970b:19).

(f) The Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory

A century ago the Northwest Territories and the Yukon were far behind the Canadian provinces in setting up schools for native children. Since that time both areas have progressed quite rapidly to the point where today they are almost at a par with the western provinces and Ontario. Unfortunately, due to the climatic factors, good, qualified teachers are not as plentiful as in the southern regions of Canada. However this situation is gradually being remedied as the Territories are now offering better wages and teaching facilities for the instructors.

Schools

The schools in the Northwest Territories are generally
better equipped than the rural schools and often better than some of the white institutions. Many of them have all the audiovisual aids such as tape recorders, movie projectors, film screens and record players. As well, several are endowed with gymnasiums, libraries and activity rooms. Although the rate of growth educationally speaking has not been as rapid as in some of the other regions of Canada, the number of facilities has more than doubled over the past five years (Ricks 1968:3).

During the 1967-68 school year, plans were developed for a five-classroom school at Coppermine, a ten-classroom school at Aklavik, and a sixteen-classroom high school at Inuvik. It was hoped that by the following year twelve new classrooms would be added to the Sir John Franklin School in Yellowknife and a new Fifteen-classroom school and residence would be set up at Rae (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:22).

The previous year twenty-seven additional classrooms were built and opened. Of these, ten were portable classroom
units to be used in some of the more isolated regions until the permanent buildings were completed (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:22).

Throughout the 1968-69 school year schools continued to be built and classrooms added in the Northwest Territories. Among the major projects were the completion and opening of the A.J. "Moose" Kerr School in Aklavik, the ten-room addition to Yellowknife's Sir John Franklin School and the building of the sixteen-room Samuel Hearne Secondary School at Inuvik (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1970:257-258).

According to the figures there are not nearly as many Indians attending schools in the Northwest Territories as there are whites and Eskimos. During the 1966-67 school year enrolment in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec was 7,792. This marked an increase of 512 students over the previous year. Of the total enrolment only 1,371 were Indians (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:22). In 1968
8,474 pupils were enrolled in the schools. Of these, 3,342 were Eskimo, 3,620 were of white and various other races, and 1,512 were Indian (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1970:257).

Besides the provincial institutions there are still many federal schools operating in the Northwest Territories. In 1970, thirty-two schools of this nature were conducting classes for Indian students. These consisted of 125 elementary classrooms, twenty-three special classrooms, one high school classroom and six manual training shops. However, of the 3,194 pupils in attendance, only fifty-two were Indians (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1971:98).

In the Yukon, Indian education has progressed a little slower. One of the larger schools, Dawson Elementary-High School, (Grades 1-12) has a new ten-room extension which was added in the summer of 1963. As well there is a separate school, (Grades 1-5), located in Dawson. The following table shows the change in enrolment in the two schools over the past seven years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elementary-High School</th>
<th>Separate School</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Maximum Enrolment in Territory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2029</td>
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<td>1959-60</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>2294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>2606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>2931</td>
</tr>
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<td>1962-63</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>3155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>3147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Lo tz 1965:53).

Of these numbers, however, only a small percentage are Indian.

In fact in 1965 there were only 596 Indians attending schools in the Yukon (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:17).

In September of 1968 new schools were opened at Porter Creek and Clinton Creek. Moreover the F.H. Collins School added several new classrooms to the already existing building. In the future there are plans to build a twelve-room Academic Building.
on the same site thereby increasing the capacity to 1200 students.

Other schools as well intend to construct additional buildings with the ever augmenting growth in population. As of 1968 the Yukon school system consisted of twenty-one Public and Catholic schools, employing over 194 teachers (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1969:280).

Teachers

Prior to the beginning of the school term the northern teacher must take an orientation course at one of three centres—Ottawa, Frobisher Bay or Churchill, Manitoba. Here he or she becomes familiarized with some of the conditions which will surround the northern community and its school. Each teacher signs a contract for one academic year. If they stay the full term the Department pays their travelling expenses to and from the place of residence. However, if a teacher leaves during the middle of the year he must pay his own way home (Ricks 1968:2).
Good, qualified teachers are difficult to hire and keep in the northern regions. In the provincial and separate schools Indian children in the classroom often raise problems of culture conflict as many teachers and educators alike accuse them of slowing down the progress of the class. As well, Indian students "tend to lack ambition since the opportunities for well-paid summer employment encourage them to leave school as soon as possible" (Lotz 1965:54).

In the Yukon salary scales are reasonably generous, especially for high school teachers. A principal having a university degree may earn over $9,000 yearly even in the smaller communities (Lotz 1965:24). In the Northwest Territories the salary scale, effective as of September 1, 1967, was as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Jr. Matric</th>
<th>Sr. Matric</th>
<th>+ 1 year</th>
<th>+ 2 years</th>
<th>+ 3 years</th>
<th>+ 4 years</th>
<th>+ 5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3994</td>
<td>4618</td>
<td>4992</td>
<td>5491</td>
<td>6739</td>
<td>7238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4244</td>
<td>4895</td>
<td>5273</td>
<td>5800</td>
<td>7108</td>
<td>7635</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4494</td>
<td>5172</td>
<td>5554</td>
<td>6109</td>
<td>7477</td>
<td>8032</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4744</td>
<td>5449</td>
<td>5835</td>
<td>6418</td>
<td>7846</td>
<td>8429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4944</td>
<td>5726</td>
<td>6116</td>
<td>6727</td>
<td>8215</td>
<td>8826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5244</td>
<td>6003</td>
<td>6397</td>
<td>7036</td>
<td>8584</td>
<td>9223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5494</td>
<td>6280</td>
<td>7345</td>
<td>8953</td>
<td>9620</td>
<td>10120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6557</td>
<td>6959</td>
<td>7654</td>
<td>9322</td>
<td>10017</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>6834</td>
<td>7240</td>
<td>7964</td>
<td>9691</td>
<td>10414</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7111</td>
<td>7521</td>
<td>8273</td>
<td>10060</td>
<td>10811</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7802</td>
<td>8581</td>
<td></td>
<td>10429</td>
<td>11208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>10798</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1966-67).
Many steps have been taken to improve the quality of teachers in northern communities. In 1968, fifteen students with a northern background were selected for an experimental teacher training program to be conducted in conjunction with their regular studies at the Sir John Franklin School in Yellowknife. It entailed a program of summer school courses the following summer at the University of Alberta. By September of 1969, thirteen graduates were teaching in the Mackenzie District (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1970:258).

That same year there were courses and workshops offered in English as a second language, education for the primary grades, library management, and relations between community and school.

Teachers who wish to take a leave of absence and return to school are paid a part of their regular salary. During the 1967-68 year nine teachers enrolled in inter-cultural education classes as well as other courses related to northern education (Wattie 1968:298).
In addition, many native speaking men and women are being trained as classroom assistants to aid the teachers in cross-cultural education.

These are bilingual young people who are being employed in the classroom in increasing numbers. They are trained to assist the teacher in many different ways and especially to act as a bridge for younger children between the language of the home and the language of the school (Wattie 1968:295).

**Curriculum**

The schools in the Northwest Territories follow the Province of Alberta curriculum, while those in the Yukon use the British Columbia course of study. Special materials and programs drawn up in the provinces are also employed in the northern schools. "It is curriculum policy to use these and to develop supplementary material based on the northern setting." (Wattie 1968:295).

Since the language of instruction is English, the nor-
thern curriculum naturally focuses on language skills and the teaching of English as a second language. With the exception of a few of the more populous communities, the level of spoken and written English is poor. Thus, in the first few grades especially, language skills is the main topic in all areas of teaching (Wattie 1968:295).

According to the Indian Affairs Branch the Curriculum Section had prepared over eighty documentary aids for teachers as of 1967. These publications included Let's Begin English, Seal Hunt, Audio-Visual Services Handbook, Northern School Library List, and a guidebook to accompany the New Math Workbook (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:26). In 1969 the Curriculum Section completed a sixteen volume set of northern-oriented readers. These were to be printed and distributed among the various schools in the Northwest Territories (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1970:258). This is a beginning. Nevertheless,
many of the texts, particularly in the smaller, more remote settlements, are still geared to white children only.

In the occupational and vocational schools the curriculum attempts to channel the students into the area of study in which he would eventually like to be employed. The first year the student is confronted with a number of vocational subjects. By the second year a boy may major in motor vehicle repair, building construction, drafting, welding, sheet metal work and electrical appliance repair. The girls may choose from such courses as home management, beauty culture, food preparation and service, as well as commercial subjects (Wattie 1968:299).

In the Yukon the year 1967-68 brought with it the introduction of eighteen kindergarten classes, most of them located in the larger communities. The Department of Indian Affairs paid the teachers' salaries and provided some of the equipment for the classrooms, while the community organization in charge
supplied the classroom space (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1968:280).

Moreover it is hoped that an Elementary Oral French Program will be introduced into some of the larger Yukon elementary schools, using audio-visual aids and the oral-aural teaching method. For those students who already have some knowledge of the French language, the Français program of writing and reading will be employed (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1968:281).

**Occupational and Vocational Training**

To help young people "whose lack of academic training in their early years has inhibited their chances of successful employment, occupational training programs are offered in several northern areas." (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:25). Two such centres are located at Inuvik and Fort Smith where the students spend one half of the day in an
academic upgrading course, the other half in on-the-job training. The Sir John Franklin School in Yellowknife is another school which is taking part in this type of program. In 1967, 57 students were enrolled; two years later the attendance had jumped to 198 (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1970:258).

As well, the Northwest Territories Apprenticeship Program is proving very effective in training students for future employment. In fact ninety-six certificates of trade proficiency were bestowed upon deserving graduates during the 1966-67 school year. Furthermore, several new trades such as hunting and fishing guides, northern service clerks, launderers and dry cleaners, and selection and placement officers were approved (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:24).

Each year northern students travel to Churchill, Manitoba to attend the pre-vocational training school there.
Courses for boys in drafting, carpentry, metal work, and maintenance and repair are conducted in a remodelled hangar. There are also several practical courses including driver education and training for both automobile and skidoo, bachelor cooking and food selection. Girls, as well, may attend the school and can choose from such subjects as shopping and selling, household management and cooking (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:24).

In order to enroll in vocational training courses students are granted monetary aid through the Northwest Territories Financial Assistance for Higher Education Program. During the 1966-67 year, forty-three applications for such assistance were approved and fifteen students were able to obtain grants as well as loans. The total cost for this program over the year amounted to $35,674.50 (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1967:24).
In addition, two $1,000 scholarships sponsored by the National Containers Ltd., and the Seaway Storage Ltd., were made available to northern pupils. The former is to be used for post-graduate work; the latter is given to the highest ranking student graduating from the Churchill Vocational School. Moreover, 105 pupils received financial help for the 1968-69 year under the Northwest Territories Student Grants Program to cover transportation, tuition fees, textbook costs and room and board (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1970:258).

In the Yukon Territory the opportunity to obtain vocational training, with the exception of the school in Churchill, Manitoba, is slight. Unfortunately for Dawson area students there is little chance to discover what careers are open to them. As of 1965, the city had no dentist, lawyer or pharmacist. Thus the pupils hopes of discovering through personal experience exactly what is involved in these professions is great-
ly diminished.

Those who can adapt to wage employment, those with superior intelligence or ability, those who are aware of a larger life than the one Dawson offers, those whom parents can support in Whitehorse or Vancouver while completing an education — these children acquire the qualifications and skills required for well-paid permanent employment anywhere in Canada. And it is unlikely that they will choose to seek employment in Dawson where the number of well-paid, fulltime jobs is limited (Lotz 1965:57).

However, there is still room for more vocational courses especially in the Yukon. Young Indians who have not been able to learn hunting and trapping techniques early in life need classes in conservation, good trapping methods and food preparation. These could be implemented through the vocational schools using long established trappers as teachers.

Adult Education

In the Yukon adult education classes are very much a part of community life. As of 1968, Whitehorse had three such centres
in operation. In addition, Watson Lake, Dawson and Mayo all presented courses in adult education and upgrading. During that same year, forty-two subjects were offered across the Territory and enrolment increased to 447 students. It is expected that in the next few years attendance in these courses will more than double what they are currently (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1967:282).

Moreover, in the Northwest Territories, "committees for coordinating adult education work are being set up in various centers." (Advisory Committee on Northern Development 1967:282). As well, plans for expanding the present adult education program and academic upgrading are being drawn up. Courses will be conducted for co-operative directors in the Northwest Territories along with leadership training programs (Wattie 1968:302).
Summary and Conclusions

The assimilation of the Canadian Indian into the "white world" by means of formal education has been a much sought-after goal by educators and administrators for nearly four centuries. While many types of courses have been introduced into the curriculum over the years — agriculture, industrial training, domestic science, etc., — they have differed only in substance, not in motive. The object has always been, first and foremost, assimilation regardless of what might have been said to the contrary. Thus it is ironic that after all this time only a very small percentage of native people have lost their sense of "Indianness". Even many of these are simply repressing it.

When contact was first made, the French missionaries attempted the task of converting and educating the Indians. By 1615 Champlain had brought Fathers Jamay, le Caron and d'Olbeau to Quebec. Father le Caron was instructed to convert the Hurons
to Christianity, while Father d'Ollieux's assignment was the conversion of the Montagnais living on the Lower St. Lawrence.

During the 150 years that were to follow numerous missions were built in New France. Although the missionaries' task was to convert the "pagans" to Christianity the majority of them held the Indians' way of life in great esteem, and thus had no desire to see it changed.

In 1763 the British took over the responsibility of providing formal education for the Indian. During this time the emphasis was placed on teaching the Indians those subjects which were considered to be of value to them when they graduated. These included trades such as tailoring, waggon-making, carpentry and farming. The Indians had little to say in planning their own futures, for the educators had already taken the liberty of deciding to what the natives would be best suited. One school where such a program was offered was located in the chapel of St. Boniface on the Red River and run by the Reverend Joseph
Provencher. More importance was placed on teaching agricultural methods to the Indians as well as reading, writing and catechism. In 1829 he introduced weaving into the girls' school nearby to give them training in some type of occupation. In fact Father Provencher encouraged all the native people, both young and old, to leave the nomadic way of life and settle down on the land.

In 1844 a report requesting the construction of a manual training school was issued. Indian children were taken from their parents and placed in residence for the entire school year to receive religious training in addition to their agricultural courses. What better way to assimilate the Indians, they thought, than to alienate them from their parents and community entirely? By 1867, with the passing of the British North America Act, the federal government had taken over the job of educating the Canadian Indians.

During the latter part of the 18th and early 19th centur-
ies a greater emphasis was placed on the building of boarding
and industrial schools, while the day schools declined in number.
In the residential schools the children could be kept fed, clothed,
educated and trained to a knowledge of agriculture or of some
useful trades. Thus once they graduated and returned home they
were no longer able to identify with the Indian way of life. Yet
prejudice, discrimination and retention of native values often
prevented them from becoming assimilated into the white world.

Similarly, acculturation was slow in occurring among
the older generation. On the Prairies white contact had occurred
over a century before. However, the Indians were not adapting
to the way of life expected of them and it was with great reluc-
tance that they put away their hunting techniques and picked up
hoes. This was true in other areas of Canada, especially the
northern regions, where families were still semi-nomadic and
children only attended school for a few months out of the year.
In order to encourage farming, the Department of Indian Affairs,
beginning in 1913, awarded 6 scholarships annually to the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph for those pupils who fulfilled the necessary requirements.

By this time most Indian schools followed the provincial curriculum, supplementing the program with courses in manual training, domestic science and farming techniques. In addition to facilitating assimilation, the use of the provincial course of studies made the transition from elementary to secondary school more rapid. In 1948 the policy of educating Indian and non-Indian children in the same school wherever possible was put into effect, with the hope of bringing total assimilation somewhat nearer. That this has not occurred should be a sign to educators that perhaps the school system, as it exists now, is not the answer to the Indians' needs.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the percentage of Indian children in schools has increased over the past century. As of 1880 there were 103,367 registered Indians in Canada, 3,329, (or 3%), of which were enrolled in schools across the country.
By 1968 the total number of Indians had climbed to 237,490, 62,834, (or 27%), of which were in school. Unfortunately the drop-out rate is still alarmingly high, indicating that the educational system is no more appealing to the Indians than it was 200 years ago. In fact many of the problems that occurred then remain unsolved today.

To place the blame on any one factor in Indian education would be futile for there were several reasons why the first attempts at schooling Indian children were unsuccessful. First, in the northern regions especially, good, qualified teachers were difficult to secure as factors of severe climate and isolation posed many disadvantages. In these areas most pupils had never seen a railroad or a cow. How then could a teacher possibly relate to her students? Secondly, in both northern and southern schools, the language taught was English rather than the language of the Indian children. In many instances the teacher made no attempt to learn the vernacular, thereby making education a "one-way" street.
Then too, children often stayed away from school for great lengths of time hunting, trapping and fishing with their parents. As well, Indian students tended to suffer from ill-health a good portion of the year. Many children came to school without sufficient breakfast or lunch, and thus were unable to remain alert for the duration of the day. The schools themselves did nothing to brighten up the environment, as they were generally cold, inferior buildings with uncomfortable furniture and poor, if any, lighting.

Once home from school, the parents offered little in the way of encouragement to their children's study habits, as most of them were less "educated" than their offspring. As well, the atmosphere which a dark tent or cabin afforded did not provide an added incentive for the students. Moreover, most children had retained the native values which did not necessarily gear them for Western education. If anything, certain of these values tended to discourage the pupils.
Underlying all these factors was the most important problem of all—a lack of motivation on the part of the student. If a child was motivated such conditions as a crowded home, poor meals and unsympathetic parents could, no doubt, be overcome. Unfortunately, everywhere a child looked he was confronted with a welfare society or one based on hunting, trapping and fishing. What possible good could an education do him?

The teachers were not entirely blameless for this lack of motivation. Unlike the Jesuits and clergymen of the past four centuries who were devoted to their work of educating and Christianizing the Indians, the laymen, especially those of the 20th century, viewed their job as temporary, one which they could vacate at a moment's notice if offered a better position elsewhere. In fact the average duration for such teachers was only two years. As a result the Indian child was consistently being taught by "novice" teachers who were unfamiliar with the student or his cultural or personal background.
Finally, if a student did manage to graduate from the school system he usually did not possess the qualifications needed to compete in the white world, nor did he have the "know-how" to get along on the reserve. He was caught between two worlds, neither of which had any relevance to him.

Today many of these same problems still exist in the Indian educational system. While the number of qualified teachers is increasing every year they are generally those who have not been able to secure jobs in the southern cities and towns and thus must turn to the northern schools for employment. They regard their jobs as temporary and will probably transfer to the public school system as soon as the opportunity is made available to them.

Moreover these teachers are not specially trained at college for teaching Indian children. As a result their teaching methods are generally of the type used in the provincial schools. Since most of these teachers come from a middle-class socio-
economic background these are the values which they are going to perpetuate. When they teach reading, they deal with the middle-class characters of Dick and Jane. Undoubtedly the Indian child can learn to read in this cultural milieu, but textbooks based upon Indian culture is definitely a much more appropriate method of instruction than white-oriented books.

As well, many textbooks still portray the Indians as "savages", inflicting massacre on white communities. Indian children hear of the annihilation of Custer and his men at Little Bighorn, but never of the numerous and more devastating white massacres of the Indians.

Furthermore many Indian students feel that the school system tries to deprive them of their self-esteem and that "far from leading them into self-realization, the educational system holds out dubious rewards on the condition that they give up their 'Indian birthright...'" (Costellano 1970:53). Those who do show promise of having a bright and lucrative future, few though
they may be, are generally those who are able to free themselves from their loyalties to the reserve and adopt the materialistic goals commonly found in white society.

Thus the tendency in the past for Indians who achieved success in carrying high-status social roles to move more wholly into white society has been a double loss. It has deprived Indian communities of leadership and stimulation from their most able members and it has deprived successive generations of students of role models (Costellano 1970:54).

Although some Indians still pursue the traditional means of obtaining a livelihood such as trapping, hunting and fishing, the great majority must seek employment from the white man. Today when employers are demanding higher and higher levels of skill and competence due to the increasing complexity of our technology and the fact that there are now more people than there are jobs to go around, too often it is the Indian that loses out. However the blame cannot be placed on any one side. The Indian in question may be lazy, or he may drink excessively. More often than not though, lack of sufficient training, or prejudice on the part of the employer, is at fault.
There are a dozen reasons why he'll the employer pass over the Indian. Indians aren't used to working to time, they're unpunctual. They don't always understand instructions. They have no initiative. They're poor mixers, they're moody and that's bad for employees' morale and efficiency... These are valid reasons in some cases. And the employer feels he has the right to take the best man for the job. Yet this is, in effect, discrimination against the Indian (CBC Publications 1963:41).

What most employers, or white people in general, fail to realize is that initially the Indian had his own concept of time measured in terms of days and seasons rather than minutes and hours, "Work was a matter of building a house or catching fish, not working regular hours for regular wages." (CBC Publications 1963:9). Cultural traits such as these are ingrained in a people over centuries of time and thus may take equally as long to be "destroyed".

If a change in the employment situation is to come at all it must begin in the schools. Since most Indian children come from poor, rural backgrounds the adult images which teachers depict in no way relate to what the students perceive themselves
to be. Thus the educators are unable to motivate their pupils into turning dreams into realities. Writers like Costellano see little hope for the problem being remedied in the near future.

Even if changes are introduced into the schools, for those students reaching school-leaving age in the next five to eight years, the damage has already been done. They will perceive the choice of vocation as being inextricably tied up with their identity and this perception will be reinforced by the necessity, in most cases, of leaving home to pursue higher education (Costellano 1970:59).

As well many teachers have failed to brief their students on how to look and dress for a job; and even if they did, a great many Indians would have trouble reading the want ads. Then too, a high percentage of students have not been informed of the individual Placement Program set up for their benefit. Similarly a rural Placement Program "has also been undertaken which cooperates with other agencies and government departments in assisting or placing Indian individuals or groups in employment." (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1966:13).

Thus the school must not only equip the student with the information and
skills common to all Canadians and with specific knowledge and techniques for individual employment. It must help the child to integrate these into his culture personality whose behaviour patterns and inner structure must, in turn, be modified and readjusted so as to make possible, meaningful and remunerative, the use of this information and the practice of these skills (Renaud 1958:37).

Upon evaluation of the preceding material two major themes, common throughout the history of Indian education, begin to emerge. The first is that all white educators, be they Catholic missionaries, Scotch ministers, British laymen or the federal government, have geared the Indians toward the European way of life and thinking, giving little thought to the culture they were destroying. Secondly, this education has been for the menial jobs -- mechanics, caretakers, chambermaids, etc., -- rather than the professional jobs.

However, despite all the ardent attempts to make "white men" out of the native people, acculturation has not taken place. Educators and administrators remain puzzled as to why this is so.

Perhaps the answer lies somewhere in the fact that the
concept of acculturation, while stating what must occur when
two cultures meet, fails to take into account the several important factors that may hinder the phenomenon. One of these, the
socialization process, allows for the retention of values despite pressures to change. Indian children are taught native values
while they are living at home which conflict with those learned in school. The only way to prevent this process from taking
effect would be to remove the children from their parents at the
time of birth. Another obstruction to acculturation has been the
white educators themselves. When young children first begin
school they are eager to learn and be accepted. However constant
rejection on the part of white teachers soon reveals to them that they are different. This holds true not only in the classroom,
but in all public places. It is little wonder then that accul-
turation has failed to occur.

Today total acculturation is no longer possible. Canadian Indians want integration. They want to retain part, if not all,
of their culture yet be accepted by the white population and be given equal opportunities. Until educators realize these desires it is unlikely that any meaningful progress will be made in Indian education.
## APPENDIX

### Enrolment 1880-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
<th>% of the Total Indian population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3474</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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