INDIAN EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Most anthropologists agree today that the Indians of America came to this continent by way of the Bering Sea somewhere between fifteen and eight thousand years ago. During their years of occupancy of the northwest, they developed a culture adapted to its economy. They perfected neither writing nor formal education, but asserted their heraldry and transmitted their legends and traditions orally.

Europeans, in search of a westward route to the orient, reached the American northwest late in the eighteenth century. They introduced into the native way of life a modicum of European artifacts, but also, particularly along the coast, began the destruction of the aboriginal culture through disease, liquor, and creation of unnatural villages about trading posts.

Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries began to arrive toward the middle of the nineteenth century. They worked to counteract the influence of the fur-traders but, in their efforts at evangelism, helped to precipitate disintegration of the native way of life.

Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches gradually founded missions, and later schools, among Indian groups throughout the province. Sponsored entirely by Church funds and contributions from the Indians themselves at first, these schools began to receive Federal government grants as reserves became established following British Columbia's entry into Confederation in 1871. Each Church established a dual system of schooling, consisting of small day schools located on such reserves as it was practicable to place them, and larger
residential schools, strategically located, at which orphans and children from outlying reserves could remain while receiving their education.

Little direct government interest was shown in their education until after World War II, when census figures began to reveal the fact that the Indians were not a dying race. In 1948 a joint Parliamentary committee made recommendations which became embodied in the revised Indian Act of 1951, which has since received further revision. The Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has assumed almost the entire costs of operating both day and residential schools, has erected day schools, and has appointed inspectors to supervise the system. Eighteen agency superintendents act as local school boards in B.C.

Provision in the revised Indian Act for Federal-provincial cooperation has greatly increased the number of Indian students attending regular public schools. In 1958, out of a total of 8746 students at school, 6411 were enrolled in a system of 78 Indian schools, and the remaining 2335 were attending provincial and private schools.

The standard of Indian education is rising but, in relation to that of the average non-Indian population element, the Indians' economic standards are declining.

Integration of the Indian into the Canadian way of life; ethnically, culturally, or economically, is not taking place. Ethnic integration is not being really sought; cultural integration is. It cannot proceed until some degree of economic parity has been achieved. Indians today cannot afford the
impedimenta of White culture; to date the destination of the Indian, educated or not, is the reservation whence he came. In remote localities Indians should be trained for their way of life rather than ours, until civilization advances to meet them. Wherever possible, the adult Indian must be granted fair employment and a fair representation in a unified provincial educational system. Only then can his children become acculturated. 

*Approved*
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Department of Education

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(viii)
The LORD'S PRAYER IN CHINOOK

Nesika papa klaksta mitlite kopa saghalie,
Our father who stayeth in the above,
Kloshe kopa nesika tumtum mika nem;
Good in our hearts be thy name;
Kloshe mika tyee kopa konaway tillicum;
Good thou chief among all people;
Kloshe mika tumtum kopa illahie,
Good thy will upon earth.
Kahkwa kopa saghalie.
As in the above,
Pollatch konaway sun nesika muckamuck.
Give every day our food.
Spose nesika mamook masahchie,
If we do evil, be
Wake mika hyas solleks, pe spose
Not thou very angry, and if
Klaksta masahchie kopa nesika.
Anyone evil towards us,
Wake nesika solleks kopa klaska
Not we angry towards them.
Mahsh siah kopa nesika konaway masahchie.
Send away far from us all evil.
CHAPTER I
THE ABORIGINAL BRITISH COLUMBIAN

What, in our human world, is this power to live? It is the ancient, lost reverence and passion for human personality, joined with the ancient, lost reverence and passion for the earth and its web of life. 1

No evidence of human life on the land mass of what is now called North America prior to the last glacial period has as yet been found. 2 Oldest remains found to date are from the vicinity of Folsom, Arizona, and in the Sandia Caves of California. 3 Carbon tests made on animal remains lying in the same strata as stone spear-heads, indicate the presence of human beings in the former locality about 9000 B.C., and in the latter site approximately 13,000 B.C. Future archaeological excavations may of course unearth finds of much greater age, but for the present we can with any degree of certainty state only that man's tenancy of this continent has endured through about fifteen thousand years.

Many theories have been advanced as to the origin of the American prototype. Until the turn of the century a belief popular particularly along the Atlantic seaboard asserted an origin of human life on North America itself. Charles Hill-Tout, in his Oceanic Origin of the Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish Stocks of British Columbia, 4 sought words and customs of South Pacific

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3 W.W. Elmandorf, Lectures, Anthropology 301, Summer Session, 1958, U.B.C.

4 Ottawa, J. Hope and Sons, 1898.
derivation among Indian cultural groups in British Columbia as proof of their Asiatic origin. Most scholars now agree that these peoples did indeed come from Asia, but that they crossed the Bering Strait, not the Pacific Ocean, to reach here. Collier says of their origin:

They came from Asia by way of the Bering Strait at a date so far back that the long extinct horse and camel, the giant beaver and giant bear, the four-horned antelope and the dire wolf and mammoth were their foes and their prey.... The year 13,000, or perhaps 18,000 B.C. saw these migrant hunters moving across the great central plain of Alaska.

Date of recession of the last of the four glacial ages, traditionally placed at about 25,000 years ago, has, since perfection of the carbon radiation test, been advanced to a much more recent time of some 6000 years ago. If previously mentioned migration theories are correct, migrants must have made their way to this continent thousands of years before the ice-sheet's recession was complete. However, geologists now believe that the Pacific and the Laurentide ice-sheets may not have met, but that a corridor may have existed immediately east of the Rocky Mountains, and also that a strip of the coastline along the Arctic Ocean likely remained free of the cake of compressed snow which in places reached a depth of three thousand feet.

Migration did not occur, apparently, either all at one time nor continuously, but rather in a series of infiltrations spaced hundreds, and perhaps even thousands, of years apart. Some of the earliest "pioneers" might, then, have drifted south

5 Collier, _op. cit._, p. 17.
6 British Columbia Heritage Series, _op. cit._, p. 12.
7 _Loc. cit._
to the ice-sheet's southern limits, then turned west across the mountains and followed its recession northward. Later arrivals could have made their way almost directly southward along river valleys of the inter-montane interior plateaus. As routes to the coast became available, splinter groups apparently made their way thence, to establish themselves ultimately as hunters of sea, rather than land, creatures. Examination of tools and utensils excavated from the lowest strata of kitchen-middens located near the mouth of the Fraser River tend to indicate a movement from an interior culture to a coastal one, and coastal Indians of the Nass have retained a story of how their ancestors shot under an ice barrier that blocked their migration by canoe down the river.

How long, then, has what we now call British Columbia been inhabited? Hill-Tout, estimating the time element from examinations of the great Marpole Midden, produced an answer to this question during the first decade of this century:

History of their own, in the strict sense of the word, the native races of British Columbia and adjoining territories have none. Like other primitive peoples they have oral traditions of the family and tribe, and records of descent, more or less reliable, which go back for five or six or even, in some instances, for ten generations. Beyond these they can supply us with no information concerning their past; such knowledge as we would gather of that we must glean for ourselves from their old camp sites and from ancient burial grounds. From these two sources we learn that the country has been occupied by races living in a state of primitive culture similar to that of the tribes now occupying the land for two or perhaps three thousand years. Beyond this period we

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have no evidence of man's presence in this part of the world. 10

Professor Charles Borden of the University of British Columbia, digging in the same site nearly fifty years later, confirmed this period of occupancy on the basis of carbon remains from lodge post-holes dug into barren glacial till. 11

It is believed that migration by way of the Bering Strait ceased between eight and six thousand years ago. 12 About five thousand years after the last migrants had made their way into the vast reaches of the Americas, then, some of their descendants had searched out most of the inhabitable corners of what is now British Columbia.

What of this land which was to be the new home of these immigrants? According to Hill-Tout,

The habitat and natural surroundings of a people, particularly if that people be in the earlier, ruder stages of life, have such an important bearing upon their character and cultural development that any attempt to treat of their national or tribal life must give some account of their geographic position. 13

The chief geological features of the area under study here were: a coast-line indented by long, narrow inlets, and protected from the open ocean by one large island that covered almost half of the entire coast, plus innumerable smaller islands; a

11 Information received during an interview on last day of excavating, August, 1955.
13 Hill-Tout, ibid., p. 1.
coastal mountain range, high, rocky and steep, which crowded close to the water's edge, leaving little or no intervening plain; inland, a series of alternate plateaus and mountain ranges running in a general north-to-south direction, and drained by waterways which ultimately wound through precipitate, glaciated valleys to tidewater at the inlets' heads.

Climatically, the coast underwent a cycle of cool, rainy winters and mild summers, while the interior remained comparatively arid throughout the year to the south, precipitation gradually increasing toward the north. A dense coniferous rainforest covered the coastline throughout its length ranged, from south to north, through sagebrush to boreal forest to near-tundra.

Coastal waters abounded with fish and sea-mammals of many species and varieties, and beaches, particularly in sheltered bays where fresh and salt waters mingled, were rich with clams, mussels, cockles and other sea-foods. Salmon, by far the most plentiful of the many kinds of fish, ascended streams and rivers in search of suitable spawning grounds, one variety, the sockeye, reaching the very heart of the interior up the Skeena and the Fraser. Deer frequented almost the entire area, and moose, elk, and caribou wandered about certain areas of the interior, the caribou alone remaining exclusively to the north. Varying kinds of berries grew during the summer season along the entire coast and in river valleys. Ducks and geese frequented inlets and lakes during their migrations, and one or another kind of grouse could be found almost everywhere. It was in general a land of plenty, particularly along the coast, where, so a saying has come down, "When the tide is out, the table is set".
John Wesley Powell in 1891 made the first major analysis of American Indian languages, of which he found over fifty in North America. Edward Sapir reduced the number of cultural language groups to seven, three of which he found represented in British Columbia. Sapir grouped the Athapascas and Haidas together into the Na-Déné group; the Salish, Kootenays, and Kwakiutls with the Mosan-Algonkin, and placed the Tsimshians with the Penutian stock of the Western United States. The National Museum of Canada in 1932 delineated nine linguistic families (see Plate II) as they occupied the Pacific littoral between the 49th and 60th Parallels about 1725, A.D.

The areas of occupancy as so delineated have remained more or less static during the ensuing two hundred years. The languages spoken by all of these groups differ so much from any present-day Asiatic tongue that it is virtually impossible to trace their origin on linguistic grounds. Since there are quite marked differences in intra-group dialects, those of Squamish, Sechelt, and Nanaimo villages being mutually unintelligible, although the greatest separation between villages is only sixty miles, would tend to indicate that settlements as discovered by early European arrivals have remained relatively isolated over many centuries.

If we can reason from midden remains that Indians have occupied sites in British Columbia for at least two thousand years,


16 Map 270A, Aborigines of Canada.
and deduce from language differences which exist even within any given linguistic boundary that dialect groups have maintained their lesser boundaries through many hundreds of years, then we can further conjecture that the cultures which the first white men to arrive observed to exist among them have evolved over equally lengthy periods of time.

Although here again many local variations endured, the entire area could be divided into three general cultural regions; the Northwest Coast, the Plateau, and the Mackenzie, or Athabascan.

Distinctive features of the Coast region were: dependence on sea foods, use of wood, and the development of a social class system. Precipitous terrain and dense undergrowth repelled the land hunter, while sheltered waters and comparatively easily procured sea-game attracted the fisherman. Customarily, the able-bodied men fished, older men tended seal-nets at the shore, and women and children gathered berries and clams. Although fish was the staple diet, the soft skeleton of this creature soon decomposed, while the clam's hard shell remained. The word "midden" on this coast has thus become almost synonymous with "clam-heap". Since fish of one type or another could be caught almost anywhere, the determining factor for the location of a permanent village site was the presence of a clam-bed.

Wood, particularly cedar, found almost universal use. It provided posts, beams and planks for lodges so large, some of

--- 17 British Columbia Heritage Series, Our Native Peoples, Haida, Nootka, Bella Coola, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Coast Salish, Victoria, Provincial Archives, 1952.
them hundreds of feet long and fifty feet wide, that their tenants comprised an entire village.\textsuperscript{16} It supplied material for boxes, bowls, and canoes. Its bark could be used for clothing, ropes and mats, and its roots for baskets.

Transportation was almost entirely by water, every village maintaining its fleet of dug-out canoes. Haida and Nootka Indians perfected this vessel to the point where it could take to the open sea. Specialized Nootka men employed their high-prowed canoes in whale-hunting.

Perhaps because of the comparative permanence of their villages, peoples of this maritime culture developed a consciousness of private property ownership. Also, partly at least no doubt because of the fact that enough food could be gathered during the summer to last through the winter, leaving a period of comparative leisure time, a series of festivities came into existence to help while away this otherwise dreary season.

Social rank, particularly among the Nootka, Kwakiutl, Haida, and Tsimshian, thus came to be determined by a combination of property possession, rights to certain food-gathering areas, and privileges to participate in certain ceremonial performances. Village society, again particularly among the group just mentioned, was generally made up of three classes; nobles, commoners, and slaves. Leaders tended to be lodge major-domos rather than village or tribal chiefs, as found among plains Indians. Positions of authority went along with social rank, and discussions which would affect the entire village lay in the

\textsuperscript{16} John Rodgers Jewitt, \textit{A Journal Kept at Nootka During the Years 1803 - 1805}, Boston, C.E. Goodspeed, 1931.
hands of an upper-class oligarchy, a group which remained relatively static, but to which commoners had some access through vertical mobility.

Since no written language had been developed, claims to titles, property and privileges were made orally. The customary occasion for such claims to be made, generally upon the birth or marriage within the family holding it, became known as a potlatch. Although Webster's Dictionary credits the term to the Chinook "patshatl", and denotes it as a ceremonial distribution of gifts at a festival, it meant much more than just that. The potlatch was a time for granting names, laying claims to heritage, reciting family heraldic legends, and displaying wealth, and the degree of its success largely determined the social position of the family responsible for it. Commoners seldom had sufficient property of claims to hold potlatches; slaves were simply pieces of property, acquired by the classes above them, initially through wars or raids, which could be disposed of on potlatch occasions.

Tsimshian and Haida villages were divided into clans, the Tsimshian into four clans, and the Haida into two. Marriage in both groups was exogamous, and descent matrilineal. Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Salish villages had no clans; the first two groups followed a bilineal, and the last a patrilineal descent.

Throughout the length of the coast, noble families created and maintained alliances through inter-village marriages, generally within their own linguistic boundaries.19

The Interior Salish and Kootenay groups hunted game animals

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19 British Columbia Heritage Series, Our Native Peoples, Haida, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Coast Salish, Tsimshian.
as well as fished for food, and developed a less elaborate social structure than did their maritime neighbors.\(^2^0\) There seems to have been little class structure, chieftainship and other positions of importance being gained by merit. There was little affiliation among villages, and the village, rather than any larger tribal or band grouping, remained the cultural unit. Horse-back riding, and the use of leather clothing and feather adornments seem to have been borrowed, particularly by the Kootenays, from neighboring plains groups, but basic social customs in general seem to have remained a rather simplified version of those of the Coastal Salish peoples, with whom the westernmost of the Plateau groups came into contact.

The Déné of the north geared their economic life to movements of the roving herds of caribou, on which they depended for food and clothing.\(^2^1\) These nomadic groups were made up of families of related males, who cooperated in their search for game on known hunting grounds. Again, although their economic way of life was similar to that of their neighbors to the east, they adopted their social customs from peoples to the west of them. Throughout the entire interior, property tended to be held in communal, rather than private, ownership.

The art of plant domestication, which had been acquired by the peoples of Mexico and Central America about 3000 B.C., and which by 1500 A.D. or so had spread throughout most of the western North American desert, did not reach the 49th Parallel, and all


\(^{21}\) British Columbia Heritage Series; Our Native Peoples, *Déné*. 
peoples north of that remained food-gathers rather than food-growers.

That they did so undoubtedly hindered their technological progress, but not necessarily their cultural growth in other respects. In the words of Collier:

Technologically, ancient man advanced slowly. In the control and beneficent development of human nature through institutions he advanced fast and far. 22

A primitive people, living in an intimacy with nature to highly civilized nation can comprehend, developed their beliefs as explanations for, and attempts to live in harmony with, the natural forces and phenomena of their environment. Although variations in detail developed among the cultural groups of the area, the fundamental bases of their beliefs revealed remarkable similarities. Philip Drucker's summing up of these fundamental bases can be applied to all of the peoples of British Columbia:

These fundamental principles that combined to give Northwest Coast religion its distinctive cast were: lack of systematization of beliefs on creation, cosmology and deities; a rather vague notion of a remote, disinterested Supreme Being or Beings; a set of beliefs, revolving about the immortality of certain economically important species of animals, combined with a series of ritual practices to ensure the return of these creatures; and, finally, the concept of the possibility of lifelong assistance by a personal guardian spirit. 23

With the exception of the Déné, belief in a Supreme Being was common among Indian groups of the area. Typically, although

22 John Collier, op. cit., p. 23.

he may have taken an active part in world events in the past; may, in fact, have been the Creator, at present he lived remote from the affairs of men. The Haidas referred to this Being as "Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens", the Tsimshians as "Laxha", and the Nootkas as four "Great Chiefs". The Kwakiutls, Bella Coolas, and Kootenays saw the sun as their Creator, and the Salish, although they recognized a Supreme Being, gave him no particular name.  

These Beings of the heavens seem, indeed, to have played little part in the natives' lives, but to have dwelt in a realm of myth rather than at a focal point of worship. Monotheistic gods, all-powerful and ever-present as plains Indians envisaged them, peoples of the northwest did not have.

What did form the basis and the core of their code of life was a thorough and all-inclusive animism. "The gods walked on every road of man, and every road of man was sacred". Philip Drucker suggests that the belief originated with the salmon, whom the Indian regarded as dwelling as people like themselves in a far-away land, and coming periodically in disguise to offer themselves as food. Diamond Jenness found that the Sekani had once believed that animals and human beings had once been alike.

The peoples of the northwest finally found themselves living in a world of spiritual forces, which caused everything and controlled the material world. Animism entered even into the, to us, inanimate world, endowing the elements, utensils, tools and

24 Philip Drucker, op. cit., p. 140.
25 John Collier, op. cit., p. 22.
26 Philip Drucker, op. cit., p. 140.
27 Diamond Jenness, op. cit., p. 67.
weapons with personal spirits. Spirits were literally everywhere, and their power determined man's very destiny.

These forces, however, were not beyond appeal. The animistic and magical world-view of the Indian led him to an assumption that

... intensity of consciousness - concentrated, sustained longing and the feeling of power, joy, happiness, beauty, and of union with the sources of being - was effectual in the magical control of nature through co-partnership with the gods. 28

The attainment of co-partnership could be won, on the basis of this assumption, through group ceremony and individual ritual. One of the most rigidly adhered-to ceremonies, particularly among all groups which depended on cyclic spawning runs of fish for their main food supply, was the "first-fish" ceremony. William Duncan, missionary during much of the last half of the nineteenth century among the Tsimshian, has left a detailed record of the treatment accorded the first eulochan catch by some of these people at the Nass River. "All of these plans must be carried out without addition or change," he concludes his account, "otherwise the fish will be ashamed, and perhaps never come again". 29 These same people and others carried out special ceremonies, likewise, over the first salmon catch of the season, to honor and welcome the first of the species. 30

The Kootenays, possibly through Plains influence, each day extended petitions to the Dawn and to the Sun, and their daily

29 British Columbia Heritage Series, Our Native Peoples, Tsimshian, p. 36.
30 Philip Drucker, op. cit., p. 1140.
round was filled with many small ceremonies aimed at securing favor from the spirit world. Similarly, the secret society dances and winter ceremonials of the Kwakiutls, the tossing into the sea of gifts to the killer whale by the Haidas, the Wolf Dance of the Nootkas, the Cannibal Dance of the Bella Coola, and the harvest songs of thanks of the Interior Salish were all aimed, in part at least, at gaining rapport with whichever spirits each people felt appropriate.

Entire villages participated in appeals to these spirits, but they were led by a type of priest known as a shaman. Wearing costumes and masks, the shaman, accompanied by certain chosen members of the tribe similarly accoutred, sought by incantations, dances, and the manipulation of their masks to propitiate spirits whose aid they wished to solicit. The masked actors were, in effect, the embodiment of the spirits of the creatures being appealed to, generally wolves, bears, killer whales, and the legendary cannibals and thunderbirds. Thus the ceremonies represented a kind of sympathetic magic, as the performers acted out portions of the mythological and legendary heritage of their audience group. The Kwakiutls were so influenced by this type of ceremony that they referred to summer as the "profane", and to winter as the "sacred" season. During the latter period of time, villages, instead of being grouped in clans, waived this

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31 British Columbia Heritage Series, Our Native Peoples, Kootenay, p. 28.
32 British Columbia Heritage Series, Our Native Peoples, Kwakiutl, p. 50; Haida, p. 21; Nootka, p. 40; Bella Coola, p. 60; Interior Salish, p. 40.
33 British Columbia Heritage Series, Introduction to Our Native Peoples, p. 28.
form of organization, and membership in a secret society became the paramount grouping.

The individual, in addition to participating in group ceremonies, observed personal ritualistic behavior in his daily life. No adult, it was believed, could function effectively unless he had obtained during his youth the spirit force of some creature or object as his private guardian spirit. From early childhood, boys in particular learned to look among the features of his natural surroundings for some particular element which presented itself to his perception in an unusual way. Some time during early puberty he would wander out, to a customary site at first, where for several days and nights he would pursue his quest, while his family at home enjoined in ceremonies to facilitate his success. Later, he would disappear from his village and remain absent for weeks, or even months, during all of which time he sought revelation by his chosen bird, beast, or object that its spirit was willing to be his guardian. Some time after his return home, aided by a shaman at a special ceremony, the spirit, about which he had told no one, would assert itself in song through his lips.\(^{34}\)

This guardian-spirit did not enter the individual to possess him, but aided him in the pursuit of his hunting, fishing, woodworking, and other activities. The individual had his own soul; illness or death could result if this soul were lost or if some extraneous evil influence were to intrude his body. Certain shamans made a practice of calling upon their spirit helpers

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to seek the lost soul, which might have strayed to the land of
the dead, and of removing intruding articles and contaminat-
ions.  

The soul was of greatest concern to the family during
times of birth and death. It was believed that the soul of a
new-born child was held only precariously in the body; that the
slightest false act on their part might cause it to return to
the dead ancestor whence it came. When a member of a family
died his kin were torn between grief at the loss and fear of
the ghost. Wakes, at which family dirges were sung, were held
to encourage the soul to journey to the land of the dead, for
if it remained in the village it might steal souls from the liv-
ing.

There was no heaven-hell antithesis in northwest Indian
belief. The Kootenays and Interior Salish believed that the
land of the dead was characterized by an abundance of food;
most other peoples envisaged it merely as a vague shadow-land
in one direction or another from their place of abode.

Mythology played a significant part in the lives of all
northwest peoples. Generally speaking, myths were of three cat-
egories: those involving creation, or a "transformation" of the
world; those involving family heraldry from ancient times, and
those of more recent times, often based on some slight incident.
Usually, however, myths held the common characteristic of being
explanations of why things are as they are at the present time.

37 British Columbia Heritage Series; Our Native Peoples.
Indian mythology stressed the fact that at some age far into the past, animals could alternate from their own guise to that of the human being, and animals and man spoke the same language. Since peoples the world over have attributed soul to the human being, this part of their mythology explained to the Indian peoples why animals also had souls, or spirits. Possibly stemming from a tribal remembrance of creatures encountered by their ancestors during the glacial epoch, a type of myth dwelt upon the deeds of a "transformer", generally termed "Raven", who in ages gone by aided the people by ridding the world of monsters who had preyed upon them, and even modified the human being into its present form from a more rudimentary state of existence. Similarity between these and myths from Asia suggest that some of the Indian historic legends may have endured from before the time of their migration.

Myths of less ancient origin generally pertained to the derivation of family heraldic emblems, and were the assertion, which could be made at a potlatch or other appropriate ceremony, of the rights of certain lineages to use a bear, a toad, an eagle, or other creature on a totem pole, which was the physical representation of such legends. The Bella Coola believed their myths, and even maintained that their family names had been brought down from above by remote ancestors.38 Most legends of more recent origin were intended largely for amusement, but even these usually contained, even if as a non-essential element, explanations for certain phenomena.

38 British Columbia Héritage Series; Our Native Peoples, Bella Coola, p. 28.
Indian art grew directly out of religion and mythology.

The whole art ... was aimed at the depiction of the supernatural beings, in animal, monster, or human form, who according to lineage or clan traditions had appeared to some ancestor .... The descendants of that ancestor, in the proper line, inherited the right to display symbols of the supernatural being to represent their noble descent .... Thus the art style itself, through the objects made according to its dictates, was intimately linked with the social organization, rank, and status, as well as the ceremonial patterns, of the Northern groups. 39

Art, in fact, could not be said to have existed as a pursuit in itself among these peoples. No space on building, post, or utensil was carved or colored as fine art, merely to be decorative. The artist applied his art to utilitarian materials and ceremonial clothing.

Men worked their conventionalized representative art in wood, bone, and stone - totem poles, boxes, clubs, tools, spoons, masks, and canoes. Women worked their geometric designs into their weaving - clothing, baskets, and mats. Village and also individual styles developed, and no artist could borrow from another, since he would not have the right to use the other's crests. Art reflected the social as well as the religious life of a village; the magnitude of a piece of work such as a totem pole, for instance, indicated the social status of the lineage depicted as much as did the crests represented on it. 40

As might be expected, the maritime peoples, enjoying a more stable village life, and more leisure time, developed a more elaborate art form than did those of the interior. In general, the extent to which objects were carved and colored diminished from

39 Philip Drucker, op. cit., p. 166.

north to south along the coast, and from coast to plateau. The Interior Salish and Déné did virtually no carving, but the former group decorated their basketry, and the latter ornamented their leather clothing.

Extensive trading was carried on between groups whose products differed. Interior Indians thus exchanged deer and caribou antlers, hides, and other animal products for oolachan oil and cured salmon from maritime peoples, and buffalo robes from the plains made their way as far west as Spences Bridge. A north-south trade route also existed all the way from Alaska to northern California. The Chinook band, located on the Columbia River where, so one of their legends goes, a huge natural stone bridge once existed, became engaged in this trade to such an extent that, even before arrival of the white man intensified the process, their tongue had come to be the accepted barter language throughout the Pacific littoral.

Education, as art, stemmed from, and was concerned with, the religious, social, and economic structure complex of the society. Taking place entirely within the family and within the village territory, it existed as an integral part of life to an extent that nowhere obtains in our modern technological society. As with art, it did not at any time, in fact, exist as an entity in itself, but acted as the warp which sustained the weave and the pattern of society in its entirety.

John Collier, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, says of this education in his book, Indians of the Americas:

Hence was built and sustained the life art. The elements of this life art were language, song, dance,
ceremonial, craftsmanship, ascetic discipline, fighting, and the chase. All of these, including language, were sustained by unwritten tradition, and the tradition was communicated through the generations by systematized education. Usually the education was aimed toward, and was carried out from, the crisis of adolescence in the individual and the crises of sacred ceremony in the group. 41

The ultimate concentration of the primitive group was upon education, and the ultimate concentration of this education was upon the crisis of adolescence, the brief period in the life of the individual which determined whether or not the child would succeed in growing up. Everything that was done with the baby and the child was aimed at this most important bridge in his life.

At birth the baby was given a name. This name was not a mere appellation, but an intimate part of the being concerned. The name itself carried considerable power, and could be used to control its possessor to some extent. Generally, it was a heritage name, available from a deceased forebear, who had in turn obtained it in like manner. The bearer could add to this initial name during his life, as he earned the privilege to do so, each of these additional names being likewise family property.

Some time during very early childhood, an elder of the family, generally a grandmother, sang a song appropriate to the endowed name. This song was repeated at intervals and memorized by the child. 42

41 p. 21.

42 Information obtained from talk with Shirley Julian, Sechelt, July, 1958.
A characteristic of Indian psychology was absence of corporeal punishment. It was believed that harsh correction led to lack of self-control. The young child was therefore reared in a permissive situation in which he would learn self-discipline. This permissive infancy and apparent lack of formal training among most tribes during the first three or four years was intended to make teaching easier later on.

Formal training, when it began, varied slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main it involved learning myths, crafts and correct behavior. Haidas, in particular, laid great stress on the telling, over and over again, certain stories, ancestor adventure legends, and family histories. The Interior Salish emphasized hardihood of body, honesty, and moral scrupulousness. The Kootenay taught the young child to do family chores. Coast Salish inculcated etiquette and taboos. 43

Emphasis on boys' education of course differed from girls' in that the former received training in woodcraft and the making and using of hunting and fishing equipment by male relatives, while the latter were instructed in cooking, weaving, and the use of medicinal plants by female members of the lineage or family.

Boys, in addition, were trained to endure suffering. Pain was inflicted by older members of the tribe at appropriate stages of the training, not as punishment, but as tests of the novices' stoicism. The concept of pain was thus employed in a positive, not a negative, way by these peoples.

Both boys and girls were taught accepted codes of behavior, together with the rights and duties of their class. Rules of conduct were taught in a practical manner. Taboos were made tangible by giving them correlatives. Thus, the child might be taught, "it is bad to steal because people will not have you in their house", or "it is bad to be cowardly, because people will laugh at you and impose upon you, and the women will say, *He should wear a skirt*."44

Since there was no written language, details of learning had to be memorized and retained, not only by the very young, as in our society, but by all ages, since no printed reference existed that could be turned to if memory lapsed. Children were thus taught to pay close attention while stories were being told, and purposefully made to sit still to the point of becoming uncomfortable to emphasize the need for listening and watching carefully. "If you go to sleep while stories are being told", so one precept ran, "you will grow up hunchbacked".45 "I learned easily", says Mrs. Ellen Paull of SEchelt, eighty years of age, who can neither read nor write, but who can sing Latin hymns and speak fluently in Salish, Chinook, and English.

Ability to endure intensity of concentration over a prolonged period of time without lessening of mental or physical vigor seemed to be the aim of the instruction process.

At puberty, boys' and girls' training for adulthood entered its final stages. The boy's guardian spirit ceremony, accompanied, in some northern maritime groups, by initiation into a

44 British Columbia Héritage Series; Our Native Peoples, Interior Salish, p. 39.

secret society, marked his entry into manhood. The girl's training at this time of life involved negative admonitions in the form of taboos as well as positive instruction. She must avoid certain foods, eat with only certain utensils, and comb her hair with only a special comb. She must at all times keep her fingers busy. ("I want to bring my hands back to life," said Mrs. Ellen Paull, who recently resumed basket-making after a year of enforced inactivity in hospital). All such mode of conduct was aimed at the developing, at an age when such an awareness might well not have developed naturally, of the significance of womanhood and motherhood.

Prestige of the family could be maintained through successful instruction, and damaged through poor training. Social pressure was therefore a powerful goal, driving pupil and instructor alike to do their best. Since inter-village marriages linked many noble families together, the size of the group affected was often very large, and the social pressure proportionately great.

Behavior befitting social position was instilled into youngsters from the earliest possible age. High social rank implied dignity; one must not, under any circumstances whatever, behave in an undignified way. "It is all very well for the commoner family to be lax in their behavior," a noble grandparent might say to his charges, "but you must maintain a rigid code of behavior at all times." Since many commoner families were struggling to ascend the social ladder, they too, however, tended to insist on a strict moral code. For examples of slack conduct there existed always the slave class, whose members
could not gain prestige through moral rectitude, and which seems to have been created as an ever-present example of behavior contrast rather than as a labor force.

Education in the pre-European Indian society was, throughout childhood, a continuous process carried on within the group of highest potency, the primary, face-to-face social group. Each village was a cosmos unto itself, containing within visible confines every ingredient of a highly developed religious socio-economic complex. The child could perceive every phase, every specialty, of human behavior and endeavor take place. Birth, death, warfare, the gathering of food, the making of clothing, the construction of buildings and canoes, all went on in a world in which every individual was participant as well as observer. Every act was of significance - no act could take place unseen by the eyes of others, and every nuance of behavior involved all others in its ramifications.

The break from childhood into adulthood, towards which all the years of training had been aimed, involved tests which had to be met and passed, but, once passed, the transformation was complete. Proofs of how meritorious an adult the new graduate would become lay yet ahead, but adult he was. The line of demarcation was clear and decisive; the child did not lay claim to the adult world, which was not yet his, and the adult did not behave as a child.

When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child, but when I became a man, I put away childish things. 47

46 John Collier, op. cit., p. 21.
47 1 Corinthians 13:11.
It was a world founded on a group ethos which perceived the whole of existence as one magic circle, and on an individual psyche which lived according to the part in it that it must play.
Plate II

Culture-Distribution Map: Language Boundaries
CHAPTER II
THE EUROPEAN APPEARS

There was an Indian, who had known no change,
Who strayed content along a sunlit beach
Gathering shells. He heard a strange
Commingled noise; looked up; and gasped for speech,
For in the bay, where nothing was before,
Moved on the sea, by magic, huge canoes,
With bellying cloths on poles, and not one car,
And fluttering coloured signs and clambering crews.

And he, in fear, this naked man alone,
His fallen hands forgetting all their shells,
His lips gone pale, knelt low behind a stone,
And stared, and saw, and did not understand,
Columbus's doom-burdened caravels
Slant to the shore, and all their seamen land.

Sir John Collins Squire

The first explorers and fur-traders to visit the north-west corner of North America encountered and observed, along its coast and throughout its interior, bands of aborigines. Continuing an error made centuries earlier by Christopher Columbus on the Caribbean Islands, they called these original inhabitants "Indians". Subsequent investigations by successive generations of anthropologists have determined that all of the native peoples of this continent and its adjacent islands almost certainly possess some common ancestral origin, so that a continuation of the original misnomer throughout the land mass at least did not inordinately compound the original error. Early European observers, however, were not concerned with the origin of these peoples. They sought no legal definition of their identities, but were satisfied with regarding them as ethnic sub-groups of the all-inclusive appellative "North American Indian".

Any study of the "discovery" of this area must be made with
the realization in mind that at no time since it became habitable thousands of years ago has it been uninhabited, Europeans, it must be further admitted, thought of this locality, not as a goal, but only as a span of water and land, and a time-consuming hindrance, on the way to the orient. Since the sixteenth century, when this search for first an elusive north-west, and, later, a north-east, passage through the vast bulk of North America began, a constantly changing series of resources has brought successive waves of seekers into the area.

When it was discovered that Columbus had not indeed reached the orient, succeeding explorers still believed that their goal lay only a short distance to the west. While a search for a passage through the Americas was proving fruitless, one of Magellan's ships in 1522 succeeded in circumnavigating the globe westward from Spain. Even after this voyage, which crossed the Pacific near the Equator, the belief persisted that, somewhere to the north, a very narrow body of water separated the bothersome mass of North America from the fabulous East. In the late 1500's, then, it was in search of this so-called "Straits of Anian" that caravels came from Europe to the Pacific coast.

Hakluyt's Voyages, printed in 1587, names Sir Francis Drake's expedition, in 1580, as the first exploration of the coast. Purchas, in his Pilgrimes, relates having interviewed an elderly mariner, one Juan de Fuca, who had supposedly, in 1592, sailed up the west coast of North America, again in search of the elusive Straits of Anian. Between the latitudes of 47 and 48 degrees North he had discovered, so he maintained, a broad arm of the sea extending into the continental mass.

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1 See maps of Hakluyt, Delide, and others.
First authenticated voyage to the North Pacific coast of America seems to be that of the vessels of Vitus Bering, which made a landfall in Tlingit territory in 1741. The expedition sailed away when the crew of a boat sent ashore failed to return, and when a number of war canoes came out to threaten the ship itself.²

In 1774, Juan Perez Hernandez, a Spaniard, hove to at a spot which he called "San Lorenzo", near the entrance to what Captain Cook later named Nootka Sound. He did not land, but gave, among other trade goods, two silver spoons to Indians who came out to his ship in canoes.³

First exploration of any detail along the coast was that carried out by Captain James Cook of the Royal Navy, who arrived in 1778 with orders to sail along the coast from Latitude 45° to Latitude 65°, and to explore all inlets north of the latter parallel which appeared to point toward Hudson's Bay, the hoped-for North-East Passage. He named Cape Flattery but, driven out to sea by adverse winds, failed to find de Fuca's strait, and made his first landfall at Nootka Sound.⁴ Captain Cook's journals, published in 1784, contained references to the sea-otter, pelts of which his crew members had seen at Nootka, and charts of much of the coast along which they might be found.⁵

During the next few years ships commanded by Captains Portlock, Hanna, Dixon, and others took cargoes of pelts to China.

² Philip Drucker, op. cit., p. 19.
³ Loc. cit.
In 1787 Captain John Meares sailed into the Strait of Juan de Fuca and took possession of the surrounding lands in the name of the King of England.6

Captain George Vancouver, sent out from Britain in 1792 to ensure implementation of terms of the Nootka Convention, received no specific orders as to territorial status, but, by cooperating in his explorations with Galiano and Valdez, who shared with him work they had already done, provided remarkable accurate charts of the entire coast of what was to become British Columbia.

The Russians made no further real attempts to exploit this section of coastline. When, in 1795, Britain and Spain agreed to an informal sharing of the territory of which Nootka Sound had been the centre, both nations withdrew direct participation. Britain would re-enter history there; Spain would not. Meanwhile, the fur-trader was still present, and he would remain the dominant element during the following sixty years.

Fur-traders, who up to 1800 remained entirely maritime, while providing the basis for impact of European culture, working only, as they did, from their transient vessels, created no deep convulsion in the native way of life. The traders, it is true, had duped the naive aborigines into accepting trifles for furs which could be re-sold at a tremendous profit. Indians eventually gained some awareness of the value of the products they had to offer, and learned to bargain for better returns. Some freebooters, such as Hanna, took furs by force.7 The natives did not take action against this type of European ethics, but where,

6 Bancroft, op. cit., p. 6.
7 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 13.
particularly, an offense against personal dignity was involved, occasionally retaliated by massacring entire crews. An epidemic, undoubtedly brought by a trading vessel, apparently spread as far east as the Rockies about 1785, decimating even tribes which had never seen Europeans.9

Diseases and artifacts remained as the most prominent results of early visits by Europeans to the north Pacific coast. Metal utensils and cotton clothing tended generally merely to augment stone implements and bark garments. Disastrous as diseases might have been to some village populations, they did not alter the native culture. Disputes, even those involving violence, were settled privately. Since the traders were unorganized and greatly outnumbered, and since intervention by national armed forces was negligible, the Indians tended to hold their own in these crises. The attack on Indian civilization would be made by land, not by sea.

While sea-otter traders were scouring the Pacific northwest coast of America by sea, a continuous search for beavers was reaching for the same goal by land. In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie, seeking a practical river route across the terrain west of the Rockies, reached the Pacific near Bella Coola. The Northwest Company, in which he was a partner, had been organized in 1787 in Montreal to combat the older company's monopoly in the Hudson's Bay Territory. Organized by Scottish entrepreneurs, and employing French-Canadian trappers, it was destined, during the next thirty years, to explore the far corners of the land beyond the Rockies.

8 See John Jewitt, op. cit.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, Simon Fraser and David Thompson established trading posts at vantage points throughout the interior from the country of the Sekani to that of the Kootenay (see Plate II). In 1808 Fraser followed the river which David Thompson later named after him to the Musqueam village, and in 1812 David Thompson descended the Columbia. Late the next year the North-West Company purchased Fort Astoria, which John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company had established at the mouth of that river, and re-named it Fort George.\textsuperscript{10}

The Red River conflict of 1816, added to competitive over-expansion across the vast North American hinterland in a continual race for new sources of furs, resulted in a merger of the two companies in 1821, and the North-West name disappeared from use.

In 1824 George Simpson, Governor of the Columbia Department of the coalition Company, made his first crossing of the continent.\textsuperscript{11} He immediately investigated the possibilities of establishing trading posts on or near the Pacific coast. These posts would also act as arguing points when the question of sovereignty of the territory reached a critical stage.

In 1825, Dr. John McLaughlin, Chief Factor, moved his headquarters to a new site on the Columbia, Fort Vancouver. In 1827 he sent James McMillan to the Fraser river, where he erected Fort Langley on the south bank. During the next twenty years, pursuing Governor Simpson's policy, the Company built forts Colville, Kilmaurs, Simpson, Connoly, Dease, McLaughlin, Nisqually, Hope, Chilcotin, Yale, Nanaimo, and Victoria (see Plate II).

\textsuperscript{10} Margaret Ormsby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 52-60
Although North-West Company explorers were first to cross overland from Canada to the Pacific, at the Bella Coola, the Fraser, and the Columbia, traders for that company never reached the Pacific seal grounds. In 1792, Captain Vancouver had listed eleven British ships and six American in the trade. By 1802 the fifteen American ships had the industry to themselves.\(^{12}\) Between that date and 1824 they had virtually no competition.

These ships were individualistic enterprises, with the result that when all international competition was removed, each trader competed against all others. What happened can be realized from an examination of the price of brandy over the years. In 1748, the Hudson's Bay Company's standard of trade in Rupert's Land, where it operated by monopoly, asked four beavers per gallon for this drink.\(^{13}\) In 1835, American traders on the Pacific coast were exchanging six gallons of brandy for one beaver.\(^{14}\)

Governor Simpson attacked his competition with ships as well as with forts. These vessels not only traded on their own behalf along the coast, but also stood by for the protection of builders of shore posts, and acted as supply ships for them once they were in operation. The combined pressure of forts and ships forced the Americans to retire, leaving the Hudson's Bay Company in full possession of the coastal trade.\(^{15}\)

The fur trade in the Pacific north-west was now carried on through a network of posts, both inland and on the coast. All


\(^{14}\) Margaret Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

\(^{15}\) Howay, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
through the northern interior, particularly, where difficulties of transport kept import of everything but trade goods to a minimum, post factors had to depend for foods on what the surrounding country could provide. Each fort had its own garden, and its own cattle and swine. Wheat was grown as far north as Alexandria. Horses for the fur brigade which terminated first at the Columbia, and later at Fort Hope, were kept at Kamloops. Fort Langley within its first year of operation harvested over two thousand bushels of potatoes. The main diet, however, of traders, trappers, and other occupants of the forts, as well as of the Indians around them, consisted of fish. As many as twenty-five thousand salmon were needed for the annual sustenance of a post. Inland, especially, if the salmon run failed, a post could face a very serious food shortage, as game was scarce in New Caledonia. Transport of supplies to coastal ports was of course somewhat easier.

Although almost all traders and factors were of Scottish extraction, not many other occupants of a post were British. Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 was accompanied by Alexander McKay, six voyageurs, and two Indians. Simon Fraser in 1807 had a party made up of John Stuart, Jules Maurice Quesnel, seven voyageurs, and two Indians. David Thompson completed his journey

18 Margaret Ormsby, op. cit., p. 46.
19 Walter Sage, Sir James Douglas and British Columbia, The University of Toronto Press, 1930, p. 44.
20 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 31.
21 Ibid., p. 35.

There was full employment throughout the year, as labor was always scarce in New Caledonia. Indians, as well as trapping for pelts, cut timber for construction and fuel, helped with building, carried goods and, at Fort Langley, learned to milk cows and to plough with bullocks. In the Kamloops district, they became skilled horsemen. The North-West Company, and, later, the Hudson's Bay Company, were interested in maintaining an Indian population, to act not only as trappers and employees, but also to use trade goods.

There are signs here of the growing up of a unique culture, arising out of a population of mixed peoples, mutually interdependent, with those possessing the most advanced technology much in the minority, and all having to live to a great extent directly off the land on which they lived.

To help make for amicable relations with the groups with

22 Margaret Ormsby, op. cit., p. 40.
24 Ibid., p. 20.
Plate III

THE PORTAGE
whom it was trading, the Company encouraged its non-Indian males to take Indian wives.\textsuperscript{25} James Douglas, in 1828, while at Stuart Lake, married Amelia Connolly, whose father was chief factor there, and whose mother was Chippewyan, "after the custom of the country".\textsuperscript{26} Men like John Work, says Margaret Ormsby,\textsuperscript{27} were kind to these women, ordering trinkets for their adornment, schooling them, and providing what comforts they could. No matter how much the traders might long to leave the service and return to civilization, affection and gratitude helped to keep them in Indian country.

"Why shouldn't I speak English well?" said Mrs. Ellen Paull recently. "My daddy was an Englishman." John Ball, who taught at a school started by Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, recalled that in 1832 "all the boys were half breeds, as there was not a white woman in Oregon".\textsuperscript{28} Douglas' son, James, was educated in England, and all of his four daughters married well and were made welcome into the most impeccable society.\textsuperscript{29}

The meeting was not simply one of European and Pacific north-west Indian societies. Voyageurs, many of whom were themselves of mixed blood, Kanakas from the Sandwich Islands, and eastern Canadian Indians, as well as Northern Europeans, were involved in the life of a trading post. Since each factor made efforts to maintain a semblance of European culture within his post, and since accoutrements imported were generally of European manufacture, the dominant interchange tended to be

\textsuperscript{25} Denys Nelson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{26} Walter Sage, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{op. cit.}, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{28} Sage, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 338.
between European and Indian culture complexes. However, increase in use of Chinook reduced dependence on English as a barter language, and the presence of a large majority of voyageurs kept their patois alive during and beyond the duration of their residence. The great majority of Indian women, then, had little direct contact with Europeans, and Indian males had no opportunity whatever to be influenced by European women. Although Sechelt Indians traded at Nanaimo from the time a post was established in 1852, a generation later a girl whose father was English had to act as interpreter for the remainder of the village population. It can hardly be said that the Pacific north-west aborigine was Europeanized by the fur-trader.

Interior and coast Indian cultures were affected to different degrees by the fur-trade era. The early maritime trade was "essentially a hurried looting of the coast". The Indians were enriched in worldly possessions and free to make such use of them as they pleased, on their traditional village sites. Attraction to forts did not disrupt northern Indian life too much, as the Déné were traditionally a nomadic people. The Interior Salish and Kootenay had an established village life, but congregation of several groups at a post again did not affect their way of life too much, since social caste was not a significant moral pressure among them. Liquor was such a rare commodity in New Caledonia that Daniel Williams Harmon, factor among the Carriers, was "embarrassed when Indians observed debauches of

30 Charles Hill-Tout, Oceanic Origin of the Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish Stocks of British Columbia, p. 201.

31 Mrs. Ellen Paull, nee Ellen Jeffrey.

32 F.W. Howay, op. cit., p. 90.
voyageurs" during a New Year's celebration, and only visiting chiefs were allowed to drink wine.  

Effects of European impact on coastal Indians was much more drastic. There, free lance traders had, from the discovery of the sea otter, peddled liquor, among their other trade goods, for furs. The Hudson's Bay Company, when they entered the maritime traffic after 1824, went so far to meet this competition that in 1832 Dr. McLoughlin engaged a former American captain, and permitted him, in contravention of the Company's rules and international agreement, to sell guns and liquor to the Indians.  

Governor Simpson did not discontinue this policy until 1841, by which time he had driven all competitors from the coast as far north as Alaska, and had eliminated competition there through an agreement with the Russian-American Company by which his Company would trap the Panhandle.  

In 1846, Sir John Pelly, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote to Lord Grey, secretary of state for the colonies:  

... I shall, at present, merely submit to Earl Grey's consideration whether that object (colonization of Vancouver Island) embracing as I trust it will, the conversion to Christianity and civilization of the native population might not be most readily and effectually accomplished through the instrumentality of the Hudson's Bay Company...  

On January 13, 1849, Vancouver Island was ceded to the Company. In 1850, proof that coal existed at Nanaimo was purchased from an old Indian of that vicinity by Joseph McKay at

33 Margaret Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 45.  
34 Ibid., p. 69.  
Victoria for a bottle of rum.\(^{38}\)

Worse in its effects on Coast Indians than the selling of intoxicating liquors to them from itinerant trading vessels, which brought their wares to the villages, was the construction of permanent, fixed forts along the coast. These establishments, located at sites most suitable to the fur-trader, and not necessarily at the heaviest concentrations of population, attracted Indians from many miles away, and from many villages, to move to the white man's place of business. Dr. R.G. Large, who spent ten years during his youth at Fort Simpson, tells of its construction in 1831:\(^{39}\)

There were no Indians encamped in McLoughlin Bay, large settlements were located five miles south at a creek called Lahou, and again twenty miles further south in what was later to become the harbor of Prince Rupert. With the building of the Fort, the natives rapidly congregated in its vicinity, erecting their large community houses along the beach on either side until over two thousand were permanently living there.

Fort McLoughlin, located in Bella Coola, and Fort Rupert, in Kwakiutl territory, also lured Indians from several villages to their proximity.

Emphasizing, as they did, social status within their own village, and basing their whole moral code on social pressures derived from status consciousness, these people found themselves bereft of their very social basis. Village chiefs and noblemen groups, uncertain of their ranks in these enlarged, multi-tribal groups, vied for positions of prestige in their customary manner, through a series of potlatches. At the same time, depreciation of the value of trade goods brought increased wealth, so

\(^{38}\) Walter Sage, _op. cit._, p. 172.

that potlatch rivalries became distorted out of all traditional proportions, and the old system whereby privileges, titles, heraldry, and names were wont to be asserted, although intensified in its outward displays, was falling into ruin as a cultural base.

Voyageurs, whose numbers were in the majority in the construction of Fort Langley in 1827, did not go north from Fort Vancouver to Victoria with Douglas in 1843. There was no place for their kind of work in the maritime trade. After discontinuation of the cross-continent fur brigade in 1848, most of them withdrew to the St. Boniface area.\(^4\) Their emigration from New Caledonia and the Columbia meant the end of French-Canadian influence on Indians of those areas, and permitted new elements which began to impinge on the cultures coalescing there to have more effect than they would have had if a large body of this group remained solidly rooted throughout the area.

On Vancouver Island, since one term of the Royal Grant called for the Company to sell land to immigrant British subjects, Chief Factor Douglas was faced with the problem of removing objections to such sales from its original occupants, the Indians. He overcame this difficulty by purchasing, from the Songhees and Clallum tribes, for a little more than £150, all lands for some forty miles up-island from Victoria "with the exception of village sites and enclosed fields".\(^5\) Thus, even before government other than that enacted by the Company itself came into effect, the native peoples began to find themselves


restricted to small plots of ground, which soon took the name "reservation".

To sum up, then, the impact of the fur-trading era on British North America west of the Rockies:

(1) In New Caledonia, the complete absence of either white women or priests led a mixture of non-Indian males, for a period of at least thirty years, to mate with Indian females in the customs of the aboriginal peoples:

(2) Company employees of British stock instructed their wives and children as best they could in the language and manners of their homeland. After the coming of the Hudson's Bay Company, a few children received formal education; most did not. All children learned an Indian dialect from their mothers, and the majority, if they gained a second language from their fathers, learned not English but some other tongue.

(3) Extension of the fur-trade brought the Chinook jargon into use throughout most of the area, with the result that members of most ethnic groups could carry on a basic conversation with one another.

(4) Hudson's Bay Company forts and American freebooters along the coast competed for trade, but combined in the effects they produced, through attraction away from home sites and sale of liquor, to destroy the Indians' way of life.

(5) Before the end of the era, arrival of European women and missionaries, and start of reservation restrictions, combined to mark the beginning of the end of the unique culture that had begun to spring up after the North-Westers' arrival. The only way for an individual of mixed blood to avoid restriction and low social status was to cross the color line. A few could do so; most could not.
The term "Indian" came often to be applied to a person in whose veins ran as much European as aboriginal blood, but who knew little or nothing of the ways of his father.

The fur-trade era, in general, sowed some seeds which did not grow to fruition, and others which would continue to bear an unwanted yield to the present day. The fur trade not only opened up the Dominion of Canada and determined its boundaries, but it also intensified that disastrous contact between two civilizations, the European and the North American... The struggle in culture between the individualism, the progressiveness, and the Christianity of the whites, and the socialism, the conservatism, the paganism, and the taboos of the Indians, was to follow the fur trade across Canada's broad expanse.

Before the lure of gold brought its thousands of seekers into the north-west to precipitate the disruption of both the Indians' aboriginal way of life and the new culture that was rising there, another facet of European civilization made itself felt. This was the advent of Christian missionaries, who added another strand to the tapestry of life in the new colony.

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CHAPTER III

THE MISSIONARY ARRIVES

"... a feeble and quite indefinite polytheism".¹

H.J. Vallery, in his Master of Arts thesis for Queen's University, says of the work done by missionaries in northern North America:²

Since their first contacts with the Indian tribes in Canada, the Europeans, both French and English, have had as their ideal the civilization of this aboriginal population. In this process, they have striven by formal and informal methods of education to protect the Indian from vices which were not his own, and to instruct them in peaceful occupations, foreign to their natural bent.

First recorded missionary in Canada was Jesse Fleché, who came in 1610 to Acadia, where he converted and baptized twenty-five Indians. In 1611 Fathers Biard and Massé found that the so-called converts had no knowledge of Christian doctrine and no intention of discarding their pagan customs.³ Between 1615 and 1650, twenty-nine missionaries labored among the Hurons. Seven suffered violent deaths. In 1639 Ursuline nuns arrived to teach the children of the "savages".⁴

By its charter of 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company was established in part for "Christianizing the Indian".⁵

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¹ Rev. Thomas Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast By Canoe and Mission Ship, Frederick Clarke Stephenson, 1914, p. 99.

² A History of Indian Education in Canada, 1942, Preface.


⁴ Ibid., pp. 4,5.

The first missionaries to visit the Pacific north-west, apparently, were Fathers Crespi and Pena who, sailing with Juan Perez in 1774, sighted and named San Christobal, the highest peak on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Returning south along the western coast of Vancouver Island, they celebrated Mass off shore, being prevented from landing by a violent gale.6

In 1789, Father Don Jose Lopez di Nava, assisted by Don Jose Maria Diaz and four Franciscan friars, chanted High Mass in the presence of the Governor, the soldiers, and a group of Indians at Nootka Sound, the day after their arrival at the establishment of Governor Martinez. Priests remained on Vancouver Island until 1795, at which time they were forced to leave by terms of the Spanish-British agreement made then.7 The Roman Catholic Church was thus first to reach the Pacific north-west.

It is hardly likely that maritime fur-traders took time from their business endeavors to instruct Christianity. In New Caledonia, however, where from the time of their arrival the North-Westerners established permanent forts, traders, métis voyageurs from Red River, and Eastern Canada Indians among whom missionaries had worked, spread some idea of Christian belief among the native peoples with whom they came into personal contact. Simon Fraser was of the Roman Catholic faith. So, too, were Dr. McLoughlin of Fort Vancouver and Chief Factor Ogden of Fort Saint James. These men and their followers "taught the rudiments of the Faith to their Indian wives and women, and made them and their halfbreed children long for the coming of the Catholic priests".8

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7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.
The Sekani, who had not previously considered the existence of any particular monotheistic deity, by the time of the arrival of the first missionary spoke of God as "Hata", a term which had formerly been applied to any outstanding medicine man who claimed to have received his power from the thunderbird.  

Missionary effort, on the whole, was closely interwoven with efforts of exploration and with the fur trade. Although many churchmen put in their share of time in the wilderness alone among the peoples they hoped to convert, the most practicable mode of transport was with the fur brigade or supply ship, and the trading post was the logical point from which to work, not only because it afforded shelter but also because almost all Indians of the surrounding area appeared there periodically.

Even so, no missionary, after withdrawal of the Spaniards from Nootka, made his way into the north-west until 1836. In that year the Reverend Herbert Beaver was posted to Fort Vancouver as chaplain. His departure within a year can of course be attributed in part to the fact that Dr. McLoughlin could hardly bring himself to cooperate fully with an Anglican who not only made the chief factor's post his headquarters, but who was its chaplain. It is not too difficult, however, to read another source of conflict into Reverend Beaver's stint at Fort Vancouver. The Hudson's Bay Company, in bringing the chaplain to minister to the spiritual needs of the post Indians, was of course fulfilling its obligation to bring Christianity to its


territories. The same company, however, was also engaged in selling intoxicating liquors to the potential converts. Any minister officially sponsored by such a corporation would therefore find himself in an intolerable position. It was perhaps because of this dichotomy that Anglican ministers remained absent from the north-west until after expiration of the Company's trade monopoly in 1858.

Roman Catholic missionaries did not have to labor under this difficulty. In 1838, two secular priests, Fathers Blanchet and Demers, and two Jesuits, Fathers de Smet and Nobili, set out with the overland fur brigade from St. Boniface for Fort Vancouver. On October 14 of that year Reverend Demers, en route, offered Holy Sacrifice of the Mass at the Big Bend of the Columbia, for the first time on the northern mainland. In 1841 this missionary made a visit to Fort Langley, where he blessed the marriages of employees of his faith, baptized seven hundred and fifty-eight children, and preached to hundreds of Indians. In 1842 he set out with the annual fur brigade for Fort St. James, instructing adults and baptizing children at Fort Okanogan, Fort Kamloops, Fort Alexandria, and Fort George on the way. Later he spent several months evangelizing the Carriers of Fort Alexandria and the Shuswaps of Chinook Creek, near Williams Lake, at which places he built the first two churches on the mainland. In 1843 Father Baldruc, who had accompanied James Douglas to Fort Victoria, offered the first Mass in the new post. He also preached, on a special occasion, to Hudson's Bay Company employees and twelve hundred Indians, and baptized one hundred and two

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12 Rev. George Forbes, op. cit.
children. 13 About 1845, Fathers Nobili and Gaetz built a mission station at the head of Okanagan Lake, near the present city of Vernon. Father Nobili travelled north from there and spent the next two years among the Carriers and Babines. In 1847 the Jesuit Order was withdrawn from the north-west to staff the missions of California, and the station on Lake Okanagan was closed.

In 1847 Father Modeste Demers was consecrated in Oregon, and became Bishop of what is now British Columbia and Alaska. 14 In 1851, kneeling on a tree trunk on the beach, he took possession of the bishopric of Vancouver Island. 15 However, he had no missionaries, and for several years could obtain none.

Finally, in 1857, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate came to his assistance and, with Rev. L.J. D'Herbomez as Father Superior, established temporary headquarters at Esquimalt. In 1859 Fathers Pandosy and Richard and Brother Surel journeyed through Hope and Kamloops to Lake Okanagan to found the Mission of the Immaculate Conception near Kelowna. In 1860 Father Fouquet came from France to open St. Charles' Mission at New Westminster, and a year later he undertook to establish St. Mary's Mission in the lower Fraser Valley. 16 In 1861 chapels were also built at Hope and Yale, with Father Grandidier serving both communities. That same year Father D'Herbomez visited Father Grandidier and asked him to visit the Cariboo and suggest a centre for that part of the country. He reported back on the suitability of the present location of St.


14 Rev. George Forbes OMI, op. cit.


16 Rev. George Forbes, op. cit.
Joseph's Mission near Williams Lake, and a mission was established there in 1867. In 1863 a mission was opened at Fort Rupert, but despite the efforts of three different missionaries, Father Fouquet, Father Durieu and Father LeJacq, it was abandoned in 1874. In that same year, Father Fouquet founded the Mission of the Kootenays at Cranbrook. Father Blanchet at about the same time built a church near Fort St. James, and a mission under the charge of Father Chirouse opened in Kamloops in 1878.

In 1863 the Holy See divided the northern diocese, and made Father D'Herbomez Vicar Apostolic of the Mainland. By 1890, when Father D'Herbomez died, he had built seventy churches on the mainland of British Columbia.

Meanwhile, on Vancouver Island missions were founded under direction of Bishop Demers at Clayoquot in 1875, at Namukamus, Barclay Sound, in 1877, and at Ahousat in 1881.

Monseigneur Durieu, OMI, succeeded Bishop D'Herbomez as Apostolate, and in 1890 he became Bishop of New Westminster. Rev. Forbes says of the "Durieu System":

It was based on love for the Blessed Sacrement and aimed at making the Indians' every act a preparation for or an act of Thankgiving after Holy Communion... The Eucharistic Chief and his Watchmen sought to prevent crimes and misdemeanours and, according to their immemorial custom, tried and punished those who had given scandal. To protect the Indians from evil influence, the Bishop built model villages at Sechelt and North Vancouver to which only those living completely exemplary lives were admitted and from which those who set bad examples were

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17 Historic Yale, British Columbia, Vancouver Section British Columbia Historical Association, 1954, p. 32.
18 Rev. A.G. Morice, op. cit., pp. 343-357.
19 Rev. George Forbes OMI, op. cit.
expelled. Even after he became bishop, he spent months at a time at the North Vancouver Indian Village. 21

The Anglican Diocese of Vancouver Island was formed in 1859, and Very Reverend George Hills became first Anglican bishop. The first missionary to the new diocese was the Reverend Richard Dowson, who arrived in Victoria during the same year. Unable to find accommodation within the suddenly expanded city, he settled some four miles away, at Craigflower. 22 In 1860 the Reverend Alexander Garrett came to the colony, to work among the two thousand Indians who had gathered across the harbor from the port. 23

Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, which did most of its work among the Indians of British Columbia, the Anglican Church divided its energies between the Indians and the white miners and settlers, who with the gold rush increased suddenly in numbers from several hundred to several thousand. This study will restrict itself to work done among the Indian peoples of the province.

One of the first tasks undertaken by Bishop Hills was an extensive tour of the southern mainland of the newly created Crown Colony of British Columbia. Accompanied by Reverend R.J. Dundas and Reverend John Sheepshanks, he made his way as far north as Lillooet, speaking with Indian groups at many stops along the way. 24

21 Rev. George Forbes, op. cit.


23 Ibid., p. 60

24 Ibid., pp. 30-35.
In 1861 Reverend John Good and his wife made their way up-island from Victoria to Nanaimo, where they established a church for the Indians. In 1865 Reverend Good moved to Yale, and thence to Lytton, where he worked among the Thompson Indians for fifteen years.25

In 1866 Reverend W.S. Reece, assisted by W. Henry Lomas, became resident missionary among twelve hundred Indians at Cowichan.26

Reverend R.R.A. Doolan in 1864 travelled north from Metlakatla to the Nass River. His place was taken, briefly, by Reverend F.B. Gibbell in 1865, and his in turn by Reverend Robert Tomlinson in 1867.

William Henry Collison was sent to Metlakatla in 1873 to assist William Duncan. In 1876 he left the colony to establish a mission at Massett, among the Haidas of the Queen Charlottes. The Reverend A.J. Hall at about the same time went south to work with the Kwawkewlth Indians at Alert Bay,27 Reverend R.W. Gurd to Kitkatla, on Pitt Island, occupied by Kwakiutl peoples, and Reverend John Field to Hazelton, in Tsimshian country. In 1884 Right Reverend Ridley, who in 1879 had been appointed bishop of the newly created diocese of Caledonia, sent Reverend A.H. Sheldon to Port Essington, at the south entrance to the Skeena River, also Tsimshian territory. In 1889 Reverend Alfred Edwin Price established a mission at Kitwanga, on the Skeena, and Reverend

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27 Ibid., pp. 17, 18.
James McCullagh at Aiyansh, on the Nass. In 1897 Reverend F. Palgrave travelled as far north as the bend of the Stikine, where he worked among the Tahltans.28

Non-conformist missionary work began in the north-west in 1834, when the Reverend Jason Lee, a Methodist minister from the United States, travelled to Fort Vancouver, and from there established missions in the Willamette Valley and at The Dalles, among the Chinooks. Presbyterian missions were established soon after at Walla Walla and at Lapwai, in the Nez Perce Country. In 1840 Methodist missions were built at Nisqually, on Puget Sound, and at Clatsop, on the Columbia.29

A Methodist minister, Reverend Arthur Browning, made his way to Nanaimo in 1859 to work among the Cowichan Salish there. In 1872, Reverend Thomas Crosby left the Songees Reserve to take over the Nanaimo mission, and two years later he travelled up the coast to Port Simpson, from where William Duncan had left to form his Metlakatla colony ten years before. Chief Scow-Gate offered the use of his house for a church until a separate building could be raised, and the Indians gave a thousand dollars worth of goods towards its construction. About the results obtained among these people Dr. Crosby wrote:30

We had at Simpson, about this time, nine classes organized. It was a blessed sight to see fifty or sixty adults coming forward to be baptized, after weeks and, in some cases, months of preparation in special classes. A further interesting experience was the presentation of infants for baptism, the young parents decently dressed and the children beautifully arranged, in imitation of white babies whom they had seen.

As about one thousand people had gathered at the artificially created village, the missionary felt that there should be some kind of law or rule. A Municipal Council was suggested. It was to be an entirely Christian village. The first law was against gambling, then against conjuring. There was to be no dog-eating, whisky-drinking, quarreling, fighting, or heathen marriages. Watchmen were appointed, and "For many years before any Justice of the Peace, Indian Agent or other officer of the law was sent to that part of the country, these people were governing themselves under the direction of their missionary, and no more peaceful or quiet community could be found".\(^{31}\)

In 1876 the Reverend C.M. Tate went from Port Simpson to the site of Fort McLoughlin, which had been abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and there founded the native village of Bella Bella, complete with hospital, council hall, mission house, sawmill, wharf, and store.

In 1877 Charlie Amos, a secret society dancer from Kitamaat, converted to Christianity in Victoria, spent time at the Port Simpson school, and then with George Edgar, a Tsimshian, returned to establish a mission in his village in 1878.

In 1883 Mr. George Robinson, at the request of the Haidas of Skidegate, who had learned how well the Tsimshians were doing, went to their village to help them. There were by this date Methodist churches also at Kit-wan-silk, Nass, Kit-la-tamux, Hyhise, and Wee-ke-no. Three missionaries looked after all of these scattered settlements, assisted by six natives.\(^{32}\)


In 1881 a seventy-one foot vessel, the "Glad Tidings", was built at Victoria by William Oliver. With Crosby as captain, Oliver engineer, and a native deck-hand, this ship for twenty years helped to build and service thirty churches along the coast.33

In the Nootka territory of Vancouver Island's west coast, a Methodist mission was established at Ucluelet in 1892 and a church built at Clo'ose in 1893. In 1896 the Presbyterian Church established a missionary at Ahousat.34

The story of missionary endeavor in the north-west would in no wise be complete without reference being made to the work of William Duncan. Although sponsored by the Church Missionary Society, he was never ordained by the Anglican Church. He would undoubtedly have retained the support of this church, regardless of his refusal of ordination, had he abided by Anglican ritual and doctrine. Duncan's stubbornness had made itself evident even before his journey to Port Simpson to establish a mission there. At Esquimalt, upon his arrival in 1857 on Captain Prevost's "Satellite", he was informed by the Hudson's Bay Company that he could accomplish nothing by going north, since it would be too hazardous for him to leave the fort, and the Indians, among whom he wished to work, could not enter it.35

In 1862, after he had been at Port Simpson for four years, William Duncan was ready to make his move to his new colony. On

33 Rev. Thomas Crosby, op. cit., p. 316.
34 Captain Robert C. Scott, My Captain Oliver: A Story of Two Missionaries on the British Columbia Coast, Toronto, 1947, pp. 162-165.
May 27 of that year, fifty men, women and children moved with their Father Duncan to the site of their ancestral village, from which natives had gathered around the Hudson's Bay Company post at Port Simpson. Three hundred more persons joined the first group within a few weeks. There he directed his people in the construction of a water-driven sawmill, with which they could cut lumber for houses, a church, and a school. By returning to England to study various trades, he was able to teach the Indians blacksmithing, brick making, soap manufacturing, weaving, and other industries. The natives operated their own trading post and even a salmon cannery.

In this city built under his own direction William Duncan allowed no hereditary chief, but was himself supreme ruler. Twelve constables appointed by him helped maintain strict discipline. The residents were of course free to leave if they so wished. On the contrary, however, they continued to arrive, until in time the population of the economically self-sufficient colony grew to a thousand.  

Duncan planned to make his Metlakatla colony a Christian village, guided by the following objects:

(1) To place all Christians, when they became wishful to be taught Christianity, out of the miasma of heathen life, and away from the deadening and enthralling influence of heathen customs.

(2) To establish the Mission where we could effectively shut out intoxicating liquors, and keep liquors at bay.

(3) To enable us to raise a barrier against the Indians visiting Victoria, except on lawful business.


(4) That we might be able to assist the people thus gathered out to develop into a model community, and raise a Christian village, from which native Evangelists might go forth, and Christian truth radiate to every tribe around.

(5) That we might gather a community round us, whose moral and religious training and bent of life might render it safe and proper to impart secular instruction.

(6) That we might be able to break up all tribal distinctions and animosities, and cement all who came to us, from whatever tribe, into one common brotherhood.

(7) That we might also place ourselves in a position to set up and establish the supremacy of law, teach loyalty to the Queen, conserve the peace of the country around, and ultimately develop our settlement into a municipality with its Native Corporation.

Duncan's clash with the Church intensified with the arrival at the colony of Bishop Ridley in 1879. The cause for dissention seemed to centre around ritual, particularly communion service. Duncan was apparently loath to teach partaking of the consecrated elements because he believed that his people would find in it too close an association with the rites of the pagan cannibal societies. Dr. Thomas Crosby, twenty years later at Port Simpson, speaks of the "Man-Eater" as a real and still-present evil.38

The outcome of the controversy was that in 1887 Duncan and eight hundred and fifty of his followers removed to a plot of land on Annette Island, in the Alaska Archipelago, granted by the United States Government, and his colony was thenceforth lost to British Columbia.

The missionary to north-west America found his passage disputed by two adversaries; the liquor peddler, and the shaman. The indiscriminate selling of alcoholic drink to the Indians was

carried on from the time of the first maritime traders. Since the missionary did not begin work among these peoples until fifty years had elapsed, he did not see what was happening to them before the liquor traffic had been wreaking its havoc into the second generation.

No great cry seems to have been raised against this traffic during this time. Of course, the traders themselves could hardly have been expected to protest, and few other Europeans wandered into the Indians' domain to observe what went on there.

In 1856, however, Captain James Prevost's request for a missionary for the north coast was made because of the evil influence of white traders he observed there.\(^{39}\) James Douglas, while Governor of the Crown Colony of British Columbia, appointed William Duncan Justice of the Peace at Metlakatla, and inflexibly prosecuted offenders of liquor laws to the full limit of his powers.\(^{40}\) The Methodist minister Reverend Ebenezer Robson, at Hope during the first year of the gold rush, observed "with grief and distress the ignorance and degredation of the Indians in the area rendered all the deeper by sudden contact with white and often underprivileged adventurers".\(^{41}\)

Reverend Thomas Crosby\(^{42}\) quotes from Higgins' *The Passing of a Race*:

> An Indian's love of strong drink is so keen that he will sell his wife or his children into worse than slavery to obtain money to buy it. No sacrifice is too great, no price too high to gratify his appetite

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for the inebriating bowl... The guilty parties are immune from the visits of constables, and Justice was not only blind, she was also so deaf that she could not hear the plaintive cries of the wretched victims of man's greed and rapacity as they rent the night air and seemed to call down Heaven's vengeance upon their poisoners.

E. Odlum, in a letter to Dr. Crosby reminiscing their days together in mission work during the latter years of the nineteenth century:

The most debased heathen life I have witnessed has been the direct result of the white man's whisky... Under the influence of the white man, apart from the missionary, the Indians were rapidly sinking into debasement and dying out.

Dr. Crosby himself estimated that liquor obtained from fur-traders, plus inter-tribal wars resulting from the use of this liquor, had by his day reduced the Alaskan coast Indians to a tenth of their former numbers.

There can be no doubt that the Indian leaders, those who, through their social consciousness perceived the evils of this traffic and wished to combat it, asked help from this one group of white men against the ravages of other white men. In 1866 the Reverend John Good went to Lytton in answer to a request made to him in the form of a telegram in Chinook: "Lytton siwashes tum tum mika cloosh hyaek chaco. Tikke wawwa mika" (the Lytton Indians think you had better make haste and come. They wish to speak to you).

The labors of these men in this respect seem not to have been in vain. The Reverend A.G. Morice,OMI cites an early

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44 Ibid., p. 115.
45 Rev. F.A. Peake, op. cit., p. 66.
example of the success gained by one of the great Roman Catholic missionaries after only three years effort:

In May, 1861, Governor Sir James Douglas resolved to have a great celebration to commemorate the Queen's Birthday. Wishing to reach therefore as large a concourse of Indians as possible, he applied to their religious leader, the despised French missionary. As a consequence, Father Fouquet went down from St. Mary's Mission to New Westminster with a flotilla of six or seven hundred canoes, carrying some 3,500 natives, with sixty temperance flags - a red cross on a white field bordered in red, and the words "Religion, Temperance, Civilization" in large golden letters.

Photographs taken years after this time show groups, some from as far away as Stuart Lake, gathered at St. Mary's and at Sechelt, and carrying these flags to show that they had taken the pledge.

The obvious opponent to missionary effort within the tribal group was the shaman. He saw in the missionary a usurper of his place as a controller of spirits of good and evil, and the missionary saw in him in turn the symbol of heathen belief. He therefore exerted all of his power toward the elimination of the "medicine-man". In the struggle the shaman was generally at a disadvantage. With his village uprooted, transplanted and torn apart by the ingress of fur-trading, mining, and other activities of the white man, the position which a shaman had once held within a specific face-to-face group was lost. In addition, he could control neither the disease nor the alcohol which the European was introducing into his disrupted society. The village chief, unable to gain the help needed from his shaman, and impelled to call upon the missionary, felt generally obligated to side with the latter in disputes.

The shaman did not capitulate easily or suddenly. Almost all early missionaries found that they had to overcome the influence of the local shaman before they could make progress with
their efforts. As late as 1878, when the Methodist Church was attempting to establish a mission at Kitamaat, a "conjurer", as Dr. Crosby referred to him, offered physical resistance. The missionary then "assumed the role of the militant preacher", and the shaman backed down.47

The missionary sometimes found himself obligated to meet the shaman on his own grounds, the healing of the sick. First in the Indians' own lodges, then in mission solariums, they pitted their skills to win those who needed medical aid to their care. Medical missionaries thus made their appearance. In 1888 Dr. Arthur Pease was appointed Missionary Doctor by the Anglican Church. In 1893 he opened the St. Bartholomew Indian Hospital at Lytton.48 The Methodist Church appointed Dr. A.E. Bolton Medical Missionary also in 1888. He established a hospital at Port Simpson in 1892, and branch hospitals at Port Essington in 1895 and at Rivers Inlet in 1897, to which he rotated as Indian population shifted with seasonal occupation. For some years he was the only Christian medical doctor on the coast north of Nanaimo. A hospital under Dr. R.W. Large was built at Bella Bella in 1898, and at Hazelton under Dr. H.C. Wrinch in 1900.49 In 1904 a hospital ship, the "Columbia", was put into service under direction of the Reverend John Antle, Superintendent of the Columbia Coast Mission. This Mission was instrumental in the building of St. George's Anglican Hospital at Alert Bay in 1909.50

49 Crosby, op. cit., pp. 297-299.
50 Peake, op. cit., p. 71.
The Roman Catholic Church did not appoint medical doctors as missionaries, but sisters of the teaching orders who arrived in the province during missionary days acted as nurses in mission solariums, and the hospital which burned in 1958 at Anaham served for many years the Cariboo and Williams Lake districts. All Catholic hospitals have of course been available to the Indians.

Missionaries, in order to make themselves understood to their listeners, had to learn a language which they could understand. Since dialect varied greatly from group to group, many of the evangelists, who travelled from group to group, learned Chinook, the "lingua franca" west of the Rocky Mountains. They, as well as the fur-traders, were thus instrumental in promulgating use of this dialect. Hymns and prayers (see Frontispiece) were, throughout the province, learned in the local tongue, Chinook, and either English or Latin.51

The missionary usually could not learn in advance the language of the group with whom he was going to work, since no one outside of that group could teach it. He would quite likely, then, arrive at a village unable to speak the dialect of its occupants.

Early mission teaching thus involved attacks on the language barrier rather than formal education as we now think of it. It involved of course not only children, but the entire population, as students, for neither young nor old knew either the new language nor the new religion. In the early missionary days, then, when it is said that a school was established what was frequently meant was that a group of Indians of all ages had been

51 Some Sechelt Indians know Latin, Chinook, Chataleech Salish, and English.
assembled for the purposes of language and religious instruction. It is therefore impossible to dissociate, in those years, education and mission work, since they were of a necessity interdependent, and their terminology, as a result, often synonymous.

Missionary work, by its very name, implies teaching of the Gospel as a preparation for confirmation into some sect of Christian church. Emphasis was therefore placed entirely upon bridging the communication gap, and, once it was bridged, upon instruction in catechism, story, song, music and ceremony of some form of Christianity.

The Reverend Herbert Beaver, during his short stay as chaplain of Fort Vancouver, gave up the task of providing instruction to the children of surrounding Indian tribes because he did not know Chinook.52

Father Demers, one of the first missionaries to the northwest after abandonment of the Spanish Nootka post, when in 1839 he met with Indians of twenty-two peoples, distributed among them "Catholic Ladders"; wood with groups of notches and symbols carved to represent passage of time and principal events since Creation. He explained these devices to his "congregation" in the Chinook jargon.53 While travelling north with the fur brigade in 1842, Father Demers spent all the time he could learning the languages of the Indians with whom he came in contact.54

The Reverend Alexander Garrett learned Chinook to teach

52 Rev. F.A. Peake, op. cit., p. 3.


54 Rev. George Forbes, op. cit.
fifty-four children who spoke five languages at Victoria in 1860.55

The Reverend J. Willem, in his school at Alberni in 1868, asked students who knew Chinook or English to help him with others.56

Dr. Crosby learned Chinook while at the Songees reserve in 1870, and while at Port Simpson had his Indian congregation memorize Bible texts in both Tsimshian and English.57

In the late 1880's the Reverend Charles Harrison worked on a translation of the Anglican Prayer Book into the Haida dialect, and the Reverend John Henry Keen undertook the task of compiling a grammar of Haida language.58

Father Morice, during the same years, devised for the benefit of his charges at Stuart Lake a system of syllabic printing. He cast type and printed a primer, prayer book, and a monthly periodical. Father LeJeune adapted a kind of stenography to the transcription of Chinook, and for years published the well-known Kamloops "Wawa".59

In 1882 Reverend Crosby brought out a paper called the "Simpson Herald", the first newspaper on the upper coast. It was followed by the Sitka "North Star", the Wrangel "Northern Light", and the Nass River "Ahah". At Kitamaat the Reverend George Raley compiled the first dictionary of northern coast dialects.60
William Henry Lomas, commenting in the Columbia Mission Report of 1867 on his work among the Cowichans, revealed the relationship between language and evangelism:

Of course the instruction was of a very elementary nature, and I fear we can have but little hope of imparting much religious instruction until the language has been acquired.

At a very early date, however, what could be called schools began to make their appearance.

Before any missionary came west of the Rockies, some Indian boys from Hudson's Bay Company posts were being taught at Red River, where they were apparently taught reading, religious instruction, and agriculture.

The Methodist Church established a school among the Indians of Nanaimo in 1857, with Cornelius Bryant as teacher. The Reverend Ebenezer Robson's grief and distress at condition of the Indians at Hope led him in 1859 to open a school for them there.

The Reverend Alexander Garrett in 1860 opened a school in a tent near Victoria. When, a year later, the tent suddenly became a sail on a dug-out canoe, he appealed to friends, and raised a thousand dollars for a wooden school. The building was laid out in the shape of an octagon "so that one division might be used by the missionary, while the children of the several tribes who did not love each other might be placed in the others".

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61 Rev. F.A. Peake, op. cit., p. 64.
62 Ibid., p. 63.
64 Peake, op. cit., p. 63.
65 G. Dorey, op. cit., p. 47.
66 Peake, op. cit., p. 62.
William Duncan, although he encountered opposition from some chiefs and medicine men, was able, after spending a winter learning the Tsimshian language, to open a classroom in a small log building the year after his arrival at Port Simpson. By 1880, Duncan's school at Metlakatla, with an enrolment of 160 (see Table 1), was by far the largest Indian school in the province, and his system, added to that already established by Father Lacombe in Alberta, set the pattern for Indian Industrial Schools across Canada.

St. Mary's Mission established an industrial school in 1863, with separate establishments for boys and girls. In 1875 the Sisters of St. Ann established an industrial school at Williams Lake, and the same teaching order opened a day school in Nanaimo in 1877.

The Reverend John Good in 1867 opened an Indian boys' school at Lytton. A flag run up at ten o'clock showed students that it was time to go to school. A bell was rung for prayers, followed by work till twelve. After a noon recess, academic work continued till three p.m., then industrial arts till four. Occasionally there were evening classes. In the same year, finding that there were no funds for a school building at Yale, David Holmes held classes in the parsonage there. St. George's Industrial School was opened in Lytton in 1901, with the Reverend George Ditcham principal.

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68 Dean Wood. Ed. 519, Summer Session U.B.C., 1957.
70 Ibid., pp. 352-255.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$12 per capita per annum</th>
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<tr>
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<td>87</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>133</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>64</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massett</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kincolith</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>How Raised</th>
<th>Enrolled, Boys</th>
<th>Enrolled, Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average Attendance</th>
<th>Reading &amp; Spelling</th>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
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<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>120</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massett</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kincolith</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Reverend Thomas Crosby's first words in the Cowichan Indian language, with which he addressed his prospective pupils at Nanaimo, were "Muck-stow-ay-wilth may-tla ta school" (all children come to school). Apparently they did not always come to school, but frequently went swimming instead.\(^7^2\) At Port Simpson Dr. Crosby was able by 1875 to stage a Fair, at which nearly a hundred articles were exhibited, including samples of needlework, knitting, beadwork, patchwork, carvings, and other woodwork. The students also displayed their proficiency in spelling and in the multiplication table.\(^7^3\)

William Henry Collison, sent from England by the Church Missionary Society, founded a school at Massett in 1874. From there he was posted to the Skeena, where he established a school at Kincolith, and where, in 1878, he was ordained by Bishop Bombay.\(^7^4\)

The Methodist Church sent the Reverend C.M. Tate to the Skeena during these same years, where he built the first day school at Hazelton. The Skeena also received Methodist schools for a time at Hagwilget and at Kispiox. Reverend and Mrs. Tate later returned south, where they began, at first in their own home, at Sardis, what was to become the Coqualeetza Institute. By the turn of the century, when the missionary period might be said to have more or less ended, this Church was also operating Indian schools at China Hat, Hartley Bay, and Kitlope.\(^7^5\)

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\(^7^2\) Letter from Mrs. H.L. Hill, Nanaimo, April 21, 1958.
\(^7^3\) Rev. Thomas Crosby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 74.
\(^7^4\) Rev. F.A. Peake, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 90.
\(^7^5\) Crosby, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 84-89.
In 1884 Sister Mary Felician, of the Sisters of Child Jesus, from Lépuy, France, came to teach twelve students at St. Paul's Indian School, established that year in connection with the North Vancouver Mission. Land was cleared and the school built by the Indians themselves. Roman Catholic residential schools for Indians were established in 1890 at Cranbrook, in 1893 at Kamloops, in 1900 at Kakawis, and, early in the twentieth century, at Sechelt and at Lejac.

All Hallows School grew out of an appeal by Bishop Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, first Anglican bishop of New Westminster, who sent out a call to England for assistance in his work with the native population. The response came from All Hallows community of High Anglican nuns in Ditchingham, Norfolk. In 1884 three teachers of this order used a vacant parsonage adjoining St. John's Church at Yale as a school for Indian girls. In 1885 the school moved into the abandoned C.P.R. hospital, and in 1888 into a wing of the Onderdonk house. The school, attended by both White and Indian girls, was well known throughout the West until its closure in 1916.

The Salvation Army began missionary work in the Skeena area towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1896 that organization established a school at the newly-created village of Glen Vowell, an offshoot of Kispiox, and during this century has established several other schools in small villages on the Skeena and Nass rivers.

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76 Elinor Glenn, The Vancouver Sun, August 27, 1949.
77 Christie School Jubilee, 1900-1950, (Unpaged).
78 Historic Yale, pp. 22-25.
79 R.G. Large, op. cit., p. 20.
To sum up this era: The missionary came to the northwest to work among the Indians, who desperately needed help, when no one else would come. They came, at first, when there was in existence no government except that of a fur-trading company. The government which was later established was disinterested in the welfare of the Indians and of them.\textsuperscript{80} They received no official financial assistance, in the main,\textsuperscript{81} and many labored throughout their lives with little or no personal income even from private sources. Knowing that teaching can take place only where a sense of worth is involved, they sought to establish this basis of worth in their Christian instruction. They labored, often, among incredibly harsh and trying conditions, which cost the health of many, and the life of not a few. What little thanks they have received from this world they have been awarded, most of them, posthumously; few were the praises sung them during their own lifetimes. Some of them attained results that were truly remarkable.

Yet they came too late and they gave too little. To a people who for anywhere from fifty to a hundred years had suffered a physical and moral degradation from the white man's liquor, disease, and illegitimate breeding, they brought a kind of solace which was in its final analysis almost entirely spiritual.

\textsuperscript{80} Dr. I.W. Powell, Indian Superintendent, in 1880 wrote in the Department of Indian Affairs Report, page 121: "The missions as a rule are unable to erect proper schoolhouses, most of them being comfortless and unattractive, and on account of the various localities being unreserved, no grants from the Government have been made to aid in the erection of efficient buildings".

\textsuperscript{81} In 1880, only six schools; Victoria, Port Simpson, Metlakatla, Kimsolih, Nass River, and Massett, received grants. For some 465 students, these totalled only $1777. (Department of Indian Affairs Report, page 121).
Intent on evangelizing, they fished not so much for men as for souls, and brought the heathen given them for their inheritance merely to where "Knowing God, they glorified Him not as God".

Persistent in their constant battle to break the heathen way of life, they broke the whole of the Indians' way of life, and substituted a realm for the spirit, but not for the body, in its place. Thomas Crosby writes:  

The Missionary finds among a people that are so constantly moving about that if he is to expect real, good work it must be done by gathering a number of the children together in a Home or Boarding School or Industrial Institution, where they can be kept constantly and regularly at School and away from the evil influences of the heathen life.

One of the few who sought to nurture more than the spirit was William Duncan, of whom Dr. R.G. Large says:

It would seem, however, that he early grasped the necessity of feeding the body as well as the soul. By making the Indian economically independent, he gave him a chance to develop spiritually and culturally.

This man was forced eventually to break with his Church, and has never been completely forgiven his trespasses, one of which was a failure to conduct a sufficient number of Bible classes in connection with his school.

Fired with the energy of a zeal which drove them constantly, they sometimes permitted a misdirection of their drive to the undoing of the work of others rather than at the doing of their own. The results of such rivalry over-evangelized

82 Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship, p. 84.
83 The Skeena, River of Destiny, p. 22.
84 Rev. F.A. Peake, op. cit., p. 16.
85 Ibid., p. 91.
some Indian groups, and left other groups almost untouched. 86

Failing to comprehend the nature of the native polytheism, they attempted to make a holy vow of marriage, the one significant institution in the Indians' life which was not bound by a spiritual force. While attempting to help the Indian lead a life in which he could find respect, they engendered a sense of shame in the hitherto accepted Indian marriage custom, which died slowly in many groups. James Douglas, to name but one example, was persuaded by the Reverend Herbert Beaver to remarry his Indian wife by Church of England rites in 1837, nine years after he had married by Indian custom. 87 This creation of a dual level of acceptance of marriage rite added its weight to the continued depression of Indian and part-Indian status.

While attempting to overcome the destructive influence of the rum-peddler, they themselves did much, through creation of artificial villages, often far from immemorial hunting grounds, to sow the seeds for a break-down of the social and economic culture patterns of the Indian. One sept was brought some sixty miles to the artificial village of Sechelt in 1889. The village today is almost completely without its own resources.

Despite their undoubted love for the individual being, and their unquestioned sincerity in their work, in their eagerness to remake the native Indian "closer to the heart's desire", and from their distaste for almost the whole of his aboriginal culture, they built a wall between themselves and their pupils which must frequently have thwarted good teaching.

86 See M. Ormsby, op. cit., p. 168.
87 Ibid., p. 94.
CHAPTER IV
THE IN-BETWEEN YEARS

There is but one native race in Canada, now rapidly passing away. 1

The Indian, during the nineteenth century, had met the trader, who depended on him for furs, and the missionary, who came to help him against the first comer and to convert him to Christianity. Just after the middle of the century he encountered a third type of European, the gold miner.

The Hudson's Bay Company had been receiving some gold at Kamloops for several years before the major discovery, 2 but the main find was made on the sand-bars of the lower Fraser Canyon in 1858. Within months, thousands of gold-seekers had entered the fields, some overland, but mostly through the post of Victoria. By 1860, the source of this gold had been traced to the Cariboo country; by 1864 to the Kootenays, and by 1869 to the Skeena, Stikine, and other rivers of the far north. 3 Each new gold find brought its thousands of prospectors to one area after another, until almost the whole of the province had felt their presence.

But whereas the fur-traders, even with the troubles they brought, needed the Indian, and therefore encroached little on his property, the miner felt no such dependence. For the first time, too, non-Indians began to outnumber Indians along the river-valleys where gold was to be found. The miners ignored the Indians' traditional hunting and trapping grounds, and in many

2 M. Ormsby, op. cit., p. 138.
3 F. Howay, op. cit., p. 171-172.
localities either killed or drove off the animals from which they had obtained their livelihood.

Admixture of Indian and non-Indian bloods greatly accelerated during the years in which these unattached men roamed the country. Natives as far north as the Stikine, who had had almost no contact with the white race, suddenly found themselves overwhelmed by the flood that now invaded their territory. Between 1870 and 1900, miners and traders interbred with the Indians until at Telegraph Creek they completely lost not only their racial purity, but also their old ways of life, and acquired an inheritance of White culture. Many other villages underwent similar experiences.

Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson comment on this impact of White on Indian culture during this period:

Despite the long history of contacts, the Indians of the Province have been subjected to intensive acculturation only in recent times - dating from the middle of the nineteenth century for some, and from the late nineteenth century for others.

The phenomenon which first brought Whites in large numbers to the northwest was the discovery of gold. The discovery of other resources brought more Whites over the years, so that the proportion of White over Indian population continued to increase.

For sixty years the Indians of the northwest knew no law except that of the fur-trader. In 1828 James Douglas, while stationed at Stuart Lake, had an Indian, who had several years before been one of the killers of two Hudson's Bay Company men,

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4 Information obtained 1958 from Fred Brown, principal of Telegraph Creek Elementary-High School.

clubbed to death with garden implements and thrown to the dogs of the fort.\(^6\)

In 1842, a Hagwilget Indian, who had killed the Postmaster at Fort Kilmaurs in what he believed to be revenge for the death of a relative, was shot by a party of Hudson's Bay Company men.\(^7\)

Even when Richard Blanshard in 1850 travelled to Newitti in an attempt to apprehend natives who had murdered three sailor deserters, he was told by the colonial office that he should in future not undertake to "protect or attempt to punish injuries committed on British subjects who voluntarily placed themselves at a distance from the settlements".\(^8\) There was as yet little legal interference with the Indians' rights of tenancy.

Three years later, however, Governor James Douglas did apprehend an alleged murderer at Cowichan. While there, he informed a group of Indians that the whole country was a possession of the British Crown.\(^9\)

In 1861, Douglas officially directed the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works to "take measures as soon as practicable for marking out distinctly the Indian Reserves throughout the Colony". He added that "the extent of the Indian Reserves to be defined" was to be "as they may severally be pointed out by the natives themselves". The directive was not, however, put into effect.

By Section 91, sub-section 2\(^{1/4}\), of the British North America

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6 Walter Sage, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
8 F.W. Howay, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
9 Sage, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
Act, the Dominion Government was to legislate for "Indians, and lands for Indians".

By terms of the Act of Union of 1871, by which British Columbia entered the Dominion, contained the following phrases in Clause 13:

... the charge of the Indians and trusteeship and management of the land reserved for their use and benefits shall be assumed by the Dominion Government, and a policy as liberal as hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government, after Union. To carry out such a policy tracts of land of such extents as has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose shall from time to time be conveyed by the Local Government to the Dominion Government.

The British Columbia Pre-emption Act of 1870 excluded Indians from claiming Crown lands. Clause 13, intended to protect the Indian against the onrush of White population, did not for some years do so, with the result that many original village sites either disappeared altogether or were hemmed into extremely small corners of ground.

In 1876 three commissioners, Alexander Anderson, to represent the Dominion Government; Archibald McKinley, to represent the Provincial Government, and Gilbert Sproat, joint member, were appointed to investigate and report on the reserves problem.10

Main reserves were surveyed by 1890, and virtually all details completed by 1916, in that year, 1628 reserves were listed, totalling 821,410 acres.11

One obvious factor important to the study of the education of a people is the number of persons involved. The Indian population of British Columbia over the years has been estimated

10 Report, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1876.

11 Canada Year Book, p. 172.
many times, with great variation in the estimates. Diamond Jenness\textsuperscript{12} has made what is probably the most detailed pre-European analysis, giving estimates from a number of sources for fourteen groups (see Table 2).

### Table 2
Population of Indians by Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pre-European</th>
<th>1935</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tlingit</td>
<td>5850*</td>
<td>4426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haida</td>
<td>8400</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsimshian</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>3448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwakiutl</td>
<td>7200</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nootka</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Salish</td>
<td>15500</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilcotin</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrier</td>
<td>8500</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsetsaut</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahltan</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekani</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>75950</strong>\textsuperscript{<strong>#</strong>}</td>
<td><strong>25775</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Smallpox introduced by Spaniards 1775
\#\# Plus Kootenays

One estimate\textsuperscript{13} put the Indian population at thirty thousand in 1853, but the Report of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Commons in 1857 placed the figure at seventy-five thousand.\textsuperscript{14}

The White population of the northwest was approximately one thousand in 1853.\textsuperscript{15} During three months of 1858, nearly fifteen thousand persons arrived at Victoria alone.\textsuperscript{16} Altogether, some

\textsuperscript{12} The Indians of Canada, pp. 331-382.
\textsuperscript{13} M. Ormsby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{14} A. Begg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{15} Ormsby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{16} F. Howay, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 119.
twenty-five thousand miners had made their way to the Fraser River.\textsuperscript{17}

Hill-Tout, from examinations he made of village sites, calculated that the aboriginal Salish population alone had been sixty thousand at the time of Simon Fraser.\textsuperscript{18}

Of course, no official count of the native population was made by earliest Europeans. Soon after the time that schools began to be established among them, however, census tallies were begun (see Table 3). Education of British Columbia's Indian population involved a total, as revealed by these figures, of between twenty and thirty thousand persons.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\small
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Indian Population of British Columbia \textsuperscript{19} \\
\hline
1871 & 23,000 \\
1881 & 25,661 \\
1891 & 34,202 \\
1901 & 28,949 \\
1911 & 20,134 \\
1921 & 22,377 \\
1931 & 24,599 \\
1941 & 24,875 \\
1949 & 27,936 \\
1954 & 31,086 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Indian Population of British Columbia}
\end{table}

Schools, while scattered throughout much of the province, reached by no means all of the native peoples at any early date. The Report of Superintendent J.W. Powell for 1887 showed twenty-five hundred Indians whose religion was known to be pagan at that time, and seventeen thousand whose religion was unaccounted for, and could therefore be assumed to be pagan. Since education generally began with conversion, or purported conversion, to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} M. Ormsby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 140
\item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{The Far West, The Home of the Salish and Déné}, p. 14.
\item \textsuperscript{19} From Indian Affairs Reports.
\end{itemize}
Christianity, it is likely that these nearly twenty thousand natives had had little up to this time.

Education of Indians was placed under the newly created office of the Secretary of State in 1868. In 1873 it was transferred to the Department of the Interior, to the Department of Indian Affairs from 1880 to 1936, and to the Department of Mines and Resources from then to 1949. Since that date it has come under jurisdiction of Citizenship and Immigration.20

Section 93 of the British North America Act states that "Nothing in any law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union". The government of British Columbia was in any case not prepared to undertake the task of Indian education in 1871, and the effect of this clause has been to leave the management of Indian schools under the control of the Christian church denominations which started education of the natives.

With no statute to enforce attendance, enrolment in these mission schools fluctuated greatly. The twenty students at the school founded by Father Lacombe at Edmonton in 1861 were "wild as hares and at the sound of the voyageurs' songs or cheers in autumn, they flew like arrows from their bows to the bank to welcome the brigade home".21

William Henry Lomas, writing of his school among the Cowichans in 1867, commented on the attendance situation as he saw it there:22

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20 C. Phillips, op. cit., p. 337.
21 Ibid., p. 156.
22 Rev. F.A. Peake, op. cit., p. 64.
The school was open for a fortnight, with an average attendance of 12, but at the end of that time all the boys left the village to go with their families to different stations on the coast to fish for clams, and gather roots that grow on the hillsides, which they dry for winter use. This will, for some time, be one drawback of the work of teaching the young as at intervals, throughout the season, they all go away to fish, etc.

After 1875, schools located on gazetted reserves were to be entitled to grants. However, only a half-dozen schools in B.C. received grants during the next several years, and these grants amounted to only about four dollars a pupil per year.

Attendance seems not to have improved, however, for in his 1880 Report Dr. Powell wrote:

Judging from the reports forwarded to this office, a very extensive roll or list of pupils is necessary to show a limited average attendance during the quarter. Many of the children appear, in this way, to have visited the school two or three times in the quarter, and can therefore receive little benefit, or indeed produce any effect, except that of helping out a defective and unsatisfactory average at the end of the required period.

In 1888 W.H. Lomas, by this time Superintendent of the Cowichan Agency, repeated in his Report the complaints he had made twenty years earlier as a teacher there, concluding that there was "very slight benefit derived from these day schools".

R.H. Pidcock, Superintendent for the Fort Rupert Agency, reported in the same year that

The school, I am sorry to say, is not so well attended as could be desired, the children are not averse to learning, but their parents see in education the downfall of all of their most cherished customs.

24 P. 121.
25 P. 102.
26 P. 104.
Dr. Powell's 1880 Report had suggested a possible remedy for this attendance problem: 27

The question of imparting common school education to Indians is one not unattended with difficulties, and the various systems adopted often appear to end in failure. According to my own experience, I am of the opinion that no Indian school can be successful which is not connected with some industrial system, and more or less isolated from the directly opposing tendencies of camp life.

Although they had their disagreements in other respects, Indian Agents and missionaries found common ground in their answers to the attendance problem. In 1894, legislation set up the first important code for Indian education. It required the attendance at school of all Indian children between the ages of seven and sixteen and made parents or others who prevented their attendance liable to penalties. The Governor-in-Council was authorized to establish industrial and boarding schools, and to declare any existing school to be such an institution. 28

By 1907, eight residential and nine industrial schools had been established by the various Churches. During the following twenty years some schools dropped out of existence, and others came into being (see Table 4). Although numbers of students for which grants were paid did not in all schools correspond to exact enrolment figures, residential schools received $60 per capita for designated number of pupils, and industrial schools $130 per capita. 29 A total of thirty-six day schools were also in operation at this time (see Table 5).

27 P. 121.
29 Department of Indian Affairs Report.
Table 4
Enrolment, Residential and Industrial Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Enrolment 1907</th>
<th>Enrolment 1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahousat</td>
<td>Ahousat</td>
<td>United (Pres.)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberni</td>
<td>Alberni</td>
<td>United (Pres.)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alert Bay</td>
<td>Alert Bay</td>
<td>Church of Eng.</td>
<td>30*</td>
<td>94 (Girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>150 Mile House</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie</td>
<td>Kakawis</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coqualeetza</td>
<td>Sardis</td>
<td>United (Meth.)</td>
<td>95*</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat</td>
<td>Kitimat Mission</td>
<td>United (Meth.)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>Cranbrook</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuper Island</td>
<td>Kuper Island</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>67*</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lejac</td>
<td>Lejac</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Simpson</td>
<td>Port Simpson</td>
<td>United (Meth.)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19 (Girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George's</td>
<td>Lytton</td>
<td>Church of Eng.</td>
<td>64*</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's Mission</td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sechelt</td>
<td>Sechelt</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>North Vancouver</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>63*</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Hallows</td>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>Church of Eng.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>(Girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Simpson</td>
<td>Port Simpson</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(Boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayoquot</td>
<td>Clayoquot Sound</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>58*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Eugene</td>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>51*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metlakatla</td>
<td>Metlakatla</td>
<td>Church of Eng.</td>
<td>41*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams Lake</td>
<td>Williams Lake</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>50*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Industrial Schools

869 1545

Table 5
Schools by Denomination - 1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boarding</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Schools</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undenominational</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Enrolment</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All boys in industrial schools were taught farming. They could also learn carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing,

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30 Department of Indian Affairs Reports, 1907, 1927.
31 Department of Indian Affairs Report, 1907.
baking, harnessmaking, printing, painting, and tinsmithing. The girls were taught cooking, homemaking, sewing, and knitting. Boys worked in the shops or fields for half of each day, and attended classes for the remaining half. Half of each day was similarly spent at non-academic activities by the girls.  

Table 6 indicates enrolment by grade for day and residential schools at intervals of twenty years. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>Enrolment by Grades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Schools</td>
<td>Residential Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Residential and Industrial Schools Combined.

Table 7 shows total expenses incurred by Indian education for two years, separated by a time interval of thirty years. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7</th>
<th>Indian School Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>$38,867.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>41,618.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>83,897.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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32 Department of Indian Affairs Report, 1907.
33 Department of Indian Affairs Reports.
34 Department of Indian Affairs Reports.
In 1907, A.W. Vowell, Indian Superintendent for British Columbia, reported that in areas where there were no Indian schools students were allowed to attend the regular provincial public schools "where, by their good behavior, neat appearance, cleanliness and attention to their studies, they give general satisfaction and cause no little surprise". Native boys, Superintendent Vowell continued, were teaching in their villages, and for the most part giving good satisfaction. The rising generation, he said, were speaking English.35

The number of Indians who actually did speak English is shown in Table 8 for the only interval in which this phenomenon is quoted. It is obvious from the figures that, if the rising generation were speaking English, two-thirds of the total population still were not. Two generations after schools were being established, only one Indian in three could apparently speak English, and only one in seven could write it. (By 1917, however, about the same proportion of Indians as Whites, approximately one out of six of the total population, were attending school.)

Residential schools, it will be ascertained from a study of Table 6, did a better job of combatting pupil drop-out than did day schools. The problem of bringing the pupil along to the end

35 Department of Indian Affairs Report, p. 259.
36 Canada Year Book, 1913, p. 605-606.
of elementary schooling was contemplated at the time of inception of the mission school by Roman Catholic teachers and administrators. The theory by which they worked was that pupils of the first generation taught in any particular school should be taken only as far as Grade II, the next generation to Grade IV, and so on, until finally a generation would be ready to go through high school. The first generation, having only two grades of schooling, would not feel so far superior to their parents that they would despise them and their reservation. A turning against their parents, it was believed, would drive the youth, on leaving school, to the cities where, since they would not be accepted there by the Whites, they would be driven to prostitution and other low-status employments. Likewise, the second generation, having attained only two grades above their parents, would not feel superior to them and to their home life. However, the policy of giving students but half of each day in academic studies in these schools militated against this philosophy, and probably accounted at least in part for the fact that only one student in three reached Grade VI in 1947.

Day schools, however, which did not require their students to spend half of their day in manual work, exerted a holding power much weaker than that of the residential schools, fewer than one in ten students reaching grade six on an average in 1947. One former student of such a school states that he spent three years in Grade V because there were forty-five students in the room, and no material for Grade VI.38


38 Information received from Gordon Robinson, Kitimat, Sept. 19, 1958.
The fact that as late as 1947 Indian day schools were operating on a gross budget of forty-five dollars per pupil while provincial schools were expending some two hundred dollars annually on its students explains at least the obvious reason for the shortage of supplies.

Although residential schools received a much larger per capita grant, much of this income was needed to provide food and clothing for the students. Interviews with former residential school students have revealed a picture of rather bleak surroundings - virtually no literature except on the topic of religion; no newspapers; almost no contact with the outside world to acquaint the student in advance with what society beyond the environments of his school was like. One former student stated that the residential school she attended was on her own reservation, within sight of her own home. She could not, however, go to her home except during the same holidays during which students who had come from distant reserves could return to theirs.

Proponents of the residential school system credit it with helping to combat disease, particularly tuberculosis, which continually ravaged the Indian population.\footnote{Information received from Reverend George Forbes. He maintains that the care received by students of St. Eugene from Father John Patterson, a former chemist, who went there in 1928, did much to save the Kootenays from extinction.} By keeping children out of contact with reservation life, it was felt that they would at the same time be kept out of contact with diseases that were prevalent there, and also away from undesirable elements of reservation life. These schools also acted as homes, not only for children from outlying villages where no schools existed,
but also for children from broken homes, who could thus not attend regular day schools. However, teaching sisters admit that until the advent of modern drugs there was little they could do for children who had already contracted tuberculosis except give them rest in school solariums. The rule which confined students to the school, however, while it protected some from disease and unwholesome social conditions, at the same time worked a hardship on those families who retained the social pride to keep up acceptable living standards and yet could not have their school-age children with them.

In 1912 an act was passed abolishing potlatches. The act was based on the reasoning that these affairs had become so debauched and excessive through the use of liquor that they did not reflect Indian culture.

In 1920 the Governor-in-Council was given authority to establish day schools. Such schools were gradually built on reservations which were not being adequately served by any denominational school. These schools did much to overcome the necessity of removing the child from his home for ten months of the year during his elementary years. Day schools have not provided high school education. As recently as 1946-47 average day school attendance throughout the province was still only sixty-five per cent.  

The official policy of the Canadian government toward the Indian population has varied over the years. In 1873, an act of the Canadian Parliament stated that

The aim of the Department of Indian Affairs is

40 Department of Indian Affairs Report.

41 R.S., c. 81.
the advancement of the Indian in the arts of civilization, and agents have been appointed to encourage the Indians under their charge to settle on the reserves and to engage in industrial pursuits.

Several inferences can be read into this policy. There seems to have been some slight trepidation, first, that the Indians might resist the move to settle them on restricted reservations. Reserves, the act infers, were to be a permanent arrangement. It was hoped that the Indians would take to industrialization on these sites, and there is no suggestion that they would merge with the non-Indian population.

In 1911, Duncan Campbell Scott, who had been appointed Superintendent of Indian Education in 1909, enunciated the policy of the education branch as "the fitting of the Indians for civilized life in their own environment". There still seems to be an inference of permanence in the reserve system, and in the Indians' existence as a racial group.

In 1913, throughout Canada, the average birth rate among Indians was 36 per 1000; the death rate, 40 per 1000. The Canada Year Book for 1922-23 stated that the system of reserves was designed "to protect the Indians from encroachment, and to provide a sort of sanctuary where they could develop unmolested until advancing civilization had made possible their absorption into the general body of the citizens". The attitude here has changed. The Indian is not destined to remain indefinitely on the reservation, nor is he destined to remain indefinitely as a race.

43 Canada Year Book, p. 605.
To sum up these "in-between years" - the last forty years of the nineteenth century and the first forty years of the twentieth:

(1) The period began with the Indians' introduction to a new example of White civilization, the gold miner and the land seeker. These men disregarded the natives' rights. Government, during the early years of the Crown colonies and the province, made little or no attempt to administer for them.

(2) Government administration, when it did come into existence, attempted to contain the natives behind a set of pales, where it was presumed they would develop a quasi-White civilization, safe from the onslaught of actual White civilization.

(3) Acts concerning education, when at length they did apply to the Indians of British Columbia, tended for many years to reflect the reservation policy of containment. Some agents, however, mentioned what appeared to be successful trials at school integration.

(4) During the second decade of the present century, departmental policy began openly to voice the belief that the Indian was a vanishing race which would, through high death rate and absorption into the general population, in time disappear.

(5) The denominational residential school system was in general based on the philosophy that the Indian's best opportunities lay in being left to himself, and aimed at preparing him for making his own way on the reservation.

(6) The day school system, introduced late in this era, arose from a departmental philosophy which predicated the eventual merging of the Indian into the White population. Indian
population did, in general, decline throughout this period.

(7) Almost all forces throughout the period combined, wittingly or unwittingly, to wipe out the Indians' pre-European culture. In most areas the old way of life was completely ploughed under, and in some even memory of it was lost.

(8) The popular belief held by Whites - openly expressed by some; tacitly accepted as a philosophy by others - was that the Indian could accomplish only a limited educational programme. He could not progress into high school.

(9) The attitude to assume toward the Indian best suited to his welfare, it was felt by the Whites, was one of paternalism. He was a child, who could be best legislated for by treating him as a ward of the state. This belief could, in a sense, be said to sum up all other administrative philosophies, which stemmed from it.
Our research work takes as axiomatic that the acculturative change of the Indian is irreversible and is going to continue, no matter what is done or desired by anyone. 1

But the Indian did not die out. By 1954, the Indian population of British Columbia had risen to 31,086 (see Table 3), an increase of over three thousand from the count four years before. In 1959, the population has been estimated at between thirty-five and thirty-six thousand. 2

Nor is he disappearing through integration. No group which can, through natural increase, grow in numbers by some twenty-eight per cent in ten years can be losing very many of its members. In any case, were the process of integration be said to be taking place, by very definition of the term the net number of Indians would decrease from year to year.

One of the difficulties with working with these figures arises from the meaning of the word "Indian". The Indian Act 3 says "'Indian' means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian". Professors Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson say of this terminology: 4

This definition is adequate for the great majority of the people we have studied, yet it has no fixed cultural or biological meaning, an Indian defined by the Act possibly having fewer Indian forbears than another person not so called.

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2 Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 1959, Minutes, No. 3, p. 148.
3 R.S. 1952, Chapter 119, 2(g).
The fact is that the definition of an Indian in British Columbia is a legal definition, not an anthropological one. A non-Indian woman may become an Indian pursuant to this Act by marrying a man entitled to be so classed by it; an Indian woman may become non-Indian through marriage to a non-Indian. Either male or female Indian may cease to be so classed through enfranchisement. The term "Indian" will, in this and the subsequent chapters, be used to designate those persons in British Columbia who come under jurisdiction of the "Indian Act".

The Act is administered by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, who is also superintendent general of Indian Affairs. The Province of British Columbia is divided into eighteen agencies (see Plate V), each with a superintendent responsible to the Indian Commissioner for British Columbia. By Section 73 (1) of the Indian Act the Governor-in-Council may declare by order that a band council shall be elected by the procedure laid down in the Act.

The cultural factors which give rise to problems with regard to the Indian are, in general, those which pertain to legal rights (other than reservations), the reservation system, social and economic conditions, religion, integration, and education. All of these factors are, to a greater or lesser degree, interrelated. In this chapter an attempt will be made to delineate problems that have arisen in relation to the first five categor-

5 R.S. 1952, Chapter 149, Section 11.
6 Ibid., Section 12.
7 Ibid., Section 109.
8 Information received from A.V. Parminter, Regional Inspector of Schools for British Columbia.
ies, keeping each category as distinctive as possible for the sake of clarity. Education will form the body of the following chapter.

The Indians of British Columbia have over the years organized into movements to air their grievances. Out of these groups, on the Coast, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia developed. In 1944 Chief Andy Paull of North Vancouver influenced a number of Coast and Interior Indians to form a chapter of the North American Indian Brotherhood, of which he was British Columbia representative until the time of his death in July of 1959. In 1945, under leadership of Mr. Basil Falardeau of Kamloops, the British Columbia Interior Confederacy came into existence. 9

These groups, native leaders, and non-Indian teachers, church officials and members of Parliament, gradually made the Federal government aware of the fact that the Indian was not a vanishing race, but a growing one. In 1946 a Special Joint Commission of the Senate and the House of Commons convened to discuss Indian problems. Recommendations made by this Commission in 1948 were largely instrumental in formulation of the Revised Indian Act of 1951. 10 An amendment in 1955 permitted Indians to drink alcoholic beverages in beer parlors where permission was so granted by provincial law. In 1956, Section 69 of the Act was revised to increase the revolving loan fund to one million dollars. British Columbia Indians were given the provincial vote in 1949, and in 1950 an Indian, Frank Calder, represented the electoral district of Atlin in the legislative assembly. In 1951

the Indians of British Columbia were given the right to drink alcoholic beverages in beer parlors.

Professors Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson comment thus on the new attitude toward the Indian reflected by such legal activity: 11

Now the Indian is not vanishing at all. He is a person with an increasing say in his own future, who has outgrown some forms of guardianship by government and churches. Headed for assimilation, he is an economic factor and a neighbor whose desirability is a matter of varied opinion.

Such acts and amendments have not of course solved all of the Indians' problems. A joint Parliamentary Committee is currently again in session. One brief already submitted to it is that of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, presented by Reverend Peter Kelly, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Brotherhood. The main request in this brief is for the Federal vote for Indians. It also asks for the elimination of the power of veto by the minister and Indian Affairs Branch officials, and the removal of Justice of the Peace authority from department officials. 12 In asking that the revolving loan fund be increased to five million dollars, Reverend Kelly, a Haida Indian by birth, said: 13

[If the Indian is to be integrated economically he needs to be encouraged in financial responsibility and integrity... It should be recognized that the Indian can no longer live his traditional way of life on the reserve. Contrary to the ordinary public concept of his position as a "ward of the government" the Indian is faced with the problem of]

11 The Indians of British Columbia, p. 59.
12 Minutes, p. 138.
13 Ibid., p. 141.
making a living like any other citizen, and is doing so in the face of unequal competition in the Canadian economy.

The brief further claims income tax exemption for the Indian, and makes the contention that "the aboriginal titles to the land of British Columbia have never been extinguished". 14

The reserve system has influenced Indian thinking from its inception. Never too large, reserves have been encroached on by White civilization, and where they abut or are surrounded by a city they come in for periodic public scrutiny. The Songhees band, removed from the Victoria harbor in 1912 to a location near Esquimalt, have received overtures for sale of their present site. 15 The Cowichans were induced in 1957 to sell a portion of their reservation, only to discover that the land was subdivided and re-sold at a greatly increased price. 16 The pressure that has been put on a portion of the North Vancouver reserve is common knowledge.

Some reserves lie completely vacant - out of twenty-eight small plots of ground, the Sechelt tribe occupies only one, the last of the others having been abandoned only this year. The Chek-Welp reserve, adjacent to the village of Gibsons, is completely tenanted by Whites. Such reserves as the latter of course bring a certain amount of revenue to whatever bands hold rights to them, which fact accounts in part for the Indians' reluctance to part with them. Understandably, reservation Indians feel that

14 Minutes, p. 143.

15 Information received from interview with Chief Percy Ross, Songhees, April, 1958.

16 Information received from R. Elliott, Cowichan, April, 1958.
these plots of land, small as they may be, are at least their
domain, and that abolishing them would only be giving away the last
bits of a land which was once all theirs.

Some Indian leasers feel that the reservation stands in the
way of the Indians' integration into White culture. Others feel
that it must be held to maintain the Indians' solidarity, \(^{17}\) a
sense of unity they could not retain were the reservation to be
abolished. \(^{18}\)

Dr. Stuart Jamieson believes that reserves are too small,
too isolated; that larger reserves, with better facilities, are
needed, so that the Indian may gain a sense of identity beyond
the small reservation. \(^{19}\) Some Indians apparently feel this need
also - residents from the "backwoods" reserve of Village Island,
for instance, identify themselves with the larger centre of
Alert Bay. \(^{20}\) A teacher who was instrumental in the opening of
the first school for the Carrier Indians of Pendleton Bay is
convinced that a reservation is needed on Babine Lake so that
liquor peddlers could be prosecuted under Section 30 of the
Indian Act for trespassing. \(^{21}\)

Social and economic conditions on these reserves are, in
general, poor. The reserve itself is usually unproductive and

\(^{17}\) Information obtained from Chief Reg Paull, Sechelt,
August, 1958.

\(^{18}\) Information obtained from Joe Michelle, teacher,
Kamloops Residential School, August, 1958.

\(^{19}\) CBU Roundtable, November 8, 1958.

\(^{20}\) Information obtained from Clarence Joe, Sechelt Band
secretary, August, 1959.

\(^{21}\) Information obtained from Mrs. Jay Kullander, Pendleton
small. The Indian has acquired enough of the White man's culture
to eat foods he did not have in his own culture, but he has not
taken to raising his own fruits and vegetables. He remains a
food gatherer, but the natural foods he once gathered in abundance
are not so plentiful now. He has long since ceased to make
his own clothing. He has learned to purchase his necessities,
but his purchasing power is only a third of the White man's,22
or less. Therefore reservation houses tend to be small, unpainted,
and lacking in facilities which the White man has come to consider
basic. The survey conducted in 1954 for Professors Hawthorn, Bel-
shaw and Jamieson revealed that only eleven per cent of houses
sampled throughout the province had flush toilets, baths, or re-
frigerators.23

Since money is a comparatively new feature in his economy,
and since traditionally he did not have to purchase food, even
long after he began trading with the White man, the Indian
does not always budget or buy on a basis of thrift when he does
have money. Since the money he earns comes, usually, from spor-
adic seasonal jobs, there are long periods during the year without income. During these periods many Indian families, even during times of comparatively full employment in White communities nearby, are forced to register for relief. Such relief is drawn from band funds;24 when these funds are depleted, the Indian Affairs Branch administers relief, generally script. Most bands are forced to expend their funds on relief, and to save during

22 Hawthorn et al., op. cit., p. 220.
23 The Indians of British Columbia, p. 245.
24 Section 66 (2).
times of comparative plenty for such purposes. Provision for fences, sanitary conditions, and adequate dwellings, which must also be paid for out of band funds, suffer as a result. Frank Howard, MP for Skeena, found upon pricing the goods received by an Indian family on relief that their cash equivalent was $10.47 each per month. Even at this small rate, one reservation with a population of only three hundred required some fifteen thousand dollars in relief during the past winter.

Trapping, fishing and wood-working, traditional Indian industries, are offering less and less employment to them, and "unfortunately for the Indian, relatively few of his specialized skills had any significant transfer value". Fur prices are depressed; fish canneries, once scattered along the coast, are now almost all concentrated near cities, where there are large non-Indian labor pools. Fishing boats are deteriorating on beaches all up and down the coast because Indians, having no collateral, cannot obtain loans to maintain them after a poor season, when they lack funds. NHA loans are not available. The revolving loan fund is used up each year without benefitting many needy bands. In lumbering, a seasonal industry at best, Indians say "We are the last hired and the first to be let go".

25 Information obtained from Chief Reg Paull, Sechelt, August, 1958.

26 Section 66.

27 Vancouver Sun, August 29, 1958.


29 Information obtained from Chief Reg Paull, Sechelt, August, 1959.
In an attempt to alleviate depressed economic conditions, provision has been made in this year's estimates for the establishment of a new division of the Indian Affairs Branch, the responsibility of which will be to look after the economic development of the Indian. The Branch welfare budget, which was two million dollars in 1948-49, is nine million for 1958-59.30

Yet economic and social conditions, measured intrinsically or compared with conditions in White communities, can be fully interpreted only in the light of how these conditions are interpreted by and affect the Indians concerned. Professors Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson say31 "we have arrived at the conclusion that no customary actions, elements of belief or attitude, knowledge or techniques, have been transmitted from earlier generations to the present without major alterations", but add32 "(yet) it must be remembered that some of the needs felt by Indians today are not ones shared by most White communities". The principal33 of the provincial school at Telegraph Creek says of the six hundred inhabitants there: "They are not Indian, with Indian aspirations, but 'people', with the aspirations of 'people'. Given incentive, their aims and objectives are the same as those of the rest of our population tends to be. They want jobs, a livelihood. They know nothing of the old way of life".

30 Minutes, p. 13.
31 The Indians of British Columbia, p. 39.
32 Ibid., p. 41.
33 Information obtained from an interview, July, 1958.
Among still other groups vestigial ceremonies based on aboriginal beliefs are still observed. Some remote Kwakiutl and Tsimshian villages continue to hold potlatches, in camera and quietly. Carriers still keep girls home from school during the onset of menstruation. The Cowichans openly hold secret society initiation rites in a special hall. Many groups give Indian names to babies at birth and, along the coast where caste was once important, keep track of inherited social position. Elected chiefs are distinguished from hereditary chiefs. Of the former, members of one village said "First they gave us a drinking chief, then a sleeping chief". Some superstitions remain.34

In general, it can be said that the Indians' social life is a chaotic, shaken one. A.F. Flucke, writing in the British Columbia Heritage Series,35 comments on this disruption:

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. The life of the Bella Coolas has been destroyed, and wonderingly, half-proudly, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own, instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. ... It is inevitable that the old rites and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place has been disastrous.

Such a breakdown in culture has of course resulted in personal problems. A survey36 shows that Indian marriages tend to be durable, and resistant to such factors as poverty, poor living conditions, and seasonal employment, factors which tend to

34 Information obtained from Indians, teachers and others.
35 Bella Coola, pp. 69, 70.
36 Hawthorn, Belshaw, Jamieson, op. cit., p. 284.
break up White marriages. But natives are finding themselves in
the toils of the law to a continually increasing degree. Forty-
five per cent of the women inmates at Oakalla Prison Farm are
Indian, incarcerated mainly for alcoholism and prostitution.

Economic conditions can be altered fairly rapidly for a
group of this size. Social conditions cannot be changed so quickly
or easily. Both of these attributes of culture have a significant
bearing on another factor, integration.

The term "integration" has two distinct implications. It is
used in both the cultural and the ethnic sense. A relationship
might or might not exist between the two kinds, but there is no
inevitable relationship. Grouping peoples together for work
or schooling does not necessarily lead to ethnic integration,
and ethnic integration does not necessarily lead to cultural in-
tegration.

Culturally, statistics are of little value in attempts to
portray a true picture. The fact that two racial groups work at
the same job does not mean that they perceive any sense of cul-
tural unity. Negroes in Canada work as porters on trains, but one
could hardly argue from this fact that they are integrated cul-
aturally with engineers, firemen and conductors in the railroading
industry. Indians, at what northern canneries remain, fish as do
non-Indians, but they exist in social enclaves, distinct one from
the other. There is, then, within cultural integration a further
subdivision into economic integration and social integration.

From the days of the fur-trader, British Columbia has seen much
economic, but very little social integration of Indian and White
races. True social integration must, in order to exist, be per-
ceived by the active participants, not merely by an observer.
Apparent integration is not necessarily real integration. Until social integration can be truthfully said, by those persons concerned, to be the rule rather than the exception, cultural integration has not occurred.

To date, it is the exception rather than the rule in British Columbia. General "friendliness" is no criterion. A chat in the market-place means nothing. The degree of social integration in a neighborhood can probably be best discovered from an indication of the extent to which Indian and non-Indian families visit in homes of the opposite group. In most British Columbia villages such visiting is virtually non-existent. It does take place, to a limited extent, in Alert Bay and in Alberni. In most localities, even where the reservation is completely surrounded by a White community, almost no purely social visiting takes place.

Ethnic integration of a private nature may be said to have taken place in the mating of an Indian with a non-Indian. Yet unless the dominant racial majority fully accepts the mate who represents the dominated racial minority, merely biological, and not ethnic, integration has occurred. Offspring from such a union either become identified with the dominated minority group of the one parent, or manage to cross the color-line into the dominant majority group of the other. There is no mid-point on the scale in British Columbia as occurred in Manitoba with the appearance of the Métis.

A questionnaire, mailed to the eighteen agency superintendents, and responded to by thirteen of them, elicited information on the integration element in Indian life in British Columbia. This questionnaire follows, with a summary of replies received, and comments where appropriate:
1. What is the total Indian population of your agency?
   Plate V shows these figures for all agencies, for 1954.

2. Do you know how many of these speak no English?
   Most replies gave figures of between 25 and 50 persons, with the comment that these were elderly persons. In all, an estimated 5% of the Indian population cannot speak English today.

3. Do the young still learn their native tongue?
   Only one reply stated that no children learn the language of their ancestors. On an average, superintendents estimated that approximately 75% of Indian children do speak their own language. Language is a difficult element to discover. I have had Indian parents tell me on one instance that they deplore the fact that none of the young can speak their native tongue, and at another time have heard them converse with their children in their own language.

4. How many young, if any, learn no English at home?
   Superintendents indicated that an average of 5%, throughout the province, learn no English at home. Again, it is difficult to make an accurate estimate on language. Many teachers from the area between the lower Skeena and Babine Lake state that most or all of their students begin school speaking no English. This of course is no certain indication that they could not do so - perhaps the Indian tongue dominates in some localities to such an extent that the child appears to know no English.

5. About how many of the Indians are pure-blood; how may mixed?
   One superintendent believed that 60% of the Indians of his agency are of pure blood. Another estimated 50%; most estimates varied
from 30% down to 10%. It would seem, from estimates made, that about 25% of the Indians of the province are full-blood. The racial admixture does not seem to vary directly in proportion to the degree of White contact. Some Interior areas, overrun by Whites for over a hundred years, show greater racial purity than do some coastal localities to which Whites came much later and in much smaller numbers. Yet, economically at least, Indians of the former groups have integrated better than have the latter.

6. About how many are Indian legally, but not of Indian blood?

Almost all replies to this question gave an estimate of about 1%. A survey made by Professors Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson shows that in 1954, in 27 marriages out of a total of 248, a White wife entered an Indian band.37 Unless this year was abnormal, there should be far more than 1% of the legally defined Indian population non-Indian by birth. What happens is that the White partner who enters the band through marriage does not remain in the band, but drifts back into White society.

7. Can you estimate about how many men and women become non-Indian, according to the Act, each year?

An average of about 7 persons per band, all women, gained non-Indian status through marriage to a non-Indian each year. If it can be assumed that the figures for the agencies not recorded in this questionnaire would show about the same average, the number of Indian women who became non-Indian in accordance with the Act, through marriage, approximates 130, the total enfranchisement figure for British Columbia for 1958.38 Thus it would seem that

37 The Indians of British Columbia, p. 62.
38 Indian Affairs Branch Report, 1958, p. 65.
almost no Indian males gain enfranchisement. In that case, however, there should be a considerable majority of adult males on each reserve. Few Indian males, however, tend to remain single. What occurs here is that the woman, deserted by or otherwise separated from, her White husband, eventually makes her way back to the reservation, where she mates with an Indian male. This phenomenon has occurred within the past week of the time of this writing on a reserve with which I am acquainted. As is often the case, this woman has a child, which has been classed as non-Indian while she has been off the reservation. With her return, she regains her Indian status, and the child becomes Indian.\^39

Undoubtedly another reason for the presence of so few women of White birth on reserves in proportion to the number of Indian - non-Indian marriages registered is that in actuality many of these marriages take place between two persons both of whom are ethnically Indian. The presence of the reservation makes the return to her own people easier for a woman such as the one mentioned above than would be the case were it not in existence.

8. About how many mixed marriages are there in a year?

Answers here ranged from 1 to 12, with an average of between 4 and 5. Since a very few males (estimated at fewer than one per reserve per year) do seek enfranchisement, and since a few Indian males do marry non-Indian women and retain their Indian status, there is a discrepancy between the number of mixed marriages and the number of females who gain enfranchisement, as estimated in Question 7. Much of this difference is undoubtedly made up by the marriages referred to in the comments on Question

\[39\] Chapter 40, Section 13 of Indian Act as Amended 1956.
7; marriages involving a partner who is non-Indian legally but Indian racially.

9. Of these, could you estimate how many or what fraction take place between pure-blood Indians and non-Indians, and how many between Indians of mixed ancestry and non-Indians?

Some superintendents felt that they could not answer this question. Among those who did answer, a few stated that there seemed to be no appreciable difference, but most indicated that the majority of mixed marriages involve an Indian partner of mixed ancestry. This should of course be true, since an average of 75% of the Indian population is of mixed blood, but one superintendent commented that the pure-bloods seem to prefer to remain in their own group.

10. Most spokesmen are of partly White ancestry. Do you believe that these spokesmen truly represent the feelings and aspirations of the pure-blood? Almost all answers agreed that spokesmen, who tend to be partly White because this portion of the population has the better command of English, do represent the feelings and aspirations of their group. One superintendent stated that the Indians do not make a distinction between pure-blood and part-blood in the same way as Whites do with reference to them, and another commented that a partly-White spokesman would want to prove to his group that he was Indian.

Hubert Evans, who spent many years among the Tsimshians, at Kitamaat and along the Skeena, in Mist on the River portrays the integration problem as encountered and responded to by a brother and sister from a small Skeena village. In this story, the girl at length succumbs to the attractions of the culture she experiences in a cannery town, while the boy feels impelled to return to take his hereditary place in his native village.

40 Copp Clark, 1954.
All British Columbia Indians are nominally Christian. Over seventeen of the thirty-one thousand population of the 1954 Indian Affairs Branch census are listed as Roman Catholic, with slightly over six thousand each of Anglican and United Church denominations. Virtually the whole interior of the province, from the Kootenays to the Carriers, except for Lytton, which is Anglican, is Roman Catholic. The Skeena continues to be represented by all sects, including several hundred Salvation Army adherents. The Queen Charlottes and the coast as far south as Bella Bella are mainly United. Alert Bay is Anglican. The southern mainland coast from Church House to North Vancouver is Roman Catholic. Nanaimo and Alberni are United; from there south Vancouver Island is mainly Roman Catholic. The west coast of Vancouver Island is comprised mainly of Roman Catholic and United denominations. The lower Fraser Valley contains adherents to Roman Catholic, Anglican and United Churches.

The degree to which Indians have been converted to Christianity varies from place to place, depending partly on the duration of White contact, and partly on the tenacity of aboriginal beliefs. A.F. Flucke says of the Bella Coola's:

> The old beliefs survive even among members of the community who are nominal Christians, and those who hold to their ancient religion live in an atmosphere of the supernatural.

For most, however, Mr. Flucke continues,

> Hand in hand with the extension of white man's knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man denies mythology and laughs at dramatic performances, which have perished since they can survive only in an attitude of profound belief.

41 British Columbia Heritage Series, *Bella Coola*, p. 23.

42 Loc. cit.
An elderly Indian lady, in recounting her grandfather's recollection of a soul recovery ceremony, went through the motions of the shaman's hands, but the event to her had become only another legend from the past.

Professor Wayne Suttles envisages contemporary Coast Salish religion as representing "the result of not one but a series of compromises and reinterpretations".\(^{43}\)

Even some who acknowledge complete conversion to Christianity have a feeling of ambivalence toward their new religion. One band chief stated recently that his people, although devout in their belief, feel held in an iron fist. He believes that the Church has too much authority; that its discipline carries into the Indians' life in realms beyond religious regulation. They look upon education as one field in which they feel unduly fettered by the Christian Church.

The Shaker Church, founded in Washington State in 1882 by John Slocum, has apparently gained some followers among the Cowichans and in the lower Fraser Valley. It purports to be a Christian Church, but is in actuality a syncretism of aboriginal beliefs and Christianity. Its main ceremony seems to be the acquisition of a song at the time of conversion, and its main tenet the avoidance of sin. Although no British Columbia Indians are nominally Shaker, the movement has appeared as an added belief in some communities, where it is looked upon as a strictly Indian religion.\(^{44}\)

\(^{43}\) "The Plateau Prophet Dance Among the Coast Salish", p. 353.

This chapter can be summed up in the words of Dr. Ben Reifel, Area Director, Aberdeen Area, born of a German father and a Sioux mother. Although the remarks refer to Indians south of the 49th Parallel, they seem equally pertinent with regard to those who live north of it:45

The social situation of the Indian Americans has little if anything in common with that of other racial or ethnic minorities from the standpoint of social adjustments.... The Indians had no need to be apprehensive about the future, from a material standpoint. The Indian, in his societies over all those thousands of years when he was fashioning his way of life, found he could have all that he required in the way of food, clothing, and shelter by living in harmony with nature. This means that the essence of life was found in being and not in becoming something we are not today.... To the Indians there was no reason to be constantly thinking of the future. To them the necessities for living were nearly as free as the air we breathe. Air is necessary for life but we seldom think of saving it up for future use....

The wonder of our time is not that social adjustment of Indian Americans has been slow but that so many have found it possible to fit into the American social system in so short a time. I think we might have speeded up the acculturation process... had it been realized that a large part of the adjustment process hinged on the development of concepts of time, work, and saving by the Indian peoples themselves. These elements are not by their nature likely to create any great amount of emotional resistance if presented for consideration. To have them introduced in the culture need not have changed their manner of dress, the system of worship, the ways of recreation, or their language.

But what was done? Indian people were asked to give up their language, their ceremonials, their way of dressing, and other aspects of their way of life that had no sensible bearing on social adjustment. Had they been helped to understand the importance for the survival of their cherished way of life by the incorporation of concepts of time, saving and work into the Indian system they might have saved much that is lost to all of us today.

45 Indian Education, April 15, 1957.
CHAPTER VI

INDIAN EDUCATION TODAY

One of the easiest mistakes a teacher can make is that of identifying those whom he is teaching with himself or with the thing he aspires to, not recognizing that his pupils may not be in his state of development. 1

There are 66 day, 3 hospital, and 11 residential Indian schools in British Columbia (see Plate VI). Indians also attended provincial and private schools throughout the province. A breakdown of enrolment by grade at these schools is given below.

Table 9
Enrolment of Indian Students in British Columbia, 1957 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Day at Kindergarten</th>
<th>Residential</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Hospital and Private</th>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>118</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Teacher Tr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Nurses Aide</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trades</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2560</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>3065</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2 Indian Affairs Branch Report, 1957.
Total enrolment of day, residential, and hospital schools for 1958 was $6441$, and for provincial and private schools, $2335.3$

Table 10 shows names and locations of Indian schools in British Columbia by agency. Numbers correspond to Legend for Plate VI.

Table 10
Indian Schools in British Columbia$^4$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Post Office Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Babine Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Glen Vowell</td>
<td>Hazelton, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kispiox</td>
<td>Hazelton, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kitsegukla</td>
<td>Skeena Crossing, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kitwanga</td>
<td>Kitwanga, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rocher Deboule</td>
<td>New Hazelton, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Moricetown</td>
<td>Moricetown, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kitwancool</td>
<td>Kitwanga, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bella Coola Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bella Bella</td>
<td>Campbell Island P.O., B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kitimat</td>
<td>Kitimat Indian Village, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Klemtu</td>
<td>Klemtu, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Westholme</td>
<td>Westholme, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Chemainus</td>
<td>Ladysmith, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Shell Beach</td>
<td>Ladysmith, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. St. Catherine's</td>
<td>Duncan, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Nanaimo</td>
<td>Nanaimo, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Tsartlip</td>
<td>Brentwood Bay, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Songhees</td>
<td>Craigflower P.O., Victoria, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Kuper Island</td>
<td>P.O. Box 510, Chemainus, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Nanaimo Hospital</td>
<td>Nanaimo, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Kootenay Residential</td>
<td>Cranbrook, B.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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$^3$ Indian Affairs Branch Report, 1958.

$^4$ Information supplied by Mr. A.V. Parminter, Regional Inspector of Schools for British Columbia.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamloops Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Neskainlith</td>
<td>Shuswap, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Deadman's Creek</td>
<td>Savona, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Adams Lake</td>
<td>Chase, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Kamloops Residential</td>
<td>Kamloops, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwawkewlth Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Gilford Island</td>
<td>Simoon Sound, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Turnour Island</td>
<td>Minstrel Island P.O., B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Cape Mudge</td>
<td>Quathiaski Cove, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Kingcome Inlet</td>
<td>Kingcome Inlet, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Mamalilikulla</td>
<td>Minstrel Island, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Smith's Inlet</td>
<td>Boswell Camp, Smith Inlet, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Quatsino</td>
<td>Quatsino, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Alert Bay Residential</td>
<td>Alert Bay, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytton Agency</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Seton Lake</td>
<td>Shalalth, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Fountain</td>
<td>Lillooet, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. St. George's Residential</td>
<td>Lytton, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster Agency</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Douglas</td>
<td>Port Douglas via Harrison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Chehalis</td>
<td>Harrison Mills, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Seabird Island</td>
<td>Agassiz, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Coqualeetza Hospital</td>
<td>Sardis, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. St. Mary's Residential</td>
<td>Mission City, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicola Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Shulus</td>
<td>Merrit, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Upper Nicola</td>
<td>Douglas Lake, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Irish Creek</td>
<td>Vernon, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Okanagan</td>
<td>Vernon, B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Penticton</td>
<td>Penticton, B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Queen Charlotte Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. Masset</td>
<td>Masset, B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. Skidegate</td>
<td>Skidegate Mission, B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stuart Lake Agency</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Stony Creek</td>
<td>Vanderhoof, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Fort St. James</td>
<td>Ft. St. James, B.C.</td>
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<td>50. Lejac Residential</td>
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Table 10 (cont'd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skeena River Agency</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Miller Bay Hospital</td>
<td>Prince Rupert, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Gitlakdamix</td>
<td>Aiyansh P.O. via Mill Bay, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Canyon City</td>
<td>Canyon City via Mill Bay, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Hartley Bay</td>
<td>Hartley Bay, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Kincolith</td>
<td>Kincolith, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Kitkatla</td>
<td>Kitkatla, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Lakalsap</td>
<td>Greenville, Mill Bay P.O., B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Metlakatla</td>
<td>Metlakatla, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Port Simpson</td>
<td>Port Simpson, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Agency</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Sliammon</td>
<td>Powell River, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Mount Currie</td>
<td>Mount Currie, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Sechelt Residential</td>
<td>Sechelt, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Squamish Residential</td>
<td>541 Keith Rd., North Van., B.C.</td>
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<td>West Coast Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>64. Kyuquot</td>
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<td>65. Ucluelet</td>
<td>Ucluelet, B.C.</td>
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<td>66. A housat</td>
<td>Matilda Creek, V.I., B.C.</td>
</tr>
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<td>67. Alberni Residential</td>
<td>Alberni, B.C.</td>
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<td>68. Christie Residential</td>
<td>Kakawia P.O., via Tofino, B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>69. Nootka</td>
<td>Nootka, via Port Alberni, B.C.</td>
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<td>70. Opitaht</td>
<td>via Tofino, B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williams Lake Agency</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Anaham</td>
<td>Williams Lake, B.C.</td>
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<td>73. Cariboo Residential</td>
<td>Nazko via Quesnel, B.C.</td>
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<td>74. Nazko</td>
<td>Williams Lake, B.C.</td>
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<td>75. Sugar Cane</td>
<td>Canim Lake, B.C.</td>
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<td>76. Canim Lake</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stuart Lake Agency</td>
<td>Ft. Babine, B.C. (Reduced to one room)</td>
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<td>77. Ft. Babine</td>
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<td>Vancouver Agency</td>
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<td>78. Sechelt Day School</td>
<td>Sechelt, B.C. (New school)</td>
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<td>79. Church House</td>
<td>Church House, B.C. (New school)</td>
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The eighteen agency superintendents, responsible to the Indian Commissioner of British Columbia, in addition to other duties, perform most of the functions of a School Board, supervising maintenance, fuel and school supplies, and attendance in
Indian schools in their areas. Mr. A.V. Parminter is Regional Inspector of Schools for British Columbia. Beginning in 1958, he was granted the help of one assistant inspector.

All three types of school—day, residential, and hospital—follow the provincial curriculum as outlined by the Department of Education. Most text books used are those prescribed for provincial schools.

Most day schools provide living accommodation for teachers. Pupils enrolled in these schools live at home. Teachers are generally lay teachers, with certification from regular teacher training institutions.

Principals of residential schools are nominated by Church authorities and appointed by the Department. Teachers in all but three of these schools are also appointed by the Department and paid according to the Department's salary schedule for teaching staff. All schools in this category are financed on a per capita basis. Residential schools of Roman Catholic denomination are staffed by four teaching orders; Sisters of St. Ann, Sisters of Child Jesus, Sisters of Providence, and the Benedictine Sisters. Protestant residential schools are staffed by lay teachers.

Hospitals are operated by the Northern Affairs Branch of the Department of Health and Welfare. They include on their staffs teachers who endeavor to ensure that no child is unduly retarded academically through hospitalization.5

During 1957, a total of 181 teachers held positions in Indian schools in British Columbia subject to departmental supervision.6 In addition, joint parochial schools, attended by both

5 Information supplied by Mr. A.V. Parminter.
6 Indian Affairs Branch Report, 1957.
Indian and non-Indian students and not under departmental jurisdiction, operate at Burns Lake, Vanderhoof, Smithers, Fort St. James and, commencing in the fall of 1959, at Hazelton.\(^7\)

Emphasis on education of Indians originated directly from the Special Joint Commission of the Senate and the House of Commons which began to meet in 1946. On June 22, 1948, the Committee recommended "the revision of those sections of the Act which pertain to education, in order to prepare Indian children to take their place as citizens.... Whenever and wherever possible, Indian children should be educated in association with other children".\(^8\)

Recommendations of the Committee were incorporated into the Indian Act of 1951, and after its first reading as a Bill, nineteen selected Indian delegates were invited to Ottawa by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to study it and present their views in a clause-by-clause conference with Department officials, the first time native Indians had been consulted on proposed legislation relating to their own government.\(^9\) Chapter 29, Section 113 of this Act entitles the Governor-in-Council to authorize the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children, and to enter into agreements with the government of a province, a public or separate school board, or a religious or charitable organization for their education.

By 1952, the Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs,

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\(^7\) Information supplied by Mr. A.V. Parminter.


\(^9\) Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs Fourth Annual Report, 1953, p. 6.
organized in 1950 under the Indian Inquiry Act, reported that twelve hundred Indian children were attending Provincial schools in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{10}

In 1955 the Federal and Provincial Governments shared in the capital costs of construction of the Alert Bay High School, with an enrolment of one hundred Indian and eighty White pupils.\textsuperscript{11}

By 1956, public school facilities at Queen Charlotte City were expanded to admit Indian children, and fourteen other contracts for joint Federal-Provincial sharing of school construction costs were in force.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1957, the Legislative Assembly assented to the Indian Advisory Act, of which Miss Joanna R. Wright was appointed Director.\textsuperscript{13} The Committee reported that during 1957-58, all senior pupils boarding at Protestant residential schools were receiving their education in near-by public high schools, and that an increasing number of Indian children were also attending Roman Catholic schools off the reserves.\textsuperscript{14}

A Tuition fee for each child of Indian status living on Reserve land and attending a joint or public school is paid to the School Board by Indian Affairs Branch. Financial assistance, including text book expenses and even cost of room and board, is available to Indian students who show aptitude for specialized training.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{10} Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs, Third Annual Report, 1952, p. 4.
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\textsuperscript{11} Sixth Annual Report, 1955, p. 8.
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\textsuperscript{12} Seventh Annual Report, 1956, p. 9.
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\textsuperscript{13} Eighth Annual Report, 1957, p. 5.
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\textsuperscript{14} Ninth Annual Report, 1958, p. 8.
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\textsuperscript{15} A.V. Parminter, "Education of Indians in British Columbia", The B.C. School Trustee, Sept., 1955, p. 20
\end{flushleft}
Since 1950 a common voice has been raised in favor of educational integration. Dr. Peter Kelly, speaking before the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs on June 17, 1959, said "Integration is a must to which there is no alternative". The Most Reverend Fergus O'Grady, OMI, is quoted as having stated "You cannot expect the Indian to conform to white society, customs and manners if he is not educated alongside white children from kindergarten up. The most pressing need of British Columbia Indians today is higher education in joint white-Indian schools".

While these two points of view coincide in their end result, the philosophies which the speakers represent differ in how the result is to be attained. Dr. Kelly presents the Protestant viewpoint, which advocates education of Indians, where practicable, in the provincial school system, the students living either at home or in residential boarding schools. Bishop O'Grady presents the viewpoint of the Roman Catholic Church, the policy of which is to educate in parochial schools.

In areas where bands are predominantly of a Protestant sect, then, children are in general attending Indian Affairs day schools on isolated reserves, and regular public schools in localities where such schools are within reach.

Children of bands whose faith is Roman Catholic attend day schools or residential schools. In areas where other faiths are represented, joint parochial schools are being built to educate both Indian and non-Indian Roman Catholic children.

16 Minutes, p. 143.

17 Vancouver Daily Province, August, 1958.
Proponents of both systems have arguments to offer in favor of their choice.

In Nanaimo, soon after Indian students began to attend city schools in 1950, news items such as the following appeared in the local press:18

Indian children attending Nanaimo schools are fitting into the school system very satisfactorily. This statement by School Inspector Dr. Wm. Plenderleith, the principal and teachers of the school was given School Board Wednesday and heard with considerable pleasure by the trustees.... It is gratifying to note that since the Indian children have been attending public school, their parents have been taking an increasing interest in the school activities.

Reverend Colin Dickson, of the Shulus Indian Mission, comments on the residential school:19

I do not believe that an institution is the proper place to raise children, particularly from the age of six or seven to eleven or twelve.... By placing children in residential schools parents are denied the privilege of raising their own family, and invariably lose some part of their own family-raising experience.

One Superintendent contends that the discipline of the residential school is often overpowering and sometimes has the opposite effect to that assumed by the well-meaning principal.

Reverend G.F. Kelly, OMI, principal of Lejac Indian Residential School, defines the functions of the residential school system:20

In the residential school the pupils are in two categories. Those who come from remote areas start to school late, and have very little knowledge of the English language on entrance to the school. The others are, for the most part, products of broken

18 Correspondence from Mrs. Adelaide Hill, Nanaimo, April 21, 1958.
19 Correspondence received February 25, 1958.
20 Correspondence received March 6, 1958.
homes and are assigned here for care. Most of these children have had an inferior upbringing, some have attended day school intermittently for a few years, and some have been delayed in their education by a long or short bout with T.B.

Fourteen Indian students, enrolled in grades nine and ten at the Prince George parochial school, were boarding with White families in 1957, Reverend Kelly states, and about thirty were expected to do so in 1958.

Reverend G.D. Dunlop, OMI, principal of Kootenay Indian School, compares residential and provincial high school results from his experience:

In 1949, arrangements were made for the children above the grade eight level to attend the Public High School in the City of Cranbrook. This policy is still followed. Unfortunately, it has proved a failure. During the past eight years we have had as many as fifteen pupils attending High School, thirty-five children in all, and as yet we have not had one successful graduate.... In Kamloops and Mission City, where we have Indian High Schools, there have been many graduates.

A comparison between the proportion of Indian students attending schools of this varied system and non-Indian students in the provincial system to total populations is slightly misleading. The Indians of British Columbia, increasing in numbers as they now are, are preponderantly a young population (In 1957, the 1575 Indian pupils enrolled in grade one comprised one twentieth of their population, at a time when enrolment in the same grade in the public schools system of the province accounted for only about one fortieth of British Columbia's population).

There can be no doubt, then, from these figures, that Indian children do go to school. The next point to be considered

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21 Correspondence received December 15, 1957.
22 Indian Affairs Branch Report, 1957.
is, to what extent is the Indian of British Columbia being educated in one or another of the school systems?

At the grade eight level, about the same number of Indian and non-Indian children, in proportion to their total populations, are at school. From that grade on, the proportion of Indian students diminishes rapidly. However, this proportion could rise considerably during the next few years, as students who have had advantage of the full day of academic schooling inaugurated in 1949, and the greatly expanded Indian education program implemented by the Revised Indian Act of 1951 affect the groups who began school during and after those years.

In 1957 there were 24 students enrolled in grade twelve in residential schools; 57 in provincial and private schools (see Table 9). The Vancouver Vocational Training Institute graduated 30 Indian students in that year, 75% of the number who had enrolled, the same percentage as for non-Indian trainees. Of 30 Practical Nurse Training Division graduates, 15 were Indian girls. Six Indian boys graduated from the Nanaimo Federal-Provincial Training School. Average attendance in 1957 was 94.74% in residential schools; 90.03% in day schools throughout British Columbia.

It appears, from trends indicated by a comparison of figures from a decade ago with those of today, that an increasing number of Indian students do graduate. Yet even such a deduction might well be fallacious. The number of Indian students enrolled in grade twelve for 1958 remained the same as for 1957 in residential schools and was only half of the 1957 figure for private

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24 British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee Report, 1957.
25 Indian Affairs Branch Report, 1957, Table 7.
and provincial schools. There are indications that not all Indians are aspiring to higher education.

As the excerpt from Reverend G.F. Kelly's letter, cited on page 115, indicates, Indians of the Fraser Lake area are not taking readily to schooling. Reverend Kelly's letter concludes: "It will take many years yet before the Indians of the Northern Regions will come to understand the benefits of White Man's education". Teachers from the Skeena, Babine, and Chilcotin areas consistently admit that children frequently do not begin school there until they are ten or more years old. Throughout much of the first two areas in particular, many do not speak English on arrival at school. One teacher from the Skeena stated that his attendance fluctuated from 33 to 8.

Lack of aspiration is not restricted to the North. Not one Indian student at Nanaimo, integrated since 1951, has graduated from the school system there since 1952.26

Registers of a day school located on a small island reserve show that during the past ten years only one student has progressed beyond grade eight. "Absent 16 (or 14, or 18) days at Knight Inlet for oolichan oil and grease" appears as the teacher's unvaried comment on a school enrolment that varies from 75% to 80%.

With education, as with the general cultural situation of the Indian, conditions can be interpreted only as they affect the participants, the Indians themselves. A School of Social Work student27 in 1951 wrote:

26 Information received from Mrs. Adelaide Hill, Nanaimo.

One cannot speak of education amongst Indians without ranging into other fields, without digging at the root of the Indian problem, without inquiring into his true position and the effect of his position in every-day life.

Regional Inspector L.G.P. Waller, speaking at a Workshop in Indian Education at Victoria in 1952, said:

Many Indians find our way of life pointless and without purpose in the light of their cultural inheritance.... The Indian wants, as the White man does, to know that what he is doing is of some use... Drastic modifications of environment may force serious changes within a brief period. Education, however, proceeds more slowly and to be most effective works its change with the consent and cooperation of the individuals affected.

In a panel discussion of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee in 1957 the viewpoint was stated that the British Columbia Indians want a chance "to express their own opinions on how they should be educated".28

Looking back over the centuries of European occupation in Canada, H.J. Vallery in 1942 wrote:29

This conflict (between the White man's attempts to educate and the Indians' resistance) has been waging from the time Champlain founded his first colony in Acadia to the present day. The Indian has been an unwilling pupil of White attempts to purposefully educate him.

A band secretary recently stated the problem in the form of a succinct question: "After education, what?"

That is the Indian's own summing up of the problem. In what light does the Indian envisage the educational mélange into which the White man's culture has thrust him?

He perceives, all too often, that "We still have a situation in a British Columbia community where two schools stand side by

28 The Vancouver Sun, November 8, 1957.

side - one for Indians, the other for Whites." He knows, if he lives on certain reservations, that he must send his children of high school age to a residential or parochial, rather than to a provincial school or he and his family will be excommunicated by his Church. Such a regulation is not the threat it might appear to be to one newly apprised of it, for quite likely he cannot afford to clothe these children for high school anyway. Finally, he sees that, whatever degree of education his children attain, there is but one road open to them - the road that leads back to the reservation.

Indian girls from Sechelt, graduates with commerce majors from St. Mary's Residential School, have met with unqualified failure in their attempts to find employment in their vocation in the adjacent White village, which derives a large share of its business from the reservation. Stores, bank, Post Office; all refused to employ. Twelve years of schooling aimed at integration into the community had been cancelled out. One, who could have passed for White, found employment in a restaurant, but even that single exception ended recently. The woman lived off the reserve during her term of employment; she has since returned to it.

An account in the Vanderhoof local newspaper in 1957 listed among the staff of the Lejac Residential School "Mr. Zaa Louie and Johnny Joseph, assistant supervisors; Miss Seraphine Joseph, Miss Clara Joseph and Miss Euphrasie Peter, assistant cooks, and Miss Leonie Louie, typist".

"The Necoslie Reserve", so a letter states, "boasts of a graduate nurse, another nurse-in-training, a graduate practical

30 Dr. David Corbett, speaking to British Columbia Regional Human Rights Conference, U.B.C. Faculty Club, 1959.
nurse, and two boys who have completed training in vocational schools. Several girls completed grade twelve, and later returned to the Reserve and married".

In 1958, Winnifred McKinnon, Indian girl from Fort St. James, won a $500 Department of Indian Affairs scholarship for excellence in junior matriculation. She will apply the money to nurses' training at St. Paul's. She wants, so the press release says, to go back to work among her people as a public health nurse.31

At Telegraph Creek, a provincial school, all but four students out of one hundred and twenty were Indian in 1958. The children, stranded on the banks of the Stikine by a changing technology that has passed them by, have never been beyond their village and know nothing of the world beyond it. Only two students were enrolled in grade eight.32

Some Federal offices pay lip service to non-discriminatory employment policies by hiring on their staffs Indian girls who in any situation could pass the color line. Such practice, rather than mitigating racial discrimination, only tends to emphasize the fact that it exists. It does nothing to promote toleration by the general public of those persons who possess features which are definitely Indian, and hinders integration of those who appear White and are in fact predominantly White racially.

One Indian leader, born of a White father and married to a White woman, said with considerable pride, in an interview, that his son had become a successful dentist in a large British

31 The Vancouver Sun; July, 1959.

32 Information obtained from Fred Brown, principal, July, 1958.
Columbia City. To the father, an Indian had succeeded in gaining economic and social integration. To the son's clients and friends he is undoubtedly White.

Joe Michelle, of Chase, graduated from Kamloops Residential School in 1950, from Vancouver Normal in 1952, and is now teaching at the school he formerly attended. He says that he felt philosophically lost in White culture. He is pleased to be teaching his own people, among whom he retains a feeling of solidarity.\(^{33}\)

Right Reverend J.L. Coudert, OMI, Vicar Apostolic of Whitehorse, has felt himself impelled to write on this problem for the guidance of his missionaries:\(^{34}\)

Now, in regard to the education and training of young Indians, it was thought for some time that a minimum of education would solve the problem of their integration into our Canadian way of life; but, as a matter of fact, it appears now beyond a doubt, that such a limited education has only served, in most cases, to facilitate more frequent and dangerous relations of our younger Indians with the very type of whites against whose bad influence such an education was intended to protect them.

To sum up this chapter: The Indians of British Columbia are by no means all convinced that White education is beneficial. They have very little say in the kind of school their children attend, and no voice whatever in the curriculum followed by it.

Some families are currently acquiescing in the implication that schooling can lead to economic and social integration. The Indian student who persists in his studies finds, however, that education opens no golden doors.

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\(^{33}\) Information obtained from an Interview, July, 1958.

\(^{34}\) Circular No. 48 bis, September 15, 1957.
All signs seem to point in the same direction. Some Indians, such as Winnifred McKinnon and Joe Michelle, are attracted back to the reservation; others are forced back. It is the only society, the only culture, in which they are at home. Beyond it is a "Brave New World", in which the native of British Columbia, like that from Arizona in the Huxley allegory, is destroyed if he attempts to enter and remain in it.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul, proud Science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n
Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n.

Alexander Pope

The major proposition of this thesis is that the Indians of British Columbia are not becoming integrated into the general population, economically, culturally, or ethnically; such integration as has taken place in the past will in the foreseeable future proceed at a slower, not a faster pace. All succeeding conclusions are corollaries of this prime proposition. These derivative deductions are made up of a complex which can be broken down into four subordinate, interrelated elements; ethnic, socio-cultural, economic, and educational:

I. Ethnic Conclusions

1. Indian males are still receiving almost no influence whatever from non-Indian females. Only one male Indian per agency, on the average, is seeking enfranchisement each year, and even of this number a large percentage are unmarried.

2. Potential for ethnic integration varies tremendously throughout the province. At such reservations as Songees, Tsartlip, Nanaimo, Alberni, North Vancouver, Sechelt, and others, the potential is extremely high. With reserves on small islands, at the heads of inlets, and along the Nass, Stikine and Skeena rivers it is low. Even in areas ideally situated for ethnic integration, however, such
integration is not taking place.

3. The Indian has in many parts of British Columbia less contact with Whites than he had fifty or a hundred years ago. The White man's dependence on the Indian has declined steadily. Most White population increase has taken place in a comparatively few centres; there has actually been a withdrawal of Whites from remote areas once penetrated by them. Even where White population has increased, there is little vis-à-vis relationship.

4. Individual Indians who speak in favor of ethnic integration do so because they have hope that their children, or their children's children, may have a chance some day to cross the color line and emerge as Whites. Those with no such perceptible hope do not speak of integration. Many do not want it.

5. Integration is not, as is assumed by many, a process that moves gradually from one extreme to another. A family does not cross the color line from one generation to another under the scrutiny of its neighbors. There is in the process no way-station, no point at which society says that an Indian is partially integrated. Integration occurs only when an individual completely crosses the color line without society's awareness that he has done so. He succeeds only so long as his Indian background remains unknown, or vague and distant in both space and time.

6. Offspring resulting from mixed marriages, whether male or female Indian takes a White mate, are almost invariably brought up on the reservation of the Indian parent. They add to the Indian, not the White population.
7. Infusion of White blood has built up more resistance to disease, so that there has been a greater percentage of survival of those of mixed blood. The survivors have survived as Indians. Today, modern drugs are helping pure-bloods to survive, and an Indian has a better chance, through compulsory periodic health checks, of detection of disease in its early stages than has the average White person.

8. Department of Indian Affairs officials state that they doubt that British Columbia is really trying to integrate its Indians ethnically.

9. Scattered through Indian country there will remain for years to come Indians who have adapted their habits enough to get on successfully with their White neighbors, but who have a strong determination not to sacrifice their racial identity.

II. Socio-Cultural Conclusions

1. Indians consider themselves socially inferior to Whites because they have been conditioned to feel that way. There is no point in our regarding them our equals until they can consider themselves our equals.

2. Even enfranchised Indians are returning to their old reservations. They find that their certificate of enfranchisement is no passport into White culture.

3. In general, Indians feel that enfranchisement means giving

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1 Information obtained by integration questionnaire.
2 Information obtained from Health and Welfare nurse.
4 Correspondence from Frank Howard, MP Skeena, Sept. 15, 1958.
up old rights, not gaining new ones. Only Metlakatla has applied for enfranchisement since bands obtained legal entitlement to do so in 1951, and this band did not proceed with its application.

4. In the human background, the primary social group looms enormous in terms of the human nature which it made possible through a hundred thousand years or longer. The primitive primary social group as actually experienced by any given one of its members often was more massive and more complex and versatile than a whole generation of today as experienced by any given one of its members.

Some awareness of this primary social group and its complex of experiences still persists. "I want Indians to remember their heritage and take pride in it", said Andy Paull.

5. Indians adapted themselves to their environment. Small numbers of Whites, isolated in similar localities on the British Columbia coast, removed from the technology of their culture, would be forced to adapt in much the same way today as did these other peoples during the past thousands of years.

6. The White man's world is passing the Indian's at an accelerating rate. The first European to visit the northwest, particularly the man before the mast, found little difference between the lodge of the native and the home he had left (See Lord Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. I, page 320, for conditions of London streets during 1680's, and R.L. Stevenson's *Kidnapped* for conditions of Scottish homes.

5 Gloria Cranmer, CBU Roundtable, Nov. 8, 1958.
6 Indian Act, 1951, Section 111.
7 John Collier, op. cit., p. 21.
8 Obituary Article, Vancouver Sun, July 30, 1959.
in 1750. John Jewitt's only comment on the lodge of Chief Maquinna was an expression of amazement as to its size. Most rural families of British Columbia thirty years ago lived without running water, electricity, or the luxury of automobile ownership. Almost no White child in British Columbia is raised in such a combination of circumstances today. Almost no Indian child is raised in a combination of all three conditions. But it is not just these outward signs of standard of living that conditions differ. The White family, during the past thirty years or so, through the media of press, radio, and now television - amenities which again the Indian has been little affected by - has been propagandized into a world that makes a fetish of labor saving devices, appliances, aesthetic furnishings, sanitation, deodorants, and symptoms of conspicuous consumption. The worlds of the White and the Indian are separating, not converging.

7. Indians do not speak with one voice in their attempts to answer their problems. Questioners are puzzled by their answers, because they are confused as to what to say. White culture has helped to split their philosophies, particularly along religious lines, until they have come to differ in ways in which they would not ordinarily differ. The Native Brotherhood and the Interior Confederacy, for instance, cleave the two geographic areas along religious lines.

8. Christianity, all that has been offered the Indian in place of the old way of life it helped to destroy, is not enough to fill the void.
1. The White man, during the first years of contact, gave the Indian, in exchange for what he had to offer in trade, goods which were of value only in the native way of life. Then he broke that way of life, and its system of values along with it. He has never given the Indian, for his time and effort, an exchange that is of equitable value in the White culture.

2. Indians are not being given a chance to attain the degree of self-sufficiency they could attain even on such small plots of ground as have been left them. They cannot invest band funds to develop even such resources as their reserves possess (The Quinte Mohawks of Ontario in 1959 earned the right to spend their own revenue, the only band to date in Canada able to make use of Section 68 of the 1951 Indian Act). 9 Sechelt Indians have been unable to secure permission to erect their own saw-mill with band funds. The result is that a White-owned mill now operates on the reserve.

3. Reservations are "islands without hope.... pockets of despair", 10 where Indians live as ethnic, cultural and economic refugees. The answers to their other problems can come only through answers to their economic problems. Economic parity must be attained before cultural or ethnic integration into White culture can progress. Until they can gain confidence in themselves through some measure of economic self-sufficiency, they will remain "startled, bewildered, frightened, at the mention of enfranchisement or integration - reserve-prone". 11

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10 Dorothy Howarth, Vancouver Sun, August 22, 1959.
11 Loc. cit.
IV. Educational Conclusions

1. Indians need education, but education is not the panacea for their problems it is claimed by some to be. Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, is reported\textsuperscript{12} to have said, "If we can persuade Indian parents to get children into schools at five or six years of age, instead of nine, ten, or eleven, the problem would be solved in a generation". Many families have sent their children to school at the legal starting age, and their "problem", however loosely that word might be defined, has not been solved.

2. Failure of education to solve the Indians' problem is not all due to their reticence to pin their hopes on it. A conference of Roman Catholic teachers in 1957 decided:

Due to differences in cultural background and in view of the fact that the majority of non-Indians are not educated to understand the Indians, no school can prepare Indians for the same kind of life experience and vocational opportunities as if they were non-Indian. \textsuperscript{13}

3. Education is today only advancing the Indian toward an integration that is illusory. Larger groups coming up the educational ladder, unless they find economic opportunities current graduates are not finding, will only add to group frustration.

4. Indian education in British Columbia has from its beginnings been the result, not of any carefully conceived over-all program, but of an historic accident which brought sporadic bursts of interest by various denominational sects in the

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Vancouver Sun}, August 22, 1959.

\textsuperscript{13} Information obtained from Father Berbado, OMI Sechelt Residential School principal, July, 1958.
Indians' spiritual welfare. Denominational teachers, from the beginning of what might be called Indian education to the present day, have been hostile to the Indians' way of life. The Indian has been traditionally taught, then, by persons inimical to whatever vestige the Indian student retained of his own culture.

5. With the Indian, as with other "lesser breeds", discrimination began as an ethnic phenomenon; assumed legal form later. Only during the past decade or so have attempts been made to ameliorate ethnic discrimination through revisions of discriminatory legislation. Such revisions, however, armed as they are with educational, rather than economic weapons, will ineluctably fail. If British Columbia Indians, gaining gradually in education as they are, awake more fully to the fact that economic equality is being denied their race, it is entirely possible that they will develop a feeling of overt nationalism. If that occurs, then present day benign legislation might once more become oppressive.

6. Diana Maddox, commenting on the Apartheid system of South Africa, affirmed that "Neither by subtelty, sainthood, nor genius can he (the negro) be anything but a black man". Although the position of the Indian in British Columbia is not identical, it is nearly so.

7. Even if the day comes when education can assume its proper place in the process of Indian integration, whether such integration be ethnic or cultural, it will have to take a form different from that which it has assumed to the present

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14 CBU, August 22, 1959.
day. Professors Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson state in general terms the form it must take: 15

The immature person is in the least effective position to initiate social reform, and should the teachers feel called upon to undertake a program of reform, they will find more effective ways of furthering it than by trying to bring it about through the children.

Regional Inspector L.G.P. Waller states more specifically the course that Indian education in the future must take: 16

It is not the young people to whom we must appeal. They may be the ones who must ultimately base their success upon a change in tribal attitudes, but the change must begin in the thinking of their elders.

Children have never basically altered any culture. A school, as educators know, cannot with impunity advance on any front very far beyond the concepts of the culture of which it is a part. Education does not in general advance a civilization. Rather, it forms but a portion of the broad cultural base of its civilization, and advances only as the entire broad cultural base itself advances.

The Indians of British Columbia cannot adopt our White culture until they can afford to do so. Until they can buy the physical components of White culture, education toward a taste for them is bootless. When, and only when, the Indians can be helped to solve this economic problem, can education be of any avail toward integration. The province of education must then include, not only the children, who cannot effectively act upon its desirable motives, but also the adult population, who can.

15 The Indians of British Columbia, p. 303.

16 Workshop on Indian Education, Victoria, 1952.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Canada and its provinces are faced with making one of four basic choices in taking action to reduce its historic Indian problem. They can:

(a) let them starve,
(b) give them dole,
(c) employ them, or
(d) work out some means by which they can, with a minimum of White technology, lead their own way of life.

The first choice is of course ethically indefensible. The second course of action is being pursued on some reservations to such an extent that it can be almost described as representing present day policy. As a permanent course of action it is moralistically untenable.

The third course of action could be followed fairly quickly in localities where Indian and White populations are reasonably adjacent. It would there simply mean an extension of the policy which is already being followed in theory by the Indian Affairs Branch, other Federal departments, and some businesses; namely, that of employing, in offices, places of business, service industries and manufacturing plants a proportion of Indian help. In many towns and villages it would simply mean a relaxation of present discriminatory practice, for many Indians are qualified for employment which is currently being denied them on purely racial grounds.

Further economic self-sufficiency could be gained through employment of Indians to do jobs they are capable of doing, but which are now being done by non-Indians, on their own reserves. Freedom to use band funds for enterprise investment might result
in some business failures, but even if the proportion were to reach one-half, it would be no higher than the rate of failure in American society.

Hugh Shirreff, Skeena MLA, is reported\textsuperscript{17} to have accused the Federal government of neglect in its handling of Indian affairs, and to have suggested that the British Columbia government take over all control of Indian affairs. Certainly Federal-Provincial cooperation beyond the present educational basis would be helpful. A Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer at Ladysmith advised against a visit to the Shell Beach reserve in April of 1958 because the access road was almost impassable. The Indians receive no allowance for road maintenance, and there is no Federal equipment to maintain reserve roads. Provincial road machinery passes the reserves by, and Provincial Public Works foremen do not hire Indians on their crews because they do not pay direct Provincial land taxes. Indians do, however, pay all other Provincial taxes, direct and hidden, to an amount greater than the one tax from which they are exempt. Such employment would not go far to help the general economic plight, but it would, by bringing the Indian more closely into the overall economic structure of the province, assist in promotion of the next step, cultural integration.

In localities remote from centres of White population, where Indians cannot therefore all be readily employed in one or the other of the aforementioned manners, they must be given opportunities for self-employment. Bishop Coudert, in a circular\textsuperscript{18} to his missionaries, writes on this topic:

\textsuperscript{17} Vancouver Sun, February 10, 1959.
\textsuperscript{18} No. 48 bis, September 15, 1957.
We have come to the conclusion that most of the uneducated and primitive natives, who are unable to make a decent living in the white settlements, should be for some time, at least, sent back to their hunting grounds, and subsidized to try and live their normal Indian life; money thus spent would keep them working and healthy and away from the physical and moral degradation to which they are unavoidably exposed in town. Such a policy would, I am sure, mean a saving for the Indian Branch, the Department of Health and Welfare, and the Department of Justice.

Bishop Coudert sees happening at Whitehorse now what happened in British Columbia as far back as a hundred years ago. His suggestion is designed to prevent the trend from running full cycle, as it has done in many localities here. Attraction to the centres of population has not led to integration, but only to the worst kind of acculturation. Bishop Coudert's recommendation would necessitate enlarging most present remote reserves to a point where they would enclose sufficient game, furs and timber to provide economic sufficiency.

Whether Indians find employment in the general culture of the country or on their reservations, they must be permitted to retain whatever elements of their heritage they require to sustain them until such time as they might no longer need it. No culture can grow except by strength derived from its own past. This strength cannot come from any heritage but its own. To the present day, much of the Indian population has had no real opportunity to merge into White culture. Until it can do so, it must be permitted to identify itself with its own past. We must admit, for the time at least, that the Indian population of British Columbia is an enclave of culture in the whole population. We err in believing it to be a counterpart of the White element of the province. We must show the Indians that we are sincere; that we are dealing with them with integrity. We can
gain, suggests Frank Howard, MP for Skeena, by reciprocating with at least an appreciation of the Indian's culture in return for his adopting ours.¹⁹

Indian education still has before it the job it set out to do a hundred years ago; that of convincing the native that acceptance of our culture would be beneficial to him. Many bands cannot yet merge into our society. Children of these bands must be educated in such a way that our culture is not foreign to them, but also in such a way that their own native way of life is not made so foreign to them that they cannot continue for the time being in it. It is pointless to educate a generation for a life that cannot be theirs. Where groups are in close contact with White culture, and as others in succession come into such contact, they can be guided toward acculturation. The age-group that must be approached is the adult group. Adult Indians, who pay provincial taxes on the goods they buy, must be given a direct voice, via school district representation, in an educational system that must become one within the province. Only then can true education, as we envisage it in the public schools of British Columbia, begin to take place for the Indian.

¹⁹ Correspondence of September 15, 1958.
Burial Ground of Salish Indians
APPENDIX "A"

EXCERPTS FROM THE INDIAN ACT, 1951

Chapter 119. Schools

113. The Governor in Council may authorize the Minister, in accordance with this Act,
(a) to establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children,
(b) to enter into agreements on behalf of Her Majesty for the education in accordance with this Act of Indian children, with
   (1) the government of a province,
   (ii) a public or separate school board, and
   (iii) a religious or charitable organization.

114. The Minister may
(a) provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education, inspection and discipline in connection with schools,
(b) provide for the transportation of children to and from school,
(c) enter into agreements with religious organizations for the support and maintenance of children who are being educated in schools operated by those organizations, and
(d) apply the whole or any part of moneys that would otherwise be payable to or on behalf of a child who is attending a residential school to the maintenance of that child at that school.

115. (1) Subject to section 116, every Indian child who has attained the age of seven years shall attend school.
(2) The Minister may
(a) permit an Indian who has attained the age of six years to attend school,
(b) require an Indian who becomes sixteen years of age during the school term to continue to attend school until the end of that term, and
(c) require an Indian who becomes sixteen years of age to attend school for such further period as the Minister considers advisable, but no Indian shall be required to attend school after he becomes eighteen years of age.

117. Every Indian child who is required to attend school shall attend such school as the Minister may designate, but no child whose parent is a Protestant shall be assigned to a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices and no child whose parent is a Roman Catholic shall be assigned to a school conducted under Protestant auspices, except by written direction of the parent.
119. An Indian child who
   (a) is expelled or suspended from school, or
   (b) refuses or fails to attend school regularly,
shall be deemed to be a juvenile delinquent within the meaning
of the Juvenile Delinquent Act.

120. (1) Where the majority of the members of a band belongs to
    one religious denomination the school established on the reserve
    that has been set apart for the use and benefit of that band
    shall be taught by a teacher of that denomination.
    (2) Where the majority of the members of a band are not members
    of the same religious denomination and the band by a majority
    vote of those electors of the band who were present at a meeting
    called for the purpose requests that day schools on the reserve
    should be taught by a teacher belonging to a particular relig­
    ious denomination, the school on that reserve shall be taught by
    a teacher of that denomination.

121. A Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of any band may,
with the approval of and under regulations to be made by the
Minister, have a separate day school or day school classroom
established on the reserve unless, in the opinion of the Gover­
nor in Council, the number of children of school age does not
so warrant.
APPENDIX "B"

EXCERPTS FROM INDIAN DAY SCHOOL REGULATIONS

4. The school calendar of the province, territory or municipality within the boundaries of which the school is situated shall be the calendar of such school, except that schools conducted under Roman Catholic auspices shall not be in session on The Epiphany, The Ascension, and All Saints and Conception Days.

5. (1) The length of the school day shall be five and one-half hours inclusive of time for recess, opening exercises and assemblies, and shall extend from 9 a.m. to twelve noon and from 1:30 p.m. to 4 p.m.

(2) The Superintendent may, where necessary or desirable, authorize changes in the hours prescribed in (1).

6. The school curriculum of the province or territory within the boundaries of which the school is situated shall, subject to any changes authorized by the Superintendent, be the curriculum for such school.

7. The text books shall, subject to any changes authorized by the Superintendent, be those prescribed for the province or territory in which the school is situated.

8. (1) A period of not more than one-half hour a day to be devoted to religious instruction may be included in the time-table for classroom instruction.

(2) Religious instruction may be given by any person assigned for such purpose by the religious denomination in the faith of which pupils are to be instructed.

(3) A pupil shall not be required to receive instruction in the faith of any religious denomination contrary to the desire of such pupil's parent as expressed to the principal or teacher in charge of the school and recorded in the school register.

13. A principal or teacher in charge of a school shall (f) exclude from the school any person whom the Superintendent, Indian Agency, designates.


15. When, pursuant to paragraph (c) or (d) of Section 116 of the Indian Act a child is not required to attend school, the Superintendent shall issue to the principal or teacher concerned a certificate to that effect.

16. (1) Teachers shall be selected by the Superintendent and recommended by him for appointment, and the Superintendent shall notify teachers of their appointment stating the school to which they are assigned.
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