FELLOWSHIP CENTRES FOR URBAN
CANADIAN INDIANS

A comparative assessment of the "Coqualeetza" movement in Vancouver, and other comparable developments in eight Canadian cities.

by

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The continued "stereotyping" of Indians, because of imperfect knowledge and a lack of appreciation of their history and culture, is a barrier to understanding of their present poverty and underdevelopment. In recent years, more attention is being paid to the number of Indians who are migrating to the cities from the reserves. There are two main reasons for this; one is the hope of finding employment opportunities; the other is to take further training, which may be academic, technical or vocational.

This study examines the needs of the Indian in the city, how they differ from the needs of other migrants, and what is being done to provide for them. In many instances it has been difficult for the Indian to adjust to life in an industrial urban centre. The cultural values are quite different from those to which he is accustomed on Indian reserves or from most of the small communities with which he is familiar. In his need for companionship and understanding, he has seldom been able to avail himself of opportunities to use existing resources in the cities, partly through unfamiliarity with the services offered, partly through shyness or fear of rebuff. Across Canada, associations have been formed by Indians, and in many cases with the cooperation of non-Indian well-wishers, to meet the social needs of these newcomers. A questionnaire was used to gain information from a representative number throughout Canada, especially on (a) the objectives of the associations, (b) the activities they sponsored, and (c) the problems they helped to solve. However, since so few have had more than a few month's experience, it is necessary to regard this largely as an exploratory study.

The associations are providing new social relationships and personal services for the Indians in the cities. In so doing they help them feel a sense of participation, and they also increase the Indian's sense of responsibility and possible leadership. There is increasing awareness that the Indian needs help in solving some of his problems, but that he should be helped in the ways he chooses, and in the manner he finds most comfortable. Indian Friendship Centres can be a valuable base to facilitate his adjustment to the city, and his integration into Canadian society generally. There is obvious room for the employment of qualified social workers, as well as volunteers, in this activity.
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FELLOWSHIP CENTRES FOR URBAN CANADIAN INDIANS
CHAPTER 1

THE CANADIAN INDIAN: THE GROWTH IN PUBLIC CONCERN 1946-60

It would be difficult to name any exact date or period as the time when interest was first expressed in the welfare of the Canadian Indian and in his development as a participating Canadian citizen. There have always been instances of individual and group concern for the well-being of the original settlers of this country since the early days of colonization. This interest, however, seems to have gained more impetus and purpose in the last two decades through a variety of reasons as diverse as the development of anthropological research in Western Canada, and the social sciences, and the formation of the United Nations.

Early Contacts between Indians and White

This study intends to touch only lightly on the historical background of relations between the Indians and the early immigrants, but they were important in developing the attitudes and beliefs held by both Indians and Whites concerning each other today.

John Collier, a former United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, compared Canada's early Indian policy favourably with that of the United States. "... from the first, (it was) based on the English policy of respecting the Indian landholdings and keeping faith with the tribes. ... The Hudson's Bay Company ... was itself a conserver of Indian life and society." He qualified his praise with statements about the narrowness

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of Canada's policy, because it gave no official acknowledgement to the greatness of Indian heritage and Indian society. He thought our Indian record was free of the blemishes of other nations in the Western hemisphere, but that it lacked "genius, vision, adventurousness". For in 1947, the period when he was writing, Canada had not joined the "movement of Indian regeneration".

The white European settlers, who spread across our country in the nineteenth century in the wake of the fur traders, thought little of the current or future welfare of the Indians. They were more concerned about their own survival. There was little attempt to understand the Indians and their traditional ways of life; often the native and so-called "heathen" customs were held in contempt. The various conceptions held by these immigrants about the Indians are outlined by Dr. Frank Vallee, anthropologist and present Chairman of the Indian-Eskimo Association Research Committee.

"To the fur trader, they were producers of furs and consumers of whatever he had to offer in exchange. To the missionary, they were souls to be saved, people to be protected from some of the most deplorable features of European society. To the soldier, they were allies or enemies, depending on how they were aligned with this or that faction."

While there were agreements and treaties made with the Indians, which gave some recognition and protection of their rights, official policy of the Hudson's Bay Company and the early governments was largely "laissez faire".

At the time of Confederation in 1867, the British North America Act assigned authority to the various governments of the newly-formed Dominion of Canada and stipulated that "exclusive Legislative authority" of the Federal

1. Ibid, p. 176.

Government extended to Indians and lands reserved for Indians. Because the Federal Government assumed responsibility for the administration of Indian affairs, it was deemed necessary to define those persons who should receive protection as Indians, since there was already considerable racial mixture with Whites. The Indian Act of 1876 and the revised Act of 1951 set out definitions of those classed as Indian within the responsibility of the legislation. Now "Indian status" has a special meaning both for the people enumerated in the Indian Register kept by the Indian Affairs Branch and for the officials who administer the Provisions of the Act.

Both custom and law have influenced the use of the term "Indian" for the descendants of the original settlers of this continent. In Canada, or for that matter in this western hemisphere, it is widely used to designate those persons who show evidence of Indian forebears through either cultural or biological characteristics, regardless of whether they have "Indian status". The all-inclusive definition will be used in this present study, because, when a person of Indian descent comes to an urban centre from either an Indian reserve or a small community, the extent of his cultural or biological characteristics may affect his own adaptation to the ways of the city as well as his acceptance by others.  

Misunderstanding and Adverse Attitudes: The Background

The basic study on contemporary Indian life in British Columbia, the "Hawthorn Report", records the contradictory and often inconsistent

1. The term "non-Indian" will be used instead of "White", except when referring to the early settlers; partly to emphasize that Canada is no longer populated just by "Red" men and "White" men, and partly in the belief that "White" underlines the biological differences, when the cultural ones are the greater stumbling-block at the present time.

attitudes of the Whites toward the Indians in this coastal province. These are given in the form of overlapping phases divided in time by historical or political events:

"(1) Up to about 1849 (the time of establishment of the colony of Vancouver Island). The Whites recognized their dependence on the Indian who was seen as a desirable trapper, trader, worker or as a soul to be saved.

(2) 1830-1916 (the latter year being the termination of the Royal Commission on reserves). The Indian was seen as the occupant of desired land a barrier to getting other resources such as gold. He was also a threat because of violent behaviour, as in the early days of Victoria, or a nuisance because of his contrasting morals and institutions. Nevertheless he was the Vanishing Red Man, for whose treatment no permanent solutions were therefore needed. At the same time the views of the earlier period continued.

(3) 1850-1946 This phase was almost concurrent with (2), but developed somewhat more slowly. The Indian was here seen as a person to be Westernized by a policy determined and administered by the Whites; he was the proper charge of the churches for schooling. He would eventually vanish but not as rapidly as once expected.

(4) From 1951 (the date of the revised Indian Act). 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 neighbour whose desirability is a matter of varied opinion."

The shorter period of white settlement in British Columbia accounts for these changes of attitudes occurring within a century. However, this synopsis can serve as a guide to understanding the reasons for some non-Indian attitudes toward those of Indian ancestry in Canada.

Another explanation for the many current beliefs and attitudes is the general lack of knowledge about the Indian, with little desire or opportunity to obtain more. Few think it necessary to be well-informed. Also, interesting reliable material is scarce. Many people form their ideas and opinions from such sources as: the comics, legends, children's story-books, poorly written text-books, movies, radio, television, newspapers, magazines and novels.

1. op. cit. p. 59.
Commenting on the beliefs gained from these sources of information, the Legassé report states that four stereotypes of Indian life exist in the minds of the White Canadian:

"The first image that a young Canadian receives is that of a people with painted faces, feathered headdresses, bows and arrows and pinto horse ...

The second picture that Canadians receive is contained in history books where Indians are shown as a nation of trappers and canoemen, an angry people seeking white scalps, men at war with each other, and of faltering allegiances easily influenced by White men carrying firewater.

The third picture, this one taught by the press and other media of public information, is one of an impoverished people with large diseased families in overcrowded homes. It is a picture of people who are immoral, lazy, frequently inebriated, unambitious and unwanted.

The fourth picture of the people of Indian descent often co-exists with the third one. It is derived from the statements of well meaning persons who wish to promote the welfare of Indians and Metis. It shows young people attending high schools and vocational training institutes. Adolescents who have abandoned the "shiftless ways of their people" and are living "decently" like the White man. They are Indians and Metis who are said to be "advanced" because they no longer "live like Indians". The authors of this last picture attempt to establish a contrast between the new and the old generation when actually both are part of the same continuum."

As Dr. Legassé mentions, the two latter images are too often seen as exemplifying the only types of present-day Indian, with no gradations in between. Yet the young Indian would not be using the opportunity to achieve benefit from education, if there were not some on the reserves who have the spirit to encourage their children to make a place for the Indian in Canadian society. The belief seems to be that Indian youth is only seeking education because of non-Indian support and encouragement, and in spite of their elders. Many of the older Indians are only too glad that regulations have changed sufficiently to permit their children to receive more education than they did themselves. It is the older ones who wish to increase general knowledge about the heritage of the Indians, so that the young, who are mixing more with

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non-Indians, will not reject their people and their past through learning facts and fiction which mostly discredits their race.

Dr. Frank Vallee believes that Indians wish to be held in higher esteem by their fellow-Canadians. In a radio broadcast he remarked, "the low esteem and even contempt in which the Indians are held by many can be traced to two sources; the material poverty of the Indians, and the remarkable lack of sound knowledge on history and ways of life of these people." 2

The above statement, which comments on the sources of some current attitudes towards Indians, calls to mind a similar situation of former times in another country: one familiar to all social workers from their studies of the development of the social services in nineteenth century England. Most of the "rich" regarded the "poor" with pity tinged with contempt; they lacked knowledge of the reasons for the disparities in the outlook of the lower classes toward life. The isolation of the two classes had "created different customs, speech, pleasures, and above all different ethical standards". 1 The rich were only too ready to believe that poverty among the lower classes was a result of inferiority, ignorance, and "godlessness". They were not able to realize how demoralizing undernourishment and ill-health could be, and that grudgingly-given philanthropy could not equip people to cope with the social changes brought about by the increasing industrialization of the nation. The poor had few rights or privileges and it was felt they were incapable of taking on responsibilities.

In his review of the social climate in England in the early part of the nineteenth century, E. T. Ashton states:

1. Dr. Frank Vallee, op. cit., p. 1.

"The needs of the people were grave. The necessity for a revolu-
tionary approach to mass misery was proved by the widespread interest
in the reform of the Poor Laws. The people themselves, in all kinds of
movements, newspapers, pamphlets, protests and violence itself were
asking for help in pitiful terms. They had supporters from among all
social classes, political parties and religious creeds." ¹

Interest was aroused. Greater knowledge of the appalling conditions
and of the people themselves was sought by the clergy in the slums, by the
students at the university settlements, by humanitarians in all walks of life.
Eventually full-scale social investigations were made. All this gradually
led to the introduction of measures which improved socio-economic conditions
for the lower classes and gained them suffrage, better working conditions,
universal education, and welfare provisions.

It is possible to see a number of similarities between the situation
of the Indian of the early twentieth century in Canada and the "poor" of the
nineteenth century in England. First, the general belief that the Indian was
inferior and incapable of "advancing" and assuming any of the white man's
so-called "superior" standards. Secondly, the status of the Indian has been
comparable to the second-class citizenship of the poor. One is reminded of
the oft-repeated phrase "one law for the rich and another for the poor", when
contemplating the legal barriers which restrict the Indian even now. He has,
at last, achieved the vote in federal elections, but the laws and regulations
concerning education, property rights and liquor are, for him, vastly different
to those governing other Canadian citizens. Thirdly, an approach toward
righting and eliminating some of these injustices is being made. There has
been a growing, if not a widespread, interest in the needs and problems of
the Indian since World War II. There is greater awareness that in order to
achieve some of these reforms, the Indian needs to be educated to take his

¹. Ibid, p. 7.
part in achieving them. The Indians themselves have formed organizations. Newspapers have published articles and reports. Members of religious, educational, welfare and labour organizations have spoken out for the rights of Indians. A further indication of concern is the number of "Letters to the Editor" appearing in the press from individuals that deplore the legal and social discriminations against the Indian.

**Post-War Developments**

There have been many attempts to improve the situation of the Indian in Canada since post-war mentality revived interest in reform. Here are some of the manifestations:

1946 Formation of Joint Committee of Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs.

1948 Report of this Parliamentary Committee after hearing over four hundred briefs from Indian and non-Indian sources.

1950 Indian Affairs Branch transferred to the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration from the Department of Mines and Resources.

1951 Revision of Indian Act and subsequent changes in administrative policy affecting health, welfare, economy, and education.

1954-1959 Commissioning and publication of socio-economic surveys on the people of Indian origin in two provinces, one by the Federal government, the other by a provincial government. ¹

1957 Formation of National Commission on the Indian Canadian, a standing committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education, which was later incorporated as a separate voluntary agency under the title "Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada" in 1960. It has published a quarterly Bulletin since 1958, chronicling events and developments concerning the native people throughout Canada.

1958 Appointment of Senator James Gladstone, an Indian, to the Upper Chamber of the Canadian Parliament.

1959 Establishment of a second Joint Committee of Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs, which will soon be publishing its report on the briefs and recommendations presented.

¹ British Columbia - the Federal government.
Manitoba - the Manitoba government.
1960 Legislation granting the right to vote in federal elections to all Indians who have reached the age of twenty-one years.

There are political implications in some of these happenings, but they are also indicative of social trends: to improve conditions for the Indian, to include him in the political scene, and to help alter some attitudes toward him.

The measures introduced by the Federal Government are in part a result of the presentations by Indian and non-Indian groups, by church, welfare and other organizations, to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. There is a need for the "man on the street" to realize that the Indian is not solely the responsibility of the Federal Government, that he is a neighbour who requires some neighbourly help, as do landed immigrants, in order to become an integral part of the Canadian nation. For this reason, the formation of a national voluntary association of individuals and organizations interested in the future of the Indian is of particular importance. It is attempting to help by coordinating citizen efforts and by publicising them.

Perhaps the wheel is turning full circle: with the growing familiarity of United Nations programmes for the so-called "underdeveloped countries", there is better realization that there are underdeveloped areas in our own country! Moreover, the reports and commentaries on the issues of segregation versus de-segregation of the Negro in the United States and on the policies of apartheid in South Africa are, and will be, causing Canadians to pause and consider the situation of the Indian in their midst.

In recent years, of course, there have been many alterations in administrative policy towards the Indians. As another anthropologist, Dr. R. W. Dunning of the University of Manitoba, said in the previously quoted radio series,
"Overall, the Department of Health and Welfare has achieved spectacular results in the area of health. The Indian Affairs Branch has achieved a great deal in the areas of housing, improving the local reserve economy by such measures as the revolving fund loan and fur conservation schemes. But more important they increased enormously the educational services on the reserve. This reflects their philosophy that the best preparation for Indian integration is to offer them the same education as other Canadians receive." 1

While there have been changes in the official attitude of the administration, the Hawthorn report on Indians in British Columbia records that there is still "a minority of superintendents whose outlook is racist in principle". 2 To put it bluntly, a few still regard the Indian as inferior. One can imagine how this opinion would colour their dealings with the people under their administration. This so-called "expert" opinion would also influence others in these districts who have little direct contact with the Indian and already entertain many myths about his capacity and potential.

The Indian has cause to resent the image of him that appears in the movies and comic strips, and it will take much more than the recent well-intentioned documentary films and broadcasts of our national communication services, the National Film Board, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to dissolve the long-held notions of the general public. However, with the concerted attempts of citizens' voluntary groups and the wider participation of Indians in the lives of their neighbours outside the reserves, a more balanced picture should develop.

Migration to the Cities

There has been an increasing movement away from the reserves in the past ten years. Due to the inability of the reserve economy to support

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the multiplying population even at a subsistence level, many Indians have sought employment in the cities when they were not able to obtain jobs in the districts surrounding the reserves. Too, the increased opportunity for governmental assistance toward education beyond Grade VIII has meant that many young people are also coming to the cities, at least temporarily, for further training. It has not been easy for all these people to adapt both to the different cultural expectations of the non-Indian community and to the differences in urban living. Some have found themselves unable to adjust to city life and have returned to the security of the reserve. A few, discouraged and overwhelmed by the difficulties confronting them, drift to the "skidroad" areas where their tangles with the law are easily interpreted as a propensity for the Indian to become delinquent. Happily, there is now a new note. Indians who have been equal to the task of becoming established and self-supporting in the cities, through better preparation or possibly more propitious circumstances at the time of their arrival, are now concerned about helping the newcomers to settle into this new environment.

The Federal Government has not been unaware of the difficulties. Since 1957 it has endeavoured to assist those seeking jobs by having Placement Officers of the Indian Affairs Branch work closely with the National Employment Services; also the office of the Regional Superintendents of Indian Schools takes some interest in those receiving tuition assistance. However, there is little help readily available for those without Indian status.

The Needs of People Coming From Rural to Urban Settings

What are the needs of the newcomer to town? He needs to have a place to live or to stay until he finds accommodation that is suitable. He needs to learn his way about the city. He looks for diversions or interests
to occupy his leisure time. He seeks social contacts through club and church organizations in order to find companionship, make new friends, and avoid loneliness. The newcomer of Indian descent has all these needs, and if he has known little but the life of the reserve and the residential school, he may have a lot more. If he asks for directions or for information, he may be snubbed by some prejudiced person. Even the police sometimes tend to regard him with suspicion. These are such living realities that the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg compiled a list of difficulties that Indian newcomers may have:

(a) Finding their way about the city (transit system, directions, streets, etc.)
(b) Knowing about housing standards and how to obtain satisfactory housing.
(c) Finding suitable temporary accommodation.
(d) The proper use of money and family budgeting.
(e) The rudimentary levels of personal hygiene, correct attire for different occasions and personal behaviour.
(f) Understanding employer expectancy in such matters as regularity, punctuality, dependability, and performance; the resources of the National Employment Service.
(g) The use of community medical and hospital facilities.
(h) Knowledge of education opportunities, scholarships.
(i) Making and maintaining contacts with church groups.
(j) The use of community health, welfare and recreation services.
(k) Discrimination by non-Indians.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present study is easy to bring to a focus at this point. In several Canadian cities where there has been a noticeable influx of Indians coming to seek employment or to take further education or vocational training, attempts have been made by the established Indian residents to help

1. There have been incidents in Vancouver of Indian students on their way to their boarding houses in residential districts, being picked up for questioning because they are outside the downtown area.

to meet their need as they adapt to city life. In some cases, a group has been encouraged by interested non-Indian citizens to form an association with them; in others, members of the clergy or Indian Affairs Branch employees have fostered the idea; or, an organization has been initiated by the Indians themselves. In most areas, these associations aim to set up some sort of permanent Centre for their services and activities; in the meantime, they attempt to accomplish as much as possible, through meetings in private homes or in rented halls, through sponsoring sports, dances and other educational and recreational events.

Certain questions arise from the nature of these organizations. Do they fulfill a need that is not being met by other existing agencies in the communities, or are they duplicating services already available? Do they make it easier for the newcomer to use other available resources in the city, or do they tend to make him feel segregated from the non-Indian population?

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of these associations in meeting the needs of the Indian in the city. It attempts to assess the significance of these associations to both the newcomer and the city resident of Indian descent. Various methods have been utilized to this end. Where names and addresses were available, information was requested of all organizations with Indian membership known to aim at promoting understanding between Indians and non-Indians, and at facilitating the integration of Indians into the Canadian urban community. The replies received indicate that this should be regarded as an exploratory study. Different kinds of organizations are being formed, but few have been in existence over a year. However, something can certainly be gained from assessing the main principles which activate them, and their achievements so far.
The aims and objectives of all the associations, their membership regulations and some of their services and activities, are reviewed in Chapter 2. This is then followed by a detailed description of the formation and history of a local association, the Coquakeetza Fellowship which was a pioneer in British Columbia.
CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN URBAN CENTRES

Many city residents, both Indian and non-Indian, have been concerned about the situation of the Indians who are migrating in greater numbers to the larger Canadian urban centres. In the past, unfortunately, concern has been largely centred on the plight of the discharged Indian prisoner or the unfortunate distressed Indian who drifts into the city slums and finds refuge only on the fringes of the underworld. Moreover, this concern has not been so much for the particular individual; rather, it has been concern for the "problem" his presence creates for the slum missions, the social agencies, the police, and the courts.

These conditions still exist. But, there is now a growing realization that young Indian people, including students, who are arriving in the cities, may need help of a different kind. They come from many different kinds of home and school backgrounds. Few are prepared for the complexity and impersonality of city life, or for the manifestations of prejudice and discrimination against them which soon show up. Most of them have been encouraged to take further education or vocational training; others are looking for employment or possibly beginning their first jobs in town. They come to the cities with great expectations; nevertheless, interested persons have noticed the loneliness and, sometimes, the discouragement that assails these young people in their new environment.

The sympathy and interest felt for these newcomers has stimulated the growth of a new kind of organization in cities in various parts of Canada. The formation of city-located clubs by Indians and with Indians is a phenomenon that should be better recognized, and it needs encouragement. In
many ways, these citizen-sponsored clubs are as important to the future of the Indian people as the government-sponsored programmes to improve the reserve economy by community development. If students and others are helped by these clubs, there will be some among them who will thus be better prepared to assist their own people in improving conditions both on and off the reserves.

In Canada, at least some fifteen cities in six provinces are now known to have active urban organizations for Native Indians. In preparation for the present study, twelve clubs, two councils, and two friendship centres were learned about and written to for information. A schedule of questions was drawn up, the presidents were asked for responses, and these were received from all but a few.

It appears that seven of the organizations have been formed within the past year, whereas the oldest was formed ten years ago. They have different names, they have different regulations for membership, but their aims and objectives are very much alike. While perhaps the names are not too important, some significance can be seen in their choice. The designation "Indian" is used by many associations whose membership is exclusively Indian and by others that have strong Indian participation. This could reflect pride of race or may simply reflect a local preference, for the designation "Native" seems to be used more by those organizations located in the prairie provinces. On the other hand, some avoid the connotation "Indian" or "Native" altogether, and have chosen names of Indian origin for their titles,

1. See Appendix A. There may be others not known at the time of writing.
2. See Appendix B.
possibly feeling that this would seem less separatist.

Membership

Membership regulations of the associations fall into four categories. The first allows membership only to Indians (although one organization is now including Eskimos); a second invites non-Indians as honorary members without voting privileges; the third permits non-Indian members to vote, but prohibits them from holding executive office; the fourth offers full membership to Indians and non-Indians alike.

The two exclusively Indian memberships were reported by clubs in Ontario cities. This could indicate that the Indians in this part of Canada have had better opportunities for developing leadership, a greater pride in their identity as Indians, a preference to operate on their own, or more misgivings about non-Indian interference. Certainly the fewer bands and larger reservations in Ontario would give the Indians a greater sense of identification with one another than the Indians of British Columbia could feel with their numerous, small, and scattered reservations. Also, in this eastern section of Canada the Indians have a particular sense of pride in their heritage, for they are strongly aware of their forefathers' relations with the British, as loyal and honoured allies during the colonial wars of the seventeenth century. This historic era is well documented; they keep its memories fresh in their own minds and, for various other reasons, do not let the rest of Canada nor the Federal government forget it.

Those associations, in the two categories that restrict the privileges of the non-Indian membership, are possibly guarding against being

   British Columbia: 1,629 reservations, 204 bands.

2. Epitomized by Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant of the Six Nations.
unduly influenced or controlled. They are, probably, only too aware that decision-making with regard to their own affairs has too often in the past been taken out of their hands. Honorary or associate membership for non-Indians allows sincere and interested persons to show their sympathetic support, while permitting the Indians to develop and control the policy and activities of the club through their own leadership. Likewise, when Indian descent is mandatory for executive positions, there is less opportunity for the non-Indian members to influence and run the organization. Since these restrictions are mainly seen in the western provinces, could this signify that the Indians of the plains and the coast do not feel as well prepared as their eastern counterparts to cope with existing conditions? They may see themselves as needing assistance, moral or economic, from the non-Indian population; possibly sensing a lack of well-established, coordinated opinion among themselves, they have more need to protect themselves from non-Indian control; also the non-Indian support in the west has been mostly from the churches, and, no doubt, the clubs are guarding against being considered principally religious associations.

It is interesting to note that the association which extends equal rights and privileges to all members, whether Indian or non-Indian, is located in what could still be called a pioneer area of Canada – the Yukon Territory. Possibly on this northern frontier, the people are more mindful of their dependence on one another, and realize that help for one group will benefit the whole community. In their constitution, they express their intention to "remain strictly non-political and non-denominational in character".

Only one of the associations reports a preponderance of members in the eighteen to twenty-five age group, and it was organized under the
sponsorship of the Young Men's Christian Association. The others take a keen interest in the young adult group, but are composed of members from all age groups.

Where there are membership fees, the charges are purely nominal ones. Some associations merely have an attendance fee, while others invite donations at the meetings. Once again the Yukon association exhibits its uniqueness, for the By-Laws state, "The membership dues shall be one dollar per person, or a contribution of handicraft or work which is considered by the duly-elected officers to be worth at least that amount."

Purpose of the Organizations

The main reason for forming these associations has been to provide an opportunity for the Indian to meet with others of his ethnic group, to be welcomed during the initial period of coping with the strangeness of the city, to share experiences with others who are attempting to put into proper perspective the often inconsistent values of the non-Indians which sometimes conflict with those of their own culture. As one group says, "to make them feel at home so that the notion to hop the next train may be dissipated."

Their purpose is to provide a friendly atmosphere in which to spend some leisure time, and to this end, most of the associations aim to give priority to the establishment of a "Centre". In this setting, provision could be made for:

(1) fellowship and socialization,
(2) activities of a recreational or educational nature,
(3) counselling and guidance.

The future of any nation or society depends upon the direction and guidance given to the generation who are facing or about to assume adult
responsibilities. Many Indians and some sympathetic non-Indians recognize the need to encourage and assist these young Indian people to take their place in modern Canadian society, so that they may in turn help others of their race to participate in the contemporary scene, regain the respect and dignity that once was theirs, and yet retain their identity.

As the Reverend André Renaud said in an address to the Conference on Indians and Metis of the Greater Winnipeg Welfare Council in 1958, "... it is not enough, for the prospective town-resident of Indian descent, to have technical or professional training, to speak the same language and dress the same way as the others to achieve socio-economic adjustment." The theme of his address was that Indians should not only be encouraged to associate together in the cities, but should also be helped to locate in meeting-places of their own. He pointed out that the Indian faces many cultural differences on his arrival in the cities, and that he has continually to put effort into guessing at and interpreting the ways and reactions of the people he meets and into adjusting to them. He will be better able to do all of these things, if he has as a resource the support of others in a like position.

Objectives

As already indicated, the organizations have many similar objectives. None occurs more frequently in the lists of objectives than the aim of better understanding between Indians and non-Indians, as for example:

"To assist in the promotion of better understanding ... between those of Indian heritage and all other people ..."

"To create better understanding ... between Indians and non-Indian citizens."

"To promote ... understanding between the Natives of Canada of Indian

descent and the Canadian public."

"... for better understanding between Natives and non-Indian people."

There is considerable significance in the choice of this word: understanding. The Concise Oxford Dictionary offers several meanings: intelligence (in the verbal sense); power of apprehension; agreement, harmony, union of sentiments. Each of these meanings is important in its own way, to achieve the substance of all three would be an accomplishment. To understand: to comprehend, to perceive the nature of, to know how to deal with. All the clubs imply that there is some understanding, because they state the need for "better understanding".

There is more to this matter of the need for better understanding between Indians and non-Indians than appears at first glance. Nevertheless, the recognition of a need and the desire for its fulfillment are important steps in the process of producing measures that lead to fulfillment of the need. At this point, both Indians and non-Indians require knowledge of each other's values and the behaviour and attitudes that are produced by them, also the reason for the differences in these values. In any situation where there are differences which need to be resolved, whether of opinions or of values, they are seldom satisfactorily settled without serious effort by all concerned to understand them.

Both the Indian and the non-Indian need to know and understand more about their own proclivities before a harmonious understanding is reached between them. The Indian requires a greater knowledge of the culture of his forefathers; while he may have learned of the past from the older people of his band, he has been subjected to so many distorted facts from non-Indian sources that he is unlikely to have a well-defined image of himself or his people. He needs a sense of his own worth in order to be able to cope with
the changes that confront all who make the move from rural to urban living. The non-Indian requires a greater realization that his cultural ways are by no means superior to those of others. As Reverend André Renaud emphasized, other Canadians must understand the values and cultural differences of the Indian and should respect them, particularly while the Indian is trying to minimize those that handicap his acceptance in urban society. "Other differences", he said, "must be respected as validly human, even more that their expression must be encouraged for the mental health of the individual and for the overall enrichment of the community." ¹

What are some of the cultural values that create difficulties in the social adjustment of Indians? Dr. Ben Reifel sees them as being the concepts of time, saving, and work;² as an Area Director with the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, who is of German and Sioux descent, he can speak with some authority. He points out that before North America was settled by the Europeans, there was no need for the Indian to be oriented to the future. The Indian had no need to save because "he could have all that he required in the way of food, clothing, and shelter by living in harmony with nature ... there was never any need to coordinate the efforts of the group except in some general way around the natural objects, such as the sun, moon, and seasons." The daily tedious work tasks were the lot of the women. It was the men's role to guard and defend the tribe and to assume the "more rigorous task of hunting so that the people would have food, clothing, and shelter."


² Dr. Ben Reifel; "To Be or To Become; Cultural Factors in Social Adjustment of Indians", Excerpts of an address given to the Northern Montana Work Conference on Indian Education, published in Indian Education, April 15, 1957; reprinted by the National Commission on the Indian Canadian.
Dr. Reifel regrets that knowledge of the importance of such concepts as time, saving, and work in the adjustment process was not available in earlier times. Only in the past forty years or so have anthropological studies been recognized as having much practical bearing on the successful integration of the Indian into modern society.

In Canada the reserve system and the practice of segregated education has perpetuated the Indian's ignorance of European cultural attitudes toward these concepts. The church-affiliated schools sponsored by the Federal Government have tended to foster the moral, rather than the social, aspects of using time, saving, and work. It is little wonder that the Indian has not been able to incorporate these values readily into his way of life, for they would only have meaning for people in an individualistic, competitive type of community. Up until the last few decades, there were few opportunities to do other than return to his home. When an Indian child learned about the "virtues" of punctuality, thrift and work at school, he probably soon found out when he returned to the reserve that these would not allow him to live a much different life from his elders. He probably found too, that his elders did not approve of the White man's ways, nor would they accept such ideas from the young.

The numerous studies by anthropologists have also shown that while there are many variations in social structure, most Indian societies on this continent place emphasis on group activity and cooperation. Nevertheless, the individual has a place in the group; he has personal significance and this gives him a sense of security. What he is and what he does is important to the group. He learns as a child that his individual contribution has meaning for the life of the group and therefore is better prepared to assume responsibilities of his adult role in the group.
In contrast to this, the Indian has not been made to feel that he had a place in the larger sphere of Canadian life. There has been so little recognition of the possibility of his contributing to the common good, that for a time he almost gave up the struggle, because he was not regarded as capable even of handling affairs in his own community. It seems, therefore, particularly fitting that many should now seek the security of group association and cooperation as they mingle in the cities among other Canadians.

One would think that the promotion of greater knowledge about Indian culture was implicit in the objective for "better understanding between Indians and non-Indians", but a few of the organizations prefer to be more explicit, and list this as a separate aim:

"To become acquainted with the history, culture, religion, and traditions of the Indian people, and to assist in preserving them."

"To promote recognition of the nobility of the Indian heritage, and its contribution to Canadian society."

"To foster better understanding by non-Natives of the customs and traditions and inherent qualities of the original Canadians."

It is only right that special emphasis should be placed on the early history and customs of the Indians. Indeed, such an emphasis is necessary to counteract some of the impressions of "white superiority" gained from the biased historical and fictional writing about European settlement in North America. The present preoccupation with the adjustment of the Indian to contemporary society, and his future contribution to the life of the nation, ignores the contributions made by his ancestors to the culture of North American society. There have been some investigations into the "interchange of cultural influences and their subtle mixture", but their wider public acknowledgement seems desirable. This could help to dissolve some of the

feelings of resentment which the Indian has, and help to increase respect for his race.

The Challenge of Full Citizenship

The opportunity for friendship between individuals and sympathetic understanding between peoples is regarded as the foundation for the eventual integration of the Indian into Canadian society. These alone, however, will not prepare the Indian to become a participating citizen, contributing toward his own and his neighbours' future.

Dr. Gordon Hamilton gives the answer of generic casework when she says that "it is only if the individual is respected and allowed to develop through education, science and free institutions that he is capable of creating the conditions under which he lives." ¹ This is just as applicable to the Indian, and it is explicit in the Hawthorn report that "the Indian population should be able to take full and undifferentiated part in organized political, educational and other national and provincial institutions, ..." ² in order to be able to make positive contributions to Canadian life.

The organizations under study recognize the validity of such statements, and some of them express their aims, as follows:

"To work ... for the promotion of better facilities for health and education for Indian people."

"To maintain a creative attitude towards improving the environment and opportunities for Indians."

"To assist in eliminating some of the problems of our Native people."

Regardless of how these objectives are expressed, they show that the associations intend to concern themselves with the broad issues of Indian


welfare, and not limit their work to local needs. The more representations there are for improvements in facilities for the Indians, the sooner they will be realized.

Against great odds, Indian leaders have been working toward greater involvement of their people in the management of Indian affairs. Now that these voluntary associations of urban Indians, some with non-Indian membership, are working toward the same goals, there should be more hope for future participation.

Many Indians and certain non-Indians see the need for developing and encouraging leadership qualities among the Indian people. Under the auspices of the Indian Affairs Branch, Leadership Training Courses are being held for "reserve" Indians, and they are being well attended. The associations also seek "to develop the leadership qualities which most certainly lie dormant in our young people." In some associations, this may simply mean encouraging leadership in organizing their own sports and social activities. As they foster greater participation and "socializing", the clubs are helping to develop confidence that will enable the young person to participate and show initiative in the larger community. Carrying out the duties of executive officers in the organizations will be excellent training too. This is not meant to imply that leadership is entirely lacking, for among the organizations in this present survey, at least two were completely organized through the initiative of Indians.

It is a sad reflection on this continent's supposedly democratic principles that the Indian has to realize that he should work toward equality and acceptance, and that many Canadians believe that the Indian should prove his worth before he is given respect and equality of opportunity. In this connection, Dorothy Lee, Greek-born, American anthropologist, says that she
believes that "the principle of equality is adequate to democracy only when it derives naturally from the tenet of the dignity of man, only when it is a by-product of the absolute and permeating respect for human worth." She comments further saying, "In the Western world, at any rate in recent years, the roles of these two principles have been reversed to a certain extent; equality has not been viewed as incidental to respect for individual worth, but has been considered instead as a measure to bring about respect for human worth."

These next objectives are an indication of how segregated and how unessential the Indian has felt; they illustrate, too, that Canadian society has accorded little respect and acceptance to those of Indian status or Indian descent.

"To become an essential part of Canadian society."

"To work towards achievement of equality of opportunity."

"To rise in status where we can be an asset to the community collectively and individually."

Hopefully, a more favourable social and economic climate will eventually bring about their achievement.

The remaining objectives are concerned specifically with the provision of fellowship, guidance, and activities for the Indian people when they come to the city, either on a temporary basis or to settle permanently. The need for these services was outlined earlier in the chapter, under the purpose of the organization, therefore, it will be appropriate to interpret them further when reviewing the services provided by the associations.

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Meeting Places and Programmes

No conclusions should be drawn without further knowledge of local situations, but speculations can be made about the significance of the places in which the associations hold their meetings. A number of the associations meet in members' homes, two have the use of Y.M.C.A. club rooms, others rent halls, while a few are donated the use of halls. When the meetings are held in members' homes, it may indicate a small, but active membership, it may mean limited finances, on the other hand, it could mean that community interest in Indian needs is low, and the group does not receive much support. One of the associations meets weekly in Y.M.C.A. rooms. It would be interesting to know if it receives any help from a social group worker; otherwise there is no indication that members of the social work profession have been active in the associations, either as participating citizens or as professionals.

The Yukon association appears to have the support of a considerable part of the community, for it has had seven halls placed at its disposal for meetings, and now uses them on a rotational basis. The members meet in halls that belong to the Elks (a service organization), the Whitehorse Civic Centre, and the High School, also in the Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, and United church halls. Of course, it is not quite fair to compare the community spirit of a city the size of Whitehorse with some of the other more complex, industrialized, and much larger urban centres. Yet, when good community organization principles are followed a great deal can be accomplished, as for example, the establishment of the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in Winnipeg indicates.

In Calgary, a different practice has developed. This group was

1. See Chapter 3.
organized in cooperation with the leaders of three of the neighbouring Indian reserves. Their meetings are held in the city every second month, while the Indians of one of the reserves act as hosts for the intervening ones. This combination is reported to be very successful. What is appropriate in one locality, however, is not always suitable in another; nevertheless, this type of contact with local reserves might prove to be worthwhile.

Except for the one club, to which reference has been made, the associations follow a pattern of one meeting a month. At these meetings there are programmes of one kind or another, possibly a guest speaker, a discussion, or a film on some subject of interest to the members. These subjects include such topics as: education, discrimination, segregation, alcohol, the John Howard Society, Indian history and culture, Indian problems. For the most part, controversial and political issues are avoided, as they are deemed best left to the tribal or regional Indian organizations. Some clubs occasionally have evenings devoted to "sing-songs", amateur concerts, or displays of Indian dances. Between the regular meetings, the younger members may meet to participate in sports, for such activities are sponsored by the associations; depending on climate and interest, these include: soccer, soft-ball, hockey, basketball, volley-ball, and indoor bowling. One or two of the clubs sponsor dances on a monthly or semi-monthly basis. As one of the associations reports, they do try to emphasize "friendship through social intercourse" and like to afford some opportunity at each meeting for the members to mingle in a free and friendly fashion.

Services Provided by the Associations

The associations seek to render service to the Indian in town on three levels: activities, fellowship, and guidance. On the other hand, it could be said that there is a three-fold approach, for on each level there is
some element of the other two.

The review of the programmes of the meetings has afforded a look at some of the activities in which the associations are engaged. These range from the educational talks and discussions to the recreational pursuits of sports and dances, and provide for both stimulation and relaxation. This participation in activities of common interest encourages a sense of comradeship, and when there is opportunity for an exchange of ideas in a friendly atmosphere, prejudices do dissolve, and greater understanding follows. Certain of the topics discussed at the meetings are selected for the guidance of the newcomer.

Fellowship or friendship is the guiding principle of these organizations, whether the membership is all Indian or whether non-Indians are included. In the former situation, the Indian is able to enjoy the companionship of those who have some understanding of what he is facing in the city. He may be the only one of his race at his place of employment, in his class at school, or at his boarding-house, and feel isolated and strange much of the rest of the time; the warmth with which he is accepted in the association will heal the real or imagined slights he has received, and ease his feelings of homesickness. The latter situation affords an opportunity for Indians and non-Indians to mingle and get to know one another as individuals. As they work together with a common interest to improve conditions for the Indians, they come to understand one another better, and friendships develop which can flourish outside the associations. In some cases, hospitality is offered to the newcomers in the homes of both Indian and non-Indian residents, particularly to the young students whose means would be limited.

The associations report that they give guidance and counselling about housing, employment, personal problems, and also in matters of dress.
and deportment. One can conclude that it is usually the executive and the more experienced members that are available for such advice. There is also indication that members are helped to use the other resources and agencies of the community. One of the presidents, an Indian, is currently meeting temporary financial needs himself, because he does not want new members "to be self-conscious about appearance ... for lack of funds for small needs".

All the associations were asked, "If more money were available, what project of the club would take priority?" The responses show that most seek to have a recreational or social centre. Although, one president laconically replied, "Several members are barely able to make ends meet." However, the predominant thought is there is a need for club rooms or some type of permanent location where members could meet their friends and spend some of their leisure time, and where Indian people could obtain information and assistance, either through re-direction to an appropriate agency or by counselling. Evidently, while new associations are "flourishing", in the sense that they are growing in numbers, it would be a mistake to assume that this growth is easy. They are a response to a need. It is doubtful yet whether the need is understood by the nation at large or by more than an enlightened minority.
A VANCOUVER ASSOCIATION: THE COQUALEETZA FELLOWSHIP

The organization known as the Coqualeetza Fellowship demands study for a number of reasons. It is, of course, convenient to study because it is based locally in the city of Vancouver. But, Vancouver is an important centre for Indians, and a rapidly growing urban area which attracts them. In any case, however, the Vancouver society was one of the earliest, if not the first, of such organizations to form in a city on a small informal scale, (as opposed to the large organizations of Indians formed on a regional or provincial basis). The group has long had as an objective the setting up of a centre for Native People in Vancouver, and was probably the first association in Canada to establish an Information Centre for people of Indian descent who might need advice or help in an urban setting.

In order to appreciate some of the difficulties that have confronted this organization over the years, and to understand some of the mistaken ideas concerning its present status, it is worthwhile to review the history of its formation, and outline its various undertakings. Use of direct quotations will be made frequently, as the Society's own version is of particular interest when there are so many misconceptions regarding the nature and aims of the group. For instance, it is not widely known that it is non-denominational, that membership is open to all those of Indian descent, regardless of status, and that interested non-Indian members are also welcome, though they may not hold executive positions in the club.

1. Much of the material in this chapter is taken freely from the monograph printed by the organization on its history and activities up to, and including, the year 1959, supplemented by other information obtained during the course of this present study.
Alumni Group Organizes

The Coqualeetza Fellowship derives its name from an Indian Residential School, which had been located at Sardis in southern British Columbia. This school, originally under the auspices of the Methodist Church, later the United Church, is no longer in existence. But on February 14th, 1950, a group of ex-students and teachers held a party in Vancouver to honour the eighty-seventh birthday of the Reverend Doctor G. H. Raley, a former principal of the Coqualeetza School. By this time, the school buildings had been sold by the Home Mission Board of the Church to the Federal Government (since 1941), and were in use as a tuberculosis sanatorium under the direction of the Indian Health Services. A few of the ex-students were living in the city, but many of them came from all over the province for this special occasion. It was to this assembled group that Dr. Raley suggested the formation of an Alumni group in Vancouver for their mutual benefit and enjoyment. An Alumni association was not an entirely new idea, for a number of ex-students had established such an organization at Skidegate on the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1927.

Dr. Raley had long had the welfare of Indians at heart. His association with them dated back to 1893, when he first went to serve as a missionary in the Indian village of Kitimaat. His duties there included being Justice of the Peace, postmaster, judge, doctor and meteorologist. He published the first newspaper in that northern area, and was also instrumental in assembling a dictionary of the northern dialects. He was a dedicated

1. The modern company town does not use the old spelling, and Dr. Raley protested this, when he was a special guest at inaugural ceremonies.

2. The Vancouver Sun, September 15, 1958, (Obituary of Dr. Raley).
and enlightened educator. His character and personality fostered a fine school spirit and many bonds of loyalty between students and staff. The students received a preparation for life that was the best he could offer under the regulations laid down at that time (1914 to 1934). Through local arrangements, several students each year continued through high school in nearby Chilliwack, while continuing to reside at the Sardis School. As early as 1930, it was his belief that "follow up" services should be provided in Vancouver, since it was the main centre of the province; he saw this as possibly a residence "which would serve not only as a home, but as a social centre for young people who are employed or are pursuing post-graduate study in the city."  

After his retirement, Dr. Raley kept in touch with as many of the ex-students as possible, for he realized the difficulties they faced; he, nonetheless, believed in their capacity to help themselves, and this was implicit in his suggestion of an Alumni Society in Vancouver to work toward a Native centre. The present organization pays him tribute as "the prime instigator ... whose support was of invaluable help in integrating the members into a working group".

The meeting acted upon his suggestion. So began a unique and timely undertaking to work toward Dr. Raley's idea of a centre for native Indian people. The establishment of a centre was regarded as necessary to achieve the objectives they set for themselves, which are now written into the current Constitution.  

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1. Dr. G. H. Raley's foreword in the Coqualeetza Residential School Commencement Annual, June 1930.

2. See Appendix C. Coqualeetza Fellowship Constitution, revised March 26, 1956. This constitution has already proved of interest to other associations which are forming elsewhere. At a recent Fellowship meeting, observed by the writer, there were two requests for it among the correspondence.
They aim to assist persons of Indian descent to become integrated into the Canadian community through the promotion of higher education, employment, "constructive" (sic) activities, welfare facilities, and, through the promotion of "better knowledge and understanding between the Natives of Canada of Indian descent and the Canadian public." One can but surmise that the term "constructive" activities is used to emphasize a positive approach to recreational and leisure-time activities, without actually advocating an avoidance of alcohol and gambling which could be "destructive" to mind, spirit and body. The promotion of Canadian Native culture is also written into the Constitution.

From this beginning, membership was extended to include anyone who is interested in the culture and the welfare of Indians, and the name of the society was changed from the "Coqualeetza Alumni Association" to the "Coqualeetza Fellowship". These changes were made at the time of incorporation under the Societies Act of British Columbia in 1953. This was also the point at which the Fellowship was declared to be non-sectarian and non-political.

**Membership and Administration**

Membership, as mentioned previously, is open to native Indians and to non-Indians who are interested in the aims and objectives of the Fellowship. There seems to be a small number of active continuing members, with the remainder changing as some find their places in other organizations in the wider community, or, as in the case of many of the students, they return to their homes or locate elsewhere. The membership, however, has grown from about twenty at the time of formation to approximately one hundred in the current year (1960-1961). It is disappointing to note that the majority of non-Indian members are well advanced in years; this may well be because many
are ex-teachers from Indian schools or were missionaries to the Indians. It also leads one to suspect a lack of interest in Indians in this community, a lack of membership recruitment, or even a lack in public relations and advertising. Whatever the cause of the imbalance in age groupings, it could result in many matters of interest to the younger Indian members of the association being seen from entirely different viewpoints, due more to the gap between generations than to any cultural differences. Since the non-Indians have voting privileges, one wonders whether sometimes their ideas are carried out, simply because the younger members are too timid to state their opinions or too polite to oppose their elders strongly, and they let themselves be overridden.

The Executive Committee of the Fellowship consists of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Secretary and four Trustees. All of these, it is stated in the By-Laws of the Society, must be Native Indians.

There are five standing committees which are appointed by the Executive Committee. The committees and their duties are outlined in the By-Laws as follows:

(a) An Arts and Handicrafts Committee, whose duty it shall be to gather and display such articles finished by Native people of British Columbia and other parts of America.

(b) A Social Committee, whose duty it shall be to encourage social activities, recreations, concerts, dances and other amusements and social activities, and to encourage and provide for library and educational studies and facilities, including lectures and entertainment.

1. It may be interesting to mention that the Executive members, who replied to the questionnaire, were reluctant to give any answer to question 7b: "Are there differences in the needs (and/or problems) as seen by Indians and non-Indians?" This may or may not have significance; it may simply indicate that the question should have contained the phrase, "in your opinion". At any rate, they said they could not speak for the non-Indian viewpoint.
(c) **A General Welfare Committee**, whose duty it shall be to keep in touch with and visit any member or the family of such member, in case of sickness or death of any member, or in the family of any member.

(d) **A Social Service Committee**, whose duty it shall be to assist Native people discharged from institutions.

(e) **A Nomination Committee**, whose duty it shall be to present a slate of officers and to take care of any vacancies."

In recent years the General Welfare and the Social Service Committees have expanded their activities, however, these will be referred to in greater detail in later sections of this chapter.

**Early Activities**

In keeping with the aim of creating better understanding and knowledge of the skills and artistry that Indian culture has developed, and of encouraging Native arts and crafts, a display of examples of all art forms was sponsored by the Society at the Vancouver Art Gallery during the summer of 1953. This was followed by other displays to foster interest and more of a market for the articles that are still being made by Native craftsmen. Also of concern is the education of the public to awareness of the authenticity of various items that are sold in the stores, for many sold as souvenirs are but cheap copies of Indian craft. An exhibit of Indian handicrafts has now become an annual feature at the Pacific National Exhibition.

The local members among the ex-students have mostly established themselves in the city through their own efforts. As with any other ethnic group, or, for that matter any other service organization, the members meet to fulfill some of their own interests, and they also endeavour to assist those less fortunate than themselves. A particular concern was felt for the women and girls who were in difficulties before the Court, and were sentenced to terms at Oakalla Prison and the Girls' Industrial School. These persons
were often from other parts of the Province, and it was unlikely that they had much contact with relatives or friends. Beginning in 1954, visits to them were made during their imprisonment, and various types of help were offered to them on their release, such as financial assistance, possibly clothing, and often a box-lunch for the trip home. If they were unable or unwilling to return to their reserves, for one reason or another, attempts were made to help them establish themselves satisfactorily, and to obtain employment for them.

It soon became apparent to the Fellowship members that many Indians were encountering distressing, though less obvious, difficulties in the urban environment, and could use friendly assistance and direction when they came from the reserves to the city.

"The students coming for higher education were of particular concern to us; mothers with sick children coming in for medical help and strange to the ways of a big city; young people and couples coming in from the reservations looking for work; Indians from all walks of life needing direction and help, and above all, friendship and understanding in an environment which was foreign to their way of life."

For many residents of British Columbia, Vancouver is "Mecca", so it is only natural that Indians, too, should seek to visit it, and also hope to find the employment which is not available in their own districts. In addition, technical, vocational and advanced educational training is more readily available here for students in the schools, hospitals, and at the University. So too, when medical attention is required for unusual diseases or accidents, Vancouver is the centre that has the most up-to-date facilities, particularly for children, and this necessitates trips to the city. Anyone coming from a small community can be overwhelmed by the "rush and bustle" and the impersonality of a city, and these factors can make particular difficulties for some Indians who come to Vancouver from reserves or small towns in remote areas, especially for those who are unaccustomed to coming into contact
with many non-Indians. These and others could use advice regarding accommodation and transportation, and possibly assistance of other kinds.

The Information Centre

In order to be able to offer services from a permanent base, the organization sought and found a centrally located office. This was officially opened in November 1956 as the Information Centre. Although tucked away on the third floor of an old office building, it has advantages as it is situated in the centre of the business and shopping district, close to train, boat and bus depots. It is also within a couple of blocks of the local office of the Indian Affairs Branch, which often refers those who could use the service.

The Fellowship takes pride in the fact that during the period of the Manitoba survey in 1957, Mr. Jean Legasse (Director of that survey) visited their Information Centre, and was sufficiently impressed with the services offered to recommend that a similar office be established for the Indian and Metis in the City of Winnipeg. There is also cause for disappointment in this, since the Winnipeg endeavour obtained community and government support, and was able to plan for a centre large enough to accommodate recreational facilities as well as an information office. This Winnipeg Indian and Metis Friendship Centre opened in April 1959; but at the time of writing, the Vancouver one has not been realized.

The members maintained their Information Centre themselves for over two years, although their slim financial resources were strained by the rental charges and other costs. They even employed a paid secretary for a few months; however, the office was eventually manned completely by volunteers from among the membership. The office is open daily, except Sundays; because this is daytime duty, it is mostly carried out by the
married older members, Indian and non-Indian. At times some general information is all that is required; at others a few telephone calls will help to locate some friends or relatives or some accommodation; again perhaps the person needs to be assisted to approach an appropriate welfare agency or other type of organization. Whatever the request, all who come to the office are made to feel welcome, and an attempt is made to help them in the best way possible.

Moves to Organize the Community

Through Dr. Raley and others, the Home Mission Board of the United Church had kept in touch with the activities of the Fellowship over the years. The Women's Missionary Society of this Church had also become concerned about the many problems encountered by Indians in Vancouver. Largely through the efforts of these groups, a meeting was called in the spring of 1956 to which representatives of various organizations who had contacts with Indians were invited. As a result of this meeting, the Native Indian Service Council was formed.

While the Council perhaps did not take into account the "community power structure", it was in many ways a timely and welcome measure. Certainly it was an attempt at concerted effort to tackle some of the problems that Indian people experience in the city. It is unfortunate that a representative from only one Indian organization was included. This is not to imply that the group did not act with the best of intentions, but it did mean that the Council tended to approach the situation from the non-Indian point of view. The lone voice of the Fellowship representative would have had to have been a very powerful one to have had much influence, whereas if some of the leaders of the local reserves or representatives of other native Indian groups had been included, other opinions and other questions might have been discussed.
Added to this was the fact that the welfare organizations on the Council mostly had dealings with the "problems": the unmarried mothers, the neglected children, the ex-prisoners, those up before the Court, the unemployed, the so-called "vagrants", and so on.

This meant that efforts were often concentrated on "helping" through this one Indian organization. In mid-summer of 1958 the United Church of Canada, through the Native Indian Service Council, appointed a field worker for the Coqualeetza Fellowship. A year later a similar appointment was made by the Anglican Church. Incidentally, up to the present time, the field workers have been women, and have been non-Indian. If this practice is to continue, perhaps thought should be given to the appointment of a male worker; although a few Indian women have recently been elected chief of their reserves, traditionally Indians are more used to the counsel of men. These appointments have resulted in appearing to give substance to the prevalent impression that the Fellowship is a religious organization, and one for Protestants only; whereas almost from the beginning, the Indian members have wished it to be completely non-denominational, in order to welcome anyone of Indian origin who resides in Vancouver permanently or temporarily. Yet several of the Indian members who were active in the early days of the Coqualeetza Fellowship have dropped their membership, and these may be some of the reasons for withdrawing their interest and support.

A further effect of the appointment of the two field workers has been to rather underrate the pioneer work of the Fellowship members, to overshadow their current activities for the native people, as well as to emphasize that the present concern is with Indians in trouble. A paragraph from the 1959 annual presidential report of the Fellowship reveals that there is some concern regarding these misapprehensions about the types of activity
and service, which are enumerated as follows:

"Over 400 contacts have been made with Indian people, mostly at the office, during the past 14 months. This is exclusive of hospital visiting, of which a great deal is done, both by the field workers and members of the "Fellowship". Some people seem to be under the impression that most of our work at the "Centre" handled by the field workers is among those Indians in trouble with the law. Only 20% of our work is among this group, and a still smaller percentage of men from skid road are directed to places where they can get food and shelter. Most of the work is helping native people to find accommodation in the city, giving some temporary assistance and used clothing where necessary until work is found for them; meeting planes and boats, arranging hospitality where necessary and helping students and all native people coming to the city feel welcome."

There is some indication that the field workers found their position somewhat tenuous, working as they did from the office of the Fellowship, and at first were in doubt as to whom they were responsible, their church, the Council, or the Fellowship. The situation is said to have been clarified by having them report to the women's auxiliaries of their respective churches, since these paid their salaries. This would appear to leave the Fellowship in rather an anomalous position, since the Executive Committee would be unable to have much say in regard to the services carried out in their name. The field workers help in whatever way they can, as the above account indicates; they also take particular care to make contacts with the religious denominations of any native who is known to be arriving to reside in Vancouver, so that he or she may be welcomed into a congregation of their own church. At the same time, members of the Fellowship still continue to take volunteer duties at the office, and carry on some of the personal service themselves.

Since the beginning of 1959, the Native Indian Service Council has donated funds to the Fellowship to underwrite the rent and telephone bills

1. D. H. Goard, President, Native Indian Service Council, in an interview with the writer.
of the Information Centre office. The need to accept this financial assistance may have made the Executive Committee feel under obligation to accept measures introduced or suggested by the Council. While the Indian members would not deny that there is much work that can be done for some of their people by church-affiliated workers, it would give the association more autonomy and more prestige, if this work were done from the respective church offices, and would be a far more equitable arrangement for the Fellowship.

The Council has also tried to interest the Federal Government in contributing funds toward the Fellowship's objective of a Native Centre in Vancouver, but has been unsuccessful in obtaining such aid. Knowing that Federal assistance had been granted for a Centre in Winnipeg, the writer requested information from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration regarding its policy for giving grants toward such projects. In his reply, Mr. R. A. Sim, of the Liaison Division, states there is no statutory policy, that decisions to give grants vary with the situation. He describes the Winnipeg situation to illustrate some of the factors considered.

"The sponsor of this Centre was the Winnipeg Welfare Council. Over the years members of this Council had demonstrated an increasing awareness of the complexity of the Indian situation within the city of Winnipeg, as well as throughout the province. For instance, since 1953 they have held an annual Indian and Metis conference. Not only were council members concerned with the problem, but also a number of outstanding citizens in the community had made it their business to keep informed on the problem. In our opinion, this combination of concerned professional people and concerned citizens made an exceptionally strong community base for a pilot project. It was hoped that by assisting this project, an indication of possible results and difficulties would be obtained and that other communities could benefit from this experience.

When giving financial assistance, we prefer supporting a project where there is a likelihood of initial sharing of financial cost and potential within the community to support the project entirely after its value has been demonstrated. In this respect the Greater Welfare Council requested the Branch to assume 40% of the cost of their project during the first two years."
These statements point out only too clearly that until recently, community interest and concern for the problems of the Indians in Vancouver has been tried and found wanting. It would seem, therefore, that Vancouver citizens will need to be better informed, and attain greater understanding of the needs of the Indian before it will support wholeheartedly the idea of a Native Centre.

Current Fellowship Activities

"Social activities are frequently regarded as mere stop gaps or as bait to attract membership ... Properly used, social activities can serve the same or a better purpose than the more educational. They call forth qualities of leadership, social responsibility, courtesy, and respect for others which most organizations would admit was their chief aim."  

These comments might have been made in support of the social activities which are regarded as an essential part of the monthly meetings of the Coqualeetza Fellowship. Various types of programmes of topical or educational interest are arranged, with a speaker, discussion or films, but the social events and the informal mingling at refreshment time are particularly important for the newcomers and students. The meetings are held in members' homes; but recently, with the influx of students, there has also been a monthly dance, and this has necessitated renting a hall for these events. The annual meeting and "Social" held each November, also means parting with hard-earned money for larger accommodation.

Another recent innovation for the benefit of the students is the

1. A survey is now being undertaken by the Greater Vancouver Community Chest and Council research personnel with a grant from the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration to examine the needs of Indians in the area. Hopefully, this may lead to the organization of greater community support for a Centre.

formation of a soccer team for the boys, and a basketball team for the girls. Games are played weekly, sometimes bi-weekly, and include both competitive and exhibition events. In reporting about the soccer team, the President states, "when last year, games were played on Sunday, we noticed a few of our boys had been on parties the night before. This year we were proud to note the difference. These boys had something to occupy their Sundays, so therefore avoided the parties." The Fellowship has managed to equip both teams with a simple type of uniform that affords them some recognition and self-esteem.

In the spring of each year, the Fellowship has a bazaar and tea to raise money for their proposed Centre; any profits from the admission charges to the Annual Social are also set aside for this purpose. Since membership dues are only a dollar, and students' fees half of that, they do not provide much income. Appeals to the various Indian reserves for donations have not been too successful. There has been some response to requests for help with the sports activities of the students, but very little that could be ear-marked for the establishment of the Centre. Perhaps the Fellowship could make its purpose, function, and aims better known to the reserves, because from these places come the people who could derive benefit from its present activities and its future plans. This seems needed, for when the President was asked how people come to know of the club and its Information Centre, she replied that news mostly gets around by word of mouth.

In concluding this assessment of the Coqualeetza Fellowship, one of the most significant items must be its inconspicuousness. Despite the fact that Vancouver has for ten years had an Indian group working toward helping their people adjust to life in a modern urban community, surprisingly few people know of its existence. It is not listed in the handbook on Welfare and Recreation Resources published by the Community Chest and Council,
although most of the other ethnic groups have one or more associations listed. It is not readily available in the telephone directory, since it is listed simply as "Coqualeetza Fellowship", and this name would not be widely known, except to the initiated, the well-informed, and people working at the Indian Affairs Branch. A separate "extra listing" of the telephone under "Indian Information Centre" or "Native Indian Information Centre" might make it easier for a stranger to town to find the assistance and friendship he is wanting.

If the Fellowship is to gain interest and support for its objectives from the Indians on the reserves, the Indians in the city, and the non-Indians in the community, more information and other means of circulating it are required. In the overall assessment which follows, this will be kept in mind.
CHAPTER 4

IMPLICATIONS: CITIZENS' RESPONSE TO A NEED

The materials gathered in this study give encouraging evidence of a more enlightened approach toward Indian matters. This is apparent in the various alterations in the administrative policy of the Canadian Government, which is aiming at integration of the Indians into Canadian society. There is growing awareness that responsibility for the future of the people of Indian descent does not rest solely with the federal government, not just because many are without "Indian status", but because many provincial laws keep Indians from having the rights and privileges that other citizens enjoy. Moreover, many citizens are recognizing that successful integration will not occur, unless Indians are welcomed and encouraged to participate in the ordinary voluntary organizations, such as the Parent-Teacher Associations, for example, in communities where their children attend school. At present, there are few enough of these gestures, but they should increase as more people become aware that Indians can and wish to make contributions to them.

Unfortunately, bad news gets the most publicity. Too little is heard about the achievements of some Indians, and they are often regarded as unusual or exceptional. Yet, many are living and working quietly as

1. At the first annual conference of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, in November 1960, the President said, "The IEA invites all Canadians - native and otherwise - to join with us in a great crusade to remove the barriers, and to create conditions favourable to advancement, whereby the native people by their own efforts can take their rightful place in the life of our country." Among the voluntary organizations represented at the conference were the Canadian Citizenship Council, Canadian Tuberculosis Association, Canadian Welfare Council, Canadian Handicrafts Guild, Co-operative Union of Canada, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, Boy Scouts Association, Canadian Association of Adult Education, Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, and the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, United, and Roman Catholic churches, the Society of Friends and the Baha'i National Assembly.
responsible citizens, and trying to help to bring about better conditions for less fortunate members of their race.

The voluntary organizations which have come under review in this survey, are expressions of the responsibility that Indian and non-Indian citizens are assuming, in order to foster greater acceptance of the Indian as a participating member of the community, and to assist him through the early difficulties he may face as he seeks to make a place for himself among other Canadians in the cities. How much of a provisional assessment of them can be made at this time?

Personal Services and Social Relationships

The associations are a response to a need. The need for friendly voluntary associations with people who are understanding, and who are well-informed about the problems the Indian newcomer may be encountering in the cities. The particular social needs they meet are those of personal services and social relationships.

The provision of personal services by fellow-citizens in the form of counselling and guidance is rather reminiscent of the services performed by the Citizen's Advisory Bureaus, which came into existence in wartime Britain.  

It springs from the motive of mutual aid rather than philanthropy or institutionalized services, and therefore, is more easily requested, and is more conducive to self-respect. Members are prepared to interpret the services of other community resources, and referrals are made to existing agencies. Information is also given about the city, regarding where and how

1. "The C.A.B. service bloomed in the dark days of war which produced on the one hand an overwhelming burden of problems and, on the other, regulations designed to protect the community but not always intelligible to the individual member."  (British) National Council of Social Service, Advising The Citizen, handbook for Citizen's Advisory Bureaus; 1948.
to find temporary or permanent accommodation, and regarding how to seek and apply for employment. Often the person giving the counselling can anticipate the advice required, because he has been faced with the same minor vexations and difficulties. Sometimes he can give guidance with regard to matters of dress and conduct; these criticisms, even though constructive, are more easily accepted from a member of one's own race, or from someone who is friendly and known to have one's interest at heart.

As these services are reviewed, it can be seen that existing agencies are not, in general, well prepared to provide service for the Indian on his arrival to the city; moreover, the Indian may not know what resources are available, or which ones to approach until his predicament is severe. The associations can help to prevent social disorganization of the individual by providing personal interest in his well-being while he is adjusting to life in the city.

The second and equally important need that the associations provide for, is the opportunity for social relationships during leisure time. In fact, they seem to provide the many opportunities that are regarded as necessary for the full development of personality, and which in this study is regarded as necessary for assisting the Indian to develop fully as a Canadian citizen:

"(a) self expression and development of broad and absorbing interests,
(b) varied recreational experiences,
(c) relaxation from tensions of work and responsibility,
(d) constructive social relationships with people,
(e) broad perspectives and satisfactions derived from cultural communication, and
(f) participation in responsibility for community life." ¹

Any newcomer to the city may have difficulties at first in finding

groups of people with whom he has interests in common. The Indian, who is unaccustomed to being on his own, away from family and familiar surroundings, may have special difficulties that only an association which includes members of his own race can solve. The customs and ways of the city are different, and he also has to cope with the cultural differences of the non-Indian majority, and varying manifestations of discrimination. He lacks knowledge of available recreational resources, and may have insufficient funds to use them when he is aware of them. In his loneliness, and in his anxiety about acceptance by non-Indian people, he particularly needs the companionship of his peers, and needs to belong to a group which gives him a sense of identity and a sense of worth.

There is no reason to believe that these associations, formed by and with his own people, make the Indian feel segregated from the non-Indian population. These are voluntary associations, and he is free to use them or not use them; when he does, he finds that he is helped to gain valuable ideas about other available facilities in the city. On the contrary, they should gradually help him to overcome the feeling of segregation that he has had over the years, for they will afford opportunities for friendly relations and communication with non-Indians.

The associations also aim at creating better knowledge and understanding between Indians and non-Indians, by informing the Canadian public of the heritage of the Indians and their considerable contributions to life and history of Canada. This is giving the young Indians a greater appreciation of their own culture, which some of them tend to negate in their desire to be accepted by non-Indians. The young person becomes more aware of the reasons why his elders have resisted assimilation, which would mean that Indian identity and values were lost, and prefer integration.

The Reverend Andre Renaud was speaking to the question of the
desirability of Indian associations, when he said,

"After all, our Canadian society, even at the local level, is pluralist, federalist in its cohesion pattern. Each one of us fits into it through the various associations, clubs, etc., that are particular to our subgroup. Our new Canadians from Europe have ... ethnic associations which offer under one roof the variety of services and functions which our own various clubs and organizations provide. It has proved easier for them to integrate into our way of life and society through these associations which, after two or three generations, when the majority of members are fully integrated, restrict their activities to purely cultural expression in the narrow sense of the word. Why should the Indian Canadian not be permitted to develop such cultural associations of the better type? They are human just like the rest of us. They need more than a job and a place to stay in, they need the company of their peers."  

Education of the Community

As already indicated, members of the associations are fostering the promotion of greater knowledge on Indian matters, in order to bring about better understanding between Indians and non-Indians. Indian members realize only too well, that non-Indians generally have little knowledge about their past history, and a very hazy picture of present conditions, or the reasons for them. Undoubtedly in recent years, since the establishment of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs, there have been more news items, and more reports and discussions in the national press on these matters. Outstanding contributions have been made by the National Film Board and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programmes which present the problems and needs of the Indians from many points of view. Not the least of these contributions has been the demonstration that "Indians" and conditions are not the same in all parts of the country.


2. Valuable work has been done from many quarters for more informed policy for Eskimos. This is, however, important enough for a full study by itself.
Too many people, however, still believe that the Indians had little of value until the "white" settlers arrived on this continent, and that they did not acquire the benefits of "civilization" because they were incapable of doing so. There is little realization that when Indians have opportunities for education, they can compete successfully with other Canadians, and that there are many eminent men and women among them. Indians are usually anxious to point out that their racial group includes all kinds of people, just as there are good, bad, and indifferent among other ethnic groups; they would like to be judged on their merits as individuals, rather than be condemned for outward differences. A prayer, quoted in a newsletter produced by the Moose Jaw Society, is one that could well be used by non-Indians, "Great Spirit, grant that I may not criticize my neighbour, till I have walked a mile in his moccasins."

Many Indian members of the associations are well able to speak before groups or meetings which express a desire to learn more about Indian affairs. It seems that more are preparing themselves to do so in the future, by taking public speaking classes. In the Vancouver group, the Coqualeetza Fellowship, the President and other members are very conscientious, and generous with their time when such requests are made, for they are dedicated to helping to promote better understanding between Indians and non-Indians. They bear with good grace the many ignorant questions that are asked, and attempt to correct wrong impressions with courtesy.

It is noteworthy that recently the Fellowship protested the use of certain words, such as "squaw", that now have a derogatory implication, to one of Canada's national magazines; but what is more remarkable, the magazine reprinted the letter for all to see, a silent apology, perhaps! As a service organization composed of the native Indian peoples of British
Columbia, they asked that "in future reports of the Canadian Indian a more dignified approach be used." A rather heavy facetiousness, when writing about certain ethnic groups, seems to be a failing of too many who write for the popular press. The local newspapers seldom miss an opportunity to use the expressions "pow-wow" and "on the war-path" when they report on a meeting of an Indian organization; this reflects on the writer, but it also retards the proper acceptance of the Indian people, because it does not give them due respect.

A Basic Necessity

This attempt to educate the general public is one thing, but the provision of a base for activities is another. In its constitution, the Coqualeetza Fellowship states that in order to achieve its objectives, the establishment of a Native Centre in Vancouver is a basic necessity. Other associations also regard a social or recreational centre as a project with top priority. In the latter case, it may well be the reports on the success of the Winnipeg Indian and Metis Friendship Centre that cause them to aim at providing these facilities in their own cities. However, the Coqualeetza Fellowship received the idea from a man who proposed such a Centre over thirty years ago. Yet, this group has been unable to set up more than an Information Office in Vancouver, while in the city of Winnipeg, the Friendship Centre will soon be entering its third year of operation.

Despite the fact that Vancouver has long had an Indian group helping people to adjust to life in a modern urban community, very few people know of its existence. Whether this is because Fellowship activities were overshadowed by the formation of the Native Indian Service Council, and the appointment of church-affiliated field workers, is not too clear. Certainly many Indians withdrew their support from the Fellowship at the time of this
intervention. Perhaps too, the influx of European immigrants to Vancouver in
the last five years, particularly the Hungarians, has detracted from the
interest that might have been fostered on behalf of the Indians. The impres­
sion gained is that the Native Indian Service Council looked to the Federal
Government and the churches, rather than to the Provincial Government and
the community, for support for the proposed Centre. On the other hand, the
Greater Winnipeg Welfare Council has, even before the Provincial survey,
noticed the efforts of the Indians, and sponsored an annual Indian and Metis
conference since 1954, which has kept its citizens informed. At the 1958
conference, one recommendation read as follows: "That a referral service
for Indian and part-Indian newcomers to Winnipeg be established to guide and
counsel in matters of housing, education and other community services."
The citizens of Winnipeg assumed a share, through the Winnipeg Foundation
with the Provincial and Federal governments, of a budget for a two-year
trial period. It was apparently their interest in the complexity of the
Indian problem, and their potential to support the project entirely later on,
which enabled them to obtain a grant from the Federal Government. 1

Since most of the associations hope to establish a Centre, it is
interesting to note the administrative set-up:

a) A board of directors, composed of fifteen Winnipeg citizens, some
   of whom are Indians.

b) A Council of eleven Indian people, which was formed to guide,
   advise, and to help plan the programme and activities.

c) An advisory Committee of some thirty people representing Community
   and Welfare Services, formed to assist the Board, and help evaluate
   the work done.

d) Staff: Executive Director, Assistant Director, and part-time
   office help.

1. Department of Citizenship & Immigration letter to the writer.
Once a permanent Centre is established, and staff are employed, the operation takes on other dimensions. For example, the semi-annual report of the Friendship Centre states that the work divides into four areas. First, direct services available to those attending the Centre: informal counselling as requested, and various educational and recreational programmes in the evenings. Referral to existing agencies is seen as a separate entity. Another phase of the work is approaching established agencies to develop programmes; for instance, the use of a high school gymnasium was obtained for volley ball games, after the Recreation Division of the Welfare Council was consulted. Finally, the study and documentation of problems encountered means that recommendations can be made to community groups and the governments regarding needs.

The reports show that people of all ages use the Centre, although the majority are under thirty years of age. The group changes, and probably has a one-third turnover each month. On the whole, the group is said to be "above average in education and behaviour standards, many being high school and M. T. I. (Technical) graduates, or young working people who have been in the city for some time." The staff is concerned that they do not reach many of the less privileged young people; they come occasionally for counselling, but rarely use the Centre for social and recreational purposes.

The Executive Director mentions that non-Indians are not apt to see the very great need for self-determination and increased responsibility in the group. When they are interested, they tend to take too active a role in the activities. On the other hand, those who come into the group on an equal basis are a great help, for the Indians need opportunities for leadership, as well as for social relationships with non-Indians.

1. The period from April to November, 1960.
Two projects being undertaken by the Indian Council this year indicate pride in the Centre, and responsibility for its future. The one is the publication of a mimeographed magazine containing articles written by the members on a number of subjects pertaining to Indian matters and the activities of the Centre; the other is the assumption of responsibility to raise a specific sum toward the budget of the Centre.

The initial success of the Winnipeg endeavour is a challenge to the citizens in other urban centres. The need for a Centre and its usefulness has been well demonstrated during the experimental period, and it is now established on a permanent basis.

**Precedent for the Idea of a Centre**

Even if there were not this evidence of the successful completion of a two-year trial project in Winnipeg, there would still be ample justification for citizens to assist the efforts of these associations in their plans to establish "Fellowship" or "Friendship" centres. The idea of social centres or neighbourhood houses to fulfill social needs is not a phenomenon of the twentieth century. The settlements of the nineteenth century, from which these developed, were the means of alleviating many of the difficulties, and meeting some of the needs of the "deprived poor" in the cities of England, and those of the "deprived immigrants" in the cities of the United States. Although the present situation of the Indians in today's Canadian cities is different for many reasons, it cannot be dismissed as being entirely unlike those of the underprivileged groups of the last century; they have been, and many still are, deprived, and in the cities they are migrants facing adjustment to a different culture.

A comparison has already been made in an earlier chapter of the general conditions the poor faced in the nineteenth century and the situation
with which the Indian is trying to cope today: lack of education, lack of
the type of skills required in industry, and general isolation from the main
stream of the life of the nation. Therefore, when one considers the contribu-
tions of the settlements to the climate of understanding the poor, to the
knowledge of their needs, and to solutions for some of their problems, the
establishment of native centres with programmes suited to helping the Indian
seems to hold an answer to the dilemma. In mentioning the settlements, one
is reminded that the programmes for adult education and the practice of social
work evolved from this movement. The importance of education in the narrow
sense of schooling or training the Indian child or adult for his participa-
tion in Canadian life is recognized; but there is less awareness of the im-
portance of education in its wider sense, the education of the mind and heart
of both Indian and non-Indian for this entry into the life of the nation.

The challenge to the citizens of the nation is the call for better
understanding and communication between Indian and non-Indian, and, therefore,
for the promotion of resources which will foster the achievement of better
relationships, and which will provide support and encouragement for the Indian
as he seeks to integrate into Canadian society. The establishment of Indian
centres is a prime resource. The Indian does not have long-established
members of his ethnic group to provide the funds for these enterprises, so he
should be helped in his efforts by the citizens of each community.

In the meantime, the associations are assisting the Indian to adjust
to urban living by giving him opportunities to be with his peers, to achieve
a sense of belonging, to develop a sense of participation. As their sense of
worth and dignity are recognized, and their right to self-determination is
observed, Canadians of Indian ancestry will gain confidence and many of them
will show unexpected competences to make contributions, and to take on respon-
sibilities that will add to the strength of Canadian society.
APPENDICES
**APPENDIX A**

Indian Fellowship Organizations in Canadian Cities  
(as at 1960)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Date Organized</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) name not decided</td>
<td>October 1960</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian Native Society of Edmonton</td>
<td>Fall 1960</td>
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<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
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<tr>
<td># Kamloops</td>
<td>Friendship House</td>
<td>in process</td>
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<td>Prince Rupert</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>x Vancouver</td>
<td>(1) Coqualeetza Fellowship</td>
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<tr>
<td>x Vancouver</td>
<td>(2) Native Indian Service Council</td>
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<td>Manitoba</td>
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<tr>
<td># The Pas</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>x Winnipeg</td>
<td>(1) Indian &amp; Metis Friendship Centre</td>
<td>April 1959</td>
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<tr>
<td>x Winnipeg</td>
<td>(2) Bosco Indian &amp; Metis Club</td>
<td>November 1959</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(3) Indian Urban Association</td>
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<tr>
<td># London</td>
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<tr>
<td>x Ottawa</td>
<td>The Indian Association of Ottawa</td>
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<tr>
<td># Toronto</td>
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<td>Quebec</td>
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<td>Montreal</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>x Moose Jaw</td>
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<td>Prince Albert</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>x Whitehorse</td>
<td>Yukon Indian Advancement Association</td>
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x Reply received to survey questionnaire
# Insufficient data available to permit request for information, at time of study.
APPENDIX B

Marjorie Evans,
School of Social Work,
University of British Columbia,
Vancouver, B.C.

SURVEY OF INDIAN FRIENDSHIP AND YOUTH CLUBS

Name of Club .................................................................
Place .................................................................
Date of Organization .................................................................

1. For what reasons was your Club formed?

Provide leisure-time activities ..............................................
Provide friendship for newcomers to the city ..............
Promote understanding between Indians and Non-Indians ...........
Give guidance (if so, what kinds) ......................................
Others (please specify) ......................................................

2. a) Who were most active in the formation of your Club?

Residents of the city: Indian .......... Non-Indian ........
Newcomers (e.g. students etc.) .............................................
Government personnel (e.g. Placement or Welfare Officers) ......
Church personnel .............................................................
Other agencies (e.g. YMCA, YWCA) ........................................

b) Are the most active people knowledgeable about Indian problems:

Yes .......... No .......... If yes, where have they learned of them?
3. a) Where does your organization hold its meetings?
   (e.g. private homes, own club rooms, "Y". Please specify)
   ............................................................
   b) How often are meetings held? Weekly .... Monthly .... Other ....

4. a) How many members belong to the Club at the end of your first year?
   ......................................................... Indians ............ Non-Indians .............
   b) What is present membership (1960)? .... Indians .... Non-Indians ....
   c) Does membership include people of all age groups? ............
      OR are members mainly between ages of 18 to 25? ............
   d) Approximately what proportion of your members have lived in town
      under 6 months? ...... over 2 years? ...... over 5 years ...

5. a) Is your programme confined to regular meetings .... OR do groups of
      members meet for activities at other times? ............
      b) What are the most favoured activities (e.g. sports, dances, hobbies,
         discussions). Please give details ............

6. a) Are you able to finance your club through membership fees? ....
      OR do you receive funds from other sources? ............. If the
      latter, what have been the main sources .............

   b) If more money were available, what project of the club would take
      priority? .............
7. a) What are the chief problems for which your Association seems to
help provide solutions? (Add notes on back if necessary) . . .

b) Are there differences in the needs (and/or problems) as seen by
Indians and Non-Indians? (Give examples, on back if necessary)
APPENDIX C

Coqualeetza Fellowship

CONSTITUTION

1. The name of the Society is "THE COQUALEETZA FELLOWSHIP".

2. The objects of the Fellowship are:
   (a) To promote better knowledge and understanding between the Natives of Canada of Indian descent and the Canadian public.
   (b) To stimulate higher education among such Natives.
   (c) To encourage constructive activities among such Natives.
   (d) To assist in the welfare of the children of such Natives.
   (e) To assist in securing jobs for such Natives.
   (f) To promote Canadian Native Culture.
   (g) To stimulate competitive sports among all Canadians.

3. To accomplish the foregoing aims, the establishment of a Native Centre is a basic necessity.

4. The operations of the Fellowship are to be chiefly carried on in the City of Vancouver, in the Province of British Columbia, with power to operate independently at any place in the said Province.

March 26, 1956.
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