INDIAN HOUSING AND WELFARE


by

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The survey arose out of the interest of the Indian Affairs Branch in present and future housing needs of the Squamish Band. The information gathered was to be used for the purpose of planning an adequate housing scheme and for the development of a modern community.

The plan of the study was to present some historical background of the Squamish people, to show through the survey of the reserve, the need for better housing, and the rehabilitation possibilities of the people through the development of a modern community project on the Capilano Reserve. Implicit in the study of housing needs were the welfare needs of the people.

Two surveys were made, and two schedules were involved in the gathering of the material. The method used was that of visiting the homes and families on the reserve, and having the questionnaires completed. There was thus a day to day visit to the reserves, and a continuous contact with the people over a considerable period of time. Although almost all homes on the reserve were visited, the information used in the tables was based on a random selection of twenty-seven homes.

The study revealed in its broad outline that the second-class status of the Indian people has resulted in second-class living conditions. Housing conditions are sub-marginal and overcrowding is general in almost every instance. The welfare program lacks coordination and is inadequate to the needs of the families. Breakdown of family life is general.
It appeared obvious that only a comprehensive program meeting the social and psychological needs of the people could adequately solve the many inter-related problems of the Squamish people. In addition it seemed clear that no program could really succeed unless the people themselves were intimately involved in its development.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Background</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The European invasion of North America and its effect upon the native population. The conflict of cultures. The administration of Indian Affairs. The methods used in the survey.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Past and Present Patterns</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geographic background. Economy and culture of the Squamish. General effects of European settlement. Social problems on the Mission Reserve.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mission and Capilano Reserves</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description of Mission Reserve; land and services. Description of Capilano Reserve; its size compared with Mission Reserve.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Housing and Welfare</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table/Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Plumbing facilities of twenty-seven homes</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Comparison of relief and social assistance grants</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Comparison of relief and social assistance case loads</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Row of homes on Mission Reserve</td>
<td>22a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 2</td>
<td>Single dwelling on Mission Reserve</td>
<td>22a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 3</td>
<td>Drainage pipe from kitchen</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 4</td>
<td>Outdoor washing facilities on Mission Reserve</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 5</td>
<td>Drainage ditch on Mission Reserve</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 6</td>
<td>Interior, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>32a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 7</td>
<td>Interior, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>32a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 8</td>
<td>Toilet facilities, outdoor, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>33a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 9</td>
<td>Toilet facilities, outdoor, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>33a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 10</td>
<td>Toilet facilities, outdoor, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>33a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 11</td>
<td>Slum dwelling, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 12</td>
<td>Slum dwelling, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 13</td>
<td>Slum dwelling, Mission Reserve</td>
<td>36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 14</td>
<td>Architect's model of proposed village</td>
<td>54a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I.

Background

When Columbus crossed the vast Atlantic Ocean and discovered America, he altered two worlds, the old and the new. The discovery of America quickened the new industrialism struggling to birth in England and the continent. By the beginning of the sixteenth century permanent settlement in the new world was accomplished. The frontiers of the new colonies began moving westward until at last there was continuous communication between the people of the Atlantic seaboard and the people of the Pacific.

But the development and extension of western civilization on the North American continent did not occur without problems. The struggle for independence and constitutional government needs no discussion here, nor does the socio-economic history which accompanied the rise of the modern North American culture. Yet it must be said that it was the European invasion that overwhelmed and almost totally destroyed the Indian culture of North America. The Indian problem, as we see it today, is the result of this early relationship between the colonists and the Indian. The spread of western civilization across America inevitably meant a diminution in power and status of the native Indian.

So quick was the expansion of the new colonialism that the Indian was in danger of losing whatever rights and identity he had left. In order to protect them from the more aggressive entrepreneur the government made a series of treaties with the
Indians, and established the present system of reserves in which the Indian was guaranteed parcels of land, and certain other "privileges" relating to the health and welfare of the Indian people. In 1867 the Canadian Parliament passed the first Indian Act formalizing the relationship between the Indians of Canada and the government. It was a well-intentioned act, designed at the time to protect the interest of the native Indian, but it tended to isolate the Indian from the main stream of Canadian culture, and it gave him a status lower than that enjoyed by the newest immigrant in the country.

The first impact of European culture on the Indian was to disorganize his primitive economy, and this in turn, led to the gradual destruction of the great institutions which composed the culture pattern of the native people. The more sensitive withdrew into a dignified silence, but the overall effect was to disorganize Indian family life and tribal traditions.

In addition, through disease which came with the white man, the Indian population declined rapidly. The Indian population in British Columbia, prior to the European invasion, was estimated to be in the neighborhood of 125,000. Today it is approximately 28,478. (1) Contrary, however, to the general opinion, the Indian population is increasing year by year.

This fact makes it all the more urgent for far-reaching and constructive plans to be made on their behalf. It may well

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(1) The Canada Year Book, 1955, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa, p. 155.
be that a fresh approach to the problem of the Canadian Indian is now required in order that the Indian people themselves may become a truly strong and integral part of the Canadian mosaic.

Although this paper deals with a special group of West Coast Indians, it is generally agreed that poor housing, unemployment, poor health, and a general all-round lower standard of living than that enjoyed by most Canadians is common among the Indian people. The Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers in a Joint Submission to the Government stated that "the evidence presented to this committee confirms the impression, given to us by organizations and individuals concerned with social welfare all across Canada, that the native population is being given less consideration than any other group in Canada with respect to the improvement of social conditions."(1)

Since this report was submitted ten years ago there is growing evidence that the people of Canada are more aware of their responsibility to the Indian people. Possibly in the not too distant future a comprehensive plan for the advancement of the Indian people will be clearly outlined.

(1) Joint Submission by The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers to The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons appointed to examine and consider The Indian Act, Ottawa, January, 1947.
"In our judgement," states the same report, "the only defensible goal for a national program must be the full assimilation of Indians into Canadian life, which involves not only their admission to full citizenship, but the right and opportunity to participate freely with other citizens in all community affairs."(1) In the meantime, an examination of what can and is being done for the Indian within the framework of the present Indian Act, and with reference to his present socio-economic status is not amiss.

Administration of Indian Affairs

"The primary function of the Indian Affairs Branch, under the Citizenship and Immigration Act and the Indian Act, is to administer the affairs of the Indians of Canada in a manner that will enable them to become increasingly self-supporting and independent. The functions of the Branch include the management of Indian Reserves and surrendered lands, trust funds, welfare projects, relief, family allowances, education, descent of property, rehabilitation of Indian Veterans on reserves, Indian treaty obligations, enfranchisement of Indians and other matters."(2)

Indian Affairs in British Columbia are under the jurisdiction of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Responsible to him

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(1) Ibid, p. 2.
(2) The Canada Year Book, 1955, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, p. 156.
are the various Indian Superintendents who are in effect regional administrators. In addition, and responsible to the Commissioner are the Regional Inspector of Schools, Regional Inspector of Indian Agencies, Indian Agricultural Superintendent, Fur Supervisor, and the engineering division of the branch. In addition the branch now has one social worker who services the entire province. Indian health services are administered separately but are co-ordinated on a regional basis with the Indian Affairs Branch.

Powers of Indian Superintendent

The powers of an Indian Superintendent are those conferred upon him by the Indian Act and the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

The superintendent has legal powers, and it could be said, traditional powers, or powers which have grown up around him because of the Indian's need to gain the superintendent's approval for any project involving property and money. The superintendent has veto powers. For instance, the band council could grant an Indian family on its reserve, "relief"; the superintendent could refuse to issue the "relief" if he felt the family in question was not eligible or was "undeserving."

The superintendent, because of his position, can discourage or encourage Indian projects. An enlightened superintendent can advance the welfare and general interest of the Indians in his region. On the other hand, it cannot be forgotten that it
is the Indian Act itself that is the point of reference in the entire administrative function of the Indian Department.

Indian superintendents must administer the act and its regulations whether they are in entire agreement with them or not. In many cases they carry out policies which they feel are not in the best interests of the Indian. Many superintendents disagree, for instance, in the amount of relief paid to Indian families, and the manner in which it is given. They may also have considerable feeling about the manner in which children are admitted to residential schools. But until the department develops a sound program of child care and social allowances the arbitrary separation of families will continue. Thus the regulations that bind the Indian, bind the superintendent as well.

The Vancouver Agency

The Vancouver Agency, under whose jurisdiction falls the reserve under study, covers the north and west shores of Burrard Inlet, Squamish and the Squamish Valley to Creekside, and the area from Vancouver to Churchhouse, which lies just below Cape Mudge. This includes the Sechelt Peninsula.

Under the agency are nine Indian Bands totalling 2,500 people. Providing services to these people are the superintendent and one assistant. Inasmuch as the needs of the Indian people are both great and demanding, the situation is analogous to having two social workers with a caseload of 2,500. The responsibility of the agency is to administer the Indian Act, to generally
assist the Indian in the exercise of his rights and obligations, and to meet his needs consistent with the Act.

Present Study

The present study is focused on a group of Squamish Indians living on the Mission Reserve, one of the smallest and most congested reserves on the coast, lying almost in the centre of the City of North Vancouver. The study proposes to indicate the housing needs of the people, and to compare the health and welfare programs for the Indians with that of the white community.

The Mission Reserve was chosen as an area of study for several reasons. One, because of its special urban character; two, because of the large number of families known to be living in the area in an overcrowded condition; three, because of its accessibility; and four, because the Indian Department itself was interested and concerned over the conditions on the reserve.

There was one other reason which might be mentioned here. Not far from the Mission Reserve is the Capilano Reserve. This reserve, belonging to the same band, is considerably larger than the other, has fewer families, and lends itself in every way for the development of a comprehensive housing project. Consequently there has been embodied in this paper a description of the Capilano Reserve, together with a proposed project designed to meet the housing needs of the band. An integrated housing plan is necessary to meet band needs, if it is the intention of the government to perpetuate the "reservation culture."
The Methods used in the Survey

The methods used in the survey were those of the questionnaire and the interview technique. Thirty-eight percent, or twenty-seven homes out of the seventy on the reserve were visited. The homes were selected at random from all points on the reserve. The dwellings thus used are truly representative and form a realistic picture of housing and family composition. In each instance the purpose of the survey was made as clear as possible to each family.

The first survey was made in 1950-51 under the guidance of Dr. Leonard Marsh of the School of Social Work at the University of British Columbia, but since then, the Squamish Indians have voted some $175,000.00 from their band funds to be used for housing purposes. As a result a number of old and discarded wartime houses, formerly used by the shipworkers during the war, were purchased and placed on both the Mission and Capilano Reserves. Those families not receiving a "new home" were allowed a grant from $400.00 to $700.00 for the rehabilitation of their homes.

For this reason it was felt that another survey would have to be made to assess the nature of this new development. This was done during the winter of 1954. When the results were compared, it became obvious that while individual families are
somewhat more comfortable, the Mission Reserve is still a congested, overcrowded and disorganized community. The need for new housing, a new village, and a fresh approach still remains, unaltered by the expenditure of $175,000.00 of Indian funds.
Chapter 2

Past and Present Patterns

The present day Squamish Indians are descendents of the Coast Salish people of the Pacific Northwest who inhabited villages from Puget Sound in the State of Washington to Bute Inlet in British Columbia, and the east coast of Vancouver Island as far north as Campbell River. There is some uncertainty as to the original home of the Coast Salish people, but it is generally believed that they migrated from the inland areas centuries before the European invasion. It seems certain that they are of different stock from the people of the north for there is marked contrast between the prehistoric finds, such as axes and hammers, of the north and south coast people. Evidence would seem to bear out that the Interior Salish and the Coast Salish had common origins.

Broadly speaking the Coast Salish people have been subdivided into four main groups, on geographic and linguistic lines, although, "It must be remembered that intermarriage and the periodic movement of whole villages - occurrences which were not infrequent even up to quite recent times - makes it impossible to draw rigid linguistic boundaries." (1) The four sub-divisions are the Comox group, the Cowichan group, the Sanetch and the Squamish people.

The Squamish Indians were those occupying certain sections and the lower reaches and delta of the Fraser River. (1)

**Economy and Culture**

It was natural that the food economy of the Squamish and other Coast Salish people should be built largely around the products of the sea, mainly the salmon. The salmon was supplemented by other fish and sea foods, such as the halibut, cod, sturgeon, eulachon or candle-fish and clams. There was a certain amount of specialization in the fishing process which was largely determined by the location of the various tribes. Thus there were the fresh water fishermen up the river, and the salt water people who lived down river.

Among the higher ranks of the Salish, whales were hunted, but as few whales were seen there was no systematic attempt to get them. Other mammals such as the seal and porpoise, were abundant, however, and their catch was highly prized.

Supplementing their diet of fish was the water-fowl, which was ingeniously hunted by day and by night. The deer, elk and mountain goat were also hunted, the mountain goat principally for its wool, from which the Indian wove his blankets.

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The vegetable foods, which were mainly gathered by the women and children of the tribe, consisted of a long list of "edible roots, berries, green leaves and seaweed." (1) Bread was made from the acorn and from the inner bark of "certain trees such as the maple and alder." (2) This was done by a process of "scraping out the inner bark and laying it in criss-cross fashion until a thick cake was formed." (3) The cake was then left to dry or bake in the sun.

A prime characteristic of a culture pattern is that it persists in its broad outlines, and that it is composed of two aspects which are closely inter-related, the material and the non-material. Within the culture are the great institutions which command the acceptance of all members of the society in question. This involves languages, writing systems, food habits, methods of shelter, transportation, weapons and occupational traits, art work, religious practices, family and social systems, method of social control and so on. It involves such things as property, real and personal, and the method of government, their political forms and the legal procedures.


(2) Ibid, p. 23.

(3) Loc. cit.
It is not the intention of this study to deal with this highly complex material but it is of some importance that the broad outlines of the Coast Salish culture should be mentioned. It serves to indicate the contrast between the meaningful existence of the Salish and Squamish people prior to the invasion, and the wretched purposeless way of life they now have on the reserves, completely isolated from their original culture, and yet not a living part of North American culture of today.

The social unit of the Salish people was the patrilinear family.

"Groups of three or four families, all belonging to the same kinship group, inhabited one house and formed a household, which in turn, belonged to one of the various clans, every member of which was supposedly descended from a common ancestor, no matter how mythical or remote." (1)

Blood ties were all-important, and all members of a family were obligated to assist each other in the important aspects of family life. Family life was therefore an important part of Salish society.

Within the context of his kinship and his class within the social structure, the Indian member had a clear idea of his rights and his place. His rank was clearly defined, as were his obligations. Supporting and reinforcing the economic basis of his life and the mores of his society were the secret societies

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and ceremonies of the tribe. The one blended with the other to give him a sense of security and a sense of belonging.

"The members of the Salish stock were, before contact with the Europeans, a well-regulated, peace-loving virtuous people, whose existence was far from being squalid or miserable ...... It was no uncommon thing a generation or two ago to see four or five generations of the same family living together under the same roof..... The aged were always sure of kindness and consideration at the hands of their kindred--family affection being a strong trait among these tribes.

"The life then of the Western Indian, as it was lived in the earlier days, was not that of a vicious and degraded savage. He had advanced many stages beyond that when we first came in contact with him, and his life, though simple and rude, was on the whole well-ordered and happy, and if his wants and aspirations were few, so also were his cares and worries."

General Effects of European Settlement

This pattern of life, showing a well-regulated and orderly arrangement of Salish society began to fade and disintegrate soon after the settlement of the white man. Slowly and inexorably the socio-economic base of Salish culture began to crumble and with it the structure of his primitive society. In time he became almost totally dependent upon the white settlers for his means of existence, and yet in the process of identifying with the new culture, the Indian failed to achieve either independence or equality in the new society brought by the white man.

The divorce of the Indian from his own culture and his virtual denial of admission to the Canadian community on an equal footing has created of itself social and economic problems of a serious nature to the over 151,558(1) Indians in Canada. It has led to a lower standard of living, to a waste of the productive power of the Indian, to his inability to compete on equal terms in the labor market, to a generally lower standard of health and education. It has disorganized family life, and turned the Indian people into a race of slum dwellers:

"Housing of the Indians, in terms of the extent of dilapidation, sanitary arrangements, household equipment, living accessories, and over-crowding, not only appears to be less adequate, but in many instances very appreciably worse than that of adjacent white communities. Our Indian people, insofar as they live in settled communities, are a race of slum dwellers."(2)

Not only has the shattering of his original pattern of culture reduced him to a "race of slum dwellers", but it has affected his health. This is the old co-relation between the slum dweller and health that is now so obvious. The report which was quoted from above, recognizing that the prevalence of tuberculosis is one of the reliable indicators of living standards, goes on to say that:

"In 1944 the tuberculosis death rate among Indians was 579.2 per 100,000 population. Among all other groups, it was 42.2 per 100,000 population....If half-breeds were


(2) Joint Submission by Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers to The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and The House of Commons, appointed to examine and consider The Indian Act, Ottawa, 1947, p. 4.
included with Indians, the rate for 1944 was 665.6 per 100,000 population and for the population excluding Indians and half-breeds 41.6 per 100,000 population.(1)

While the death rate among the Indians is appreciably down today, it is still greater than the general Canadian population. In 1952 the rate for other than Indian population was 15.6 per 100,000 population. The rate per 100,000 for the Indian population was 167.5. In British Columbia for the same year the rate per 100,000 population other than Indian was 15.3; the rate per 100,000 Indian population was 115.8; almost seven and a half times as much.(2)

Statistical information in relation to the Squamish people specifically is not available, but the number of active cases of tuberculosis on the Mission Reserve with its estimated population is six. If this ratio was applied to the population of the City of North Vancouver it would mean that out of its estimated population of 17,000, 218.4 would be classed as active tuberculosis cases.

The Squamish People Today

The Squamish people today are those who occupy the reserve

(1) Loc. cit.

on the north and west shore of Burrard Inlet and the area from the head of Howe Sound to Pemberton Meadows. Their population is estimated at between 650 and 680 people. The greatest number of these are concentrated on the Mission Reserve.

Prior to 1915 the Squamish were a group of separate bands, each living independently of each other. Shortly after 1915 these separate and smaller bands were amalgamated into the Squamish Confederacy. A council was formed of all the hereditary chiefs and head men.

This council in its original form is still in existence although it has ceased to command the respect and loyalty of all band members. Under the Indian Act the band councils had certain powers granted to them, but these powers almost without exception were subject to the prior approval of the officers of the Indian Branch. As a result the power and status of the council declined in the eyes of the Indian people. In addition the power of the chiefs which was inherent in the culture of the Indian, could not survive the gradual disintegration of the primitive society out of which the traditional power arose.

The new Indian Act of 1951, has attempted to give back to the Band Council some of the prestige lost to them. Band councils can now be elected by the members of the band. "The Indian Act provides a measure of self government on reserves through Band Councils chosen according to tribal custom or under an elective system of secret ballot..... The right to vote in band elections and other votes is
extended to all members of a band.\(^{(1)}\)

The Squamish Indians, however, have yet to accept the elective basis for its council. There appear to be some fear on the part of the present council that they might not be popular. They also have some fear that any new members to the council may lack the ability to safeguard the traditional interests of the band. However, it might be closer to the meaning of things, to suggest that being a member of the band council is one of the few things that gives status, however small, to a member of the band. Those who are council members now will find it difficult to give this up.

Social Problems

Poverty, ignorance and social maladjustment of themselves create special problems. Poor housing often means poor nutrition, poor nutrition generally low income. Poor housing is apparent on the Mission Reserve. Unemployment or partial employment seems to be the rule among the Mission people. Among the seventy families dwelling on the reserve, twenty are permanently on "relief", five are drawing temporary relief, while seven families "normally on relief" are added to the "relief roll" when the winter season sets in. These figures added together make a total of thirty-two families dependent upon relief for their survival. In addition, there are two members of the band drawing Old Age Assistance, and fifteen drawing Old Age Security.\(^{(2)}\)

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\(^{(1)}\) The Canada Year Book, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa, 1951, page 156.

\(^{(2)}\) Figures supplied from Indian Superintendent, Vancouver Agency, letter October 26, 1954.
Family life on the Mission Reserve is becoming increasingly disorganized. Desertions of parents, common-law relationships are an almost everyday occurrence. Unmarried mothers present a real problem. Among the total births registered on the Mission Reserve for the year 1953, seventeen percent were illegitimate.\(^{(1)}\) The percentage for the entire Province of British Columbia is under five percent.\(^{(2)}\)

The figures on the ages of the unmarried mother on the Mission Reserve are not available, but it is of significance to report that of the 378 unmarried Indian mothers in 1951, 145 of them were 20 years of age or under. Of the married Indian mothers who gave birth to infants in 1951, 169 of them were under 20 years of age or under; indeed 73 of them were 18 or under.\(^{(3)}\)

The Mission Reserve represents a familiar pattern of depressed areas. A high degree of economic dependency, considerable family disorganization, a higher than average incidence of tuberculosis; a higher than average incidence of infant mortality and

\(^{(1)}\) Figures supplied from Indian Superintendent, Vancouver Agency; letter dated October 28, 1954.

\(^{(2)}\) Vital Statistics of the Province of British Columbia; eighteenth report for the year 1951; Department of Health and Welfare; Don McDiarmid, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty; Victoria, 1953, page c. 18.

\(^{(3)}\) Ibid, Table 39, page c. 110.
a higher than average incidence of unmarried mothers. These facts serve to indicate the urgency of the local Indian problem, and the need for a total and fresh approach to the socio-economic problems which confront the native Indian.
Chapter 3.

Mission and Capilano Reserves

The Mission and the Capilano Reserve, lying within a mile of each other on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, house most of the Squamish people. Eighty percent of the estimated six hundred and fifty band members live on the Mission Reserve. The rest of the Squamish people, with the exception of a few families further up the inlet or in Howe Sound, reside on the Capilano Reserve.

The two reserves taken together form a common unit. Families intermingle socially and are related to each other through kinship and marriage. The younger families on the Capilano and occupying the wartime units, came largely from the Mission Reserve.

Sports events, especially those to which the public are invited, are held on the Capilano Reserve, as the Mission Reserve lacks space. Winter activities, which are few, but which have to be held indoors, are held on the Mission Reserve where accommodation is available. In either case, the facilities are restricted.

Though geographically separate, both reserves have problems in common and changes in one reserve are reflected in the other. Both reserves are in an urban setting. Both rely on the surrounding industry for employment and they share common transportation with the white community. A number of families send their children to the public schools.
In innumerable ways, the people of the Mission and Capilano make contact with and share in the life of the community surrounding them. This close relationship has on the one hand awakened the desire for the same status as the white community, and on the other has created in the Indian a deeper frustration and resentment over the inequality between themselves and the larger community.

The problem appears to be less an ethnic one, as it was in the beginning, but is today a socio-economic one. The existence of the reservation itself is a barrier to assimilation, and is no doubt partly responsible for the static condition of the Indian. The urban setting of the Mission Reserve in particular appears to emphasize the basic problem of the native Indian, in his relationship with the white community. His lower standard of living, his lack of continuous employment, his lower educational standard, his sub-standard housing and his segregation, all serve to remind him of his invidious position.

The Mission Reserve

Most Indian reservations are situated either on the remote outskirts of the urban areas of the lower mainland, or several miles from the centre of the towns and villages. This, however, is not the case with the Mission Reserve. Its location in the heart
There is no community or village quality in haphazardly-placed, poorly-built structures like these.
of a city is one of the unique features of this reserve. Its naturally superb setting is offset by the rising tide of industrialism which threatens to engulf and make untenable the lower portion of the reserve.

At the turn of the century the reserve had a comparative isolation. Few homes dotted the north shore and the City of Vancouver was in its infancy. Communication between the two shores, for the Indian, was by canoe. Contact with his original culture could be sustained, so long as the urban and industrial forces did not press themselves upon him; so long as there was isolation and the sense of a separate destiny. The reserve, situated immediately opposite the City of Vancouver, was bound by its very nature, however, to be drawn into the ongoing processes of western society. The population of the City of Vancouver is now close to 350,000,¹ that of the City and District of North Vancouver together is 39,000 people.

Already the reserve is cut into two parts by Third Street, along which there is a constant flow of traffic; and soon the Pacific Great Eastern Railway will cut across the front of the reserve. Ships from all parts of the world sail into the inlet. Commercial and industrial enterprises stretch on either side of the reserve. The view facing the Indian today as he looks south from his reserve,

¹Canada Year Book, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa, 1955, p. 139, table 6.
is that of ships, docks, smoke stacks, and the cataphony of office buildings across the inlet.

The Mission Reserve covers an area of 35.2 acres. The northern boundary extends along Sixth Street, the southern boundary along Burrard inlet. The eastern line is along Forbes Avenue along which has recently been built a tall green fence. Forbes Avenue is scarcely three blocks away from Lonsdale Avenue, the main street of the City of North Vancouver. The boundary on the west is Bewicke Road from Marine Drive to the inlet.

On either side of the reserve, extending east and west along the water front is an expanding industrial and commercial area composed in the main of ship-building trades, supply depots, shingle and lumber mills, and smaller trades and shops allied to the larger enterprises. The land in the vicinity of the reserve has been zoned for light industry and commercial purposes. It is therefore highly probable that an increasing concentration of industry around the reserve will make it untenable. The question of re-organizing the living space on the Mission Reserve, or of re-establishing the families in some other area may have to be faced within the next decade.

The Land

The soil on the reserve is an admixture of sand and gravel, and according to most Indian families, unfit for any sort of
agriculture. Only one home had attempted to grow a vegetable
garden, and in this there appeared to be some success. With the
exception of two or three homes, none had attempted to have flower
gardens. Some homes had attempted to define their lots by building
fences, but in all cases the fences were broken and ugly. Homes
that at one time might have had a simple dignity, and a certain
sturdiness about them, are now simply shacks.

The land slopes from the inlet to over one hundred feet
above sea level at Sixth Street. Due to this angle of incline there
is a series of small streams flowing down the reserve during the
fall and winter periods making the whole area damp. Many of these
small streams flow beside homes; and prior to the installation of
flush toilets in 1954, many outhouses were erected over these streams.

Land contours in general are irregular and flow in a south-
westerly direction. The land not occupied by a dwelling is either
studded with second growth trees, shrubbery, or wild berry bushes.
One modest creek, the McKay eats its way into the north-west corner
of the reserve before emptying into the inlet. The view from the
reserve is panoramic in scope. As a natural setting for a primitive
Indian village it was undoubtedly well chosen.

Services

Normal services such as electric power are available on the
reserve, and most, but not all, homes are wired. Telephones are
available but few homes have this service. Nearly all homes have water piped in, and most of them now have flush toilets. Few homes are properly laid out or equipped with bathrooms, and only a handful have a hot water system. Fire protection services, and garbage collections are provided by special agreement between the City of North Vancouver and the Indian Department. Street lighting on the reserve is barely adequate. Sidewalks do not exist. Gravel roads and footpaths running laterally from these roads provide the means of communication between the dwellings.

Financial and religious services are available on the reserve. The Indian population is predominantly Roman Catholic. Most of the children attend the residential school either as day pupils or as boarders. Vocational guidance is not available to the Indian student in the normal course of events. Play schools and kindergartens are needed but not planned for. Recreational areas are very limited, and apart from an inadequately equipped school, play grounds are non-existent.

The shopping centre for the Mission people is the lower portion of Lonsdale. Most of the families shop at Safeway stores, or take the ferry across to Vancouver to shop at Woodwards' Department Store.

The Capilano Reserve

Approximately a mile to the west of the Mission Reserve
lies the Capilano Reserve. This reserve is in the District of West Vancouver whose population in 1951 was given as 13,999; today it is estimated to be in the neighborhood of 19,000. Here again, there is a rapid process of urbanization going on, but little industrial activity. West Vancouver is predominantly a residential community; its impact upon the Indian community so far has not been dramatic, nor as incisive as that of North Vancouver on the Mission Reserve.

The Capilano Reserve, largely because of its magnitude, has enjoyed a measure of isolation denied the Mission. Where the Mission Reserve has thirty-five acres of land, the Capilano has over three hundred acres. The Capilano River divides the reserve into two parts, but each section is large enough to permit the development of a reasonably large housing project for the band. The most suitable area, however, would appear to be that which lies east of the river. It has greater depth, and is less likely to be affected adversely by the growth of the municipality itself.

The reserve is a fairly level area with a good deal of tree coverage. The oldest homes are close to the waterfront, with the newer homes concentrated in the area between two pipe line roads of the Vancouver Water Board, south of Marine Drive and north of the Pacific Great Eastern right of way. In this area a new housing project has been started with the use of the old wartime units. While it has resulted in relieving some of the housing congestion on the Mission Reserve, the planning has been ill-conceived
and unimaginative. The use of the Capilano Reserve should not be on a piece-meal basis. It is large enough to permit the development of an integrated village project, that would meet the immediate needs of the band and yet would permit for ease of expansion to take care of future needs. The initial cost would no doubt be greater, but it is the piece-meal method that in the long run is more costly and wasteful.

The boundaries of the reserve run north along Marine Drive, south along Burrard Inlet, east on the line between the District of North Vancouver and the District of West Vancouver, and West along Ambleside Park.

Services

Facilities to the people on the Capilano Reserve are limited. Electric power is available and most homes have this service. Telephones are available to those who can afford it. The wartime units have small equipped bathrooms, but the older homes lack these. Fire and garbage services are available on the same basis as on the Mission Reserve. There are no side walks, and access to the reserve is by the pipe line roads, which are rough.

School facilities are not available on the reserve. Most of the children attend the residential school in North Vancouver, but a small number attend the public schools in both West Vancouver and the District of North Vancouver.
The Problem of Isolation

Wherever people are isolated from the main stream of a nation's life, set apart from the other citizens, whether this separation be psychological or geographic, problems arise automatically out of such situations. Reserve life, or the policies of reservations for a special group of people, has created a serious problem for the nation.

These problems for the Indian are sociological in character involving many mutually related forces. These forces are ethnic, socio-economic and psychological. The outward personality of the modern Indian, as reflected in the Mission people, is a mixture of hope, despair and cynicism. The Indian child, who is the Indian adult of tomorrow, is suspended between two worlds, largely incompatible with each other, and in neither of which does the child feel at home.

Simple questions seem to remain unanswered. Are the Indians housed properly? Are they being fed properly? Are the welfare services available to other Canadians available to them? Are the rights of Indian parents being neglected? Is the policy of using residential schools as a catchall for neglected children or for families who have too many children, a good one, or the only one?

The question must be asked if the time is not propitious for abolishing the reservations; what alternatively can be done
to add meaning and dignity to the people of the reservations. It would appear that either there be an immediate abolition of the Indian reservation as such, or an immediate plan for the rehabilitation of Indian life on the reservation.
Chapter 4

Housing and Welfare

Housing on the Mission Reserve falls into two general groups, single and two-storey dwellings thirty-five years of age and over, and single and two-storey dwellings under thirty-five years of age. In this group are included the recently purchased wartime units. All dwellings are of frame construction, and with the exception of one, are without basements. Only the wartime units have cement foundations. No homes are insulated. Brick chimneys are rare, with the exception of the wartime houses. Most homes have no chimneys and it is not unusual to see a stove pipe protruding through a window or the side of a house. The dwellings are laid out in irregular lines, although it would appear as if at some time in the life of the community there was an attempt to give coherence to the village. The largest number of dwellings lie south of Third Street. The ancient Mission Church, facing southward, its twin spires rising high above the village, dominates the entire surrounding area.

Housing, as revealed by the survey, was sub-standard. Only the wartime units could meet any sort of housing standard, and then it is to be remembered that the Indians acquired them because the City and District of North Vancouver considered them undesirable in their community. The Band purchased them to relieve the problem of overcrowding, and to permit the newly
Washing facilities are frequently primitive, and the water supply easily subject to contamination.
married couples to have a home of their own, but while it did this to some extent, overcrowding is still a major problem. The average size of twenty-seven families sampled was 6.3 persons. The average number of rooms occupied by these families was 2.9.

All homes sampled were sub-marginal in character, lacked adequate living space, and had a marked deficiency in kitchen fixtures and plumbing facilities. Hot water systems, bathtubs and washbowls were confined to the wartime units only. Shelving, storage space for food, cupboard space for other normal purposes were inadequate and in some homes practically non-existent. Floors were made of fir, and in many cases were so badly splintered that where they were not covered by some low grade congoleum, they were hazardous to the children.

Kitchen, living room and bedroom furniture for the most part was tawdry and of poor quality. Few homes had an adequate supply of furniture and in many cases members of a family had to use ancient chesterfields as beds. In one home year old twins slept head to foot in a dilapidated baby carriage; in another, two sets of bunk beds, in addition to a sagging double bed were in one room ten by twelve. Because there was a lack of bed covers, the children slept in their clothes.

Interior lighting was as a rule poor and usually consisted of a bulb at the end of a cord hanging from the centre
Some typical interiors: often for large families.
of the room. Most homes had a radio and on occasion it was the best piece of furniture in the room.

Heating which is a major problem in west coast frame houses is complicated for the Indian because their homes are not insulated, have no source of central heat and must depend largely on heat either from the kitchen range or from a tin heater placed in the living room. Often homes were excessively warm during the evening, but once the family went to bed and the fire died down, the cold became intense. Fire is a constant danger in the home.

**Plumbing**

One of the major indices of housing conditions in urban areas is related to plumbing facilities. Is there a bathroom, toilet, hot-water system, kitchen sink? The question is of major importance since it involves the health, cleanliness and comfort of families and of communities generally. Much of the decrease in disease epidemics is attributable to modern sanitary conveniences and personal hygiene. In any organized community these facilities are available without question and standards respecting the home and its facilities are incorporated into by-laws. These by-laws are enforced by a system of inspections and thus the individual home owner or occupant, as well as the community, is protected.

The Indian reserve, because of its federal character, does not have to abide by the by-laws of the community in which
Toilet facilities as existing in 1954 were deplorable, and a constant menace to health.
it is situated. There are no written, enforceable laws respecting housing standards for the Indian population; there is no inspection to see that individual family homes are appropriate for the needs of the family occupying them. This is one area in which it appears that both the Indian council and the Indian Department have failed to apply themselves with proper vigour.

Although most Indian homes on the reserve now have flush toilets, four out of the twenty-seven homes sampled were still using outhouses. The following table summarizes the plumbing facilities of twenty-seven homes sampled:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equipment</th>
<th>No. With</th>
<th>No. Without</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toilet</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot water</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sink</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry Tubs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 makes it reasonably clear that most homes on the reserve are without essential facilities to safeguard the health of the people. Lack of hot water systems, bathtubs, sinks and laundry tubs is obvious. It takes no high degree of imagination to realize the problems of hygiene thus created, nor the difficulties the mother must have in bringing up her children in a home not only overcrowded but lacking in decent plumbing.
facilities. The problem is not only one of an added chore for the mother, but represents another psychological restraint in the life of the Indian family. It reinforces his resentment of the white community and marks a difference between full citizenship and his own second-class status. This feeling could not be otherwise in a culture that tends to venerate the objects of wealth. One Indian teen-ager commented rather bitterly to the writer that, "They give us a toilet and think we are happy."

Seven Indian Homes

In 1953 the Squamish Band spent almost $175,000.00 for "new" housing, and the rehabilitation of older homes. High priority families received wartime units; low priority families were granted sums of $400 to $700 for rehabilitation of their existing homes, i. e. the installation of septic tank and flush toilet, with the balance going to additions or repairs and painting of the outside.

Homes considered to be beyond rehabilitation were to be left untouched and their occupants granted wartime units as they became available. The plan then was to tear down the dwelling considered unfit for rehabilitation. In practice, however, as soon as one family moved out, another family moved in. In most cases the family moving in had just left a home that was less fit for habitation. The summary of the following seven homes, chosen at random will illustrate that in spite of the large expenditure on housing, a serious problem remains.
House Number One is a two-storey unpainted frame building, situated in the south-east corner of the reserve. Close to it is the marine basin and the Harbor Commission railway tracks. The house, said to be between sixty and seventy years old, is badly weathered, and in obvious need of major repair. It is a four-room house, occupied by a cheerful family of seven. There is no toilet, bathroom, nor hot water system. The coal and wood range and a barrel type stove in the living room supply the heat.

House Number Two is a two-bedroom wartime unit occupied by another family of seven. Though the family is overcrowded it considers itself lucky because for the first time they have a flush toilet, bathtub and hot water system. The rooms are relatively small. Heat is supplied from the kitchen range and barrel type stove situated in the living room.

House Number Three shelters three adults and three children. It is a kinship group constituting three families. The house is a two-storey, unpainted, frame structure considered to be one of the worst on the reserve. The house is generally dilapidated, having rotting back and front stairs, loose boards and broken windows. The roof is moss covered, and shingles are rotting. The upstairs interior was gutted by fire some years ago and is unusable. The remaining three rooms on the ground floor are shared by the three families. The rooms are dark, dreary and dirty. The furniture was old and inadequate to family needs. There is no bathroom nor hot water system. Heat is supplied by an old coal and wood stove.

House Number Four is occupied by a widow, her two married daughters and their six children. The house is an old single-storey, four-roomed dwelling. Like most other homes it is plain and dark inside, unkempt and disorganized outside. It has a sink, flush toilet, but no hot water nor bathtub.

House Number Five is a single-storey, three-room dwelling on the north side of Third Avenue. The walk up to the house is overgrown with weeds and grass. The steps to the verandah sag badly. The house looks squat and cramped. The interior is dark and seems cold and damp; there is very little furniture in the house and what there is, is old. The house has a flush toilet, but lacks hot water and proper heating systems. R. G. lives alone in the house. His wife and one of his four children are hospitalized for tuberculosis. The other three children are in residential school.
All the elements of a slum, without even the minimum amenities of the city.
House Number Six is the smallest house on the reserve. It is occupied by a family of five. The house is a single storey, two-room dwelling. It is not wired for electricity, has no water in the house and lacks all plumbing facilities.

House Number Seven has been condemned but because there is no other accommodation for the family they were allowed to use it. There are eight children in this family, but because of poor housing and lack of funds, six of the children are staying in the residential school. The house is a two-storey frame structure with each floor constituting a room. The upstairs, however, cannot be used and the family is confined to the main floor. Because the house is condemned there is no flush toilet nor hot water system. Windows throughout the house were broken, and the paper peeling from walls and ceiling. Mr. and Mrs. M. who were just moving in, appeared to accept their housing situation calmly as if they had no right to expect more.

Income and Rent

The co-relation between income and rent requires no elaboration. Marginal and low income groups live in marginal type housing. Middle to high income groups share in correspondingly better homes. This relationship between income and goods and services available, is a basic one in almost all cultures, and has been especially so in the west, where the outward manifestation of wealth means status.

No Indian family pays rent for his dwelling on the reserve except where it might be a private arrangement between one member of the band and another. In such cases the rent agreed upon is usually ten dollars per month. Wartime units
are purchased at a rate of $5.00 per month over a twenty-year period.

The question of whether rent-free housing is the best plan for the Indian people is a subject that might well be discussed by those responsible for the management of Indian Affairs. Is it possible that such a policy has contributed toward the present sub-marginal dwellings? Against this question is that of whether the average Indian family on the Mission Reserve can afford to pay rent. The general opinion is that most families on the Mission Reserve have no adequate economic guarantee to enable it to take on the responsibilities of rent. The lack of full employment, of economic adequacy is reflected in their present sub-marginal dwellings, and their general lack of modern facilities.

Indian security, such as it is, is patterned on his reservation culture. The Indian knows that while on the reserve he has a roof over his head and that he is among his own people. Under existing relationships with the white community he has no guarantee of a roof over his head or reasonable employment opportunities should he leave his reservation. The pattern of his existence is tied in with his status in Canadian society. The
measure of that status to a very large extent is revealed in the incongruous arrangement of their housing.

Economics and Welfare

The kind of home one lives in, the kind of clothing one wears, their general state of health and the degree of education enjoyed by a person is to a very great extent dependent on the economic security provided by his family. It can be said that the number of children in a family has some relation to its economic position. The costs of maintaining a large family are greater than those for a small family. As wealth adds comfort, security, status and privilege it is conversely true that the lack of adequate income adds an almost intolerable burden to the people who face this economic uncertainty. They are confronted with daily anxieties and constant hardship.

Lack of continuous employment prohibits full participation of the individual and family in the normal amenities shared by the community. Such individuals and families lack food with an adequate nutritional level; they lack adequate housing, clothing, household equipment and other apparatus which prevent the daily task of caring for a family from becoming a burdensome chore; and they are unable to participate in adequate recreational activities.
The Indian mother, with three or four small children, living in a dwelling having neither bathroom facilities nor hot water, faces continuous frustration in her daily household duties. When, in addition, her husband lacks steady employment she is unable to plan for her family, and is bereft of that security which ought to be the right of all persons.

The Indian, because of his status in the community, has lacked the educational vocational opportunities to fit him for full participation in the economic life of the nation. The potential ability and skill of the Indian remains untapped. Apart from fishing, trapping, longshoring and logging, the Indian is ill-equipped to face the demands of modern industry and manufacturing.

It is among the younger generation, however, that the greatest difficulty occurs. It is among this group that unemployment is more serious. The young Indian leaves school by the time or before he reaches grade eight. He is unskilled, untrained and unable to compete with the average Canadian for a job. In many cases he is unwanted by the employer, especially in the white collar occupations, where a degree of sophistication is required. Among thirty-seven families originally surveyed in 1951 there were twenty-one young people under the age of
twenty-five and over sixteen who were unemployed, and who had no fixed means of livelihood.

The problem of employment for the Indian is more complex in a community like the Mission Reserve because he is divorced from an environment which lends itself to trapping, hunting and fishing. The Mission Reserve Indian is economically part of an urban community which derives its employment from the surrounding industrial and commercial life. If he cannot obtain employment longshoring, in the local sawmills, or factories, neither can he go hunting, or trapping. Most of the families on the reserve obtain seasonal employment in the berry fields of Washington and the hop fields of the Fraser Valley. This type of employment, while having certain social compensations, is not adequate to meet the needs of the individual families.\(^1\)

Apart from those who obtain fairly steady work longshoring, or in the surrounding mills, Indian labor is mobile. This is especially true among the younger Indians who can move more easily. A number of them attempt to combine work in the woods with fishing, while many, including entire families, will spend a greater part of the summer and early fall in the berry or hop fields.

"More than anything else, .............. the migration is a hopeful but rather unrewarding flight from the drab life of some reserves. More to the point might be the planning of some enrichment of reserve life so as to replace the forbidden or forgotten excitements of the past."(1)

Related Factors of Health

Low economic standards, lack of continuous and adequate employment are not alone reflected in poor housing but in lower standards of education and health. Such a situation is the lot of the Canadian Indian. In 1947 in the brief submitted to the Government, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers made the following comment:

"......it is a shocking commentary on the extent of poverty and ignorance which we have permitted to exist among the Indians ........"(2)

Later on the brief comments on the infant death rate in the following manner:

"Comparative infant mortality rates bear testimony to the same situation. In 1944, the death rate for all children under one year of age was 54 per 1,000 live births. Among the Indians the rate was 180.3 per 1,000 live births."(3)


(3) Ibid, pp.4 and 5.
In other words the infant death rate among Canadian Indians was more than three times that of other Canadians. In British Columbia the picture is even more shocking. In 1954 the infant mortality rate in British Columbia excluding Indians was 22.4 per 1,000 live births. The infant mortality rate for the Indian in British Columbia was 105.2 per 1,000 live births. This is more than four times as great.\(^{(1)}\)

Although the total Indian population in British Columbia is estimated to be 28,478\(^{(2)}\), the neo-natal death rate of Indian babies is almost exactly the same rate for other than Indian population in British Columbia. For the Indian the rate is 14.9 per 1,000 live births, while for the other than Indian population the rate is 15.7 per 1,000 live births.\(^{(3)}\)

The same comparative picture appears in the maternal mortality rate, where, for other than Indian population in British Columbia, the rate in 1954 was .3 per 1,000 live births, as compared with the Indian rate of 2.8 per 1,000 live births, or almost nine times as high.\(^{(4)}\)


\(^{(2)}\) The Canada Year Book, 1955, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1955, p. 155.

\(^{(3)}\) Ibid.

There are no doubt many reasons to explain the magnitude of the difference between figures for the Indian population and the other than Indian population. Many will contend it is due to a combination of poor diet and a lack of good housing and normal sanitary arrangements. These factors are among the more obvious in the Mission and Capilano Reserves. In any event these three factors would appear to negate to a large extent, the preventive health measures of the Indian medical services. Many broad public health measures of a preventive nature are still lacking. There appears to be little doubt that if the standard of living in terms of better housing, better diet, and better education and mental health were available, the medical program would be more effective.

Welfare Services

The modern Canadian community, rural or urban, is buttressed, helped and served by both federal and provincial health and welfare services. In British Columbia welfare services are among the most comprehensive in Canada and are provided by both public and private agencies.

Family, child welfare, psychiatric, medical and rehabilitative services, in addition to social allowances, are provided on a professional casework level. One of the unique contributions of modern welfare services is its casework orientation and emphasis upon rehabilitation of the individual. It is recognized that needs of individuals and communities are not exhausted with the granting
of financial help; that along with the need for basic financial help are the needs for status, for belonging, and the right to be self-supporting and independent.

Part of the problem of Indian Welfare Services is that it has to a large extent failed to use the welfare resources available to it. Consequentely welfare services to the Indian are almost non-existent, with the exception of a "relief" program, which does nothing to rehabilitate the individual. Except in the field of child welfare, provincial welfare services are not given to a person of Indian status. Even welfare services for the tubercular patient of white and Indian status are different.

Though both Indian and white patients get excellent medical care, the welfare services available to the person of white status are comprehensive and orientated to the patient's rehabilitation. This is not the case with the Indian, who, apart from his transportation to hospital and extra financial or "relief" grant while at home, receives no other help, such as assistance in planning for his family, or the care of his children, should such be needed.

This is only one of many gaps in welfare services to the Indians. Another is among the medically unemployable, or the physically handicapped. Another is in child welfare.

A problem of great concern to members of the Indian

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(1) The Indian Affairs Branch is now, however, employing professional social workers, one of whom is attached to the Vancouver office of the Department.
Department is the use of residential schools as the catchall for all child welfare programs. Children who cannot be cared for in their own homes, or who manifest behaviour problems are placed in residential schools. This not only puts an unfair burden on the school, but it fails to meet the real needs of the child or the family. Many families place their children in residential schools because they lack accommodation for their families, and lack financial resources to care for them. In some cases, it is a way of avoiding parental responsibility.

**Relief**

An Indian in need of "relief" (1) must first get the approval of the band council and then of the Indian Superintendent. Relief is paid, in the majority of cases, in the form of a grocery order, limiting the family to staple foods only, such as flour, sugar, milk, beans and potatoes. The amount granted is based on a scale of ten dollars to each parent and five dollars per month for each child in the family. As the Indian does not pay rent the scale is specifically a food allowance. Although provincial welfare allowances include rent, in the following table we are for the purpose of comparison excluding rent.

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(1) The term "relief" is used by the Indian Department; in modern public welfare services, the word "assistance" is generally used.
Table 2: Monthly rate of assistance payable to Indian families, as compared to monthly rate paid by Provincial Government and municipalities to other citizens, excluding rent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
<td>$35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>56.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>67.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>89.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>100.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relief caseload for the Mission Reserve averages twenty-five per month. Of these, fourteen are classed as family cases, that is, families with children; the remaining eleven are single grants. The number drawing relief increases during the winter months, with a gradual decrease taking place during the spring and summer months.

The 1954 budget for direct relief to families on the Mission Reserve was $12,000.00, or an average expenditure of $1,000.00 per month. A caseload of twenty-five from a community of seventy dwellings indicates that at least 35 percent of the dwellings were occupied by some person or persons drawing relief. The Provincial Government accepts 45 as a normal percentage of the other than Indian population that can be expected to be dependent upon allowances. The Mission Reserve has 4.45 percentage of population
The following table comparing population figures, social allowance caseload and average social allowance monthly budget between the Mission Reserve and the three surrounding municipalities, although not clearly applicable, has nevertheless some interesting inferences.

Table 3. Showing comparison between Mission Reserve Indian population and "relief caseload" with the surrounding municipalities of North Vancouver, District of North Vancouver and District of West Vancouver, with their approximate populations and their caseload for 1954.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reserve and Municipalities</th>
<th>Approximately Population</th>
<th>Average Caseload (1)</th>
<th>Percentage of Caseload to Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mission Reserve</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of North Vancouver</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of North Vancouver</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of West Vancouver</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Insurance

All Indians are included in the broad social security

programs of both provincial and federal governments. Indian children living at home or with relatives are eligible for family allowances subject to all the regulations under that act. Indians seventy years or over are covered under the Old Age Security Act of 1952 as are any other Canadians who have had twenty years' residence in Canada. Indians under seventy but over sixty-five years of age are also eligible for old age assistance on a means test basis. Two such cases are on the Mission Reserve, while fifteen members of the band are drawing old age security.

Indians are covered by workmen's compensation on the same basis as are any other workmen. The problem here, as was previously indicated, is that Indian labor is less employed than other categories, and the work they pursue, because of the many social factors, tends to limit them to occupations which are not covered by workmen's compensation or unemployment insurance. Thus these programs have a limited value to the Indian at the present time.

Child Welfare Program

The child welfare program of the Province of British Columbia, involving the protection of children, children of unmarried parents, adoptions and foster homes is available to the Indian population. Because, however, of the special status
of the Indian, and the general lack of liaison between the Indian Department and the Welfare Department of the Province, the full resources of the Indian and white community are never brought into play.

Finding adoption and foster homes for white children does not, on the whole, present a major problem. To find an adoption home or a foster home for children of Indian parents is almost impossible. In some ways the Indians have developed their own foster home program by a system of passing children from one relative to another; those children for whom no home can be found are placed in residential schools.

The residential school thus becomes a catchall for all the child welfare problems of the Indian Department. Neglected, unwanted or problem children in the vast majority of cases end up in the school. The Indian Superintendent, while not happy over this use of the school, finds that placement there becomes the easy and often the only answer to his problem.

Adoption of Indian children becomes a special problem in that few adoption homes are available and because of the conflict in determining the status of the child. A child of an unmarried Indian mother, but whose father has white status, presents special problems to the Indian mother who cannot secure Indian rights for her child, and special problems to the white community in finding adoption homes for these children, if so
requested. Indian mothers who wish to keep such children will conceal the identity of the putative father in order to give the child her own status. It is not uncommon to see children who have all the appearances of being white sharing the life of the Indian people.

These problems reflect again the burden which second-class citizenship places upon any minority group. Indian status in itself inhibits the normal growth, development and assimilation of the Indian people. As a group, they have the greatest need for a well-integrated welfare program, and yet of all people in Canada they have the least in these resources. There is no integrated welfare program for these people, no housing standard for them and little attempt to provide for the recreational needs of the young children and the teen-ager.

While medical services to the Indian, on a formal basis, appear to be reasonably comprehensive, the public health program as it relates to housing and sanitation in the adjacent community, say, of North Vancouver in relation to the Mission Reserve, is not applicable to the Indian. As in housing, the Indian Department's approach to health and welfare problems appears to be on a piecemeal basis. The reason for this situation appears to be not in the unwillingness of the members of
the Indian Department, but rather in the fact that the Indian Department has yet to come to grips with the problem in a comprehensive way.
Chapter 5

Rehabilitation

Solutions to social and economic problems are never ready-made. Those in socio-economics involve social traditions and patterns of culture; they implicate the past and the future. Individual problems become group problems, and group problems, community problems. No two are exactly alike. For instance, the Doukhobors of British Columbia and the Indian population both present socio-economic problems, but their solution, while having possible parallels, are nevertheless different in their application to each other. The problem of the Indian is national in scope, and deals with a community of people whose historical background is vastly different from the Doukhobor. Different situations call forth different solutions. It is generally conceded, however, that all social problems involving the needs and rights of people can be adequately solved, if the approach combines science and humanism.

The problem of the people on the Mission Reserve is tied up with that of all Indians across Canada; yet the Mission people have a unique and specific problem of housing and welfare needs that can be met immediately and without reference to the total problem of the Canadian Indian.

Two plans are needed, one on the national level envisaging a total study of the Indian problem, in which recommendations leading to the complete emancipation of the Indian people would be made.
The other plan should be on the local level with a view to an immediate raising of the standard of living for the Indian. It is the specific problem of housing and welfare for the Mission Reserve that is being considered here.

Housing and Planning Project

In August 1950 Dr. Leonard Marsh of the University of British Columbia compiled a report for the use of the Indian Department dealing with a housing project for the North Shore Reservation.\(^1\) It proposed the use of the Capilano Reserve as the site for a new and comprehensive village scheme for all the Squamish Indians. Those who cared to remain on the smaller Mission Reserve could do so, but the main project would be to create a new community on the Capilano Reserve.

The plan envisaged family dwellings, schools, playgrounds, community centre, roads, street lighting and other resources required by modern community living. The plan in effect would be a self-contained community, designed to give strength to the Indian family and a sense of purpose. Whether the Indians should have their own school, is a matter that should be thought through very carefully. It is generally agreed that Indian children attending non-parochial schools are better educated, and achieve a degree of assimilation not shared by others of the band. For instance, teachers employed in residential schools need not be certificated.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Marsh, Dr. Leonard C., North Shore Reservation; Housing and Planning Project, Report No. 2, August, 1950; Departments of Social Work and Architecture, University of British Columbia.

\(^2\) The Department of Indian Affairs has no control over hiring of teachers at residential schools.
Architect's model of proposed Capilano Village for the Squamish Indians.
The new community was to be developed by stages, with those families having the greatest need being accommodated first. A schedule of cost was worked out at the time, and a model of the planned village prepared by Mr. Murray Polson, an architect and part-time lecturer at the School of Architecture.

The report was held in abeyance pending the result of the housing survey shown in Chapter four; this, however, need not have interfered with any basic plans for the rehabilitation of the Indian families. The subsequent purchases and placing of wartime units on the Capilano Reserve, while partially meeting an immediate need, has tended to perpetuate a policy that leads to blighted homes of the future. In spite of these developments it should still be possible to proceed with such plans as originally presented by Dr. Marsh.

The plan was not conceived simply to meet a housing shortage, but to provide the physical basis for raising the standard of living of the Squamish Indian, to prevent the disintegration of family life, and to promote a more rapid assimilation of the Indian people into the pattern of Canadian life.

Proposed Plan

The plan proposed that, over a period of time, ninety-five homes should be built, along with a school and "utilities" building which would house a workshop, craft shop, laundry and health and
welfare clinic. (1) Three stages of development were suggested, with the first recommending a total of thirty homes for construction and in addition a home for six old people. The first stage also includes a two-room school and an all-purpose building to house the workshop, craft shop, etc. The next phase would see thirty more dwellings built, with additions to the school, and the third phase to complete another thirty-five dwellings, making a total of ninety-five dwellings in all. Of this number forty-four were two-bedroom homes, eighteen three-bedroom homes, twenty-five four-bedroom homes, and eight to be five-bedroom homes. The old people's unit is to house twelve persons.

The new village would be properly serviced with water, light and roads. Tree belts would be developed to enhance the natural features of the area, to allow for sunlight, and to give a maximum view of the sea, at the same time shielding the village from the railway line of the Pacific Great Eastern.

Construction Costs

Construction costs were estimated to be in the neighborhood of $11,000. No firm cost could be given until final details of the village plan were laid down, and the cost of material and labor determined. The estimated cost of the first phase, including the preparation of the site and the laying out of the services, such as

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roads, water and drainage, was $175,600.\(^{(1)}\) This included fourteen two-bedroom homes, four each of three- and four-bedroom homes, and four each of four- and five-bedroom homes. To add community facilities at this time, such as the home for the old people, the school and utility block, would add another estimated $52,000.00. These figures are estimated only, and based on building estimates for the year 1950.

**Methods of Financing**

Once there has been general agreement on the need for a new village, and construction costs established, one other step becomes necessary, that of financing the project. Dr. Marsh has suggested two possible ways in which this might be done.

The first method involves an outright capital grant from the federal government, a housing loan from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation at three percent or less, and the balance of the loan from the band funds of the Squamish people. This is a three-way sharing of the cost and participation in the project.

The second suggested way of financing was the sharing of the cost on a two-way basis. It is suggested that the federal government increase its outright grant say from $100,000 to $150,000, while the balance required be met directly from band funds, if sufficient are available, repayable at three percent over a

\(^{(1)}\) March, Dr. Leonard C., North Shore Reservation; Housing and Planning Project, Report No. 2, Schedule B, August, 1950; Departments of Social Work and Architecture, University of British Columbia.
fifteen-year repayment period. The revenue required to pay the principal and interest can be derived from mortgage payments assessed against each dwelling in the new village.

Ownership and Participation

While ownership of homes may not be universal it is universally strived for, and home ownership both in Canada and the United States is common. Its importance in the material culture of the nation cannot be underestimated. To own a home is to acquire a status denied to most of those who must rent. This possessive sense of ownership is one which the Indian can appreciate as much as anyone.

Any new housing project, therefore, should provide a guarantee and certificate of entitlement to the original occupant, in much the same way as other home owners. If the occupant has faithfully carried out his financial and other responsibilities in acquiring his home, it should be registered in his name, and should cease to be the property of the band. The owner would still have, however, a financial obligation which could be in the form of a property tax, with such taxes to be used for improvement and maintenance of village services.

To ensure Indian participation in any major plans affecting their community, and to encourage leadership and a sense of the democratic process, a Housing Administrative Committee should be set up, composed of band members, together with representatives from financially contributing bodies, representative from the Welfare Services Section of the Indian Affairs Branch, and a representative from the
municipality in which the reserve lies. This person should have some knowledge of Indian problems, and be sympathetic toward the Indian people. This committee, with an Indian chairman, should be responsible for setting up a permanent administrative process to carry on the management of the new village. It would ultimately be responsible to the freely elected band council. In broad outlines the operations of the band should be parallel to that of municipal government. The final goal would be the integration of the Indian pattern of life into the surrounding municipality.

Welfare Recommendations

To construct a new village without at the same time meeting the psycho-social needs of the band would be to condemn the people to a limited experience and the rehousing plan to failure. The problem of the band cannot be met on a piecemeal basis.

The aim of any plan should be comprehensive and two-pronged; one to build adequate houses and community resources, the other to assist the Indian to achieve equal status with his fellow Canadians, and a sense of personal worth. This cannot be achieved overnight, nor without meaningful experience to the participants of the project. Dignity, freedom and responsibility are experienced, not imposed. With an increasing sense of responsibility will grow the Indian's sense of freedom and dignity.

In relation to the village project the Squamish Indians must be drawn into an active participation with the development of the
plans, the type of housing they want, the type of village they want, the costs involved, and, where possible, be employed in its construction. They could be used in the preparation of the site, for rough carpentry and painting, and should be paid the prevailing rate of wages. Active participation can be the beginning of a sound vocational program for the Indian, especially among the younger generation.

Few Indians go beyond grade eight, and none on leaving school are equipped to compete in the labor market for skilled or semi-skilled jobs. With a soundly based vocational guidance program the Indian would not only acquire a better feeling about himself but he would be able to work in more diverse fields of occupation. This vocational training program, with federal backing, could be tied in with the National Employment Service program.

Welfare programs, if they are to be constructive, must be positive in their aims, must ensure adequate financial assistance where such assistance is required, and must provide a counselling or casework service on a professional level. The provincial welfare program of British Columbia, although having some gaps, is nevertheless among the best in Canada. The Indian should come under this program, with the cost shared between the federal and provincial governments. Administration of this program could come under the Provincial Social Welfare Branch in agreement with the federal government or it could be administered by the Indian Affairs Branch in line with provincial standards.
With a co-ordinated system of public welfare administration
adhering to the provincial social welfare program, and the application
of a sound vocational and rehabilitation program, there would be in
time, a decrease in unemployment among the Indian people, and an
increase in the general well-being and standard of living in the
Indian community.

Recreational Needs

The Indians are known for their love of games, and it is also
well known that children have a need to play for the sheer joy of
playing, yet having a need also to learn how to play constructively.
A program of recreational services should be developed, along with a
program of group activity to meet the needs of all age groups in the
band. Either the Indian Affairs Branch should encourage Indian
children to belong to local play groups, or they should assist in the
development of such a program on the reserve. This would involve active
participation of the Indian mothers. A proper play area, equipped with
slides, swings, sand boxes, as well as indoor play material should be
made available to the Indian children. This type of program has the
virtue that it does not depend on whether there is a new village or
not. Indian play-group supervisors could, in time, be trained to do
the work.

Direct encouragement should be given to the Indian arts and
crafts. This could be done with a survey of local talent, a stimulation
of art and craft groups, and through subsidies or grants to the Indian
who has both the interest and ability for expression through the medium of the arts. The possibilities in the development of this side of Indian life are many. Through a revival of Indian art may well come a new stimulation to the people themselves.

A program designed to meet the needs of the teen-ager on the reserve is badly needed. This program should have two aims, one to provide vocational guidance and job placement, the other to meet his need for status in the community. There are no ready-made answers as to how this might be done, but there are enough professional resources in the country to assist in the development of a program of group activity. At present the Indian teen-ager is without purpose, and without guidance at a time when he needs it most. No program designed to rehabilitate the Indian community can afford to ignore the psycho-social problems of the young Indian boy or girl.

A New Deal Needed.

To increase the standard of living for the Indian people, to provide better housing and welfare services, and to return to them some of their lost dignity and independence, a new deal for the Indian is essential. The Mission Reserve with its overcrowded and mean homes, its high incidence of unemployment, and the gradual breakup of family life among the families on the reserve is but a reflection of the cultural conflict and socio-economic problem of these people.
The perpetuation of this problem would appear to indicate the inadequacy of present policies. The conditions call for a fresh approach on a massive scale, in which the Indian must be helped toward goals which will make his life satisfying and meaningful. The new village in itself is not enough; along with it must go a program aimed at meeting the social, economic and psychological needs of the Squamish Indians.

No amount of sophistication, however, can erase the fact that the Indian is a second-class citizen. His general standard of living is considered among the lowest in the nation. Nothing would seem to indicate this more than the type of dwelling he occupies, and the fact that he does not share to the same degree the welfare services available to the non-Indian population. The findings of this study indicate the Indian's need for an integrated village project, and his need to be part of a total program aimed at his rehabilitation.
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B. SPECIFIC REFERENCES


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C. REPORTS

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D. LETTERS

QUESTIONNAIRE ON HOUSING AND WELFARE NEEDS OF
THE SQUAMISH INDIANS,
NORTH VANCOUVER RESERVE

December 1949

Health and Welfare Needs
(Mother or homemaker in family)

Have you lived here all your married life? ........................................
How long in this house? ....... yrs
How old is this house? .......... yrs
How many children? .......... 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>School or Work</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Food (General)
How much milk purchased per day? ........................................
How much meat purchased per week? ........ Cheese per week? ........
Eggs per week? ........ Other? ........................................
Main vegetables used? ........................................
Do you eat one or more vegetables a day, (other than potatoes) ...
Do you use whole wheat or white flour? ...........................

Parent-Child Relationship

How many children have been born to you? ............... 
Are they all living? ........ Remarks? ............... 
When pregnant do you attend a clinic or visit your doctor regularly?

.............. If not why? ..................
Do you have a private doctor? ........ Indian Health Doctor? ........
Do you usually feel well during pregnancy? ..............
Do you go into hospital to have your baby? ...........
If not, why? .................................. 
Do you breast feed the baby if you can? ..................
How long do you feed him this way? ...........................
Do you put the baby on a schedule or do you feed him whenever he wants to be fed? .................................
At what age do you usually begin to toilet train the child? 
Did you have a baby carriage? ........ If not, why? ........
Do you ever spank your children? ........ How Often? ........
Why? ........................................
What would you like your children to be when grown up? 

........................................
Health (Family)
How often do you see the public health nurse?
In the last five years have you had a doctor in the house when he was needed?
Have any members of the family been in the hospital?
Who? Why? Where?

Special Illnesses?
Vaccination? Mother? Father? Children?
Visits to dentist, How often? Last Visit?
Father Mother Children

Do you feel yourself to be in good health?

School and Education
What school did you attend? Father Mother
What grade? Father Mother
Where do the children go to school?
What grades? (Page 1)
Do they like school?
What do you think of (a) Classes Instruction Other remarks
(b) Buildings distance from home
Do you know the teacher(s)? Are the older children learning a trade?
Do you think they should learn a trade?
Do they speak or learn the Indian language?
How much is spoken in the family?

Community Activities and Participation (Father or Mother)
Where do you do your shopping?
Do you find the stores too far away?
Do you see much of your neighbours?
On what occasions? How often?
Do you go into town for movies? How often?
Do you belong to any clubs?
Does the family go together to socials and dances?
Where does the family gather in the evening?
Where are most socials and dances held?
Are you interested in handicrafts?
What games do the children play?
Do you like football baseball basketball? Other?
What game do you like best?
Would you like to see a playground on the reserve?
Do you like singing acting concerts?
Are you interested in a community centre?
Other interests
## HOUSING SURVEY FOR NEW COMMUNITY PLAN

### Dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Name of owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupied by how many families?</th>
<th>Main tenant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of persons?</td>
<td>Adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Duplex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>Brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimneys</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basement (O, F, U,)</td>
<td>C, W, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roof material</td>
<td>Attic (B, S, V)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lot: Frontage</th>
<th>Depth</th>
<th>Other structures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front garden (O, T, U,)</td>
<td>Back garden (O, T, U,)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing: C or P</td>
<td>N or U</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Flowers</td>
<td>Trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living room faces:</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General appearance of property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roof leaks</th>
<th>Walls leaning</th>
<th>Window (s) broken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unpainted</td>
<td>Damp basement</td>
<td>Windows (S, L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other deficiencies (external)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitchen (S, L)</th>
<th>Bathroom (B, S, W, T)</th>
<th>Toilet (O, F, S, T)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total rooms (ex K, B)</td>
<td>Rooms used as bedrooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Supply:</td>
<td>well</td>
<td>cold pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating:</td>
<td>Furnace (W, C, O, S)</td>
<td>stove (s) W, C, O, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking:</td>
<td>Range</td>
<td>Stove (as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry Tubs</td>
<td>Sink</td>
<td>Washing Machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Place for children to play</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Remarks | |
|---------| |
Father (or chief wage earner)

What kind of work do you do? .........................................................

Do you have a regular trade (or occupation) ......................................

Have you any special skills? ..............................................................

Are you a member of a trade union (which)? ........................................

How many months or weeks have you worked this year? ........................

Do you get regular employment in the spring, summer, fall? ..................

What do you usually do in the winter months? ....................................

Do you go to the berry fields in summer? ...........................................

What parts of the job could you do if you had a chance to help build
your own house? ..................................................................................

Are you interested in gardening? ...... Farming?...... Forestry...

In a housing plan properly designed for the Indian community do you
think there should be provision for some farming or market gardening
etc ............... cutting from a properly looked-after woodlot?....... What
do you think is the most important thing for the community?
.................................................................................................................

Have you savings you would like to put into a house?.........................

Or are you dependent on what you earn from month to month............

Have you had much unemployment in the last 3 years?......................

Have you any dependent older relatives (other than your wife and
children). .................................................................................................

If they could be given accommodation of their own in a new housing
project would you prefer that they have a separate home?.............. an
apartment in a duplex dwelling?................................................ remain part
of your household? ..................................................................................

Are your older sons and daughters (over 14), if any, (a) at school
................ (b) in regular work .........................................................

Are they able to contribute much to the family income? ....................

Are they likely to marry in the near future, and will they be looking
for a place of their own? ........................................................................

Relatives on pension.............................................................................

Relatives receiving allowance ..................................................................

Relatives receiving social assistance.....................................................
QUESTIONNAIRE - MISSION RESERVE

September 23rd, 1953

NAME:  ..............................................................................................

HOUSE NUMBER:  .............................................................................

MARRIED: .................. SINGLE: .................. NUMBER OF CHILDREN:

NUMBER OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN:  ...........................................

OTHER CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOL:  ..........................................

RESIDENTIAL:  .............. EMPLOYED:  .................. UNEMPLOYED:

UNEMPLOYABLE:  .................................................................

OCCUPATION:  MAN:  .................. WAGES:  ................................

WOMAN:  .................. WAGES:  ................................

CHILDREN:  .................. WAGES:  ................................

TOTAL NO. LIVING IN HOUSE:

FAMILIES:  .................. ADULTS:  ............ CHILDREN:  ............

TOTAL NUMBER OF ROOMS:  .................................................

ROOMS USED AS BEDROOMS:  .................................

IS THERE A TOILET?  ........ BATHTUB?  ........ HOT WATER?  ........ COLD WATER?  

RENT PER MONTH?:  ..............................................................

BRICK CHIMNEY?  .................................................................

BASEMENT?  .................................................................

STOREYS?  .................................................................