THE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS AND ECONOMIC STATUS
OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA INDIANS

A survey of the extent to which the native Indians
have become assimilated into the labour force
and economic life of the province.

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to enquire into the problems which face the British Columbia Indians in seeking employment, or in working as members of the labour force of the province. It also seeks to discover to what extent and in what ways the native Indians have been assimilated into the provincial labour force. An examination of these aspects of the life of the Indians should bring to light some clues as to their social needs as a minority group in the province.

The study was begun with a full appreciation of the scarcity of information on the subject. The survey was confined to the Vancouver region, and to the predominant occupations, in view of the limitations of time and the fact that the population is scattered over a wide area. Interviewing of the Indian people themselves was the chief method used. As there are very few Indians on Social Assistance in the metropolitan area, material from this source was not available.

The results show that the coastal Indians of British Columbia, who form a majority of the native population, are limited in their range of employment to the primary industries, chiefly fishing and lumbering. This limitation is undoubtedly favoured by cultural preference, but it is also clearly due to lack of vocational training for other occupations. Rigid governmental supervision during the past eighty years has also inhibited many from competing with the general population at the ordinary levels of opportunity.

The prime purpose of the study is to underline and illustrate the welfare implications of employment. The importance of educational factors is strongly brought out. There are individual examples of the overcoming of the economic and psychological obstacles. But reforms in status and opportunities will be necessary to effect more substantial change.
Chapter I. Cultural Heritage and its Effect on Employment and Economic Status Today

The transition from a primitive social and economic society to modern civilization. Pre-European culture and economics. The impact of European civilization. The acculturation process. Comparison with Ontario Indians. Attitudes to work. Recent economic status. Purpose and scope of the survey.

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THE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS AND ECONOMIC STATUS
OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA INDIANS
CHAPTER I
CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS EFFECT ON EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC STATUS TODAY

To see the employment and economic picture of the native Indians of British Columbia in its social perspective today, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the culture of the people as it was developed during the centuries before the advent of the European races. The transition of the British Columbia Indians from a well-adapted pre-literate society to a minority group within the population of the province has been accompanied by hardship and cultural confusion. The effect of the European settlement of the Pacific slope of the North American continent has been to break down the well organized economic and cultural patterns of the native peoples, and to leave them to find their place in the new scheme of things as best they can.

The period of transition, and it is still continuing, began only sixty to seventy years ago. "It has been a difficult time for the Indians because while their culture was primitive compared with that of the newcomers when they first arrived, the culture of the latter has not remained static. Compare the life and times of the early settlers with our modern times. The early white settlers if they could return today would at first be fearful and uncomfortable in our present day life, with all its strange mechanical devices and changed political and social customs. The Indian, on the other hand, has been faced with the problems of overtaking a culture that tends to move
Pre-European Culture and Economics

Before the European came to British Columbia, the aboriginal inhabitants had achieved a social order which to them was compatible with life as they knew it. The coastal tribes, which contained the greater part of the population, had levels of status governed by heredity and economic success. "Wealth and nobility were almost synonymous and since a commoner, through the accumulation of wealth, could rise to a higher social status, industry and planning were accelerated and rivalry was intense. The common people as ever made up the bulk of the population. These were free men related by blood to the nobility but unfortunately, poor and undistinguished. A third of the population consisted of slaves who had no status or rights and were regarded merely as chattels."²

The Indians of the coastal areas were primarily fishermen. Fish formed the bulk of their diet, but it was supplemented by berries, roots, and the smaller wild animals and fowl.

The staple food supply made possible large permanent settlements, which clustered along the rivers and sheltered coves. The denseness of the forest made overland travel difficult, whereas travel by sea and, to a lesser extent, by river was easy. The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands were skilful voyagers, while some of the tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island were in the habit of paddling into the open Pacific on whale hunting expeditions. A striking example of cultural specialization, and one that fires the imagination, is that of Indian hunters in canoes

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²Edward L. Keithahn, Monuments in Cedar, Ketchikan, Anderson, 1945, p.64.
made with stone and shell tools, and armed with spears and harpoons of the same materials, attacking whales and dragging them back to land.  

In the culture of the people of the coast, the distribution of wealth was incorporated into the means of establishing social prestige. This involved the marking of many events such as births, the coming of age or marriage of children, or the assumption of a title, by the giving away of accumulated wealth to all those invited to the celebration. Gifts received at these "potlatches", as the ceremonies were called, were returned to the donor with interest at later celebrations. In the meantime they were put to good use, much the same as a bank invests depositor's savings. Thus the economic structure of the coastal tribes was fairly well organized prior to the arrival of the white man.

The Impact of European Civilization

Voyages of exploration to the Pacific coast of North America were prompted first by a desire to establish whether or not a North-West Passage existed. Trading vessels were attracted to the region by reports from China of the fur-seal and sea-otter pelts that could be found in abundance on the north-west coast of America.

A number of European vessels visited this British Columbia coast in the closing years of the eighteenth century, but colonization began only in the first quarter of the nineteenth, and then it was confined to a small district around Victoria. By the middle of the century, however, the tide of immigration was flowing in great strength, and already disrupting the economic and social life of the natives throughout the entire province. European disregard of all distinctions of rank, the abolition of slavery, and the introduction

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of new standards of wealth which the ex-slave could acquire more easily perhaps than his ex-master, destroyed every vestige of local authority in the villages, while at the same time the establishment of fishing canneries seriously interfered with their principal food supply. The mechanical age had just opened. Steamers were plying up and down the coast; lumber companies with snorting donkey-engines and high-rigging tackle were invading the forests. With almost no preparation or warning Indians who had not yet fully emerged from the stone age found themselves caught in a maelstrom of modern industry and commerce.

A manifestation of the disruption of the economic and social life of the Indians was the effect of European culture on the potlatch. As Indian mores were broken down through contact with the white man's economy, the potlatch lost its long-range value to the giver. With the introduction of liquor by some unscrupulous traders, the potlatch often deteriorated from a carefully planned ritual into an alcoholic debauchery which ended in the destitution of the convener. The missionaries were against them because they thought they were barbarous, wasteful orgies. The potlatch, which in European eyes included all Indian ceremonies and dances, was finally prohibited by federal legislation.

The Acculturation Process

"Acculturation" is the term used to describe the approximation of one social group to another in culture or arts through contacts between the two groups. The British Columbia Indians have been going through this process since the coming of the white man. The first people to come in contact with them were

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4 Diamond Jenness, "Canada's Indian Problem", Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1942, p.373.

5 Section 140 of the Indian Act.
the fur traders, both from the seaward, and overland from the eastern provinces. Then came the missionaries, who commenced their appointed task of converting the Indians to Christianity and of educating them to the white man's way of life. Finally, there was government supervision under the Indian Act which became law in 1876. Contacts with these three distinct groups which were representative of European culture were the beginning of acculturation for the B.C. Indians.

But the fur traders' contact with the Indians quickly waned as the wild-life resources of the province became depleted with the use of modern weapons and intensive trapping. The Indian in his primitive setting was a conservationist, but in his efforts to adjust to European ways he had to face a competitor who took no thought for the morrow. Thus, having upset the Indian's original mode of living, the white man had now assisted in depriving him of his best method of obtaining a livelihood in terms of the white man's wealth.

One thing shared by all the Indians of Canada was dependence upon simple stone tools and the bow and arrow. Everywhere the Indians were highly proficient craftsmen and were living in a manner which seemed to them the normal one. The coming of the white man did not merely add one more way of life to the existing diversity; his culture destroyed and replaced all others, and within a generation or two, Indian culture gave way before the industrial skills of the immigrants. Unfortunately for the Indian, relatively few of his specialized skills had any significant transfer value. Only in the far north have many of the native crafts survived as a significant contribution to modern life. Eskimo clothing is still regarded as most desirable for the Artic; and though new techniques have been introduced in the catching of seals, the Eskimo are still a vital part of Northern life. The Indians have had to start at the bottom of the ladder, conforming to the ways of the white man in a land that
was once their own. This fact is vital in considering their place in our modern life.6

Comparison with the Indians in other parts of Canada shows how the B.C. Indians have conformed to the ways of the white man. Only in Ontario is there a greater Indian population than in B.C. There, the Indians first felt the full impact of European civilization with the influx of United Empire Loyalists after the American War of Independence. Previous to this, the British in the Thirteen Colonies had treated them as equals and used them as allies in war and exploration. Over the intervening period of 175 years the Indians of Ontario, largely agricultural in the southern part of the province, were concentrated on reserves, and have to a great extent been assimilated by the white population due to a higher rate of enfranchisement. Today in Ontario many Indians have taken their places in the community at large and have entered nearly every profession and occupation.

But on the Pacific coast the experience of the Indians has been different.

Civilization had burst upon them so suddenly that they were bewildered and unable either to avoid its evils or to see and grasp its opportunities. European diseases had decimated their ranks and the population dropped at an appalling rate. Some of the girls married white men, or in rare cases, Chinese; here and there a man broke away from his fellows and merged with the whites; but the greater number clung to their old settlements (which the government finally converted into reserves) and watched with hopeless, comprehending eyes the growth of industry and commerce around them.7


7 Diamond Jenness, "Canada's Indian Problem", p.367.
The process of acculturation of the Indians in British Columbia (as well as in the rest of Canada) has not been uniform. The reserve system has segregated the Indians as a group from the general population and has restricted cultural contact. It might be expected that those Indians residing on reserves in close proximity to the larger centres of population would be more fully indoctrinated into the social mores and institutions of European citizenship than would those Indians living on the more isolated reserves. But such is not the case. The first Indian reserve in British Columbia to apply for enfranchisement is one on the northern coast of the province, several hundred miles from the larger centres of population.

...Before the end of September (1951), it is expected the village will be under its new status, governed by a board of village commissioners of three members instead of the present native council. Since 1889 the village has had its native council. It will be the smallest incorporated village in British Columbia under the municipal act - the population is only 152.8

In the opinion of the writer, this type of acculturation is more desirable than the complete submergence of the native people into the general population of the province. By the enfranchisement of whole villages, the Indians will be accorded the opportunity of fitting themselves into the political and economic life of the Canadian community without being entirely divorced from their own cultural heritage.

Atitudes to Work

There is one factor which influences the speed of the process of acculturation amongst the Indians generally, namely their

8 "Indian Village is Municipality", The Native Voice, April, 1951, p. 16.
attitude towards work. On this subject, the late Professor C.T. Loram of the Department of Race Relations of Yale University had this to say:

A characteristic of modern Western society is its acquisitiveness. We have glorified ownership and in order to possess many things, some of which we cannot possibly use, have canonized work believing that Satan finds mischief still for idle hands to do. But work in itself is no virtue in many primitive philosophies. The primitive man will work hard to acquire food and shelter and clothing, but to work to own things one cannot use, to have money in the bank as we say, is often foreign to him. Work is not a virtue in itself, it is a necessary means to an observable and appreciable end. One of our Western complaints about the Indian is that he prefers intermittent work like stevedoring or harvesting or berry-picking to regular day-by-day labour.9

This attitude is borne out in an examination of many aspects of Indian employment today.

From the point of view of the employer of intermittent and seasonal labour, the existence of a group with this attitude towards work is a good thing. From the social and economic viewpoint, however, it is not a good thing. It puts the Indians in the marginal category of labour and leads to social evils such as experienced by the "Okies" of the western United States. Unless his philosophy is different from that described by Professor Loram, the Indian will not be suited for repetitive factory work, the skilled trades or any type of employment that requires strict adherence to a task that is not of itself creative.

To understand Indian preferences, something more than "Western" or "Anglo-Saxon" judgements (or standards) must

be kept in mind. Much of the work connected with the gathering and preparing of food was carried out in groups and was accompanied by song and ritual. The primitive person, (not unlike the person of Hebrew-Christian culture) did not consider that he could provide himself with all the necessities of life without divine assistance.

Dr. Hawthorn, writing on this subject, points out that Indian views on work have also changed.

The changes in the Indian culture of British Columbia have already been considerable. The past ceremonial and aesthetic, emotional and religious setting of Indian work is not fully replaceable today, any more than it is with us. We could not revive the dances, festivities, harvesting and the sowing, in our own early cultural history, even if we wanted to. Neither can the Indians revive theirs, where they have altered vastly or disappeared. Yet the Indian today still needs economic rewards and controls other than merely material ones, and other than the dictates of a western conscience. Work which has a meaning beyond the purely material is still demanded by the Indian of British Columbia, and along with actual opportunity and material reward, this demand largely determines his economic life. The preferred and successfully pursued occupations retain at least a joint and sociable nature.

The work which seems to appeal most to the Indians of the coastal areas is fishing. The next in preference is lumbering, chiefly logging; while far down the scale in point of numbers but important in regard to financial returns is longshoring.

It is of interest to ask to what extent the native people have moved into these and other industries and occupations and what has been the economic gain.

Recent Economic Status

Very little statistical material is published which gives

a clear-cut picture of the share the Indian people have in the provincial income and how it is gained. For the war-time years 1940 to 1945, the British Columbia Department of Labour included in its Annual Reports the racial origin of employed workers in twenty-five categories of industry. During this period, Indians were employed in nineteen out of the twenty-five categories. A summary of these statistics is given in Table I on the next page.11 Although they only account for between 4000 to 5000 Indians, plus approximately 3500 native fishermen, out of a provincial Indian population of close to 25,000,12 these figures present the best available picture of the occupational distribution of this racial group for a recent period.

Some clarification of the categories of industry summarized in Table I may be helpful in order to see what types of employment are involved. The main source of employment in the canning and food processing industry is in fish canning. It will be noted that just over a third of the women and the largest single group of men of the total number covered by these returns are concentrated in this type of work. Oil reduction plants consist mainly of pilchard and herring reduction and could almost be considered part of the fish-canning industry. Logging, sawmills, woodworking, etc. includes all forest products industry. The majority of the Indians employed in this category are to be

11 Unfortunately, information is lacking as to whether the figures were all obtained on one month in the year (and which month), or whether they are averages for the year. In other words, seasonal variations are obscured.

12 The Indian population of British Columbia at the 1941 Census was 24,875, Source: Canada Year Book 1947, p. 1162.
Table 1. Employment of Indians in British Columbia Industries, 1940 - 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>Average 1942-45 No.: P.c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canning and other food processing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>1549</td>
<td>1488</td>
<td>1331 29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>1081</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1479</td>
<td>1423</td>
<td>1611 35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil-reduction plants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>109 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logging, sawmills, woodworking, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>792 17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longshoring &amp; Coast Shipp'g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipbuilding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63 1.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Construction and Building Materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>265 5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other factories and utilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>342 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Males</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>1428</td>
<td>3196</td>
<td>3032</td>
<td>2714</td>
<td>2605</td>
<td>2887 64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Females</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>1083</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td>1624 35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total both sexes</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>2511</td>
<td>4990</td>
<td>4823</td>
<td>4244</td>
<td>4050</td>
<td>4527 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from returns to the B.C. Department of Labour; discontinued after 1945. Do not include fishing, trapping and agriculture.
found in the logging-camps. The category labelled "all other factories and utilities" includes miscellaneous trades and industries, chemicals, metal trades, garment-making, laundries, leather and fur goods, printing and publishing, and the manufacture of pulp and paper.

It must be remembered that the economy of British Columbia during these years was inflated by war production. Another factor which must be considered is that in 1942, approximately 21,000 people of Japanese origin were removed from the coastal areas. In many instances the employment vacated by these people was taken up by the native Indians. This replacement is most noticeable in Table I in the figures given for canning and other food processing, and logging, sawmills, woodworking, etc. The average number of males employed in the former industry from 1942 to 1945 is over four times the figure for 1940 and for the females the increase was well over three-fold. The same increase was exhibited for the men in logging and millwork industry. These are both industries in which the Japanese were heavily entrenched.

A fairly-well correlated movement is evident from the long-shoring and coast shipping industry to shipbuilding in the middle years of the war. This can be attributed to the drop in shipping from the Pacific coast ports of Canada after Pearl Harbour and the tremendous increase in ship construction. Also, the majority of Indians engaged in longshoring reside on reserves close to the shipyards.

Numbers Engaged in Fishing

The provincial statistics do not include the number of Indians engaged in the actual fishing operations. The federal government exercises some control over the catching of fish by licencing every commercial fisherman. Licences are issued for a number of different types of fishing involving vessels with varying sizes of crew and kinds of equipment. Thus a fairly accurate count of the number engaged in fishing can be given. Only a few crew men on the larger vessels are not licenced. The total number of licences issued for the period under review, 1940 to 1945, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Fishing Licences Issued in British Columbia, 1940-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total(a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>9021</td>
<td>3221</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>14,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>8638</td>
<td>3184</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>13,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>8023</td>
<td>3305</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2053</td>
<td>13,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>11601</td>
<td>3771</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>12997</td>
<td>3776</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>14086</td>
<td>3832</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17,935</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports. (a) Cancelled licences subtracted.

As an indication of the financial returns of the employment shown in the preceding tables, the wages earned by the Indians of British Columbia are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Income of the Indians of British Columbia, 1940-45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Other Industries</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>$508,525</td>
<td>$165,630</td>
<td>$533,835</td>
<td>$1,207,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>$524,900</td>
<td>$206,745</td>
<td>$772,150</td>
<td>$1,503,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>$1,030,150</td>
<td>$145,095</td>
<td>$1,011,050</td>
<td>$2,186,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>$1,620,244</td>
<td>$174,950</td>
<td>$1,393,244</td>
<td>$3,188,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>$1,588,500</td>
<td>$205,645</td>
<td>$1,507,543</td>
<td>$3,301,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>$1,588,838</td>
<td>$264,350</td>
<td>$1,818,625</td>
<td>$3,671,813</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book.
The large increase in income from fishing and a somewhat smaller increase in wages earned in 1943 reflects the elimination of the Japanese from the fishing and logging industries. Part of this increase, however, must also be attributed to the war-time rise in prices and wages generally.

Regularity of Employment

The variation in employment due to seasonal conditions was considerably distorted during the period under discussion because of the war-time labour shortages. The year 1945, therefore is used as a sample illustration in order to give an indication of the regularity of employment in the industries in which Indians are chiefly concerned. The figures shown in Table 4 include all nationalities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Month of most employment</th>
<th>Number employed</th>
<th>Month of least employment</th>
<th>Number employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canning and other food processing</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>17,909</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>9,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil-reduction plants</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logging, sawmills, woodworking, etc.</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>29,635</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>25,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longshoring and coast shipping</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>5,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipbuilding</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>21,623</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>10,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction and building materials</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>14,442</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>10,866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from returns to the B.C. Department of Labour.

It is of interest to note that canning and food processing and construction and building materials are the two industries in
which there is the most variation of employment. The labour force in the shipbuilding industry also dropped fifty percent but this was due to cut-backs in war production rather than annual fluctuations. In 1944 the employment figure in this industry remained fairly constant.

**Purpose and Scope of the Survey**

As the statistics quoted above show, the industries in which the greatest number of native Indians were gainfully employed in British Columbia during the war-time period were fishing, canning and other food processing, and logging, sawmills, woodworking, etc. Although total employment began to fall off after the peak had been reached in 1942, total wages and income continued to rise even up to 1945. Against this background the next questions to ask are: what problems does employment present to the Indians today; how is their economic status affected by employment or unemployment; and what is their view of the underlying causes of their present day situation. Another question that arises is that of incentives to work - how far do they exist or are they modified for a people who are segregated on to reserves. These are questions which must be examined from a social welfare point of view.

A number of studies have been made of the native Indians and their relation to the Canadian community but not many deal with employment from viewpoint of the social worker.

This survey is postulated on the assumption that employment, both in type and availability, provides an indication of the degree to which the Indians are being accepted into Canadian
For this reason, particular emphasis will be given to those problems having a cultural basis which are encountered by the Indians in seeking or while in employment.

For reasons of time, accessibility, and economy, the scope of the survey has been restricted to the metropolitan areas of the provincial littoral, that is to say, the majority of the native people interviewed were resident in, or on reserves near, the urban centres of the province, chiefly Vancouver, Prince Rupert and Port Alberni. It was thought that these people will have felt the impact of European culture more than those living in the interior of the province or in the more isolated coastal areas.

As the fishing industry, both afloat and ashore, offers the largest scope for the examination of the economic and social status of the native Indian through his employment therein, it will receive fuller consideration than the others. That is not to say, however, that the other industries are less important for the purposes of this study. It is a matter of coincidence that a food product that was important to the Indian is also of importance to the economic life of the province of British Columbia.
CHAPTER II

INDIANS IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

The fisheries of the Pacific coast of Canada form a rich but competitive industry. The salmon fisheries in particular are of vital importance to the economy of the province. The five major species of salmon, spring, sockeye, pink, coho, and chum, "ordinarily account for three-quarters or more of the annual dollar value of fish produced in the province. More than three-quarters of the salmon catch of British Columbia, in turn, is used by canneries, and the remainder is sold in fresh, salted, or smoked form... Halibut comes next in importance to salmon. Other commercially less important types of fish caught in British Columbia are, in order of importance, herring, pilchards (until 1946), tuna (since 1947), cod, and dogfish".  

Part Played by the Indians in Fishing

The native Indians, for whom fishing had long been a natural pursuit, have assisted in the catching and processing of salmon ever since the first cannery was built in 1870 at Annieville on the Fraser River. The Indians shared employment in the industry, as it grew in proportions, with the Europeans and later the Japanese. "The extent to which the native tribes are engaged in commercial fishing (today) may be judged by the fact that approximately 40% of the catch of the entire fish industry in British

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Columbia is credited to our native fishermen.\textsuperscript{16}

The history of employment in the fishing industry from the beginning of this century to World War II consists largely of negotiations between the fishermen and the cannery operators on the one hand and rivalry - with a good deal of open hostility - between the white fishermen and the Japanese on the other hand. The native fishermen have usually sided with the whites.

From the earliest days until World War II a great many of the Indian fishermen struggled along as marginal producers. When the Japanese were evacuated from the British Columbia coastal area in 1942, the native Indians acquired many of the confiscated fishing boats and partly filled the gap in the industry left by the evacuees. Because of the high prices for fish and low outlay required to purchase a former Japanese fishing vessel, the Indians of the coastal region became more solidly entrenched in the fishing industry than they had ever been before.

To assist him in his dealings with the cannery operators the Indian fisherman has his own organization, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, which was formed in 1930. It is a province-wide fraternal organization devoted to the interests and welfare of the Indians in every walk of life. Since 1936, however, its main function has been the negotiating of collective bargaining agreements on behalf of native fishermen, along with the other fishermen's organization, the United Fishermen and Allied Worker's Union.

Return of the Japanese-Canadians.

The chief problem which seems to exist in the eyes of the Indian fisherman today is the threat of displacement by the Japanese-Canadians. The latter were allowed to return to the British Columbia coast after the war-time Orders-in-Council restricting their movements expired on March 31st, 1949. At the same time, the pre-war restrictions as to the number of fishing licences issued to those of Japanese ancestry in any one area were not re-imposed.

The most vocal Indian group protesting the return of the Japanese-Canadians to the fishing industry has been the Skeena River branch of the Native Brotherhood. Two articles have appeared in the official organ of the Brotherhood objecting to the Nisei being allowed to come back to the coast. The Indian's spokesman charged the cannery operators with being in favour of, and fostering, the return of the Japanese-Canadians and also with discrimination against the Indian fisherman.

There has been an attempt by the parties concerned to solve this problem before it becomes aggravated.

Breaking all precedents in so doing, northern members of the Native Brotherhood of B.C., the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association and the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union at a fishermen's meeting at Port Edward on June 11, decided to set up a special committee of six representatives from each to deal with problems affecting the three groups.

At a meeting of the Native Brotherhood prior to June 11, Buck Suzuki, chairman of the fisheries committee of the Japanese-Canadian Citizens' Association,

explained the situation of Japanese Canadians and that meeting decided to put forward the idea of the joint committee at Sunday's meeting.

It was the opinion of both organizations that the committee could serve a useful purpose in helping to bring closer harmony between the different groups and avoid friction within the industry.

It was reported that all Japanese-Canadians were now members of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union and that it would, therefore, be possible to have such a committee working within the organization to take up grievances that might arise.

Suzuki, spokesman for the Japanese-Canadians, assured both the Brotherhood and the Union members present that they had resolved not to accept gear or boats that had been confiscated from native or white fishermen until a full investigation was made for the reasons of the seizure. It was further reported that there were approximately 90 Japanese-Canadians fishing the Skeena this year, all of whom are members of the Union.18

The threat of displacement by Japanese-Canadian fishermen is also being felt in the southern coastal area. In an interview with an Indian on a Vancouver reserve who operates two fish collecting boats, the fear was expressed that the Indians would be out of the fishing industry in the near future. He gave as an example his own experience as a collector. Last year he was collecting from ten gillnetters operated by fishermen of Japanese ancestry. Then a collector of the same racial origin came down from the Skeena district. The ten gill-netters immediately went over to him.19 Recent statistics tend to substantiate this informant's fears. The greatest number of fishing licences

issued to Indians was in 1945; since then the trend has been downward. No fishing licences were issued to persons of Japanese ancestry from 1943 to 1949 inclusive. In 1950 542 licences were issued to Japanese-Canadians.  

Attitude of the Canning Companies

The attitude of the fish-packing companies toward the employment of Indian or Japanese-Canadian fishermen and shore-workers can be summed up in terms of production. In the opinion of the cannery operators the Japanese-Canadian is a harder-working, more efficient and reliable fisherman. The personnel manager of one large packing company credits the Indians with having filled the gap when the Japanese were evacuated in 1942. Since the war, however, there has been a noticeable slackening off in production by the native fishermen, which this official attributed in part to the use of liquor while on the job. As competition between the canning companies is based on production, the companies are forced to hire the most efficient labour.  

An executive of another large fishing company who has had many years experience in dealing with native fishermen and cannery workers states that they are too easy-going and unreliable to compete successfully with the Japanese-Canadians. He predicted that the Japanese-Canadians will definitely replace the Indians in the Skeena River fisheries. This informant thought that most of the drunkenness that occurred among Indian fishermen during fishing hours could be prevented by more stern discipline.

20 Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports.

21 Interview with the personnel manager, Nelson Brothers Fisheries Limited, May 21st, 1951.
traced to the restrictions on the use of intoxicants imposed by
the Indian Act. Because the Indian is barred from beer parlours
he gets his alcoholic beverages from bootleggers and drinks it
on board his own boat without reference to time or day. On the
larger vessels, according to this official, it has been the
practice for the native crew to employ one "renegade" white man
for the sole purpose of purchasing liquor for consumption in the
boat. The result is that the crew are frequently incapacitated
when they should be ready for work.

Particular Problems

Two other problems connected with Indian cannery workers
were raised in this interview. The first concerned the misuse
of company houses. The company provides adequate and sanitary
living accommodation for its employees who are working in out-of-
town canneries. The experience has been that many Indian employees
have been unable to take care of the houses properly. Housing on
the reserves and elsewhere, with a few exceptions, was of such a
low standard that the native employees were unfamiliar with the
proper upkeep of company-built housing. Holes were punched in
the floor for garbage disposal and partitions were used for fire-
wood when other fuel got wet.

The second problem, from the employer's point of view, is
the unpredictability of the Indian nature. The native cannery
workers, in the Skeena River district particularly, cannot be
relied upon to stay on the job for the full season. A good many
of them come from the Bulkley valley where they operate small
subsistence farms. When haying time comes around, the head of
the household gathers up his family from their various jobs in the cannery, and takes them home to get in the hay for the winter. The fact that a couple of days' work at the cannery would pay for all the hay he needs does not seem to make any difference. 22

In assessing the foregoing statements, it must be borne in mind that they are the opinions of one man. Mixed crews on Indian-owned seine boats do exist in some localities due to the shortage of native fishermen. Some Indians go to the canneries as soon as they hear there is work and do not leave until they are told there is no more work.

A problem which affects the children of Indian cannery workers is created by the fact that the canning season begins before the end of the school term. Usually, for the Indians, employment in the fishing industry is on a family basis. While the father and older sons are away fishing, the mother and older daughters work in the cannery. This is almost necessary because of the seasonal nature of the salmon canning industry. But the younger children must live in the cannery houses with the mother and therefore miss some schooling at the beginning and end of each term.

Another problem which concerns the Indian women cannery workers is the lack of a minimum monthly guarantee of wages in the Native Brotherhood agreement such as is granted to female employees covered by the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' 22

22 Interview with an officer of the Canadian Fishing Company Limited, May 26th, 1951.
Union agreement. The result of this is that the native women are the first to be laid off when work becomes slack in the processing plants.

The cannery operators explain this difference by saying that white women in the isolated canneries are usually in supervisory positions and able to command such guarantees. Furthermore, they will not work in isolated plants unless they are granted some wage security.

In the actual fishing operation itself, there are no problems facing the Indian which does not also affect the non-Indian fisherman, with perhaps one exception. This is a minor problem which concerns only those Indians who aspire to command a fishing vessel of over fifteen tons registry. Department of Transport regulations require the skippers of such vessels to be holders of a coastwise master's certificate. As many native skippers are illiterate they are unable to sit for written examinations and would therefore be disqualified from this type of employment. The significance of this problem becomes apparent when it is realized that in 1950, Indian skippers were operating 31 out of the 186 packers on the coast and 176 out of the 343 seine and herring boats, all over fifteen tons. The Indian Affairs Branch has made representations to have illiterate native skippers granted certificates of competency on the basis of experience.23

**Supervisory Positions**

Indians do not seem to rise to positions of great responsibility in the fishing industry. Some do become linemen (in

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23 Interview with Mr. W.S. Arneil, Commissioner of Indian Affairs for British Columbia, March 1st, 1951.
charge of a production line), charge hands, tallymen, and net men. A type of supervisory position is held by those Indians who secure contract native labour for the canneries. They are made responsible for the people they recruit. There is usually one contractor for each general fishing area, (Skeena, Rivers Inlet, and Fraser) so that their numbers are limited. There are some Indians working in the cannery offices but none in managerial positions.

**Dual Unionism**

Some of the Indians in the fishing industry can be attributed to the dual unionism that exists. The Native Brotherhood's entrance into the collective bargaining field came as a result of a fishermen's strike in northern waters in 1936. "One important aftermath of the strike was a revival of 'race-conscious' organization among native Indian fishermen. Feeling that they had been misled or 'sold-out' by the whites a group of Indian strikers in Alert Bay late in 1936 formed the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association. The primary aim of the new organization was to 'protect the interests of all Indians engaged in the fishing industry'. It later joined the more inclusive...Native Brotherhood of British Columbia..." The tendency has been, however, for the Native Brotherhood to follow in the footsteps of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union when it comes to negotiating agreements with the Salmon Ganners Operating Committee which represents the major fish packing companies.

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24 Interview with Mr. Frank Calder, M.L.A. (Atlin), February 18, 1951.

The result has been that the native people in the canning end of the industry do not get quite the same benefits as these workers covered by the more aggressive labour organization. This lack of aggressiveness may be due to the fact that the Native Brotherhood does not represent only the native fishermen. Its interests are also those of the whole Indian population of the province. Nor is it affiliated with either of the two great labour congresses which could give it support.

Dual unionism has also split the native fishermen and cannery worker between the two organizations. Although no record is kept of racial origin by the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, the business agent estimates the number of Indian members to be around 250. Many of these would also be members of the Native Brotherhood. Membership figures for the latter organization were not available.

Effect of Technological Progress

Although fishing is closely linked to the native Indians' cultural and economic heritage, the changes brought about by technological progress have made it harder for the Indian to compete with other groups in the industry. In pre-European days the fish were plentiful and enough could be taken in a fairly short time to supply the wants of the community. This left plenty of time for other vocations and pursuits such as creative art and other recreations. Fishing was not something at which he spent all his time.

Nor was fishing in the early days of commercial salmon canning

26 Interview with business agent of United Fishermen and Allied Worker's Union, March 9th, 1951.
a year-round vocation. The canneries hired the fishermen to work the boats the company supplied, two men to a boat, one to row and one to tend the net. Before World War I the pay was two dollars a day. 

"The development of the gas engine and other technological changes have shifted the ownership of boats and nets more and more from the canning and fishing companies to the fishermen themselves. The latter have become more mobile within the industry but less mobile with regard to other employment. An increasingly heavy capital investment is required of each fisherman to succeed in competition with the other. Fishermen consequently are required to devote themselves more and more exclusively to fishing as a permanent and, as much as possible, full-time career." It is this trend away from the seasonal nature of fishing that creates difficulty for the Indian.

Technological improvements have also reduced the crew of a gill-netter from two men to one. A power-driven, drum-like, reel, has been devised which winds the net in so that the operation can be done single-handed. This has tended to increase the number of boats engaged in fishing and is creating a danger of overcrowding. The sons in the Indian fisherman's family must either get boats of their own or find other employment. As previously mentioned, fishing amongst the Indians is on a family basis and this new development forms a threat to this cultural pattern.

The fishing industry is gradually changing from a short season to a year-round basis. Formerly there were numerous

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27 Interview with Johnny Guerin (age 77), Musqueam Reserve, May 22nd, 1951.

canneries up and down the coast which opened for a few weeks during the salmon run and packed the catch of the hand-rowed gill-net boats. The Indian villages in the vicinity provided a ready labour supply. Now the cannories are reduced in number and are operating for a longer period of time. The fishing fleet moves from area to area and the catch is spread over a longer period. This has had a far reaching effect on the Indian labour force. To some the fishing industry has almost become a year-round occupation.

The employment experience of the family of X of the Musquem Reserve is a good illustration of this trend. The family consists of Mr. and Mrs. X, the eldest son, his wife and two children, and a younger son and a daughter. Mr. X and his elder son work at the Celtic Shipyard, for two or three months before the fishing season opens. This plant is operated by B.C. Packers to maintain their fishing vessels. Mr. X and his son are mostly engaged in copper-painting the bottoms of vessels hauled out on the marine railway. As soon as the fleet has left the yard for the fishing grounds, a truck calls for the belongings of the X family and takes them to St. Mungo Cannery, South Westminster. The whole family then moves into the company (Nelson Brothers Fisheries Limited) houses at the cannery for the season.

Mr. X tends a battery of retorts and in this capacity works overtime a good deal which he appreciates because of the extra wages. Mrs. X is in a sort of supervisory position. She recruits female Indian labour, from Vancouver to the Harrison River, for work in the cannery. This year she secured about
fifty women. When work starts at the cannery Mrs. X is responsible for the welfare of her recruits and acts as a production line forewoman. The younger members get jobs where they are required. When the season ends, they draw Unemployment Insurance for as long as benefits last.29

In a separate interview with the second son, Mr. X Jr., the question of rising to a higher position in the industry was discussed. He said the highest paid job he had held was tallyman and attributed his inability to go higher to his lack of education. Mr. X Jr. left Alberni Residential School when he was in Grade 11 as he found the work too hard. In regard to employment generally, he made the observation that fishing and lumbering appeal to the Indians because of the seasonal nature of the work. These occupations fitted into the cultural pattern of the Indian people.30

This family, with the exception of the married son, lives in a neat, well-furnished, four-roomed house, beside a small creek and away from the main village on the reserve. The married son is building a new house for himself nearby with Indian Affairs Branch assistance. The only public utility they have is water. Both households have fairly late model cars. Yet, in spite of this low household operating overhead and the fact that all adult members of the family work for six months steadily at the cannery, they are unable to meet expenses the year around.

29 Interview with Mr. X, Senior, June 8th, 1951.
30 Interview with Mr. X, Jr., Musqueam Reserve, June 6th, 1951.
This family are typical of many Indian families with exception that the subsidiary employment (in this case shipyard work), varies with the locality. To sum up, the difficulties encountered by the Indians in the fishing industry are of two kinds, external and internal. The external difficulties are the threat of displacement by the Japanese and onward march of technological progress. The latter, of course, besets all fishermen, but more so the Indian because of his general inexperience with modern devices. The internal difficulties are the clash of cultural background with the dictates of modern methods of production, dual unionism, the inability to rise to supervisory positions. Some of these problems are peculiar to the fishing industry, but others are common to all types of employment.

Some of these difficulties raise social welfare questions. What to do with the "native villages" that spring up around canneries? Education for the children of cannery workers? The fishing industry has a long future and solutions must be found for the social and economic problems of the native Indians created by their employment in this industry.
CHAPTER III
OTHER EMPLOYMENTS

The fishing industry differs from the other major industries in British Columbia in that it offers employment on a family basis rather than on a strictly individual footing. There is a greater range of types of activity in this industry than in others. The fishing proper varies from the individual gill-netter or troller to the organized operations of a seven-man seine-boat crew. The canning process is carried out with a lot of group activity, especially for the women on the production line. The Indian family is concerned with nearly every phase of the industry in some way or another.

In the lumbering, longshoring, construction, and other industries there is no such participation. The only exceptions to this are the highly seasonal berry and hop-growing industries where the harvesting operations attract a progressively diminishing number of Indian families each year. In the other major industries only the adult males find employment and then on an individual footing. As these are more stable industries, (with the exception, perhaps, of logging which, for some Indians, becomes somewhat of an adjunct of fishing) the pattern of employment approximates more closely the work habits of the majority of Canadian families where the head of the household is the chief earner and the wife and children remain in the home.

Another difference between the fishing and other industries is the disparity in numbers between those employed in all aspects of the former and any one of the latter. As Tables 1 and 2 will
prove, there were in that period more Indians employed in fishing and canning than in all of the other categories of industry combined. For this reason all other types of employment engaged in by the British Columbia Indians are being considered together in this chapter.

Employment in the Lumbering Industry

From the information that is available, it would seem that the Indians enter this industry on a basis of equality with other racial groups. The forest products industry is almost entirely unionized, the International Woodworkers of American being the largest organization in this field of endeavour. An interview with a leading official of this union disclosed that no record is kept of the racial origin of any of its members. No problems have been raised by the Indian members nor have any Indians sought union office.31

The Indians have been employed in logging operations to a limited extent ever since the Europeans first began to exploit the forest wealth of the province. One man on the Musqueam Reserve told of being employed in 1895 as a faller by the operator who was logging off what is now the University Endowment Lands in Point Grey.32

As shown in Table 1, on page 11, the average number employed in logging, sawmills, woodworking, etc. from 1942 to 1945 was 792. It can be assumed that something like this figure - seven or

31 Interview with Mr. Joe Miyazawa, Regional Director, International Woodworkers of America, May 25th, 1951.

32 Interview with John Guerin, Musqueam Reserve, May 25th, 1951.
eight hundred - would apply today.

One young informant on the Musqueam Reserve had just returned from Bloedel, Stewart, and Welch's camp Number 5 at Campbell River. He was employed there as a whistle-punk at an hourly wage of $1.45. He said he experienced no difficulty either in obtaining employment or while actually working on the job. The only factor with distinguished him in the eyes of the company as having Indian status was his exemption from payment of British Columbia Hospital Insurance premiums. These are paid by the Indian Affairs Branch for all reserve Indians. This young man has worked variously as a bricklayer's helper in Vancouver, as a fisherman, and latterly as a logger. He said there are a number of other Indians from different parts of the province working in the same camp. They are mixed in with the whites and there is no segregation in the bunkhouses.

Sawmill Work

Another informant on this same reserve has been working in sawmills since 1929. Prior to that he was employed in logging camps on Vancouver Island. Since 1942 he has been an employee of the Universal Box Company and is the only Indian working there. He is a boom-man, a category of employment for which the native Indian seems particularly adapted.

This informant said he has run into no problems in his employment. He remarked that a lot of Indians will work for a couple of months and then quit. They could get away with this during war-time but now employment is tightening up. The mills

33 Interview with Dominic Point, Musqueam Reserve, May 31, 1951.
will only hire experienced men. Even university students work there in the summer to get experience.\footnote{34}{Interview with Leonard Point, Musqueam Reserve, Mar. 4th, 1951.}

Some logging is done on Indian reserves in the Fraser Valley, on Vancouver Island and in the Queen Charlotte Islands. In some cases the Indians perform the whole operation themselves. In other instances they sell the timber as it stands to a lumber firm and are employed themselves to get it out, using the firm's equipment. In all cases their interests are protected by the Indian Affairs Branch and, occasionally, negotiations for a contract may be carried on for them by the Native Brotherhood.\footnote{35}{Interviews with Mr. J. Gillett, Superintendent, New Westminster Agency, May 23rd, 1951 and with Mr. Ed. Nahanev, Southern District Business Agent, Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, October 27th, 1951.}

As a rule, logging is a more seasonal employment than mill work. Because it is easy to enter this industry, with its fluid labour force, it makes a convenient source of employment for the native fishermen in the off-season. For these two reasons there are considerably more Indians in logging than in other phases of the lumber industry, such as sawmills, plywood plants and wood-working generally.

The Indian as a Longshoreman

Longshoring or stevedoring on the British Columbia coast began with the loading of logs and lumber into the occasional sailing vessel. As about this time the Indians had just been restricted to reserves and there were usually one or two reserves in or near the chief sea ports on the coast, they formed a useful labour supply for the loading and unloading of ships. According
to Mr. John Barrie, Regional Director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union, the Indians were the first longshoremen in the Port of Vancouver. They are especially adept at the loading of logs and lumber which were the chief exports of the province in the days before the railways began to bring grain for shipment through the Panama Canal.

Before 1935 the Indians on the several North Vancouver reserves had their own union local. They were popularly known as "the bow and arrow" gangs. In 1935 there was a violent longshoremen's strike which, before it was settled, resulted in a re-organization of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The Indian local was disbanded during the strike and was not reformed after. Since then the Indians have joined the regular locals.

At present there are two Indian members on the executive committee of the union. Several Indians are gang foremen. In the early 1930's the Indians comprised about forty percent of the longshoremen in the union. Today they form not more than three percent of the membership.

This decline in membership seems to be in inverse ratio to the degree of stabilization of employment in longshoring industry. The union has striven to de-casualize longshoring. To this end it has received the co-operation of the Shipping Federation which represents the shipping companies and the stevedoring firms. The union now provides the labour for all longshoring operations in Vancouver, New Westminster, Nanaimo, Victoria, Port Alberni, Chemainus and Prince Rupert. It maintains a roster whereby each
union member is guaranteed a fair share of the available work. New members are put on a probationers list for six months and then accepted into the union on the sponsorship of two other members as soon as a vacancy occurs. Union membership is maintained at about eight hundred. By exercising this control, the union has done much to stabilize what was once casual employment. The regional director hopes to have it completely de-casualized within the next five years.36

The reason for the decline in the number of Indian members can be partly attributed to a resistance to the steps necessary to maintain union membership if a longshoreman wants to go fishing during the summer. He must first apply for leave of absence of thirty days from the union and on this being granted he is given a withdrawal card. He must then present this card to the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union and obtain a temporary membership in that organization. Thirty days is usually long enough to take part in the fishing at Rivers Inlet during the summer. On returning to Vancouver the fisherman must re-apply for another leave of absence which, if granted, is sixty days. This gives him time to participate in the Fraser River run. The system works well for all normal purposes but the union's experience has been that Indian longshoremen fail to go through with the required procedure in many cases and thus lose their standing.

One informant on the Capilano Reserve expressed the opinion that the younger men on his own and the Mission reserve do not

36 Interview with Mr. John Barrie, Regional Director, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, May 23rd, 1951.
take to longshoring as the older men did. There seems to be a feeling among the younger men that the Indian Affairs Branch will look after them. The union does not take in everyone that comes along and wants to be a longshoreman. The new worker must apply to the union who has his name put on the "casual board" at the Shipping Federation Hall. He then may work as a "spare" for one or two years. Meanwhile, his work habits, punctuality, absenteeism, are recorded. If at the end of the probation period he is proposed and seconded for membership and nobody in the union has anything against him, he is accepted as a full member. 37

Another informant on the Musqueam Reserve said he found longshoring work too heavy and is contemplating getting a job in a sawmill. He has been longshoring since 1935. He works on an average of 130 to 150 hours per month at the rate of $1.73 per hour.

The Indians work in mixed and all-Indian gangs. This informant says that Indians and whites get along well ordinarily. One or two whites do not like the Indians but are afraid to express their hostility in the presence of the others. When there is a lot of ships to be unloaded the gang is informed on the job, by the foreman, when to report next. The foreman gets this information from the union office. When work is slack, the reporting time is telephoned, in the case of the informant, to the nearest store to the reserve, which passes the message on, there being no telephones on the Musqueam Reserve. 38

37 Interview with Mr. Y, Squamish Band Councillor, Capilano Reserve, May 24, 1951.

38 Interview with Mr. Z, Musqueam Reserve, March 5, 1951.
Seasonal Employment

Seasonal employment is a term which requires some definition as far as this survey is concerned. It could be said that the three industries already discussed would come under the heading of season employment. They, however, are concerned with products and services whose components are seasonal. The salmon run comes at one season of the year while herring, halibut and tuna are caught at other seasons. Logging is a more seasonal component than sawmill operations in the lumber industry. Long-shoremen may be busy in one port while they are slack in another. Seasonal employment, for the purposes of this study, is confined to the harvesting of hop, fruit, and berry crops.

In the summer of 1948 a study of the migration of groups of Indians from the Lower Fraser Valley and Lillooet areas to the berry fields in the Mt. Vernon district of the State of Washington was made by a group of anthropology students of the University of British Columbia under Dr. H. B. Hawthorn. As in canner work, berry picking is a family affair. "Families, and in some cases nearly entire bands....travel to Washington by trucks, bus and car. Usually staying together as a band, they count on spending June or perhaps the entire season from June to September, picking the crop at one farm and moving on to the next when it is done. The farms average perhaps forty acres in this area, and workers may stay at them for a month or more before the crops, first strawberries and later raspberries, are picked. Some stay on after the berry season to pick hops".39

The group making the study endeavoured to find out why the Indians took the trouble to travel this distance to work for such a short time. The reasons varied from getting away from discrimination in British Columbia, having a good time in Washington, to making more money. The fact that these migrations were an annual affair even before European settlement and commercialized berry growing took place gives a cultural reason. Even today the Puget Sound Indians expect the Coast Salish people of British Columbia to participate in their annual celebrations. Witness a recent "stommish" or war-canoe racing carnival held recently at Lummi, Washington, and widely reported in the press and on the radio. British Columbia Indians were conspicuously present among the winners.

In an interview with the head of a household on the Musqueam Reserve the statement was made that the family could earn a total of fifty dollars per day in the Washington berry fields during the two summer months. But he intimated that by the time they had bought all their clothing requirements for the year, paid for their living expenses while picking, and bought numerous items for the children, there was not much left to bring home.

Evidence that there is no net financial gain from this type of employment can be drawn from the fact that this man does not plan to go to the berry fields this summer. He is in the process of building a home for his rather large family and finds that his earnings as a longshoreman far outweigh the net returns from a berry picking expedition.40

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40 Interview with Mr. Z, March 5th, 1951.
According to the 1948 study, and this would seem to apply in the above instance, "the migration is a hopeful but rather unrewarding flight from the drab life of some reserves." The group making the study felt that the migrations would gradually decline in numbers. As with the Japanese-Canadians in the fishing industry, the Filipinos and others are displacing the British Columbia Indians in the Washington berry fields because they are said to be more efficient and dependable.

Hop and fruit growing are two other seasonal industries that rely to some extent on Indian labour. These industries are mainly located in the Lower Fraser Valley and recruit pickers from the adjoining reserves.

**Employment in the City**

The Indians have experienced difficulty in gaining entry into other occupations, especially in the urban centres. An instance of what can occur when a reserve Indian attempts to obtain employment in unskilled labour in a city is the experience of Mr. X, of the Musqueam Reserve, who was mentioned in Chapter 2. This man secured employment as a labourer for the Vancouver Parks Board in the 1930's. He had not been on the job long before complaints were made to the Board that the city was employing someone who was not a taxpayer. Soon after Mr. X's employment was terminated.

Department stores and other firms whose staff must meet the public will not employ people who do not look like an ordinary European. The only exception amongst the department stores,

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42 Interview with Mr. X, June 8, 1951.
that this writer knows of, was in Port Alberni. Woodward Stores Limited, in that city, employed some Indian girls who were students at the Alberni High School and were living in a residential school. These girls worked on Saturdays only, to help cope with the week-end rush of customers. This departure from the general rule would not create too much surprise in Port Alberni as the Indians form a large part of the surrounding population and belong to particularly progressive and community-minded bands.

Some girls, who have had the training, have been able to obtain employment as stenographers in various offices in the cities. The Indian Affairs Branch employs an Indian girl in its Prince Rupert office. Another has been employed by a large wholesale hardware firm in Vancouver for a number of years. Other girls have gone into practical nursing and teaching but their number is very few.

In summary, it is easy for an Indian to obtain employment in logging or longshoring provided he is willing to put in an eight-hour day, five days a week. Sawmill work is a little harder to get into without previous experience. Seasonal work of the harvesting type involving migrations into the State of Washington is becoming less popular with the British Columbia Indians because of the lack of economic gain from it. Entry into the retail industry is very difficult for an Indian because his appearance is considered prejudicial to sales. Generally, there are very few Indians in "white collar" jobs of any sort.
Employment opportunities and education are very closely related in our western civilization. The complexity of modern industry and commerce has made it necessary to have at least a high school education to be able to compete for all but the unskilled jobs. The high school today has become to some extent a technical college to supply the ever-growing needs of industry and business. It is of interest, therefore, to see how the Indian has fared in his adjustment to the methods of education our European culture has brought to him in the comparatively short time they have been operating in British Columbia.

In many instances, and especially by the younger adults, a lack of education has been given as the chief reason the Indians find it hard to obtain employment in any except the three main industries herein discussed - fishing, lumbering and longshoring. On the Musqueam Reserve there are older men who have had no education whatever. At the other extreme is a young man, (recently interviewed by the writer) who has had two years university training and is returning, after a year out, to commence the study of law. Between these two extremes is a large majority of the Indian population who have had partial schooling, very few having gone farther than grade nine or ten.

One example of those who have had no formal education at all is fisherman in his early thirties, living on this reserve. Last year he fished in the Fraser River district but hardly made enough to pay his debts to the fishing company which supplied
him with a net. During the winter he eked out an existence for himself, his wife, two small children and an aged mother by cutting firewood for the Chinese vegetable gardeners who lease land on the reserve. When he was not doing this he beach-combed for boom logs which he sold to a lumber firm. Latterly he has been cutting tomato stakes from drift wood for the gardeners.

It cannot be said that this man is not a successful fisherman because he has had no formal education. There are many who are successful who have never been to school. But if this man had had the benefit of even elementary schooling, it is possible that he would have been able to take up some other vocation which would be more in keeping with his temperament and aptitudes. As it is he can neither read nor write. The reason he never went to school was that his father refused to let him be separated from the family in order to attend residential school. The man was born on the Musqueam Reserve in South Westminster and there were schools adjacent to the reserve, but in those days Indians could not attend public day schools.

In contract to this man's lack of education is another, younger man, on the same reserve who has had quite extensive education. He started in the residential school, spent three years in a seminary studying for the priesthood, gave that up and completed his university entrance requirements at a private college. He completed two years at university and took a year off to work. His first job was in a reduction plant at Steveston. When this closed down he went to Sechelt and worked in a logging operation where he did slashing. Then he returned to Steveston
with his family, (his father and brother are fishermen), and was given a job in the cannery office. This will last until the fall term begins. The young man, either because he is educated or because of the contacts he has made in the process of being educated has had no trouble in getting employment.

Another young man on this reserve left St. Pauls Indian Residential School at North Vancouver after he had completed grade nine. He is now awaiting an opportunity to enrol in an auto-body course at the Vancouver Vocational Institute. He represents the great majority of Indians who have had only partial education. Had his father not persuaded him to take this vocational training, he would have gone off on a seine boat and have become a fisherman. His father, however, wants him to learn a trade and not be an unskilled labourer like himself.

Educational Facilities

The Indian Affairs Branch of the federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration is responsible for the education of Indian children in Canada. In order to indicate the size of this task in British Columbia, figures are available showing the age and sex groupings of the Indian population of the province in 1949.

Table 5. Age Distribution by Sex of British Columbia Indians 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 7</th>
<th>7 and under 16</th>
<th>16 and under 21</th>
<th>21 and under 70</th>
<th>70 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3,147</td>
<td>3,003</td>
<td>1,423</td>
<td>6,332</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3,144</td>
<td>3,149</td>
<td>1,412</td>
<td>5,245</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6,291</td>
<td>6,152</td>
<td>2,835</td>
<td>11,577</td>
<td>1,081</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from the 1949 quinquennial Census of Indians, taken by the Indian Affairs Branch.
As at the time this census was taken the compulsory school age for Indian children was from seven to sixteen years, (it was recently extended so that they could be required to attend from six to eighteen years) the figure 6,152 represents the number of children for whom education would have had to be provided in that year. It must be realized, however, that these children were scattered in every part of the province.

To provide educational facilities for this dispersed school population the Indian Affairs Branch makes use of residential schools (sponsored and staffed by various religious denominations), day schools on the reserves, and the municipal and district schools throughout the province. In 1949, the latest year for which figures are available, there were twelve residential schools; nine operated by the Roman Catholic Church, three by the Anglican Church, and one by the United Church of Canada. The Indian Affairs Branch operates fifty-two day schools on the reserves. With these facilities, and the addition of the white schools where arrangements have been made with the municipalities concerned, it is of interest to note the proportion of enrolment in the three types of school. (See Table 6 on next page.)

It is estimated that the total school enrolment of Indian children for the 1950-51 session is 5800, of which approximately 900 are attending white schools. In the current school year also, there are 250 Indian students in high school, three at normal school, one training for nursing, three training as practical

43 Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Annual Report, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1949-50 p.84.
nurses, three in business college, one training to be a diesel mechanic, and eight at university level.  

Table 6. Enrolment of British Columbia Indians by Type of School, 1946 to 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>1946-47</th>
<th>1947-48</th>
<th>1948-49</th>
<th>1949-50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>2,177</td>
<td>2,143</td>
<td>2,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Schools</td>
<td>2,010</td>
<td>2,076</td>
<td>2,442</td>
<td>2,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Schools</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4,242</td>
<td>4,564</td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>5,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance (Day Schools only)</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from data supplied by Mr. R. Davie, Inspector of Schools, Indian Affairs Branch, March 2nd, 1951.

Using the figure of 6,152 Indian children of school age derived from Table 5 and the total enrolment in all schools of 5,487 in 1949-50 in Table 6, a difference of 665 children is found. This number, however, is a considerable improvement on the figure of 1200 Indian children out of school, cited by Mr. W.S. Arneil, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, in May, 1949. On this occasion, he stated that these children were located mainly in the northern areas of the province and were of nomadic parents.  

Vocational Training

The policy of the Indian Affairs Branch is to increase the number of students attending vocational training schools by encouraging the superintendents of the eighteen agencies in the province and the various school principals to foster any interest the young people under their care may have in this type of training. As

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44 Interview with Mr. R. Davie, Inspector of Schools, Indian Affairs Branch, March 2nd, 1951.

soon as arrangements can be made to provide accommodation for such students in Vancouver, the facilities of the Vancouver Vocational Institute will be used more extensively.

For the purpose of ascertaining the amount of vocational training given in residential schools, visits were made by the writer to two of them in southwestern British Columbia. One was the Alberni Indian Residential School operated by the United Church of Canada. It had an enrolment of two hundred and fifty students ranging from six to eighteen years of age and from all parts of the coast. Twenty of these students were attending the Alberni District High School. This scheme started four years ago. Two Indian girls graduated from this high school last year, one of whom is now training for nursing, the other one for teaching. The residential school has an excellent woodworking shop for the elementary grades and the provincial curriculum is followed. A new class room building is in course of construction and will contain facilities for a home economics department for the girls.

In addition to the students from the residential school, all the eligible children from the adjacent reserve attend the white high school. Fifty children from the same reserve attend the nearby district elementary school. 46

The other residential school visited was St. Mary's at Mission City. This school is operated and staffed by the Roman Catholic Church and had an enrolment of two hundred and twenty students. It draws its students mainly from the Fraser Valley and Pemberton-Lillooet areas. Vocational training consists of woodworking and mechanics (gas engines) for the boys, and sewing and home economics

46 Interview with Mr. Caldwell, Principal, Alberni Indian Residential School, March 23rd, 1951.
for the girls. The high school curriculum has just been put into effect in this school.

The woodwork instruction was largely taken up with elementary joints and pieces of furniture for the school. The instructor found it hard to get the boys to make the routine joints and exercises laid down in the curriculum. They like to see some practical use for the thing they are making, such as a picture frame or sewing box. The shop has a few power tools but the instructor felt that they tend to make the boys lazy; they do not master the manual tools first.

Two graduates of the residential school system were asked what their opinions were regarding this type of schooling. The first, who went through the Alberni school at a much earlier date, thought that the residential school system tended to deprive him of initiative because his thinking was done for him and there was a certain amount of regimentation. One thing he did not learn was to save money. Now, in order to save, this successful operator of two fish collecting vessels buys a new boat or a 1951 Meteor car. He favoured the method of education his children were experiencing, that is, attending the white day school.

The other graduate is the young man referred to at the beginning of this chapter who went on to University.

In particular we must remember ... that the grammar (residential) school is satisfactory at present. This has only reached the stage of satisfaction during the past couple of years, where a more liberal approach has been arrived at in regard to treatment of Indian children at residential school. They are now allowed freedom to a large extent and have been afforded many more privileges than were prevalent in say 4 or 5 years back. Hence they know now that they are not
restricted in out of school hours and take a better liking to a residential school, which, of course, means more devotion to their studies. You may take this point conversely then and say that it was the out of school treatment, which was at times as harsh and as old-fashioned as the many convents we read about, rather than the actual studies which affected the acquisition of knowledge by Indian students in the past. As far as this is concerned, I believe the teaching itself was absolutely up to par, but the trying duties of out-of-school hours was a definite set back to morale of children...

He refers here to the half-day system in force prior to 1949 mentioned earlier. He went on to summarize:

(1) Recreation was not properly accounted for.
(2) The teachers did not show their interest in the children but on the contrary seemed more as an imposing figure.
(3) ... It is too early to see the fruits of the new approach.
(4) Further, a grammar school education is insufficient, ... to acquire a job such as in a bank, etc. and the overcrowded situation in common work jobs is common knowledge in cities. I am of course using my past experience in school (St. Paul's at North Vancouver) and observations and questioning of friends who attended other schools.
(5) It is, of course, to the credit of the religious organizations that they have profited by their mistakes and taken a liberal system of running residential schools by providing children with forms of recreation, more freedom hence an attitude stressing interest in the welfare of the children under their care, spiritually, socially and educationally. 47

It is evident from these two opinions that not all Indians think alike regarding this type of educational facility.

There is a good deal of difference in the operation of residential schools by the several denominations. The Roman Catholic schools use the services of teaching orders to provide

47 Letter to the writer, June 2nd, 1951.
staff. The Protestant schools must pay lay teachers out of the grants made by the Indian Affairs Branch, and have difficulty in financing the operation of their schools. Because the Indian Act specifies that every child must go to the school of the religion of his parents, some children have to go a long way to attend a residential school. Admission to these schools is on the basis of (a) children whose home circumstances require that they be given institutional care, (b) children from reserves where there is no day school or inadequate facilities, (c) children who have reached high school level, in that order of precedence.

The trend in education on reserves near urban centres is more and more toward making use of municipal school facilities for Indian children. On the Musqueam Reserve there are three children attending the city schools. There are at least two other families on this reserve who intend to send their children to the city schools. There is no day school on the reserve. On the Capilano Reserve the children of one family all attend the municipal schools, even to the extent of travelling some distance daily to do so.

In an interview with the principal of a school near the Musqueam Reserve, where two Indian girls are attending, some information as to how these children fit in to the school programme was obtained. These two children, age seven and nine, started school in October in grades one and two respectively. To add to this late start, their attendance has been poor, with a record of forty-two days absent up to the time of the interview. Now, their mother wants to take them out of school in the middle of

48 Section 10, subsection (2) of the Indian Act.

49 Interview with Mr. R. Davie, March 2, 1951.
June because she is going away to work somewhere. These children come from a fairly enlightened family but even so the exigencies of employment still take precedence over education. This example, however, cannot be taken as characteristic of all Indian children attending white schools, as shown by the Alberni experience.

In reviewing the educational factor as it affects the employment of the British Columbia Indians, it is evident that the native people are themselves quite conscious of the part it plays. Those, especially, who have had the benefit of higher education are made aware of the shortcomings of the educational system, as it stands today, through their contact with people in the higher positions in industry. The Indian Affairs Branch is endeavouring to overcome the segregation of education for the Indians by enrolling as many children as possible in the white schools of the province. In the opinion of this writer, this policy will have a beneficial effect on the coming generation, both socially and economically. If we are to assimilate the Indian people into the economic life of the province, they must be given an equal chance with the rest of the population.

The residential schools have their place in Indian education. They are necessary for the accommodation of students from isolated reserves and of nomadic parents where day schools would be impractical. The day school on the reserve is suitable for stable bands on isolated reserves and in cannery and logging locations. But on reserves adjacent to urban centres or even rural school districts,
the education of Indian children in association with their white compeers is highly desirable. In this way, only, can they be placed on an equal footing for competitive employment.
CHAPTER V

AN EVALUATION

Having considered the effects of cultural background and education on the employment problems and economic status of the British Columbia Indians, some thought must now be given to the role played by government in the every-day life of the native people. Since British Columbia entered confederation in 1871, the Indians of the province have been subject to the Indian Act. This federal statute, which provides for the protection of the Indians of Canada and for their education and general welfare, is one of the oldest pieces of social legislation in Canada.

Beside safeguarding the Indians, the act also assumes that they are not qualified to manage their own affairs and places them legally very much in the position of minors. An Indian cannot vote in federal elections, (the British Columbia Indians were given the provincial vote in 1949), he cannot obtain liquor or keep it on the reserve, nor can he borrow money from a white man because as a minor he cannot be sued for debt. Under these circumstances, it is of interest to hear what the Indians themselves think about life under this paternalistic regime. The university student whose views on the residential school system were quoted in the preceding chapter wrote as follows regarding the Indian Act and its effect on his people.

In this (the Indian Act) you'll see the conditions and restrictions under which we have lived and even if it is changed, the present Old Act will have a tremendous effect on the people in future years. In other words
it will have a lasting effect as it is wicked and very unfair to be perfectly frank and people regardless of race, never forget injustice. If it was changed before the Indians had sufficient education to realize that it was an unjust legislation, then, I am sure there would be a better foundation for better co-operation between the Indians and the whites through their representative, the government. As long as that representative continues to have us as their wards, as is the case now, there can be no advancement. If we continue to be wards of the government, we automatically assume and remain in an inferior position which only results in the Indian being desirous of a better position and these desires being deflated they despair of continuing on the bitter trail of advancement in all fields.

The letter goes on at length to say that given the opportunity to handle their own affairs the Indians would gain confidence in themselves and would have an incentive to take their place with the Canadian community.

In this I have endeavoured to say that the big problem for seeking employment is not the lack of education, but the reason behind the lack of education, the reason behind the minds of the Indian. In other words the problem is complex and as such one cannot speak of education amongst Indians without ranging into other fields, without digging at the root of the Indian problem, without inquiring into his true position and the effect of his position on every-day life. The Indian is struggling for existence in a mixed world, leaving the world of his past to the present white civilization, which is a difficult transition, because we hate to leave our past, the very same as you do. Our ways and our traditions are part of us. We know them but as a people we do not know yours sufficiently to live in a proper way in your community. But in spite of all you must concede that the transition so far has been marvellous and given the opportunity, I'm positive the Indian can make it more marvellous to the point of perfection. Give him an independent atmosphere not a ward-like one. Give him your confidence and not the sneer-like attitude which we have become so accustomed to accept.

51 Letter to the writer, June 2nd, 1951.
Social Attitudes

The attitude of the European population toward the Indians has had a lot to do with their inability to obtain employment in the cities. The white citizen's impressions tend to be gained by the reading of accounts in the press of Indians who have run afoul of the law. According to one Indian, however, there has been a marked improvement in the attitude of the white man to the Indian in this province since the latter were given the provincial franchise. This was just the experience of one man in one area but it is conceivable that this progressive step on the part of the provincial government has enhanced the position of the native Indian to same extent.

It is felt by some people that the attitude of the European population in the State of Washington toward the Indians is much more favourable than that which is prevalent in this province. There, the Indian has the federal vote and shares in state welfare programmes. The group who studied the migration of British Columbia Indians to the Washington berry fields found that one reason given for going there was the enjoyment of ethnic equality. The study quoted the migrants as saying:

'The American people are pretty good for Indians.'
'They treat us better.'
'We try to talk to whites in Canada, they just turn their back on us. Down here the whites are like brothers to us. When we get to Canada they treat us like a bunch of dogs. We can't even talk to them. These people around here, they're more gentle to us.'

52 Interview with George Clutesi, Alberni, March 23rd, 1951.

The anthropologists noted, however, that "ethnic inequality prevails in Washington to much the same extent as in British Columbia. Under camp life the visiting Indian does not feel the restrictions of the permanent resident." Nevertheless the United States Indian does have fewer restrictions under the law than do the Canadian Indians.

Welfare Services for the Unemployed and Aged Indian

When the Indian is unable to go out and fish or work in the woods by reason of age, physical disability or illness he and his family become charges on the Indian Affairs Branch. Relief is given in the form of a monthly ration of food and in addition, a cash allowance of eight dollars per month. Where necessary, fuel, blankets and clothing are provided and in some necessitous cases provision is made for the care and keep of aged persons in suitable homes. Special foods are supplied when indicated by medical authority. In 1950 all indigent aged Indians were granted and Old Age Pension of twenty-five dollars per month. This sum, half that paid to a white old age pensioner in this province, does not buy the same amount of groceries given in kind with the old allowance, according to one informant.

Mr. George Clutesi, a prominent Indian of Alberni, B.C., has attempted to explain, in his own words, why many of the older Indians have found it hard to adjust to the white man's economy.

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56 Interview with Mr. Y, Capilano Reserve, May 24th, 1951.
His creed, his doctrine, his philosophy of life was to give, to provide, to bestow, upon his fellow man. From early childhood this teaching was hammered into his very heart until it was ingrained into his mind, yea, instilled into his blood. He grew up with this as his sole aspiration, his goal in life. Moreover he carried it out.

Then the advent of the white man and civilization. ...It became unlawful for the Indians to give away their worldly possessions to their fellow man, or to engage in any manner whatsoever in any festival, dance, or other ceremony. ...So when he saw that he could no more provide or bestow he, unconsciously mind you, straightway began giving it back from whence it came - back to the white man. That is why he spends all his earnings. That urge to give is still in his blood just as it is in yours to save and stow away for the morrow because it has been hammered into your very soul for centuries and more. That is why he (the Indian) is in a quandary this day. He yet feels the old teaching in a world that demands one to grab, to take, to hoard.57

Mr. Clutesi, in his last two sentences, has pointed out the troubled feelings of the younger generation on the reserves in British Columbia today. Unlike the older people who still have remnants of the old culture to fall back on, the younger Indians who have been reaching out to the white man's culture have found themselves lost between two sets of values. What these young people need now is some incentive to take what they require from their own culture, and to choose what they need from the new, and to go on from there to make their contribution to Canadian life. But the way will be hard and the necessity for compromise will be ever-present.

A process of adjustment such as we are witnessing and hope to witness in ever-increasing volume can best be accelerated by an understanding on the part of Indian leaders and white people alike of the part that each must play. A full acceptance of equal status for the Indian by the white population can only come when the former have a wholesome desire for it and a willingness and ability

57 Mr. George Clutesi, "The Viewpoint of the Native Indian," Western Goals in Social Welfare, p.151.
to accept the responsibilities that go along with full citizenship. While the general population should be tolerant towards all minority groups, the Indian no more than any other can expect the majority group to modify its standards to accommodate them. Where there is free interplay of relationships the majority group cannot be depended upon to make special adaptations to the needs of a minority. The struggle for survival is just as definite today as it ever was and the few must adjust to the many if they are to hold their own in the struggle.58

The problems of employment for the Indian minority group are part of the over-all problem of adjusting to the ways of the predominant majority group.

Conclusions

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this survey is that the majority of British Columbia Indians are limited to the primary industries of fishing and lumbering for their means of livelihood. This is so partly because employment in these types of industry appeals to the native people and partly because many of them are not yet prepared to enter any other occupation. Cultural identification has made seasonal work the accepted form of their economic life. Variations in degree of education have prevented them from being raised as a group to a position where they can assimilate into other industries easily.

In the eyes of the Indians, the chief problem of employment in the fishing industry at the present time is the threat of displacement by the Japanese-Canadians, another minority group who have developed more efficient and tenacious work habits than most other fishermen. For this reason, the Japanese-Canadians are favoured over the native Indians by the employers for operating

cannery-owned fishing vessels. There seems to be a tendency on the part of the employers to judge all Indians by the actions of a few who have allowed liquor to interfere with their fishing. The existence of a separate native fishermen's and cannery workers' union has militated against the strength of the Indians in collective bargaining with employer groups. There is, however, no barrier to the Indians joining the other, numerically stronger, union.

The logging industry offers employment to any Indian who is willing to work an eight-hour day, five and a half days a week. The problems presented by employment in logging are common to everyone in the industry; absence from the family, a high accident rate, time spent getting to and from the job, etc. Sawmill and other woodworking employment, while having the advantages of proximity and permanency, are requiring more and more experience as a pre-requisite to hiring.

Longshoring is the chief service industry in which Indians are engaged. It is limited to the Indians living on reserves adjacent to the more important seaports on the British Columbia coast. The problem for the Indian in this industry is the establishment of fixed hours of work in a calling that was once a casual type of employment. Rigid union rules makes movement into other industries difficult. Evidence that this change in the nature of longshoring over the years is distasteful to many Indians is shown by the dwindling numbers of native workers on the union rolls.

The overshadowing problem in Indian employment generally is the legal restriction placed upon him by the Indian Act. As a
minor in the eyes of the law, he is precluded from bettering his economic status by many of the usual means available to the non-Indian. His education has been, and is to a large extent today, carried on in such a way that he is at a disadvantage socially and economically when thrown into the company of other Canadians. But the answer does not lie in legislation alone. It rests on a combination of cultural understanding, social acceptance, and educational and economic assimilation.