THE INDIAN IN TRANSITION

THE MEETING OF THE WAYS

LEARNING FOR EARNING

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THE MEETING OF THE WAYS

BY DOUGLAS LEECHMAN

It's not likely that you ever met Copper Joe. He was a Kutchin Indian who lived on the south shore of Kluane Lake in the Yukon. He died, I believe, about 1944 and may have been sixty-five or seventy years old. He was a young man when the great gold rush surged into the Yukon, but he saw few white men till 1904 when a smaller rush to Kluane brought them in.

When he was born Copper Joe's people were living in the stone age. Even today some of them prefer stone skin-scrapers to steel ones, and Joe himself used to make tools from chipped stone and from the nuggets of native copper found in the local stream beds. When the Alaska Highway drove its path along the lake shore, Copper Joe found he could augment his income by making copper knives, arrowheads, and other objects for sale as souvenirs to construction workers, soldiers, and tourists, and that was how he got the name of Copper Joe.

His son, whose name I never learned, did not live in the stone age. Far from it. He drove a caterpillar tractor on the Highway. From the stone age to the incredibly complex life of today in one generation is a transition so sudden as to seem almost impossible of accomplishment. Yet that is the transition that we are asking all our Canadian Indians to make, not so rapidly of course, but still we expect them to achieve in, say three hundred years, what it took us more like ten thousand years to accomplish.

It was on the Atlantic seaboard that the first contact between white men and Canadian Indians took place. Precisely when, we do not know. There is a good deal of evidence that it may have been long before Cartiers' first voyage in 1534, and many believe that Basque and other fishermen worked the Grand Banks, coming ashore for water and fresh meat, even before Cabot's voyage of 1497.

Integration Began Early

The first contacts, doubtless, were minor trading enterprises, but when permanent settlement began, intercourse between the whites and the Indians was close and constant. There was but little difference in their standard of living, for the white fishermen and farmers were generally illiterate and not skilled in advanced arts and crafts. It was the Indians who taught the newcomers how to make snowshoes and canoes, where to find the portages and trails, how to hunt the moose and beaver. The Indian women lived side by side with the French wives and showed them how to cook Indian corn, what plants made good medicine, which yielded fast dyes. The conflicts so stressed in our history books were the points of friction, generating heat and noise, but most of the time life flowed along smoothly enough. Even after the founding of Quebec and Montreal, the advance of the white man was slow, and it was not until about 1785 that the white population of all Canada equalled in numbers the aboriginal Indians, believed by competent anthropologists to have numbered about 200,000. Inter-marriage was frequent and many of the Frenchmen found the Indian way of life so much to their liking that they could only with difficulty be confined to their little farms and villages, where they lived under the watchful eye of the seigneur and the priest.

On the prairies, in the early 1800s, things were very different. The fur trader had no thought of making a permanent home on the plains; he was there to trade as much fur as possible, for as little as possible, as quickly as possible. The policy of kindly and fair trade with the Indian trappers which had been followed by the Hudson's Bay Company was never thought of by the free traders. Rum, or brandy if the trader were French, was the key to the fur trade. Give the Indians a drink as soon as they reach the post, some presents to prove the trader's generosity, and then a few gallons of diluted rum, or "English milk" as the Indians euphemistically put it, so that

everybody could get thoroughly drunk, men, women, and children too. The women, schooled by experience, would hide all guns and knives in the bush, leaving the men only their hands and teeth to fight with, and they used both, as many a chewed-off ear or nose could testify.

The next morning, pleading for a hair of the dog that bit them, the Indians would exchange almost anything for almost nothing, and the trader supplied them with powder and shot, tobacco and beads, vermilion and feathers at a very considerable profit to himself. Naturally enough, alcohol and disease decimated the tribes and the breakdown of what had been a most admirable culture was soon complete. The buffalo which had, before their acquisition of the horse and gun, been sufficient for the needs of the prairie Indians, became extinct and the people faced starvation. Pitiful scenes have been described; a chief, known for his valour in battle and his wisdom in council, was to be seen huddled in a tattered blanket with a twenty-foot sinew cord in his hand, a noose in the far end looped round a gopher hole, waiting patiently in the hope of snaring the little animal for food if it should venture to come out.

Need For Protection

Still the free traders persisted, offering whisky in return for whatever they could resell at a profit, and whisky was the one thing the Indians knew of that could dull their minds even for an hour or a day. It was clear that the government would have to take action, provide food and shelter, medical care and schools, and the most practicable way of doing so was to place the people on reservations. Not an ideal solution; few even suggested that it was; but at least they were protected from the whisky smuggler and dishonest traders, were given land to learn farming on, and now boundaries were defined.

When, in 1873, the North West Mounted Police entered the scene, a new era in the tragic history of the prairie tribes began. Firmness, fair dealing, courage, and kindness had their effect and, next to the Indian Affairs Branch itself, the Indians throughout Canada never had better or more valuable friends than the Mounties. True, things have not always gone exactly as one might have wished, but without these men the

lot of the Indians would have been immeasurably harder.

Nor on the Pacific coast did the natives find life with the white traders any bed of roses. Theirs had been a long and proud tradition; men traced their ancestry back for many generations (and how many among us can do the same?); they vaunted their names and crests, their slaves and riches. To the white men, these were but empty pretensions and vain boasting. Once again alcohol and disease reduced a proud and sophisticated people to destitution and shame, selling their wives and daughters for a bottle of hootch "to drown the thoughts of the things they were, and the men they used to be." Once more the answer was the same — reservations.

Population Swing's Upward

The Indian was on his way out, "a doomed race that would melt away as the snow before the sun." In 1900, the Indian population of Canada was reduced from the original 200,000 to about 100,000 just half of what it had been. The Indians, now accustomed to life on the reservation, though far from happy, had benefited from the care, the better food, the warmer clothing, the medical attention, and their numbers began to increase. Slowly at first but ever more rapidly. They gained in numbers, one per cent a year for some time, but now it is at the rate of three per cent a year and even more, and we find our Indians to be the fastest-growing separate group in all Canada. By 1970, it is estimated, they will have reached 230,000 people, more than the original stock. The total population of Canada at that time will probably be about twenty-three million, of which the Indians will make up one per cent.

Needless to say, legislation to control Indian affairs has been necessary from the very beginning. Even before Canada became a separate legal entity, the Imperial Government appointed Sir William Johnston to the post of Indian Affairs Superintendent in 1755; he had his headquarters in the Mohawk Valley in what is now the State of New York. Through him the government assumed all responsibility for the Indians, and this control continued in Canada up to 1860, when the provinces took over for a short time and then gleefully handed their problems on to the new Dominion Government in 1867

Title to Land Recognized

Indian title to the land was always clearly recognized and a royal proclamation of 1763 declared in unambiguous terms that no Indian could be dispossessed of his lands without his own consent as well as that of the Crown.

Canada is the third largest country in the world, being surpassed in area only by the U.S.S.R. and China. To frame legislation that will lay down a pattern of administration of native affairs for so vast an area, from the treeless Arctic to the fertile prairies, from the muskegs of Labrador to the warm, rich fiords of the Pacific coast, is a monumental problem. Yet the Indian Act (first passed in 1876) must be simple and succinct; it cannot be ambiguous, it may not be wordy or vague. The regulations required for running the simple affairs of a small band of Chipewyan Indians in the interior of the Northwest Territorics must, by the very nature of things, differ from those suitable for the Mohawk high-steel men of Caughnawaga, nor will laws eminently wise and useful in the Yukon find much merit in Deseronto.

Not only do economic and social conditions vary from area to area, but also from one generation to another, and rules concerning trapping, for instance, admirable and efficient today, may be almost meaningless fifty years later when a district has become urbanized. Much, of necessity, has to be left to the common sense and administrative ability of the man in charge, the man on the spot; yet, no matter how good his intentions, he may not transgress in any way the fundamental provisions of the Indian Act and all the supplementary regulations that follow from it. It takes sharp shears and a strong wrist to cut red tape.

Legislation, obviously, must lay down the law: thou shalt, and thou shalt not. Unfortunately the "shalt not" clauses seem to outnumber the others fairly heavily, and the Indians were galled and troubled by the restrictions that hedged them in. Dominion law was, at times, in conflict with provincial law; the Indians were caught between the two and found it hard to know which way to turn, which law to obey.

They had traded their wide acres for the narrower reservations, and today Indian treaties cover nearly half the country. There are 2,226 reserves in Canada and the annual treaty payments to the people, guaranteed by the government, come to more than \$420,000. Reserves vary in size from a few acres to as much as 500 square miles. Some of them are almost useless, others are rich in farm land, in timber, and in minerals. Some have many people living on them, others are unoccupied, but their value to the Indians still remains, for there are fishing, hunting, and other rights involved, as well as the actual value of the land itself.

Life On The Reserves

Indians living on the reserves follow very much the same occupations that their forebears did, hunting, fishing, and trapping where possible, but working in industry and commerce in the urbanized areas. Only on the prairies have the people greatly changed their way of living, for here the hunting of the buffalo is no longer possible and they have turned to growing wheat and raising cattle, "the white man's buffalo" as they call them, with a wry smile. In the Northwest Territories, where trapping is becoming progressively less profitable, the aeroplane has brought about great changes, and the natives are turning more and more to lumbering, commercial fishing, and mining.

Improved medical care, better food and clothing, undoubtedly have had much to do with the resurrection of the native population, its turning from death to growth. Tuberculosis was one of the great scourges that afflicted the Indians and for many years it came first on the list headed "Cause of Death." Today it is seventh, and the prevalence among the natives is but little higher than among our white people. In 1945-46 the appropriation for Indian administration including medical services was about four and a half million dollars; today it is over sixty millions. All services available to Canadian citizens are available to the Indians as well; old age pension, family allowance, relief, and child welfare; help for the blind, the incapacitated, the elderly.

Not very many years ago an Indian reservation could be recognized almost at once by the neglected, tumbledown shacks and log cabins. There is still much to be done in providing decent housing, but over ten thousand new houses have been built for Indians since 1946 and some twenty thousand have been repaired and improved. Today some Indian homes have an electric stove, a refrigerator, a TV set, and a fine car parked outside. Others are still log cabins with a mud floor, low door, small window, and a hole in the roof.

Progress in Education

It is in education that most progress has been made. A generation ago few competent teachers could be persuaded to take an Indian school, and practically no Indian children attended white schools. Today there are nearly ten thousand of them doing so, with about forty students in university, and these numbers are growing steadily. Integration of Indian children with white children in the schools is undoubtedly the greatest single factor in the recent rapid advance of our native citizens; it was a vital step forward and, much as the Indians have benefited from this new program, let us not forget that it has done the white pupils a lot of good too.

Recently, too, the Indians have been urged to take a greater share of the responsibility for the conduct of affairs on their own reservations, and this has done much to restore their selfconfidence and dignity. Band councils are elected, by our method or by native custom as the people wish, and they are charged with such matters as housing, water, fire protection, sanitation, welfare, education, health, orphans, elderly people, game regulations, and a dozen other things. A band council consists of a chief and one councillor for every hundred members of the band, and they serve a two-year term. Councils have some control, too, over the disposition of the band funds, held in trust in Ottawa and which are derived from the sale or lease of band property. Some bands have no funds at all, some are poor, others are wealthy; the total sum held in the name of the Indian people amounts to about thirty million dollars.

Many Indians have voluntarily left their reservations in the past and many others undoubtedly will do so in the future. To become enfranchised, an Indian must renounce his native status and accept the duties and responsibilities of an ordinary citizen. He draws his per capita share of the band funds and may meet the inconveniences of having to pay income tax.

Now, what of the future? What is the aim of our government? The Hon. Ellen Fairelough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, has stated it clearly. "The fundamental aim of the government's policy towards Indians," she said, "is the gradual integration of our country's fastest-growing ethnic group into the Canadian community." With this end in view, she makes education her chief agent. "Education is the key to a promising future for the Indians," she said, and "Our policy is to make school facilities available to every Indian child."

It is anticipated that, by 1970, two-thirds of our Indian people will have left the reserves. Some of the elderly ones, born and brought up there, can obviously never leave, but their children can, and their grand-children will. There are many things still to be done; the reserves must be well planned, prosperous and happy; onerous, unworkable, and needless restrictions must be removed; houses must be improved. The white superintendents must be skilful, adaptable, and sympathetic. When suitable, Indian superintendents might be appointed.

All these things are being done. Since 1951, when the Indian Act was revised, enormous strides forward have been made under the aegis of a new and enlightened administration, and we may eonfidently look forward to a time in the not very far future when the reservations, which, in spite of all their faults, literally saved the Indian race from extinction, will no longer be needed.

The old Indian eulture will, inevitably, be absorbed by ours, but it will never be forgotten, and the Indian contribution to our eivilization will remain one of great value. In agricultural products alone, such as Indian corn, beans, squash, artichokes, sunflowers, and tobacco, to say nothing of potatoes from farther south, we have gained far more than all the gold the Spaniards ever looted from the Indies.

Our memory of the Indian must never grow dim whether we picture him as Hiawatha, or as a warrior of the plains, or as a noble chief with head-dress and robes in a village of huge wooden houses and totem-poles. We shall see him as he was at his best, a proud and nostalgie figure standing in the haze of a glowing Indian summer.





Announcer



Secretary



Schoolgirl



Foreman



Labour representative



Housewife



Welder

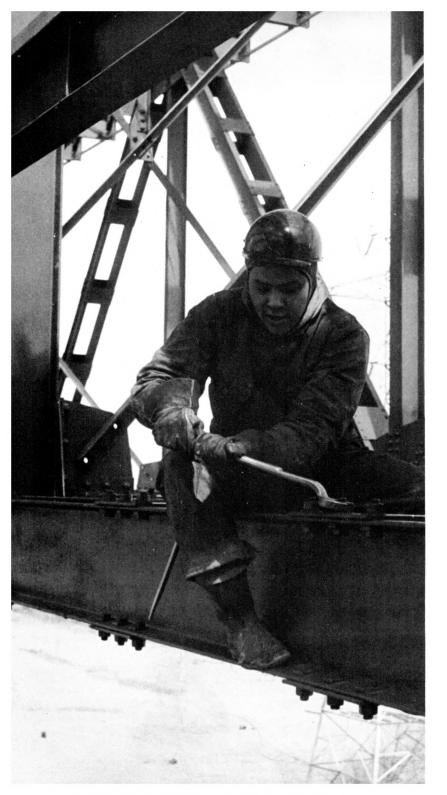




Lab Technician



Doctor



LEARNING FOR EARNING

BY LESLIE SMITH

Chief Victor Bennett of the Spanish River Band, a forty-yearold veteran of the woods, has been going back to school. His prineipal aim: to lcarn arithmetic. Along with four other men of the Sault Stc. Marie Indian Agency, he was chosen to take a scaler's course at the Ontario Lands and Forests school at Dorset. To bring their sehooling up to par, the five persuaded a reserve teacher to coach them at night. One, best man at a wedding, was so keen not to miss a single night that he deserted the celebrations to attend class.

Reg Kelly, an official of the Indian Affairs Branch and himself a Haida Indian, admits: "At last we are waking up to the stark fact that if we want to get ahead, we must educate ourselves."

This story has two parts. It tells of the remarkable stride in the field of Indian education and explains how the new placement program helps young Indians to find jobs.

"All too often in the past," one Indian Affairs official told me, "have we congratulated ourselves for persuading more Indians to go to high school. Then these youngsters would drift back to the reserves, only to take seasonal jobs which they could have done anyway, without any schooling. Now we're waking up to the fact that we can't just push Indian students out of school and expect them to go and get jobs like white boys and girls. We've got to help them cross the bridge between the Indian and non-Indian world. Often it's a long way across." This is why the placement program was set up

[&]quot;Anywhere a bird will land, a Mohawk will climb . . ."

in 1957. To make it successful, however, it must be able to offer employers qualified young people.

Ten years ago 24,000 Indian children went to school. Today there are 41,000. Of these, 19,174 are in day schools on the reserves; 9,109 in residential schools, which are boarding schools for children who need institutional care; 401 at hospital schools; 773 attending seasonal schools whenever their nomadic parents gather for the summer; and 11,500 attending provincial white schools.

Two significant developments have emerged over the last decade. First is the increasing number of youngsters going on to high school and beyond; second is the revolutionary but quiet integration of Indians into white schools. Today one out of four Indian students attends a white school. Prejudice in Canada has been local, rather than regional.

Acceptance by School Boards

Although some Canadian communities have little to be proud of, the majority of school boards have accepted Indians, at first with hesitation and later more wholeheartedly, as they proved to have aptitudes little different from white pupils.

At the end of the war, when the government began to provide more money for Indian services, only a handful of Indians had ever been to high school. Ten years ago this had increased to 600. This year there are over 2,100. This is still shockingly small. But the drop-outs in elementary grades are fantastic. In the school year ending June 1958, 3,615 Indian Pupils were enrolled in grade one in day schools; but there were only 527 in grade eight. In the residential schools 1,491 were enrolled in grade one, only 236 in grade eight. Of the 17,000 children in Indian day schools that year, 4,000 were not promoted. Of these, 1,250 were listed as "very slow learners"; 459 were refused promotion because of lack of application; 464 because of language difficulties, and 427 had fallen behind because they had stayed, or been kept, at home. It is only fair to point out that just over 600 were not promoted because they had spent less than a year in their present grade. The pattern is the same for residential schools, except for lack of attendance.

In the 1956-7 academic year, over 1,000 Indian students

dropped out of day school before they reached grade nine, the largest number leaving after grade six. Of these 349 boys and 71 girls quit to go to work, mostly in seasonal farming, hunting or fishing jobs, and 646 left chiefly to help at home or for unknown causes. Ninety-two left to go home and do nothing. The pattern is similar in residential school drop-outs.

What is worth noting — for it pinpoints the differences between Indian groups — is the drop-outs by provinces. The lowest drop-out rate is in southern Ontario where the reserves have existed for a long time near industrial communities such as Brantford, Belleville or Sault Ste. Marie. The greatest drop-out rate is in Manitoba and northern Ontario where so many Indians live in isolated communities or go to the scattered schools fanning north towards James Bay in the Sioux Lookout Agency.

These youngsters are going back to their reserves to get married, help at home, work in seasonal farming or logging jobs, to trap or hunt. Some remain idle. They will never integrate into Canadian society; probably they do not want to. They will continue to perpetuate the seasonal, subsistence type of life of their parents. This is their choice.

Stay in School Longer

But today more and more youngsters are staying for longer periods at school and being persuaded to push on to provincial high schools. Slowly, over the last decade, this integration has been seeping down into the lower grades. There are now no schools on the Batchawana Reserve for example, for all the pupils are driven to Sault Ste. Marie. All schools have been closed on the Sarnia Reserve. All over Canada Indian reserve classrooms are gradually being closed as the youngsters are accepted into white schools. Usually the Indian Affairs school inspectors make informal arrangements for space with local school boards. Where large numbers of Indians are involved a more formal "joint" agreement is signed under which the federal government pays its share of capital costs for any new classrooms. There are over eighty "joint" agreements in Canada. Some school boards have approached integration in an enlightened and constructive way, like those at Portage la Prairie, Man., Port Alberni, B.C., Wallaceburg, Ont., or

Truro, Nova Scotia. One B.C. board recently turned down a petition from ratepayers at Shelley protesting the admittance of Indians into the community schools. "We're not having discrimination here," was the chairman's forthright comment.

But some Canadians are reluctant to have Indians sit side by side with their youngsters. This spring a new non-Indian school was opened at Mount Brydges, near London. The trustees at first had agreed to take Indian children, then were forced to renounce under pessure from the taxpayers. Indian Affairs Branch had to spend \$225,000 to build its own Indian school, thus perpetuating segregated schooling at the Caradoc Agency.

Some opposition also comes from the Indians themselves. Three years ago the Garden River Ojibwas near Sault Ste. Marie fought integration bitterly, claiming that their children would be spurned by white pupils. Actually they were annoyed because the white officials had never consulted the Indian parents. Now all bands must first agree to integration before an approach is made to a white school board.

Recently the Alberta Catholic Indian League unanimously claimed that integration is "wholly unsatisfactory" and only widened the breach between Indian and non-Indians. The Indian Association of Alberta last year suggested a "go slow" policy on integration. Chief David Crowchild of the Sarcees said the government was trying to "run" the Indians too fast and forcing them "to do things they can't manage."

Chief Councillor E. P. Garlow of the Six Nations Iroquois says "the time is not yet ripe" for integration, although teenagers have been successfully attending high schools in three white local communities for many years. One, Barry Hill, last year won a coveted \$1,000 open scholarship to attend Upper Canada College, noted Toronto private school.

Education For A Choice

Indian Affairs' policy is to give the Indian as much schooling as he can absorb — or wants. "Some Indians think we are forcing them off the reserves," one senior official told me. "We must, if integration means anything, but only if they want to leave voluntarily. Our big job is to educate the youngsters. If they want to return to the reserves, that's up

to them. But if they want to carn a living in our society, they're reasonably well equipped. Before they started going to high schools, and especially to white schools, they had no choice. They vegetated on reserves because they weren't fitted to compete off them."

Senator James (Many Guns) Gladstone, a successful Blood rancher, says: "When an Indian is sent to an Indian school and mixes only with people of his own race, he does not get the training necessary for him to compete in the world around him. It is my belief that no schools — particularly for high school pupils — should be built on the reserves."

The government is realizing at last that simply educating an Indian is not enough. If he goes to a white school he has taken one step towards accepting a white, Western culture. His next step is to get a job, and to hold it, in a highly competitive world. In 1957 Indian Affairs Branch appointed placement officers in Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Now there are others in Amherst, N.S., Quebec City, North Bay, and Saskatoon. Their main job is to select young students finishing high school, steer them into steady, year-round jobs, and to be father confessors and chaperones as the Indians are adjusting to city life. They must also convince employers that that they should accept Indians.

Roger Jones, a personable 19-year-old Ojibwa from the Shawanaga Reserve on Georgian Bay, went up to grade 10 in Parry Sound High School, then left to do seasonal construction work on a provincial highway passing through his reserve. The Toronto placement officer, Jack Fransen, a patient, understanding man, scouted him out, suggested he go to Toronto for a business course. Jones did, passed the 10-months course in eight months and is now doing accounting for a chain of clothing stores. "If only I had realized the value of education I would have stayed in school longer," says Roger. He is typical of most young people in the placement program.

Expanding Placement Programme

To date 627 young people have been brought into the program, which is expanding every year. Arnold Boisvert was appointed placement officer for northern Ontario in September 1958. He concentrated on the north shore area from

the Soo to North Bay, spent a year doing public relations work among the Indians and with employers. After twelve months he had placed six young people in jobs. "Frankly, I was disappointed with my work," he admits. But his efforts are now paying off. Today there are 39 working in plants like International Nickel or Algoma Steel, and six awaiting placement. It may seem a small number for northern Ontario but every candidate is hand picked. If successful they are the best ambassadors of goodwill when they return to their homes for weekends. Even so, Boisvert reported that ten candidates had dropped out of the program early this year. Two had gone back to school — which didn't worry him — one got married, two never came to register with the National Employment Service, one was fired for drinking, and four quit their jobs because they were unable to adjust to a competitive non-Indian society.

The only fault with the placement program is that it was not started sooner.

One Indian Affairs official put it bluntly when he told me: "You've got to forget about the middle-aged and older Indians. Their work patterns are set. You can help them with their fishing and trapping, logging and farming, but you can't change them — and I don't see why you should. But you can do a great deal to steer the younger ones into steady employment."

Doug Jackson, of Ottawa, senior placement officer, is realistic enough to know that only a handful of teen-age Indians will be entering the placement program over the next few years. The program has to become known and "sold" to Indians, especially parents. Furthermore, there is a chronic need for more placement officers in places like Montreal, the Lakehead, London and Calgary. Fransen, for instance, has 450 young people in southern Ontario who are potential placement candidates. Without help, he can do only so much.

Some Indian young people will always want to live on the reserve under the outdoor type of casual-intermittent work patterns of their ancestors. That may be the answer for most Indians for many years yet.

There are a few places on the reserves for bright young Indians to go into business for themselves. The Blood Band built a store on the reserve, then rented it to a non-Indian. "We couldn't agree who should run it so we rented it to a white man," one Blood told me.

There are opportunities for school bus operators, taxi drivers or store keepers. Roddy Vincent Tait of the Gitlakdamix Band in B.C., for example, has the postal carrier contract for his territory.

A staggering \$15,000 a month went into relief at Caradoc Agency near London, Ont., this past winter. Forty-five per cent of the families were on relief; others were drawing unememployment insurance. It is an agency plagued by employment problems. But there is one ray of hope; buses take thirty-five teen-agers in to London secondary schools. One, blond-haired Betty Jewel, told a television audience recently: "I want to go to teachers' college or nursing school. I want to help my own people." Another, Delbert Riley, said: "I'm aiming for university." He was disappointed because his last year's average mark was "only" 72 per cent.

Education For A Living

Carol R. Latham, a Delaware of the Six Nations, in a thesis study on the southern Ontario placement program shortly after its inception, found that of the eleven candidates interviewed, over half wanted more education or training. Some were quite ambitious. Latham himself says that "the tremendous program of education sponsored by the Indian Affairs Branch can become a travesty unless the Indian people have reason to believe that education enables them to earn a living and to live a fuller life."

Recently the former Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, J. W. Pickersgill, remarked that it is not just a question of schooling, but also of opportunity after school. "We should not just abandon them to go back to what all too often turns out to be a road to something rather close to delinquency." Referring to a visit he made to a residential school, Pickersgill told the House of Commons: "I was shocked . . . It never occurred to me before that when these children reached the school-leaving age they just went back to the reserve to which they belonged. . . . There was no sympathetic attempt to follow them up to see that they got into constructive lines of em-

ployment." The placement program is the first constructive attempt to solve this problem.

Unfortunately there are thousands of Indians on the reserves who have never made productive use of the education they have received. That is why the placement program must be a success. When it was started, the placement officers had to go to the Indian; now there is evidence that band councils and parents are approaching the government of their own volition, on behalf of their teen-agers. "We don't want relief; we want the opportunity to get jobs," Chief Alfred Cook of Manitoba's Bloodvein Band told an Indian-Metis Conference in Winnipeg this spring.

There will always be some jobs on most reserves which will provide an assured and adequate income. Most men of the small Dokis Band near North Bay, for example, are very successful operating their own commercial timber-cutting. Apart from wages, which have slashed relief, the band has been able to provide money for housing from timber dues. Fifty other northern Ontario bands cut timber commercially. But it is generally true that if he wants to get ahead, the young Indian must find his employment away from the reserve. This is the main reason why young people are entering the placement program, even though, after the first flush of city life has passed, most would prefer to live in smaller places, or find employment on a reserve.

The young people can move more easily into urban centres, but there are some older people who think this way too. Stanley and Dorothy Jean McKay of the Fisher River Reserve in Manitoba have five children. One daughter is married, two are teachers, and two in high school. After some long and thoughtful discussions they moved to Winnipeg, even though Stanley had a job in a local store. "There was very little the reserve had to offer," they say. Both have found satisfactory city jobs and a comfortable apartment.

In Many Walks Of Life

There are many more like the McKays — perhaps a great many more than Canadians think. People who proudly cite the achievements of Indians always point to the same well-known but tiny list of prominent men. They overlook, or do

not know, of the contribution of hundreds of other Indians who have so successfully blended into Canadian life that it comes as a shock to realize they come from a people some of whom are still hunting and trapping for a living. I can think of Basil Johnson, from Cape Croker Reserve near Owen Sound, Ont., now membership manager of Metro Toronto Board of Trade; Gloria Akiwenzie of the same band who is a nurse for the Ontario Society for Crippled Children in Central Ontario, with 700 youngsters under her care; of Marlene Brant, a Tyendinaga Mohawk who took her master's degree in social work last year and now works in a city for the Children's Aid Society; of Gloria Cranmer, counsellor with the John Howard Society in Vancouver, and now in Calgary; of Marie-Paule Gros Louis of Village des Hurons near Quebec City, who was elected by Bell Telephone's "hello-girls" to bargain for them; of Reg Kelly from the remote Queen Charlotte Islands in B.C., who has charge of the \$1,000,000 economic loan fund at Indian Affairs headquarters; of Harry Beauvais of Caughnawaga, senior executive of an automobile firm in Montreal; of Joe Hill, Six Nations supervising principal and head of the Elementary School Section of the Ontario Educational Association; of lawyers Norman Saylor of Montreal and William Wuttunee of Regina; of the 110 Indians employed as teachers by Indian Affairs Branch.

These people are working in fields never dreamed of by the Indian even a decade ago. Because of population pressures on the reserves — most of which are economically unproductive for more than a few — the Indian is being forced to take jobs "outside". The pull of the reserve will always be strong. It is an anchor, steadying the young people as they move into a larger Canadian society. It is "home." There is no reason why the Indian working in a city should not visit his "home" any more than any other rural white boy or girl who is drawn to the bright lights of the city but weekends in his home town.

Education for a Purpose — and not, as in the past just per se — backed by an intelligent placement program, are together giving the Indian the choice he never had before. It is like providing him with a pair of wings. If he does not wish to take off, he has the right not to venture. But if he does, at least, and at last, he will have the equipment.



