WELFARE OF CANADIAN INDIANS 1760-1946.

October 1946.

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Historical Background.

It is difficult to obtain accurate and concise data concerning the welfare status of the Indians in what is now the Dominion of Canada as of the time of Sir William Johnson (1755-1774). Accounts of Indian Conditions and standards of life by early European observers vary greatly with the personal experiences of the different narrators and also because of the marked differences in the various tribes and areas concerned.

In any economic survey of Canada, it is necessary to divide the country into its natural economic zones. These must be considered even more separate in aboriginal times because there was much less communication between them than in later periods. For purposes of early Indian population, the country may be divided into five different zones. These zones are:-

1. The Atlantic Seaboard or Maritimes;
2. The St. Lawrence Valley and Great Lakes (old Ontario and Quebec);
3. The Prairies;
4. The Pacific Slope;
5. The far north (including Ungava and James and Hudson Bay regions).

While these divisions will serve for general purposes, for any exacting study they must be further sub-divided.

The economic condition of the Indians in all these zones may be considered under the following headings:-

(a) Food

(b) Habitations

(c) Clothing

(d) Implements and utensils

(e) General conveniences.

Under the last heading, "General conveniences" it is proposed to include such things as transportation, communication,

sanitation, and cultural advantages. A brief summary under these headings by zones as of the time of Sir William Johnson (last half of the 18th century) at the time of Confederation and at present, 1946, follows.

ZONE 1

On the Atlantic Seaboard, the various tribes of Indians are of Algonkian stock.

(a) Food

Aboriginally they lived by hunting and fishing and had no agriculture. In the time of Sir William Johnson (1755-74), their food was still mainly wild game and fish, supplemented a little by potatoes, which they were beginning to grow and of course, wild fruits. Near the Coast, because of the constant supply of fish, their food situation was fairly stable from year to year, with some fluctuation due to natural periodic changes in the game supply, which naturally was felt more further inland, away from seafish.

By the time of Confederation, the Atlantic Coast Indians had changed over to the food and diet habits of the white population. The earliest reports we have from Indian Agents in the Maritime Provinces giving any idea of the economic condition of their Indians were during the first decade following Confederation. These show that the Indians at that time were poor, in many cases to the point of starvation. Towards the end of the 19th century, however, some improvement was indicated and apparently earned enough as woodsmen, farm labourers and from their handicrafts to meet their needs, as far as food was concerned; at least relatively little relief had to be supplied them by the Government. During the 20th century, on the other hand, their food standards declined as they were even more acutely affected than other sections of the community by periodic depression, and in some areas, particularly in New Brunswick, they have been reduced to a state of chronic undernourishment.

There is an improvement at present due to favourable employment conditions in the war years and there is some prospect

that, with Departmental assitance and direction, this improvement can be sustained.

On the whole the Maritime Indians during the present era, have not been as well nourished as they were in the time of Sir William Johnson or at Confederation.

(b) Habitations

Aboriginally and in Sir William Johnson's time, the Atlantic Indians lived in wigwams constructed of bark with the addition of skin coverings in some localities in winter. These wigwams were fairly hygenic as they were renewed or replaced quite frequently and dit not accumulate dirt and disease. One feature of them which was detrimental to health was the accumultation of smoke in them, which irritated the nose, eyes and throgt.

By Confederation, the Atlantic Coast Indians had become shack dwellers as they still are for the most part. The shacks in which they live are usually insanitary and badly ventilated; while they provide more protection from cold and afford a little more comfort, they are less healthy than the old wigwams. The housing conditions of the Maritime provinces have been improved considerably, however, in recent years by Departmental housing projects.

(c) Clothing

Aboriginally the Atlantic Coast Indians depended entirely on skins and furs for their clothing, but at the time of Sir William Johnson, their costume was modified to some extent by clothes obtained from Europeans and adaptations of European styles ruled.

Before Confederation they had completely discarded tive costume and had adopted ordinary clothing.

Except during brief periods of profitable employment, the Atlantic Coast Indians for the most part, are poorly and insufficiently clad and during the depression they were almost entirely dependent on relief supplies for clothing.

Indications are, that they had warmer clothes and were

better clad in the Confederation period than they are now. Their aboriginal skin and fur clothing, while primitive and rudely made, afforded some ventilation and was probably healthier than the infrequently washed or cleaned woollen and cotton clothing which they wear now.

(d) Implements and Utensils

Aboriginally the few implements possessed by the Atlantic Coast Indians were of stone and bone, as in the case of the other Indians in Canada.

By the time of Sir William Johnson (1755-74) they had been replaced in this area by metal implements obtained by barter from Europeans.

The primitive native fishing tackle made from nettles and animal gut had by Sir William Johnson's time been replaced on the Atlantic Coast by European string which was a great improvement.

By Sir William Johnson's time also, native pottery on the Atlantic Coast had been replaced by European metal and earthenware. There as elsewhere, wherever the Indians came into contact with whites the introduction of woollen blankets added to their comfort.

By Confederation, the Atlantic Coast Indians for the most part had acquired a considerable amount of household goods, tools, and implements and so forth, comparable to those possessed by the poorer classes of whites in the same area, and that is about their position today.

(e) Communication and Transportation

Aboriginally the transportation facilities of the Maritime Indians included the canoe, toboggan and snowshoes. These were efficient devices which made their movements convenient and fairly speedy, particularly as they had nothing in the way of bulky goods for transportation.

In the time of Sir William Johnson, they were still the only means of native travel.

By Confederation these native travel aids had been relegated mostly to sports purposes.

ONE 2. - St. Lawrence and Great Lakes

At the time of Sir William Johnson, the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes regions, that became Upper and Lower Canada, that is old Ontario and old Quebec, were inhabited as now by two main groups of Indians; Iroquois, including Hurons, and the Algonkians including Chippewas, Mississaguas and Abenakis.

The economy and culture of these two main groups differed widely and, therefore, they must be treated separately.

(a) Food

The Iroquois were agriculturists, being the only aboriginal race in Canada that had developed agriculture to any worthwhile extent before the coming of the white man. They cultivated maize, beans, squash and a great variety of other vegetables extensively. Some 70 per cent of their food was vegetable, the other 30 per cent being made up of meat and fish which was abundant. Because they used mainly cultivated vegetables, they did not experience alternate periods of plenty and privation, like those dependent entirely on game which fluctuated periodically. They had developed the culinary act to a high degree and had a variety of ways of preparing their food; "Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation" by F.W. Waugh, a publication of the Department of Mines contains scores of interesting aboriginal Iroquois recipes for all kinds of vegetables and meat dishes.

In Sir William Johnson's time they had already acquired innovations and food luxuries from the whites in addition to their own plentiful supply and variety. They were well fed people then on a regular and stable diet and it would be difficult to show that their nourishment had improved either at Confederation or since. The only thing noted against their early diet is that they had bad teeth, caries, being prevalent as shown by aboriginal skulls, which as in the case of modern civilization doubtless indicates some deficiency or error of diet. The northern Indians living mainly by

meat and fish in contract had excellent teeth.

The Algonkian diet was the reverse of the Iroquois being composed some 70 per cent of meat and fish and only 30 per cent vegetable matter. They had very little agriculture although by Sir William Johnson's time they had begun to cultivate maize to a certain extent as a result of the example of the Iroquois. They had less variety in their ways of preparing their food and their diet was much more limited and primitive. Unlike the Iroquois they suffered from irregularity in diet due to game fluctuations. Their food condition as at Confederation and since on the whole, shows improvement both in quantity in comparison to the time of Sir Wm. Johnson.

(b) Habitations

The Iroquois lived in large community houses, known as "long houses" constructed of a frame work of poles with bark between, a primitive counterpart of modern frame construction, as compared with the log cabin type of the early settlers. In the time of Sir William Johnson, the Iroquois were still living in these native houses.

By Confederation they had changed over to log, frame and in some cases brick and stone dwellings, more or less like those occupied by the whites in neighbouring rural communities.

Aboriginally the Iroquois had the best dwellings of any Indians in the eastern part of Canada and they still have. Indeed on some of their reserves they are fairly well housed in comparison even with white rural standards.

The Algonkian tribe in this zone like those in the Maritimes lived in wigwams consisting of a frame worm of poles covered with bark or skins. By Confederation they had become shack and cabin dwellers as they are still for the most part. A few of the Algonkian reserves in the more settled parts of Ontario and Quebec have good modern houses that compare favourably with those in the surrounding area. Most of them however, are badly housed and while their present dwellings offer more protection against the elements they are less hygienic than the aboriginal wigwams.

(c) Clothing

Even by the time of Sir William Johnson, the native skin and fur costume of the Indians in the St. Lawrence Valley and Great Lake regions had been considerably influenced by European materials and designs, producing picturesque and even startling combinations. For example the familiar fringes on Indian buckskin clothes are attributable to imitations of lace ruffles of the French military officers, and officials.

By Confederation aboriginal native clothing had disappeared in this area except for ceremonial occasions and the Indians dressed like other people with varying degrees of quality and comfort, the Iroquois being much better off in clothing, as in other things, than the Algonkians. One European adaptation that became popular with Indian women is the shawl which is still largely used as a general purpose utility garment on any of the reserves. Similar use, of course, is found among women in Ireland and Scotland and a number of continental European countries, but in Canada it has become distinctively Indian.

The Indians in this zone are a good deal better dressed than in the Maritimes, but their clothing on the reserves leaves much to be desired, particularly from the standpoint of cleanliness.

(d) Implements and Utensils

By the time of Sir William Johnson aboriginal bone, wooden and stone tools in the settled parts of Ontario and Quebec had been replaced by more efficient metal European products. Native pottery also disappeared being replaced by European metal and earthenware. Incidentally the Iroquois, unlike other Indian tribes, had a considerable variety of agricultural implements aboriginally comprising wooden shovels, pick axes and bone or stone hoes and spades. While they were ahead of their fellow Indians, even the best of their native implements were crude and awkward in comparison even with the simplest European articles.

(e) General conveniences

For Transportation, the Indians of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes regions used canoes in summer and toboggans and

snowshoes in winter, and there was no change in this in the time of Sir William Johnson. The Algonkians used bark covered canoes which were convenient and efficient; the Iroquois used crudely made canoes dug out from pine logs which were cumbersome and awkward and a very poor means of transportation.

ZONE 3 - The Prairies

Most of the Prairie Indians are Algonkians, the two principle Algonkian tribes being the Crees and in Southern Alberta the Blackfoot including Bloods and Peigans; there are also a number of Sioux groups which include Stonies and Assiniboines.

(a) Food

In Sir William Johnson's time the main food of the Prairie Indians was buffalo meat and this was still so at the time of Confederation. They had no agriculture. In 1879 the buffalo failed and the Indians were left destitute and had to be rationed. Today as a result of Departmental supervision and instruction, they are successful grain growers and stock raisers and for the most part they are well nourished. It is interesting to note that they are disinclined to eat buffalo meat even when it is available and prefer beef.

(b) Habitations

In Sir William Johnson's time the Prairie Indians lived in teepees made of buffalo or other skins and this was still so by Confederation, except that by that time cloth was being substituted to a considerable extent for the skin coverings. In the winter time, some of the tribes in the more wooded and mountainous areas used primitive houses made with poles and bark.

Today log cabins mostly replace the teepees, although on some of the reserves more modern houses of frame construction are found.

On the whole housing conditions among the Prairie Indians are backward and leave much to be desired with respect to hygiene and sanitation.

The decline in population among the Prairie Indians

due to disease indicates that their primitive habitations were healthier than those they now occupy.

(c) Clothing

In Sir William Johnson's time the native clothing of skins on the Prairies was little affected by contact with Europeans. By Confederation while the native costume still prevailed, European adaptations had been introduced as in the case of the Eastern indians about a century earlier. Today the native costume has disappeared except for ceremonial purposes and the Indians have adopted the ordinary clothing of their white neighbours. Aboriginally the Prairie Indians took considerable pride in their appearance and their costumes were colourful and attractively made with skins embroidered first with porcupine quills and after trading began with whites with beads. With the adaptation of European clothes they seemed to lose their interest in their attire and their appearance today is shabby and untidy in comparison with other groups of the population.

(d) Implements and Utensils

In Sir William Johnson's time the implements and utensils of the Prairie Indians were stone and bone and unlike the Eastern Indians, they did not obtain metal implements by trade with Europeans to any extent. Domestic utensils among the Prairie Indians in aboriginal times including Sir William Johnson's period, were very primitive and were made mostly of hide, although a little native pottery was used.

By Confederation while native utensils were still used, the Indians were beginning to adopt European metal and earthenware articles obtained by barter or as gifts. Today the use of native implements and utensils has practically disappeared. The farming and stockrasing Indians of the Prairie Provinces are quite well equipped with modern implements and farm machinery.

(e) General Conveniences

In the 18th century, by Sir William Johnson's time, the horse was in general use for hunting and transportation by the

Prairie Indians. In fact it was the introduction of the horse which led many groups of Indians from the wooded countries to take to the Prairies where, with the horse, they could hunt the buffalo with facility. The Prairie Indians unlike those in other parts of Canada had no canoes but, where they had to have boats to get across rivers, they constructed crude tub-like vessels with buffalo hide called bull-boats. Unlike the Eastern Indians they had no toboggans for winter travel, but they had snowshoes.

Today many of the Prairie Indians own motor cars and special rates for Indians making it easy for them to travel by train.

ZONE 4 - Pacific Slope

The Indians of the Pacific Coast represent a greater variety of tribes and languages than those in any other part of Canada and taken as a whole they differ essentially from the rest of the Indians. Aboriginally they were much more advanced in their arts and crafts, social and cultural advancement and living and economic conditions generally. They were in fact semi-civilized, having well organized and populous villages established on a permanent basis. This represented a degree of community organization not found elsewhere except, and to a much more limited extent, among the Iroquois.

(a) Food

The main food of the Pacific Coast Indians aboriginally in the time of Sir William Johnson, at Confederation and to this day is fish, particularly salmon. They are not agriculturists. Aboriginally they grew nothing, although they had a plentiful and varied supply of wild fruits and berries which they gathered, dried and prepared in various ways. Their diet except for the growing of a few potatoes and the advantage of some luxuries from the trading post, had changed little even by Confederation and to this day it is changed less through contact with European civilization than that if Indians in any other part of the Dominion. They do not care much for milk and dairy products and prefer fish oils to butter.

Nature supplies food readily and abundantly in this area and the natives have always had an ample supply on a stable basis, as the fish and wild fruits were always available and they did not suffer from periodic scarcity like those of the North and interior, who depended upon game which is subject to fluctuation. In early times, however, the Indians were able to supplement their fish food which was their stable diet, by wild game which was abundant, but there is little of this left except in the more isolated parts.

(b) Habitations

Aboriginally, in the time of Sir William Johnson and until after Confederation, the Pacific Coast Indians lived in large community houses well constructed with posts and boards. These dwellings were much superior to those of any other Indians in Canada, and North America for that matter. Today only one or two of these community houses still stand and none are used any more as dwellings. Their present housing situation varies in different localities. In the Southwestern part of the Province in the vicinity of city sites of Vancouver, Victoria and Nanimo most of the Indians live in small houses which are little better than shacks which and are an eye-sore and a discredit to them and the community. On the Northwest Coast however, including the outside of Vancouver Island, Prince Rupert area, Massett and Queen Charlotte Islands and villages such as Bella Bella and Bella Coola on the inner Coast, the Indians have shown great skill as carpenters and have modern houses, often the bungalow type, which they have constructed themselves and which are a great credit to them. Some of their villages are so well built as to make them almost model villages to be shown to visitors with pride. The Indian women of these Northwestern villages are good housekeepers and their dwellings are cleanly and well kept. In the Southwest in the more populated areas, the contrary is the case.

According to a description given by the Reverend Peter Kelly, himself a Haida Indian, born in one of the old community houses, each house was about 50 feet square, with side walls

14 feet high and a gabled roof 20 feet. The frame and ridge pole were logs 3 feet in diameter, and the walls were planks 4 feet wide and 4 inches thick. Usually a totem pole 50 feet high stood in front of the house. He says "the sudden change from the large, well-ventilated community house to the air-tight modern house has been, in my opinion, injurious to the health of my people." It is true that during his lifetime the Indian population on the Coast has declined greatly due mainly to sickness and this may be attributable in a considerable measure to less healthy housing conditions.

(c) Clothing

Among the aboriginees of what is now Canada, the Indians of the Pacific Coast alone were not restricted to skins for dress, but used cloth which they wove from the inner bark of the cedar and from the hair of dogs and of mountain goats. They made very fine textiles, beautifully coloured with native dyes which cannot be reproduced today. In the time of Sir William Johnson (1755) their native dress was totally unaffected by contact with whites, but by Confederation they had changed over to European clothing obtained from the traders and today genuine examples of old aboriginal Pacific Coast Indian clothing are very rare indeed. There is much, however, to support the view that the Indians of the Pacific Coast were better clad in Sir William Johnson's time than they are now.

(d) Implements and Utensils

In Sir William Johnson's time, the Indians of the Pacific Coast had only their aborignal implements of stone and bone. They had developed these to quite a high degree of efficiency, as shown by their carpentry and carving. In Sir William Jonhson's time also, their fishing lines were made of roots and while they used these skillfully, it was a great boon to them when they were replaced by European twine, nets and lines, which only came into general use among them in the last half of the 19th century. The aboriginal native fishing weirs and traps in use until the beginning of the present century were very efficient,

so much so that they have now been prohibited in the interests of convervation.

Their household vessels were mostly of wood, bark and roots rather than pottery and in Sir William Johnson's time they did not appear to have acquired any European metal or earthenware.

By Confederation, however, European utensils had come into general use and represented a great practical improvement in housekeeping.

(e) General Conveniences

On the Pacific Coast, nearly all travel was done in canoes aboriginally. The British Columbian undergrowth was almost impassible, so they did little walking; the result was that with being so much in boats, the men's legs tended to become short and bowed and their arms abnormally long from so much paddling.

The Pacific Coast Indian searaft was much larger and more sea worthy than any other boats used by the natives of America, North or South. The Great Haida dugout war canoes were suited for long voyages and were comparable to the Viking galleys. Many of them were as much as 70 feet long and a 7 or 8 foot beam carrying a complement of 50 men. Canoes remained the general means of transportation until the beginning of the 20th century. Today the Pacific Coast Indians are well supplied with modern motor and sailing craft for their fishing industry, in which they are prosperous on a commercial basis in competition with all comers. The spick and span, ship shape, well painted, copper bottomed fishing fleet of the Haidas to be seen at Massett in the Queen Charlottes is a credit to any fishing community and other fine Indian fishing fleets are to be found on the West Coast.

Pacific Coast Indians made fine blankets aboriginally from the inner cedar bark, and animal hair textiles, which added to the comfort of their homes. The Pacific Coast Indians were the only ones in North America who had a regularly established complex debt and credit system. This was known as the potlach and involved the giving away of large quantities of goods and materials at

fixed ceremonies, such gifts creating a debt to be paid back later by the debtors at future ceremonies or potlaches in the form of equivalent goods representing principal and additional goods representing interest. This system doubtless worked quite well for the promotion of native trade and commerce before contact and traffic with Europeans became general. It could not however, be fitted into modern Canadian business conditions and attempts by the Indians to adapt it to modern life only resulted in waste and exploitation. This led to the supression of the system by law, largely at the instance of progressive Indians themselves although this question has been and still is the subject of controversy and divided opinion. Certainly the transition from the old potlach system to modern economy was extr e mely disterbing to native life. However, the adjustment has now been made and the potlach only survives in a few limited areas.

The fishing Indians of the Pacific Coast are the most prosperous in Canada and their economic position is good, as shown by the fact that a large percentage of them are in the Income Tax brackets by reason of the amount of their earnings. Thus they have prospered and benefited by modern commerce. On the other hand they always lived well and it is difficult to say whether they are better off now than in the time of Sir William Johnson.

ZONE 5 - The Far North (including Ungava and James and Hudson Bay Regions.)

The Northern Indians have always had a hard life. They belong to various tribes, those in the Arctic and Northeest being of the Athapaskan race and those in the North, Central and Northeastern areas being Algonkian.

(a) Food

Aboriginally, in Sir William Johnson's time and at Cnnfederation they were entirely dependent upon hunting and fishing for their food and they alternated between periods of plenty and good game years and periods of privation and starvation when game was scarce. Their food situation on the whole is better now than

it was aboriginally, because they now receive relief from the Government and other sources when game is scarce, whereas in their original state they had none. At the present time due to employment and high wages in some parts and also with present time high prices for furs they are far better off than any previous time in their history and are living in what is to them a degree of affluence hitherto heard of.

(b) Habitations

The Northern Indians are the only ones who still live in teepees, wigwams and tents. This of course is only in some areas and even in the North today more Indians live in log cabins than in tents. Some live in tents in summer and cabins in winter. On the whole they are better housed today and are better protected from the elements than they had been in previous times.

(c) Clothing

In Sir William Johnson's time the aboriginal skin and fur clothing of the Northern Indians was unaffected to any extent by European adaptations. By Confederation those in the Northeast had adapted European dress, but in the Arctic and Northwest regions the native costume was little changed. Today the Northern Indians are all dressed in European clothing, which are not as healthy or suited to the climate in which they live as their original costume.

(d) Implements and Utensils

In Sir William Johnson's time the Northern Indians had not secured very much in the way of European implements or utensils and were still using native bone and stone articles.

By Confederation, European metal tools and implements had been acquired by most of the Northern Indians except those in the far west and Arctic regions. Today the use of native implements has practically disappeared among them. The acquisition of European twine for nets was of great help to these people as also has been the steel traps which were introduced about the middle of the 19th century.

(e) General Conveniences

The northern Indians had fairly good transportation, canoes in summer and snowshoes and toboggans in winter. The introduction of dog-sled trains which followed the opening up of the country by the trading companies was a great improvement in winter travel. Today in the North the Indians share to a considerable extent in the rapid travel afforded by the airplane which covers in a few hours, distance that took weeks and months by canoe, snowshoes or even dog teams.

GENERAL

As previously indicated, it is not possible to give complete detail or any statistical information on welfare status of Indians at the advent of the white man or at the time of Sir William Johnson.

If wealth is considered in a conventional economic sense as that which has power in exchange then certainly the Indians are much wealthier today than they were in their aboriginal state or at the time of Confederation or aboriginally. Their aboriginal goods and belongings were few, although they had some things which were remarkably efficient and well adapted to their needs; some of the best known examples being the canoe, the toboggan, the moccasin and the snowshoe, all of which in varying degrees civilization has borrowed from them; with the exception of the Iroquois, they had no agriculture. In the present era they harvest about a half million bushels of wheat and a million bushels of oats annually and own about 185,000 acres of cultivated land. Most of them lived in wigwams or teepees; today with a few exceptions in the far North they are housed in four walls. They had practically no luxuries as the term is now understood. Today many of them own motor cars, radios, and all manner of other articles associated with what are considered good standards of living. They have community funds administered to their benefit amounting to some $17,000,000.00 a very considerable sum for 125,000 people. All this according to generally accepted ideas, represents progress.

in welfare status.

There is however, another and less optimistic side of the picture. Regarding welfare status from the viewpoint of the conditions of like which promote health and freedom from care it is not easy to show that the Indians have progressed. Their number is little more than half of what it was in the time of Sir William Johnson, about 125,000 now as compared with some 220,000 then.

At Confederation while accurate census figures are not available, it was considerably below 100,000. The decline in the Indian population from its aboriginal level is almost entirely due to disease. In early periods after the whites came, large percentages of Indians in certain areas were wiped out by small pox and other diseases hitherto unknown to them. After these first acute epidemic shocks they developed a continuing tendency to tuberculosis which they did not have aboriginally but from which now their death rate is ten times as high as that of whites. It is true that during the present century there has been an upswing in Indian population which has been fairly steady and is continuing and this indicates improvement in welfare status, much of which is due to Governmental supervision and assistance.

Effect of Provincial Game Laws on the Welfare of Indians as a Reputed Cause of Starvation and Destitutuon.

In general terms the answer is no. If it had not been for the Provincial Game Laws there would be practically no fur for sale and no game for food left and the half of the Indian population about 60,000, living in the North Central parts of the Dominion would have been the sufferers. From about the beginning of the 19th century, the game rapidly decreased because of the introduction of firearms and the spread of colonization. White trappers and hunters invaded the territories formerly used by Indians and upset the aboriginal Indian system of family trapping grounds and fur conservation. This resulted in virtual fur mining and competition to the point of extermination in which

Indians and whites joined alike. At the beginning of the 20th century fur stocks were at a low level. It was this situation which made it necessary to have Provincial Game Laws with constantly increasing vigilance and more closed seasons and more rigorous enforcement.

Statistics of the number of pelts taken in the Dominion are only available in complete and accurate form from 1920. The total number of pelts taken in 1920 was 3,900,000. The yearly returns since then subject to fluctuation due to natural causes show a general upward trend. The number taken in 1943 was approximately 7½ million. It is true that a percentage of this increase is represented by the pelts from fur farms, but even after allowing for this the number trapped wild shows a very great increase. On the basis of statements supplied by Indian Agents, it is estimated that the Indians earned $3,164,759 during the past fiscal year, but this probably is very much an understatement as it is impossible to check all the earnings. This substantial income would certainly not have been available to the Indians had it not been for Provincial Game Laws. It is true that in some respects the Provincial Game Laws have proven irksome and unfair to the Indians, but on the whole they have been much for their benefit. There are cases reported from time to time in which individual Indians have been treated very harshly by Provincial authorities for having exercised their natural right of taking game, though out of season, for their own food. These cases are the exception and usually are due to over-zealousness or ill-nature on the part of individual game wardens. In the Prairie Provinces Indians have the right to take game and fish for food on unoccupied Crown lands or lands to which they have right of access regardless of seasons by virtue of clauses in the Natural Resources agreements between the Provinces and the Dominion. Considerable difficulty was experienced in British Columbia and Saskatchewan when these Provinces some years ago introduced the trap line system. The system itself was a good thing, but in both Provinces at its

inception trapline areas were granted to whites on an extensive scale on territories that had been the traditional hunting grounds for the Indians. This situation, however, has been largely corrected by negotiation between the Dominion and the Provinces involving in some cases the repurchase of trap lines by the Dominion for the Indians. Indian treaty rights have given rise to clashes and conflict between Indian rights and Provincial law. There is considerable variation in the attitude in the Provinces in their game administration toward Indians, some being more considerate and sympathetic than others. While however, the application of the game laws to Indians gives rise and doubtless will continue to give rise to awkward problems, the basic consideration is that not only are the Provincial Game Laws beneficial to the hunting Indians, but are essential to their continuation as such.

Exploitation

There is one outstanding way in which Canadian Indians have been exploited in the past. This is in the fur trade, where in as is well known, in early times the Indians received much less than the proper value of their furs and were debauched with liquor by unscrupulous traders. There still are instances of this exploitation, but speaking generally, the Indian trappers are fairly well able to look after themselves now after long experience in the trade and this is evidenced by the fact that the Department now receives relatively few complaints on the subject. In some sases the Indians have been exploited in connection with their lands, which they had been induced to sell below their value, involving the corruption of officials. These instances, however, are rare and there has been no general exploitation of Indians in connection with their reserve lands such as it is alledged to have occurred in the United States. Nowhere in Canada were the Indians compelled to leave their lands and go elsewhere as occurred in the push westward of United States colonization.

Indian Trust Funds.

At the time of Sir William Johnson (1755-74) there

were no trust funds in the present sense of the word. The Indians, however, received presents from two sources, the British Government and the Colonial Government, (New York). Other payments were made at the time of treaties primarily to extinguish the Indian claim on lands desired by white settlers.

The French did not follow the same method of treaties and payments perhaps due to their "trading post" policy rather than the long term British policy of colonization by settling.

From the time of the first British settlement in New England the title of the Indians to lands occupied by them was conceded and compensation was made to them for the surrender of their hunting grounds. The Crown has always reserved to itself the exclusive right to treat with the Indians for the surrender of their lands, and this policy, which was confirmed by Royal Proclamation on Oct. 7, 1763, is still adhered to.

Payments were, in the main, made in goods such as clothing, provisions, powder, et cetra,. From time to time there was controversy as to whether or not payments should be made in cash. The Indian Chiefs themselves were opposed to cash payments due to the introduction of spirits and its effect upon the Indian population. As it was no small proportion of the goods were traded back for "fire-water".

Efforts were made, however, to give the Indians a larger variety of supplies in way of payments and to introduce where possible the rudimentary tools required for gardening. This became increasingly necessary as white settlers drove game farther afield and in turn the Indians tended to be attracted to centres of white population. The efforts of the authorities to have the Indians maintain themselves to a degree by agriculture rather than by hunting alone do not appear to have borne much fruit at this stage.

It will be readily appreciated that if this situation has been permitted to continue the Indians would have dissipated

the whole of their natural resources within one or two generations.

In 1829, the establishment of the Indian Trust Funds was authorized, an act far reaching in its effect upon the life and welfare of future generations of Canadian Indians.

Sir John Colborne, being siezed with the importance of checking the evils of cash payments and to promote the settlement and civilization of the Indians, obtained authority from the Secretary of State to apply the annuities towards building houses and purchasing agricultural implements for members of several tribes and from that time forward the issue of goods in payment of annuities ceased. Needless to say the change was not popular with a large section of Indians of that day. Within three years Indian settlements were established at Coldwater, the Narrows, St. Clair and Munceytown. Later other settlements were formed or enlarged from the Trust funds.

In consequence of this change it became necessary to credit each band, yearly, with the amount of its annuity and to direct the expenditure of the money for its benefit. This led to the admission of the Indians to a voice in the disbursement of their Funds. The Government has not abandoned control but still exercises a restraint on improvident or improper expenditure and directs undertakings for their advantage, but the general practice is for the Indians to determine among themselves how the money is to be spent, sending a resolution of their Council to the Department covering each item.

There have been many surrenders of land for the purpose of sale or lease, the proceeds of which are placed to the credit of the Indians, and there have been others for railway purposes, roads, churches, schools, etc., but the principal surrenders were made under Treaty.

At Confederation, the Trust Fund amounted to $2,469,945.69. This was made up of capitalized annuity and of sums received on account of land sales. The administration of Trust Funds at that time, so far as can be learned from the records,

was on the basis that so far as the Bands' having a Fund of their own was concerned, these Funds were to be used to promote the general welfare of the Bands and expenditures were made on account of rations, teachers salaries, travelling of Indian Chiefs on the business of the Bands, the purchase of medical supplies and the purchase of agricultural implements and seed. Where the Funds were inadequate, the Superintendent General could requisition for additional monies to assist those Bands whose Funds were insufficient to meet the needs of the Band for the above purposes.

With one notable exception there appears to have been no questioning by the Indians as to the uses made of the Funds by the Government Officials charged with that responsibility. The exception was the unfortunate investment by Sir John Colborne of Six Nations Band Funds in stock of the Grand River Navigation project.

Trust Funds grew at a fairly uniform rate until the 1914-18 war, when its rate of increase was accelerated by the boom conditions obtaining in the early twenties for western land. As at 1921 the Fund amounted to $11,458,660.99, an increase of $4,500,000.00 in the period 1917-21. This increase was due to the increase in prices and the demand for Indian timber and lands occurring at that time.

By March 31st, 1946, the Fund had increased to $17,096,489.68. Once again, war conditions had resulted in increased prices for land and timber. This enabled these assets to be sold in large quantities and at very high prices. The crop share system of leasing land also increased income from that source and arrears of land payments were collected because of greater production.

The examination of the records since Confederation shows a remarkable uniformity in the type and increasing extent of assistance realized by Indians from their Trust Funds. There has been some criticism of the policy of building up the Trust Fund, particularly during periods of economic depression when destitution

among Indians, as in the case of whites, is increased. There are two principal reasons why this policy was followed and itwas certainly not because the officers of the Department withheld financial assistance from Band Funds when such aid would promote the lasting welfare of the Indians concerned. It is to be remembered that generally both under the Indian Act and in accordance with the surrenders which in many cases ante date the Act, 50% of the proceeds of the sale of Capital assets must remain in the Trust Fund where it draws interest at 5% and can only be withdrawn for well defined purposes by authority of Order in Council. In one instance, that of the Bersimis timber surrenders, 90% of the proceeds of the sale of that timber must remain in Capital Account and may not be distributed in cash. The second reason is that, as trustees of the Fund, care must be taken to see that it is only expended to the lasting benefit of the respective Bands and the members thereof. Under these limitations it is difficult to prevent the balance from growing.

The Indian Act and the surrenders by the above mentioned means wisely prevented the depletion of the Trust Funds for the benefit of one generation of Indians because the resources of the various Reserves were intended to maintain successive generations of Indians for as long as they continued to be wards of the Crown.

To what extent and with what conformity the Trust Funds have contributed to the welfare of Indians can be gleaned from the following tables which show relative expenditures under some items for 1932-34 and for the same items in the 1942-44 period.

| | April 1st/32 to March 31st/34 | April 1st/42 to March 31st/44. |
|---|---|---|
| Building material and repairs | $ 156,582.10 | $ 105,650.10 |
| Enfranchisements and Commutations | 46,416.96 | 37,465.13 |
| Farming operations | 185,673.67 | 154,318.31 |
| Prevention of liquor traffic including Constables' salaries | 23,958,51 | 18,042.94 |
| Relief supplies | 248,506.54 | 388,696.89 |
| Repairs to roads, bridges and docks | 92,346.56 | 65,175.23 |
| Timber protection | 9,022.48 | 14,045.89 |
| Purchase of land for Bands | 6,640.48 | 5,082.19 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash distributions to Indians | $ 930,850.19 | $ 938,691.00 |
| Withdrawl by Indians from Savings | 65,518.60 | 114,754.97 |
| TOTALS | 1765,516.09 | 1841,922.65 |

This early establishment of a Trust fund, and its careful administration down through the years, has played an important part in the well being of Canadian Indians and at the same time ensures self-confidence.

DIRECT RELIEF

Previous to the negotiation of treaties in 1871-1877 with the Indians of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, and Keewatin, the question of direct relief does not appear to have been considered a problem. The Indians had unlimited hunting grounds; game and fish were theirs for the taking, so destitution as we know it today did not exist apparently.

When treaties were being negotiated there were signs of the Indians having to change their mode of life. Settlers were coming in and the buffalo were becoming so scarce that, according to a statement made by - "Sya-Sway-Kus", Chief of the Crees, "I am getting alarmed when I look at the buffalo - it appears to me as if there was ohly one". The Chiefs were greatly worried about the future food supply of their people, fearing that if they were not assisted they would die from sickness and starvation. They endeavoured to have the Commissioners include in their treaty a guarantee that Indians would be supplied with food and clothing.

One of the Commissioners and late Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories and Keewatin, Alexander Morris, in his book 'The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and Keewatin', gives a verbatim report of the conversations between the Commissioners and the Indians, copied by the Secretary to the Treaty Commissioners, with the note that "this will be of great value to those who will be called on to administer the treaty, showing as it does what was said by the negotiators and by the Indians and preventing misrepresentations in the future" (pages 195-196. In this connection the following statement from the Governor as to the policy of the

Canadian Government in supplying direct relief is noted on pages 227-228:

"I will speak to you in regard to food as I have spoken to the other Indians; we cannot support or feed the Indians every day, further than to help them to find the means of doing it for themselves by cultivating the soil. If you were to be regularly fed some of you would do nothing at all for your own support; in this matter we will do as we have agreed with the other Indians, and no more. You will get your share of the one thousand dollars' worth of provisions when you commence to work on your reserves. In a national famine or general sickness, not what happens in every day life, but if a great blow comes on the Indians, they would not be allowed to die like dogs. What occurred in Red River last year from the destruction of crops by the grasshoppers, affected our whole people, and without being bound to do anything, the charity and humanity of the Government sent means to help them."

In connection with the limited number of cattle supplied to any band the Commissioner - Governor Morris - defends their action in the following words:

"It is true that the number assigned to each band is comparatively limited, and the Government are not bound to extend the number. This was done advisedly, by the successive Government of Canada, and the Commissioners, acting under their instructions; for it was felt, that it was an experiment to entrust them with cattle, owing to their inexperience with regard to housing them and providing fodder for them in winter, and owing, moreover, to the danger of their using them for food, if short of buffalo meat or game. Besides, it was felt, that as the Indian is, and naturally so, always asking, it was better, that if the Government saw their way safely to increase the number of cattle given to any band, it should be, not as a matter of

right, but of grace and favor, and as a reward for exertion in the care of them, and as an incentive to industry".

After the lapse of nearly three-quarters of a century the same general policy of administering the welfare of Indians is followed.

Early in the Twenties a lump sum of money was authorized monthly to purchase staple groceries, and only flour, lard, bacon, beans, rolled oats and salt were allowed. In 1941 this policy was changed and instead of a lump sum the purchase of a set quantity of groceries, regardless of cost, was authorized, in accordance with the following scale.

Scale of Monthly Rations for Indians on Relief.

| RATION | 1 Adult | 2 Adults | 3 Adults | 4 Adults | 5 Adults | 6 Ad. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lbs. | Lbs. | Lbs. | Lbs. | Lbs. | Lbs. |
| Flour (2nd grade) | 24 | 36 | 49 | 61 | 80 | 98 |
| Rolled Oats | 6 | 9 | 12 | 15 | 18 | 18 |
| Baking Powder | 1 | 1¾ | 1¾ | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Tea | 1 | 1½ | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Sugar | 2 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Lard | 3 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 13 |
| Beans | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| Rice | 2 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| Cheese | 1 | 1½ | 1½ | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Meat or Fish | $1.00 | $1.50 | $1.75 | $2.00 | $2.00 | $2.25 |
| Salt | 10¢ or 15¢ per month per family. | | | | | |
| Matches | 10¢ to 20¢ per month per family. | | | | | |

NOTE: Indians under the age of 12 years shall be considered children, and over that age as adults.
Issues of rations for each child, of flour, rolled oats, sugar, lard, beans, rice, cheese and meat or fish, shall be one half the quantities specified for one adult.

Departmental approval is secured for special rations recommended by the Medical Health Officer in cases of sickness, and milk that may be necessary in the case of infants.

It is the general policy of the Department to use welfare funds, in so far as is possible, to assist Indians to be self-supporting rather than giving something for nothing. We purchase machinery - seed; assist with fencing, starting industries; encourage homemakers' clubs - furnish chickens, fruit trees; provide assistance to repair old homes and build new ones where required.

It is felt that aged Indians, who are destitute, should receive more generous treatment than the young and able-bodied. Years ago this care was paid for by granting a food allowance. Nowadays the Indians are old-age pension conscious and demand that they be paid in cash instead of in supplies. The rate of pay in some instances is as high as $40.00, but usually is either $10.00 or $15.00 depending on the locality and the physical condition of the pensioner. The welfare vote of 1939-40 shows expenditure from Allotment 11 (Allotment from which this service is paid) as $46,502.67. In 1945-46 it had increased to $53,305.62.

There can be little doubt that the physical well being of the indigent Indian has improved in recent years as a result of a balanced relief diet. This is born out by Statistics available on the Trout Lake Band, Sioux lookout Agency.

One of the Commissioners negotiating a Treaty with this Band in 1929 reported that there were few, or no, Indians over the age of fifty years. Agent Swartman reporting on this same band in 1944 indicated that the Band had increased from 638 in 1930 to 915 in 1944 and that there were sixteen members of the Band of 65 years of age or over.

Education

Before the arrival of the white man the Indians, especially such advanced tribes as the Iroquois, trained their children in hunting, fishing and handicraft. The advent of the white, and of Christianity, brought with it different requirements in education and secular interests also.

These early endeavours are best summarized in a statement of policy laid down in the Charter for the colonization of Virginia, 1606, where the objective " to bring the savages to human civility" is given.

In New York, and in other colonies, sums were appropriated for the instruction of selected Indian children at the William and Mary College, Moors Charity School, where Joseph

Brant received his early education, Dartmout College and at Princeton. During this period a few Indian children were taken into private families and others sent to England for education.

In New France the Church was responsible for early efforts in educating the Indian. Bishop Laval founded a school for Indians and whites at Quebec. In 1684 the King of France gave 500 livres and sent three women to teach Indian women to knit and spin and in 1685 four young women were sent from France to instruct French and Indian children.

With few exceptions the education of the Indian for the next century was a responsibility assumed by the missionaries.

The Sulpicians were established in 1576 on the Island of Montreal where they had an industrial school for the Indians. In 1720 they moved to the Lake of Two Mountains. They also worked among the Iroquois at St. Regis and at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg N.Y.) which last mission was closed in 1807.

The French missionaries also worked among the Indians of Acadia (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) in the 17th century and until they were expelled by the British in 1745.

In Nova Scotia, during the last century, the Rev. S.T. Rand - educated in a Baptist seminary - commenced his work among the Micmacs in 1849 and continued until his death in 1889.

The Recollets began their work among the Montagnais and Algonquins of the Saguenay, the Lower St. Lawrence and the Ottawa in 1615. They had missions also among the Indians of Gaspe and Three Rivers.

After the war of Independence the Iroquois from the old Province of New York settled on the Bay of Quinte and on the Grand River in 1784 and were provided by the Government with a school at each of these places.

The New England Company commenced their missionary and educational work among the Iroquois on the Grand River in 1827. They also worked among the Mississaquas of Mud Lake and

later in British Columbia.

In 1793 the Moravian Missionaries, with 300 Delaware Indians from Ohio, came to Canada and settledon the Thames where they were given lands. They taught the Indians there until 1902 when they assigned their charge to the Methodist Church.

The Rev. Mr. McMurray (Anglican) commenced his mission work among the Indians of Garden River and Manitoulin Island in 1835. He was succeeded by the Rev. F.A. O'Meara and later in 1868 by the Rev. E.F. Wilson who built the Shingwauk and the Wawanosh Homes.

In the West we find Father Lacombe among the Crees (1845-1890) and Bishop Legal (1881-1890) among the Blackfeet. There were numerous other missionaries of various denominations among the Indians of Canada but for the most part their educational activities were of a religious rather than of a secular or industrial character and they got little, if any, financial support from the Government.

The following is a statement of the Indian schools in operation in Lower and Upper Canada in the year 1829 and their source of support:-

Government- (aid in sterling)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lorette (R.C.) | Boys | 16 | Girls | 14 | £18-11-5 |
| St. Francis (Prot.) | " | 26 | " | 17 | £18-11-5 |
| Tuscarora, (Grand Riv) | | | | | £18-11-5 |

New England Co'y. - (aid in currency)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bay of Quinte (Mohawk) | Boys | 27 | Girls | 15 | £50 |
| Scugog | " | 28 | " | 29 | £40 |

2 schools on Grand River

Methodist Missionary Society

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| River Credit | Boys | 30 | Girls | 23 | £75 |
| Yellow Head Is. Lk. Simcoe | " | 26 | " | 27 | £28 |
| Grape Is. Bay of Quinte | " | 38 | " | 24 | £42 |
| Muncey Village | " | 18 | " | 11 | £50 |

And 3 schools on the Grand River.

United Brethren of Pennsylvania

Moravian Village Boys 20 Girls 19

In the schools on the Grand River there were 86 boys and 65 girls making a total for these 15 schools of 559 students.

In 1829 some boys from Caughnawaga were admitted to a school at Chateauguay as boarders and received instruction in farming as well as in class work. A similar experiment was made at a school at Chesterville near St. Johns. These two schools, received a small government grant and continued for some years.

By an Act of 1851, the old Province of Canada made an annual grant of £1000 to aid the Indians of Lower Canada and a portion of this grant was yearly expended on education. The "Lower Canada Grant" was capitalized in 1870 and in 1876 the amount annually borne by this fund for educational and missionary grants had reached the sum of $2904.28.

At the time of Confederation the Government assumed but little of the cost of Indian education as revealed from the statement for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868.

| | |
|---|---|
| Schools paid for from Church Funds..... | 21 |
| Schools paid for from Band Funds..... | 18 |
| Schools paid for from Band Funds and Church Funds..... | 7 |
| Schools paid for by Quebec Provincial Government..... | 2 |
| | 48 |

Number of students enroled..... 1,716.

It gradually became apparent to those in authority that the Indian problem from a viewpoint of welfare and economics was primarily one of education in that the Indian had to be trained to earn a living on standards dictated by his white brothers.

Accordingly from Confederation onwards the state has gradually assumed greater responsibility in Indian education although the Churches continued to play an important part through missionary schools.

By 1921 we find a total of 253 schools (day and residential) being paid for out of Parliamentary appropriations.

The enrolment that year was 12,558.

By 1946 the number of school maintained out of Parliamentary appropriation had increased to 346 with last year's enrolment standing at 18,805 Indian students.

It will be seen from the foregoing that prior to Confederation Indian education depended either upon missionary endeavours of various Churches or upon the humanitarian zeal of a few private individuals. Upon until that time apparently no government, either Colonial, provincial or federal, and seen education as being the fundamental solution to the Indian problem.

After Confederation, however, the importance of education gradually became more apparent until today, when those responsible for Indian administration are fully alive to the fact that the whole future welfare of the race turns on the degree of education afforded tts youth.

It is of interest to note that the total Parliamentary appropriation for Indian education for the fiscal year 1946-47 is $2,774,326.

<u>family Allowances</u>

The benefits accrueing to Indian welfare as a result of participation in Family Allowances are two fold. On the one hand the health and physical welfare of the children is improved and on the other educational facilities are brought more completely into play.

Reports of the first year's application of these Allowances are even more optimistic than was expected, despite the fact that high fur prices and remunerative employment would not tend to make the benefits as obvious as in a period of less prosperity or depression. Obviously the effect will be much more apparent in sub-normal years.

In administering Family Allowances for the Indians, emphasis has been placed on the fact that they are intended not as a supplement to the regular family income, but as an extra which should be used solely for the benefit of the children.

Through the proper use of Family Allowances it was hoped that the diet, clothing and education of Indian children could be improved.

Payment of Family Allowances to Indians are made:-

1. by cheques direct to the Indian
2. through Agency Trust accounts
3. through the establishment of credits equivalent to family allowances payments with the Trader.

Wherever possible payment is made by cheque direct to the Indian Mother. This method of payment is used for 75% of all Indian accounts. Under this method of payment the Indian Mother is in identically the same situation as the White Mother and the use of the money rests with her judgment. Evidence to date shows that the Indian Mother is at least as aware of her responsibility to use this money for the benefit of her children, as is the White Mother. Through the Indian Agent, Homemakers' Clubs, Public Health Nurses, Missionaries, and the Trader, who is perhaps in the best position of any to exercise a beneficial influence, information about the proper use and purpose of Family Allowances has been disseminated.

The foods contained in this list were selected by the Indian Affairs Branch Medical Authorities, in consultation with Dr. F.F. Tisdall of the Sick Children's Hospital, Toronto, consultant on nutrition, Medical Branch R.C.A.F. These foods are designed to combat diet deficiencies inherent in the Indian diet and which have been considered to be largely responsible for the tragic incidence of Tuberculosis amongst our Indian people and for their lack of resistance to epidemics.

As with Whites, cases of misuse of Family Allowances have come to light. Provision is made in such cases for the Agent to administer the funds through an Agency Trust Account. This system is also used in cases where there are broken homes, orphaned children, and generally where circumstances warrant its use. The fact that a meagre 3.7% of all accounts are administered

under this system is in itself an indication that misuse of Family Allowances by Indian Mothers is rare.

It will readily be appreciated that supervision of expenditures under this system is completely effective. Since this method is used only in cases affecting the poorest levels of our Indian population, it ensures that these children, where the need is greatest, receive full benefit of their allowances.

The last method of payment is used for the conveniences of our Hunting and Trapping Indians who are in most cases far removed from civilization. By this system the Indian receives exactly the same rate of Allowances as anyone else, but instead of receiving a cheque, the amount of the Allowances is established as a credit with his trading post. Goods are supplied from the authorized list to the full value of this credit and the bills are paid by the Indian Affairs Branch which receives the credits and maintains accounts similar to bank accounts for each family.

Twenty-two percent of our Indian Families receive their Allowances by this system. Although its principal objective is convenience for the Indians who, by reason of isolation or method of living cannot be paid by cheque, incidentally it has provided an opportunity for control and education. Since it is precisely this large group, isolated from regular contact with civilization, who are in greatest need of advice and instruction in regard to wise spending, the additional value of this controlled method of payment is very great. These Indians, many for the first time, have been introduced to such highly nutritious foods, from the point of view of children's health, as canned tomatoes, milk, dried egg powder, Pablum, dehydrated vegetables and the like. Suspicious and reluctant at first, reports indicate that the Indians have acquired a taste for such foods which will, it is hoped, not only benefit the children through the expenditure of Family Allowances but also have a beneficial effect on the general diet.

Dr. Orford, Indian Agent at Moose Factory, is quoted

below:

"Family Allowances seem to have made a considerable improvement in the children. Practically every child was well and sufficiently clothed. We examined and vaccinated all children 16 years of age and under. While the time allowed was not sufficient for weight and height measurements, nevertheless it was quite evident that the children were in much better condition than in the last five years I have seen them. They still do not measure up to the average children in Communities of good economic status but they are at least approaching a more decent standard. The band has consumed large quantities of milk, cereals and canned tomatoes - phenomenal amounts when compared to their previous purchase.

A very interesting feature is their liking for canned tomatoes - an acquired taste. When payment in kind was first introduced it was difficult to get them to use tomatoes. Now the traders are unable to obtain sufficient supplies to meet the demand.

The overall appearance and the outlook of the children is vastly improved. While this is perhaps mainly due to their parents increase in income it is also largely a result of Family Allowances. The children have been receiving foods to improve their health and the parents have been enabled to purchase more staples and clothing for them. We must not assume that in depression fur years that Family Allowances will fill the entire bill but at least it must be given credit for the good job it is doing and will continue to do despite fluctuations in Family income."

The points noted by Dr. Orford are typical of the reports coming from our field staff. It is felt, in spite of the many administrative difficulties that this long range policy is sound and will have a distinct bearing on the health and

welfare of the Indian population.

The only condition insisted upon for the payment of Family Allowances is that children of school age who are physically able attend school where school facilities are available. As a result school attendance since Family Allowances began has shown roughly a 25% improvement both in average and total attendance. There are three reasons for this betterment:-

(a) The moral obligation assumed to send children to school in order to qualify for Family Allowances.

(b) A desire to send children to school now they are better clothed and fed.

(c) The Indian Agents' application of section 4 (2) of the Family Allowances Act.

It is anticipated that these influences will continue to operate through the payment of Family Allowances, and that the gains recorded in school attendance will be maintained. The importance of improved and regular attendance of an increased number of children is profound and should result in greatly improved education for Indian children.

This then is the latest step towards the ultimate goal of Indian administration and one, like Sir John Colborne's institution of the Trust Funds, which may well shorten the miles towards the complete economic and social equality of Canadians of Indian stock.