

WAHBUNG

OUR TOMORROWS



BY THE INDIAN TRIBES OF MANITOBA

OCTOBER, 1971

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Our Tomorrows

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PROLOGUE I

The four Indian tribes of Manitoba – the Cree, Ojibway, Chipewyan and Sioux – by united effort through the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, present to the Canadian people through their government our position on policies necessary to achieve a just and honourable and mutually satisfactory relationship between the people of Canada and the Indian people of Manitoba.

It is sad that this enlightened age in this democratic country, a people necessarily must declare themselves. But we, the Indian tribes from all Indian lands in Manitoba, hope that there will follow an understanding and commitment by everyone so that there will be a better future for all the land we all love.

We approach the non-Indian people of Canada as men of honour speaking to another honourable people. We hereby declare our confidence in the integrity and goodwill of the majority of the people in Canada. The integrity and goodwill of their representatives have been tried in the past and found badly wanting, and we live today with the results. But until proven otherwise, we trust that this is a new age in which the Canadian public will clearly encourage and support their political representatives in working with us to achieve an honourable relationship with the original people of this land.

Canada will not long maintain a position of respect in the councils of the world so long as her first citizens live in degradation and despair.

She will not long maintain a position of respect so long as she attempts to force changes upon her first citizens irrelevant to the situations in which they find ourselves.

We are prepared to work with the government of Canada, the government that represents the people of Canada. But we are no longer prepared to be manipulated by it, however enlightened and well intentioned that manipulation might be.

The history and past policies regarding the Indian people cannot and must not be ignored, for their effects are with us all in the present Indian fact. To deny the past and to refuse to recognize its implications, is to distort the present; to distort the present is to take risks with the future that are blatantly irresponsible.

Consultation & negotiations with Indian people are finally underway. As co-signers of the International Declaration of Human Rights. Canadians can do no less:

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of the right they are freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
2. The peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

The States Parties of the Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Appendix 2, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Without justice there can be no freedom, and without freedom there can be no peace. To the Canadian public and to their government, this proposal for changes in policy is directed.

MESSAGE OF THE GRAND CHIEF

We, the first people of this land now called Manitoba, are the people of indomitable will survive, to survive as a people, proud, strong, and creative.

During the centuries in which we lived on this land, we faced many times of struggle, for the land is not always kind, and our people like any other people had to find ways to adapt to a changing environment.

These last hundred years have been the time of most difficult struggle, but they have not broken our spirit nor altered our love for this land nor our attachment and commitment to it. We have survived as a people.

Our attachment means that we must also commit ourselves to help develop healthy societies for all peoples who live upon this land. But we will not be able to contribute unless we have the means first to develop a healthy society for ourselves. Since the signing of the Treaties one hundred years ago, we have been constantly and consistently prevented from doing so.

Three fundamental facts underlie this paper and are reflected in all aspects of it.

First, we are determined to remain a strong and proud and identifiable group of people.

Second, we refuse to have our lives directed by others who do not and cannot know our ways.

Third, we are 20th century people, not a colourful folkloric remnant. We are capable and competent and perfectly able to assess today's conditions and develop ways of adjusting positively and successfully to them.

Other Canadians must recognize these three facts.

We ask you for assistance for the good of all Canada, and as a moral obligation resulting from injustice in the past, but such assistance must be based upon this understanding. If this can be done, we shall continue to commit ourselves to a spirit of cooperation.

Only thus can hope be bright that there might come a tomorrow when you, the descendants of the settlers of our lands, can say to the world. Look, we came and were welcomed, and then we wrought much despair; but we are also men of honour and integrity and we set to work in cooperation, we listened and we learned, we gave our support, and today we live in harmony with the first people of this land who now call us, brothers.

We hope tomorrow will come.

Chief David Courchene
Grand Chief of Manitoba

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the coming of the white man and for a considerable period after his arrival, we lived as independent tribes. The tribe was a viable and organic structure through which power over whole territories was exercised. This power included the right to make laws and engage in war. Our tribes possessed other powers which evolved from the absolute ownership of land and these conditioned all aspects of our life: religious, social, medical, cultural, economic and political.

The coming of the white man started the process of change in our historic life style that was only vaguely understood by either Indian or white man, and its progress was so rapid that its effects were incalculable. The commercialization of the fur trade sounded the first warning that the character of Indian life was departing from its historic pattern, never to reach it again. That early period of exploitation of nature was carried out according to a relationship in which the white man was the buyer and the Indian, the gatherer.

The subtle shift from the fur trade into the beginnings of the agricultural evolution of this country, and the early beginnings of white immigration presented the Indian with new problems, problems whose magnitude could not be measured in the context of their times. This created an atmosphere within which the white man imposed by his avarice and deceit, a way of life which was alien to, and unwanted by, the Indian people. The vast, unconsidered changes which produced a century of deprivation for our ancestors and ourselves were effected in large measure by the Treaties.

Both the written treaties and their negotiations do not represent an honourable settlement of our historic claims and grievances. Moreover, none of our treaties can be considered to have been a conscionable agreement in which two parties fully understood the significance of their commitment.

It is the position of the Manitoba Indian people that the treaties as negotiated in the context of their time and as they exist today, are in fact, unconscionable agreements. They were negotiated by the Crown, on its part, in the full knowledge of the potential of this country, in the flowery language of its time and in an incomprehensible and foreign tongue that was not understood by our fathers. The terms of the treaties were unconscionable in that they did not ensure fair and equitable treatment to us and must rank in history as one of the outstanding swindles of all time.

The Indian people of that day could not possibly have anticipated the massive immigration of white settlers to this country that would in fact, in the end, make a mockery of many of the promises of the Crown. A simple example is the extension of hunting and fishing rights on unoccupied Crown lands from the time immemorial, accepted by the Indian on the false assumption that all lands are unoccupied and would, in effect, remain so. The concept of private property was alien to the Indian people. The increasing encroachment of white settlers into the historic lands of the Indian people imposed more and more restrictions upon the freedom of movement and freedom of access of Indian people until a hundred years later, all that was left were essentially small areas set aside as reserves for Indian people, areas totally incapable of offering even minimal support or subsistence to those who once possessed the entire country.

One example of the obvious inequity of the treaty settlement is the fact that while the Indian was given 160 acres of land for each family of five at the time of the treaty, prior commitment had been made with respect to white settlers in much more generous terms. Regulations respecting public lands in Manitoba were approved on March 1st, 1871 and provided that,

“Any person who is head of a family or has attained the age of twenty one years...shall after the first day of May, 1871, be entitled to be entered for one quarter section (160 acres) or less quantity of unappropriated public lands, for the purpose of securing homestead right in respect thereof”

It is to be noted that these regulations were passed some five months prior to the signing of the Indian treaties.

In addition, following the signing of treaty in 1871, in the year 1874, provision was made for an additional entitlement in the amount of one-quarter section. A further provision was included in the amendment lowering the age requirements from 21, to 18 years of age.

Despite the fact that certain treaty stipulations were confirmed by both Indians and Government in 1875, no attempt was made to correct obvious unequal land distribution through an adjustment in land entitlement by Indian people.

Notwithstanding the fact that most of the lands assigned to Indian people proved to be literally worthless, the major deplorable aspect was the parsimonious attitude on the part of the Crown in settling a mere 400, 000 acres upon the Indian people, while at the same time, giving 1.4 million acres to the Metis; 1.9 million acres to the railroads, and .45 million acres (eventually 7 million) of the “Fertile Belt” to the Hudson’s Bay Co.

The miserly approach of the Crown is tragically emphasized by the recent proposed settlement of the Alaskan Indian Lands question proffered by the President of the United States. President Nixon in a recent announcement indicated that he felt that the native peoples of Alaska should be offered \$1 billion dollars and 40 million acres of land. In considering the land mass of Alaska 40 million acres represents approximately 11 % of the total acreage of that state. The Indians of Manitoba, today after having made adjustments for land extensions made following 1871, were granted a total of 512, 521 acres, an amount of land that represents .38% of the total land mass of Manitoba. The Alaska settlement would provide for each native person of the state of Alaska, some 727 acres of land while the Manitoba Indian can claim possession on a per capita basis of only 14 acres per person. When one considers the total amount of land available in the province of Manitoba at the time of the signing of the treaty, and the limited population, one can hardly accept that the Crown was either considerate or generous in their negotiations, or that the amount of land set aside for the use of Indian people represented a conscionable settlement between two parties.

The history of land transactions with respect to the Indian lands under the trusteeship of the Crown, is at best hazy and often questionable. The disposition of certain Indian people should be with or without the implied permission of the Indian people should be the subject of legal inquiry, for there is sufficient reason to believe that some Indian lands may have been fraudulently disposed of.

The period between the signing of the treaties and today is one which is particularly noted by its tragic effects on Indian people. The establishment of the reserve system and its negative effect upon a nomadic people through the imposition of restrictions to the traditional mobility of the populace brought changes in the character of life of the Indian. The first and most tragic consequence of this set was to create static breeding grounds of disease, disease largely brought to this land by the white settler. The subsequent changes in dietary activity lowered resistance to the dreaded diseases of the white man and as a consequence were followed by epidemic upon epidemic which decimated the Indian population.

Even the efforts to educate the Indian resulted in schools that became incubators of disease, where you didn't succumb to the dread tuberculosis epidemics, you were sent home to infect the populace reserve.

The record of the Crown with respect to health services is not one that any government could be proud of, particularly in one light of fact that most of the concern expressed by the Crown and the activities that resulted therefrom were motivated by a concern for the protection of the white populace and not basically a reflection of concern for the survival and growth of Indian people.

The historic pattern of educational activities has reflected the paternalism of both government and church, in that, between the two, educational requirements of Indian people were defined without reference to the Indian who represented the need. The pattern of educational development was predicted upon the false belief that to educate the Indian child you must separate him from the parents and environment in which he lived. Early educational emphasis was placed on the residential school concept, a concept that imposed upon the Indian, rigid regimentation both in terms of scholastic activities and in terms of work programs designed to assist in the maintenance of the school buildings, stables and land.

Tragically, the net result of the experiences and experimentation was to generate feelings of bitterness and frustration amongst the student body and the parents. After a century of an educational system that was in fact, irrelevant to the environment and culture of Indian people, it goes without saying that the Indian has been thereby denied the means to participate in the resources and development of our land.

A century of government administration and government and church control increasingly restricted the social and physical mobility of Indian people. The effects of living in an atmosphere of state dependency, where virtually all decisions relating to your life and your future are made by others, has brought about a situation where the psychological barriers to change are such that it will require conscious effort on the part of Indian people to effect change in a manner consistent with their own objectives. From a life of productivity and harmony with nature the Indian has been forced to marginal economic activity, with all its uncertainties and tragedies.

In developing new methods of response and community involvement it is imperative that we, both Indian and Government, recognize that economic, social and educational development are synonymous and thus must be dealt with as a "total" approach rather than in parts. The practice of program development in segments, in isolation as between its parts, inhibits if not precludes, effective utilization of all resources in the concentrated effort required to support economic, social and educational advancement.

In order that we can effect change in our own right, it will be necessary to develop a whole new process of community orientation and development. The single dependency factor of Indian people upon the state cannot continue, nor do we want to develop a community structure that narrows the opportunities of the individual through transferal of dependencies under another single agency approach.

It is generally recognized that the strength of society rests with the inter-dependency of people, on upon the other, and the development of the community of interest that exists between all people to pursue progress and a better way of life. For the Indian this will mean a conscious effort to develop inter relationships that have for a century have been inhibited by continued state control.

To effect such a change will require the development within the community of a broad range of organizations devoted to and concerned with the advancement of people. These would include local government, school boards, community clubs and recreation organizations plus the evolution of

spontaneous organizations. They would effect change through the voluntary nature of activities which spring from the Indian community.

The transition from paternalism to community self sufficiency may be long and will require significant support from the state, however, we would emphasize that state support should not be such that the government continues to do for us, that which we want to do for ourselves.

We would emphasize for the purpose of clarity and to avoid any misunderstanding that the Indian tribes of Manitoba are committed to the belief that our rights, both aboriginal and treaty, emanate from our sovereignty as a nation of people. Our relationships with the state have their roots in negotiation between two sovereign peoples.

There can be no delegation of authority or responsibility by the federal state to the province without our consent. There can be no deviation or alteration in this relationship without mutual consent. The Indian people enjoy "special status" conferred by recognition of our historic title that cannot be impaired, altered or compromised by federal-provincial collusion or consent.

We regard this relationship as sacred and inviolate.

1. TREATY AND ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

"Today we heard about the problem of Indian treaties. I have said many times that we intend to respect all aspects of these treaties"

(Remarks of the Hon. Jean Chretien, House of Commons Debates, Volume X, (1969), p10444.)

Our treaties by the very fact of the Crown's negotiating and signing them, were and are recognition of our aboriginal title to this land. Our treaties were and are unconscionable by virtue of the distortions, inequities, and the inconsistencies implicit in the negotiations. The demonstrable lack of any intention to implement the potentially beneficial aspects of the treaties confirms the cynicism and deceit which attended a one sided treaty making process.

The apparent dogmatic attitude of the present federal government with respect to treaties and aboriginal rights perpetuates the inequities of centuries and shuts the Indian off from forms of just redress. The Indian people of Manitoba submit that for any government to turn its back on historic obligations to the native people of this country would be an insult to and a degradation of the integrity of the Canadian people as a whole.

The treaties negotiated in Manitoba in the 1870's were in part the products of distant precedents established by the British and Canadian governments. The first of these was the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which confirmed the Indian ownership of land as possessed at that time. The second was a series of suggestions, adopted by the government in 1830, which came to embody the reserve policy.

The Proclamation of 1763, in addition to confirming Indian title, also required that,

"all persons whatsoever, who had either willfully or inadvertently, seated themselves upon any lands...which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us...forthwith to remove themselves from each settlements.."

Thus the treaty negotiations began in the midst of a violation of the Proclamation itself, for settlers already lived on this land not yet ceded to nor purchased by the government. As Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote in 1872,

“White people settled here in Red River long before a treaty was made, but the Indians were dealt with last year, just as if these white men had not settled.”¹

Suggestions made in 1829, which became reserve policy from 1830 onward, were made by Sir James Kempt in a letter to Secretary of State Colbourne:

1. To collect the Indians in considerable numbers, and to settle them in villages with due portion of land for their cultivation and support.
2. To make such provision for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry, as circumstances may from time to time require.
3. To afford them such assistance in building their houses, rations, and in procuring such seed and agriculture implements as may be necessary commencing when practicable, a portion of their presents for the latter.²

The application of this policy to the Indians of Manitoba in 1871 was at the very least unrealistic, and had inevitable destructive effects upon all aspects of Indian life. At that time the Indians of Manitoba had already suffered from the influx of civilization however, a contemporary comment on the Ojibway in southeast Manitoba indicates the existence of a still viable way of life.

The way of life consisted of fishing and hunting, accompanied by the preservation of meat, fish, and fruit. The harvesting of wild rice was another major occupation and source of food for many Manitoba Indians, and maize and potatoes were grown. The harvesting of wild rice was the occasion for the Chiefs to decide disputed claims and dispense justice to all band members. In many instances, the office of Chief was hereditary. We had beautiful, meaningful and complex religions despite being characterized by the white man as “heathens”.³

Our life prior to the 1870’s was not necessarily secure nor idyllic. Food was sometimes scarce; the buffalo, long prey to non-Indian hunters, was becoming extinct, clothing was in demand for the winter. Indians in Manitoba, long before the treaties, had begun to suffer from epidemic diseases like small pox. Thus if the treaties are said to have had a destructive and dramatic impact upon Indian life, that impact should not be measured against an idealized vision. Certain Indians in the early 1870’s desired to treat with the Dominion Government in order to improve what in certain instances were conditions of acute deprivation. The autonomy of their life had already been undermined partly by a sporadic exposure to an aggressive civilization.

It is quite clear that the Indian people of Manitoba, on the threshold of treaty signing, were better off than they were to be during the next 100 years. That is why the treaties are suspect. Had their meaning and foreseeable effects been explained honestly to the Indians of Manitoba, it is most unlikely that the treaties would, as initially written, have been signed. Our ancestors would not have solicited the loss of their autonomy and the dismemberment of their culture.

The object of the treaties was to change the Indian from a hunter to a farmer by confining him to reserves on which he would have land to cultivate with implements, animals and instruction provided by the government. This objective is not embodied in all of the treaties covering the Indians of Manitoba. There was no stipulation in either Treaty One nor in Treaty Two by which the reserves were explicitly set aside

for the purpose of agriculture. However, in the negotiations, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald told the Indians that,

“Your Great Mother wishes the good of all races under her sway. She wishes her red children to be happy and contented. She wishes them to live in comfort. She would like them to adopt the habits of the whites, to till the land and raise food, and store it up against a time of want. She thinks that this would be the best thing for her children to do, that it would make them safer from famine and distress and make their homes comfortable.”⁴

Also not included in either of the first two treaties but included in the negotiations, was the promise that,

“As each Indian settled down upon his share of the reserve, and commenced the cultivation of his land, he was to receive a plough and harrow.”⁵

However in Treaty Five, it is stated explicitly that,

“Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands...”⁶

The assignment of land to the Indian people was based partly upon this policy of making us into agriculturalists. However, having assumed the monumental task of transforming a nomadic people into farmers, the government thereupon allotted lands without even evaluating their agricultural potential. As a result, there was no correlation between the primary objectives of the treaties or negotiations, and the government’s alleged attempts to secure those objectives. Once authoritative study of the agricultural situation in 1870 indicates that farming was a barely profitable undertaking only in areas directly adjoining the Red River.

“By 1870 the best farmers of the Red River had shown little sign of being able...to farm away from the River.”⁷

The cynicism of the half hearted effort to make farmers of our forefathers under such circumstances is obvious.

The reports of Indian agents, commissioners, and land surveyors reveal innumerable instances of assignments of land which were utterly devoid of agricultural value. As the years passed Indian complaints about the poor lands which they were assigned were noted, but rarely acted upon by the government. The Department of Indian Affairs was aware of the validity of the complaints, so many of which were confirmed by Indian agents and inspectors in Manitoba. At times the Department reacted positively. In one instance the Department permitted the Indians more land than that allowed by treaty as compensation for having received land that was not arable.⁸ In another instance the government, by Order-in-Council, permitted a band of Sioux Indians “due allowance for inferior land not adopted for agriculture...” The result was that the band secured nearly twice the acreage it was entitled to by treaty.⁹

Not only was the quality of land assigned bad, but the amount: 160 acres per family of five was unjustly small. The white settler received much larger. Indians, except those under Treaty Five, who signed treaties after 1871, received four times the amount of land allotted in Treaties One and Two. Nearly thirty-five years after these treaties were signed, the Department itself acknowledged in regard to one Manitoban reserve that,

“An area of 160 acres for each family of five persons is small in any case, and especially so where the land is not of good quality, and where, as in the present instance the band is reported to be making considerable progress in agriculture.”

With this in mind, and noting the great differences between the acreage allotted to Indians in Manitoba and the amount allotted by later treaties, the Department secured an addition of land to the reserve which brought its total acreage to an amount exceeding that prescribed by treaty.¹⁰

When it came to supplying us with promised farming implements, the government was often negligent. Thus, one reads in the 1880 report of one Inspector, whose travels took him to nearly all of the Manitoban reserves,

“Some were disappointed last summer in consequence of not receiving any grub hoes, so indispensable to them in the cultivation of their little farms...on almost every reserve visited Indians represented that they have not enough hoes and axes for working to advantage in enlarging and improving their gardens, and they request that their requirements, in this respect may be favorably considered by the governments, as the supply in many instances, of these articles already received are nearly worn out.”¹¹

The treaty making process was filled with many paradoxes. In the first place, it is quite apparent that Treaties One and Two were never intended to embody all of the points upon which the government and our ancestors had apparently reached agreement. This is demonstrable in the case of the agricultural designs of the government, and also in the instance of providing us with animals and agricultural implements. These arrangements were made outside of the body of the treaties, but nevertheless formally, although not consistently, adhered to as if they were integral parts of the treaties.

Another curious feature was that the government committed itself to the fulfillment of outside promises and treaty stipulations when, in fact, it was obvious that such promises and stipulations could not be fulfilled. For instance, the government was not prepared to offer us protection against intruders, and it was never prepared to set aside lands upon which crops could be grown. In the instance of surveying reserves was not even suggested until 1889, or 18 years after the treaties were signed.¹²

Had we been assigned the best agricultural lands, the best implements, and the healthiest and most prolific farm animals, the treaties would still have constituted an abridgement of an ascendant right. By Treaties One, Two and Five which cover nearly all of the Manitoban bands, the Indian was assigned 160 acres per family of five. This land was assigned because we were ceding hundreds of millions of acres of land to the Dominion Government. Presumably, the reserve land assigned in the exchange should have been more than the amount of land which the white settler received for free.

Nevertheless, it was declared by an Order-In-Council, given effect before the treaties were negotiated or signed that,

“Any person who is head of a family or has attained the age of twenty one years, shall...after the first day of May, 1871 be entitled to be entered for one quarter section (160 acres) or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof.”

This land was free although a \$10.00 office fee was charged to verify and record the assignment of free land.¹⁴ The settler, by further legislation in 1874, was also able to acquire another 160 acres free.¹⁵ And in 1874, the age requirement was lowered to 18.¹⁶ There was no mention to our ancestors during the

negotiations preceding Treaties One, Two, and Five, as to the treaties' abridgement of their right to hold as much land as the whiteman held for free without having made major land cessions.

In 1874, provision was also made for the free occupation of as much as an entire townsite for large groups of settlers with common interests.¹⁷

In addition, the Indian people remained apparently uninformed of the prejudicial aspect of section 70 of the Indian Act, which stated that,

“No Indian or non-treaty Indian, resident in the Province of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories or the territory of Keewatin shall be held capable of having acquired or acquiring a homestead of pre-emption right to a quarter section or any portion of land in any surveyed or unsurveyed land in the said Province of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, of the territory of Keewatin...”¹⁸

There were other developments at this time which indicate that the Indian treaties had an almost punitive effect. We were, for instance, the last group in Manitoba to which land was reserved. 1.4 million acres were reserved to the Metis; 1.9 million acres to the railroad; .45 million (and eventually 7 million acres of “fertile belt” land to Hudson’s Bay Company). We received, last, an amount of less than 400,000 acres of land of the poorest quality.¹⁹

Although it has been stated that the treaties negotiated in 1871 were revised in 1875, they have in fact remained unaltered since 1871. In 1875 the Memorandum which embodied the “outside promises” of Treaty One was discovered. The government denied the existence of such a Memorandum for a period of four years. As Lieutenant-Governor Morris explained it,

“When Treaties Number One and Two were made, certain verbal promises were unfortunately made to the Indian, which were not included in the written text of the treaties...On examination of the original Treaty No. One, the Minister of Interior reported that a memorandum was found attached to its signed by Mr. Commissioner Simpson, His Honor Governor Archibald, Mr. St. John and Hon. Mr. McKay, purporting to contain their understanding of the terms upon which the Indians concluded the treaty.”²⁰

The memorandum provided that each Chief was to get a dress distinguishing him a Chief, a buggy, a cow and saw; the councilors and braves were supposed to get a dress and buggy, the reserve was to get a bull, a boar and make and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers.

Thus what was signed in 1875 was a memo written on August 3, 1871 and called at that time a supplement to Treaty One. Indian protests in regard to the question of the size, quality and assignment of the reserves were ignored. Nor have we ever gained satisfaction for the effects that flowed from the deceit exercised on us in 1871 and thereafter. Having us sign the memo was simply a way of avoiding a re-negotiation of treaties on a comprehensive basis.

Although our ancestors are often characterized as having been nobly quiet in their acceptance of the treaties, their conduct conformed to no stereotype. They confronted a welter of inexplicable directives and pronouncements with tenacious good judgment. Their problem was that they were dealing with a new bureaucracy, so vague that the bureaucrats themselves did not understand its operation.

For example, in Treaties One and Two it is quite clear that our negotiations were dealing almost exclusively with Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote the treaties and conducted the negotiations; the Indian Commissioner. Wemyss Simpson, played a minimal role at best.

Even according to the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, the Lieutenant-Governor was formally assigned a degree of discretionary power in the treaty making process.

Further, psychological purposes we were confronted during negotiations with the full impressive array of governmental power presented without careful regard to distinction in terms of office, function and jurisdiction. In fact the role of the Indian Commissioner was purposely distorted by the government when he was instructed to wear a uniform for no other purpose than to impress the Indians.²¹

In making the treaties, the government suspended those very distinctions which, when it came to the implementation of the treaties, it was to invoke for the purpose of confusing and stalling us.²²

After the treaties were signed and it became incumbent upon the government to fulfill the stipulations, the situation reversed itself. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald insisted that he had nothing to do with the implementation with the treaties. This position might have been barely logical, had there been an operative government agency present in Manitoba to carry out the treaties. But there was not. The Indian Commissioner had absented himself. Archibald, in a letter to the Secretary of State, described his own and our dilemma.

“It would seem a mere mockery in reply to their requests for explanations for aid to say that they may apply to a commissioner distant a thousand miles from here. It seems to reside, the greater part of the year, where he is inaccessible, it will be proper what there should be some persons duly authorized to represent him in the Province.”²³

This situation persisted for a long time after the treaties were signed. Alexander Morris, Archibald's successor, commented as late as 1875.

“But I would add that it becomes all the more important that a better system of Indian administration should be devised so as to secure the prompt and rigid carrying out of the new terms of the entirety.”²⁴

The Right Hon. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, and the Hon. Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, have on occasion, contested the Indian perspective on treaties. However, on June 9th 1970 the Prime Minister in his response to Alberta's Red Paper indicated to the Indian leaders of Canada that his government will and wants to settle this controversial subject honourably.

It is the belief of the Indian people of Manitoba that no person of sincere and honest intent can ignore the fact that the Indian people were dealt with unfairly and inequitably and that the wrongs of the past must be redressed.

The outstanding issue of Aboriginal Rights and the Crown's obligations, the unfulfilled promise of both the spoken and the written words of the treaty time one hundred years ago remain as a slur on the honor of Canada. For if Canada cannot deal in honor and honesty with the Indian people of this country, then the sincerity of its word in the councils of the world must remain open to question. Its actions do not match its intent, and its denial of its obligations to those who were dependent upon its honor and stand as a monument to its callous disregard for the rights of a minority.

The Indian people of Manitoba are resolved:

That the treaties of the Dominion Government with the Indians of Manitoba be recognized as unconscionable agreements.

That a restructuring of the treaties be of a comprehensive nature, first by resolving the immediate obligations of the federal government and second by addressing long range problems.

That the right of a full and continuing redress of grievances created by the treaties and by the failure of the government to implement the beneficial aspects of the treaties be admitted.

That the federal government recognize the full scope of the damage inflicted upon Indian people of Manitoba by the treaties. This should include the acknowledgment that the treaties and non-implementation of their beneficial stipulations have had and continue to have an adverse effect upon the Indian people of Manitoba.

That the federal government acknowledge as basic to a restructuring of treaties the following:

1. A flexible standard of compensation for losses incurred by the treaties.
2. A similar standard of losses resulting from a lack of implementation of the beneficial stipulations of the treaties.
3. A recovery of rights such as those of hunting and fishing, which are identified as traditional and inherent to the Indian way of life.
4. A revision of land allotment to redress the obvious quantitative and qualitative deficiencies imposed upon Indian people with the assignment of reserves.
5. Compensation in land, money, programs, etc. for the assignment of uncultivable land.
6. Confirmation of the principle that land assignment be adjusted to population growth and economic realities.
7. Negotiations of other issues and factors which may be discovered through research and communication with the reserve.

Recommendations

Today, these and many other grievances of the Indian people remain unappreciated by the federal government. This is particularly true in regard to questions of treaties and aboriginal title. Past expressions of grievances have met with either arbitrary rejection or the exploitation of the Indians' unfamiliarity with legal processes. We are determined that a settlement which will fit the entire range of grievances relating to treaties and aboriginal title be secured. Accordingly we demand full and continuous participation in the establishment of structures and processes which will provide a full and comprehensive redress. The bitter experience of centuries dictates that such structures and processes unfold from a knowledge of the Indian reality, as articulated by Indian people.

Footnotes

1. Public Archives of Manitoba, Adams G. Archibald Despatch Book Number 3, Despatch Number 2, Lt. Governor Archibald to the Crees, January 4, 1872
2. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of and Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", Ontario History, LXI, No. 2 (June, 1969), 92.
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4. The Hon. Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, including the Negotiations on which they were based and other information relating thereto (Toronto, 1880), 29.
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7. W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony". Canadian Historical Review, XXX (December, 1949), 320.
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9. Order in Council, January 4, 1873.
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11. Letter of E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General, November 25, 1880, in Canada, Sessional Papers, 1880-81 (Number 14)55.
12. Letter of John C. Nelson to the Superintendent General, November 31 (sic) 1889, in Canada. Sessional Papers, 1890 (November 12) 302.
13. Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, (Vol. II, 1880), 1991.
14. Memorandum establishing, under the Provisions of the Act 33, Vi., cap.2, Regulations respecting the Public Lands in the Province of Manitoba, March 1, 1871, in Canada, Sessional Papers, 1871 (Number 20), 4.
15. An Act to Amend the Dominion Lands Act, in Acts of Parliament of the Dominion of Canada Passed in the Thirty Seventh Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Chapter 19, Section 8, ss.1.
16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., Section 14.
18. An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians, in Acts of Parliament, Public General Acts, Vol. 1, Third Session of Third Parliament, 1876, Chapter 18, Section 70.
19. Evelyn Jahn, "Immigration and Settlement in Manitoba, 1870-1871; The Beginnings of Pattern", Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Manitoba (September, 1968), 11. Hudson's Bay was reserved 1/20 of the "fertile belt" in 1869. Inevitably this amounted to seven million acres.
20. Morris, Treaties, 126.
21. About a week before negotiations for Treaty One were begun, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote, "I have asked Major Irvine to detail a few of his troops to be present at the treaty. Military display has always a great effect on savages, and the presence of even a few troops, will have a good tendency". Morris Treaties, 32.
22. Over six months after Treaties One and Two were signed, Archibald wrote, "It is vain for me to disclaim to these poor sons of the soil any responsibility for, or power to deal with Indian Affairs. They are not politician enough to distinguish between the representative of Her Majesty in one capacity and Her representatives in another. They say that they are made the Treaty with the Queen and they feel they have the right to look to me, as Her representative to see that the stipulations contained in the Treaties are kept. They say I was present and took part in the negotiations." Public Archives of Manitoba, Archibald Despatch Book Number Three, Depatch Number 26, Archibald Secretary of State, February 17, 1872.
23. Ibid., Despatch Number 3, Archibald to the Secretary of State, February 12, 1872.
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4. INDIAN ACT

The Indian Act must be amended, not abolished. Some of the contents of the Indian Act have become restrictive, and contradictory to the progress of the Indian communities not only in Manitoba, but in Canada as well. It must become a document providing opportunity to overcome the conditions of poverty under which Indian people are forced to live. It must also become a document which clearly ensures treaty and aboriginal rights, as well as protecting our land base.

The Act should be entrenched, constitutional protection of Indian rights.

The Act must contain an atmosphere to allow meaningful social development for Indian people according to their own guidelines.

There has been much preoccupation in the past few years on the question of the Indian Act. These discussions have often masked the key issues relating to the conditions under which Indian people are forced to live, because many important topics have been ignored and left out the existing Indian Act. But there is one fact which cannot, and must not be ignored: Our people need and want legislation that will

protect and guarantee our treaty and aboriginal rights. The first step is clearly that the Government of Canada must recognize the treaties that were made between the Crown and our people. It must recognize that the Indian people were a part of the development of this nation, and while we are of the Canadian nation, we are also of the Indian nation. We are Indians, and we are also Canadians. These do not contradict. We must be recognized as both. The status of nationhood was recognized when the treaties were signed.

Historically, the Indian Act was intended to administer to a colonized people. It is ironic that the Cree tribes name for themselves in Ininiwuk, meaning human beings. The Chipewyan call themselves Dene (human beings); the Ojibwa call themselves An Nishina-Be (human beings), and the Sioux's name for themselves was Dakota, meaning "human being" or "the men". The Indian Act of 1886, Section 2, paragraph C. states;

"The expression "person" means any individual other than an Indian."

The basic philosophy behind the Act is demoralizing and dehumanizing. It is patronizing and paternalistic in tone. It is a superior group, imposing restrictions and prohibitions upon an "inferior group".

The Indian Act must be changed so that it will become a document protecting Indian land and ensuring civil, human, treaty and aboriginal rights. These should be enshrined in the constitution of the country. The Indian Act should reflect that the Government honors and sanctions the rights of Indian people. It is clear from consultations that our people do not want the Indian Act abolished, but change to a document offering opportunity for development and on-going progress, rather than restricting this. It is the wish of the people that the Indian Act become a document to provide for creating opportunities to combat the spectrum of poverty conditions that we are facing today. Certain restrictions in the Act should be subject to immediate revision, and others subject to review as changes indicate in future development, and future wishes of the Indian people.

In its present form, the Indian Act creates many confusing political, social, and legal situations respecting human rights. One of the most glaring issues which need immediate attention and rectification is the clause that provides for arbitrary enfranchisement of an Indian woman who marries a person who is not registered as an Indian. The Wildlife Act prohibits any Indian person from giving meat to non-Indian. What of family units some of whose members are enfranchised – a man cannot make a gift of meat to his enfranchised sister. It goes without saying that this not only jeopardizes the family kinship unit, but it violates a basic human right. In Article 12, Appendix 1 of the International Protection of Human Rights, it states:

1. **"Everyone has a right to a nationality."**
2. **"No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."**

Article 16 in the same document states:

1. **"Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry and found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage during marriage, and at its dissolution."**

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The whole of the Indian Act must be revised and corrected in consultation with the Indian people. It must be changed so that it will become a document providing for the encouragement and facilitating progress of Indian communities.

We recommend that the new Indian Act must clearly become a document that will:

1. Protect our land base;
2. Ensure trapping, fishing, hunting, and gathering rights;
3. Ensure the recognition of aboriginal rights, as well as honoring the treaties;
4. Ensure federal responsibility in areas such as education and medical care.

As the Act should be changed so should the regulations be made under the Act.

There should be more concentration on the People – the community, as viable entities under any Indian Act and not to concentrate on the Minister and Governor in Council as is done in the existing legislation.

The immediate changes which are required are:

1. Membership
 - The responsibility for decision of membership should lie with the communities themselves, and the individual concerned.
 - All enfranchisement clauses should be deleted from the Act.
 - Status of Indians, Children, Women – is mishandled in the existing Indian Act. Status should depend on birth. An Indian woman should remain an Indian for the rest of her life whether she marries and Indian or non-Indian.
2. Land:
 - There must be protection of Indian land. The government must recognize its trusteeship relationship in so far as it protects these lands. The administration of these lands must be left to the discretion of the people and their elected representatives. Lands have sometimes been taken from Indian people without consent. Reserve lands should never be subject to seizure, sale, or forfeiture under legal process. Reserve lands are inalienable.
3. Elections of Chief and Council:
 - The method of elections must be left at the discretion of each community, except that it is recommended that the terms of office of elected Chief and council be extended to four years. Further, we submit that a mediation board be available to communities consisting of:
 - 1) A representative of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood
 - 2) One lawyer
 - 3) A representative of the Indian Affairs Branch
 - The board would be responsible for adjudicating charges brought by a majority of band members against any elected member or members. If charges are proven, then the board may take appropriate steps for the removal of the offending member from office.
4. Wills:

- This must come under the Powers of Chief and Council. This clause should be deleted in the Indian Act. The Minister should have no control. It should be up to the Chief and Council to adjudicate the validity of the will and the administration of the estate in accord with the general laws of the tribe.
5. Health:
- These sections in the Act must be reworded to provide for complete and total medical services for all Indian people in any circumstance. Medical Services are not mentioned in the existing Indian Act. It should be an entrenched benefit. It is not a matter of government policy. There should be complete and total medical services including dental, optical, hearing, drugs, transportation, hospital care and public health services.
6. Education:
- The right to free and total educational assistance should be formally recognized in legislation.
7. Compensation:
- Provision should be made in the Indian Act for a section dealing with compensation for the destruction of our livelihoods through flooding, pollution, or industrial development.
8. Trespassers:
- Trespassers include anyone on a reserve without permission of a member of the band.
 - The band should be able to have its own laws, enforcement agencies and courts for these summary proceedings.
9. Welfare:
- This is not mentioned in the existing Indian Act to a substantial degree. It should be an entrenched benefit to be exercised in the manner deemed best by the community.
10. Hunting, Fishing, Trapping, and Gathering Rights:
- These rights should have entrenched protection under the Constitution. They have been totally omitted from the existing Indian Act and this is inexcusable.
11. Economic Development:
- This is ignored in the existing Indian Act. Provision should be made to encourage training and development in industries on and off reserve land.
12. Policing:
- There should be community laws, police, courts
 - i. Benefits should go to Band not to the Canadian sector.
13. Housing:
- The existing Indian Act does not refer to housing – merely to Certificate Possession. These sections must be amended as the attitude reflected in dehumanizing and degrading and by policy, depriving. The commitment and responsibility of the government to provide original adequate housing for each Indian must be entrenched. The method of instituting this policy must rest with each community. Housing provided must meet with Canadian standards, e.g., CMHA approved.

14. Taxation:

- Section 86 of the Indian Act should be retained. It does provide some immunity for Indian people from taxation but this is not broad enough. All property and all income wheresoever situated should be exempt from all taxation, direct, indirect, federal, provincial, municipal or otherwise. In fact Indian Companies, Co-operatives and enterprises should not pay taxes. Moreover, enterprises Indian communities have invited onto their lands should receive exemption from taxation.

15. Band Government:

- The system of band government should be at the discretion of each community, and this right must be ensured.

16. Indian Act:

- Must be an entrenched constitutional document protecting and guaranteeing benefits to the Indian people. The Act should be immune from Parliamentary amendment for 10 years. But every 10 years the Act should be reviewed by the Indian communities in Canada and amendments made as they deem and advise are necessary.

17. Indian Monies:

- Are to be used by Band or by the individual as he or it deems best – no approval necessary. Money not used in any year to bear interest at current Bank of Canada prime rate – compounded semi-annually. Government expenses should come out of Consolidated Fund and not money set aside for Bands.

18. Pollution:

- Is a whiteman's problem caused by him – yet the Indian suffers for the whiteman's recklessness. This should not be incorporated specifically in the Indian Act but should be covered in a section dealing with Compensation.

19. Reserve Government:

- The sections of the Indian Act dealing with reserve community government should recognize the responsibility which rests with the leaders. These leaders are unable to fulfill their day-to-day activities because they must devote time and effort to their new positions in the community. Consequently, the principle should be set out in the new Indian Act that the leaders, however chosen by the community, should be paid a salary, salary to come from government not Band funds. Regulations should set forth the uppermost limits of the salaries.

20. Age of Majority:

- Another repressing issue requiring immediate attention is the establishment of the age of majority at eighteen years of age.

Major Recommendations:

The major issues relating to this Act should be dealt with by a structure that has the power to recommend changes according to consultations with the people, as well as having the resources to do so.

We recommend the continued review of the Act as progress and development dictate on the request of the Indian people through their elected representatives, such review to be carried out by the committee with the powers to recommend changes to the Government of Canada. Such a committee should consist of:

1. Federal representative
2. Elected representative of the Indian people

21. – No changes in the Act should be written into it without consent by referendum of the Indian people of Canada.

3. EDUCATION

Recent provincial statistics indicate the degree to which education has failed us.

Of those Indian children who entered school in 1951-52, only 1.9% reached Grade Twelve compared to 33.9% for all of Manitoba. Of those who entered school in 1957-58, 5.4% of the Indians reached Grade Twelve compared to 60.5% of other Manitobans. Based on past trends, a projection of those Indian children who started school in 1967-68 and should be in Grade Twelve in 1980 indicates that 10.8% will make it compared to 90.0% for Manitoba. See Table No. 1.

This is a shocking illustration of monumental failure. The gap is as great as if we had never entered the field of academic education. With only 10% of our students reaching Grade Twelve compared to 90% for Manitoba, it is a complete disaster. The gap is of major significance as we are striving for social and economic quality.

There have been obvious weaknesses in the administration of an education program for Indian people over the years. Some are as follows:

1. Absence of clearly defined educational objective.
2. Failure to provide meaningful educational program.
3. Lack of qualified teaching personnel. Simple academic qualification is not sufficient.
4. Absence of parental involvement in determining the school program.
5. Failure to genuinely consider the relevance of Indian reality to new programs such as the one on Integration.
6. Facilities, as late as 1956, on many reserves can be described as being medieval in atmosphere.

The Fort Alexander Indian Residential School was described as a “veritable fire trap”. At Dauphin, Pine Creek, Sandy Bay and the Birtle, Brandon, Portage La Prairie, and Cross Lake residential schools overcrowding, poor ventilation, poor lighting, poor heating, and cramped quarters were characteristic. That these conditions existed eight years after an “enlightened” policy of education was recommended by the government for adoption could only be construed as either the results of gross incompetence or ruthless indifference.

7. Disregard for the essential feature of education which is a total experience. Unrecognized were questions pertaining to Indian, language, Indian culture, Indian life and customs, and the participation of the Indian parent in the shaping of education.

Many of the weaknesses noted still exist today. As a result, education or the attainment of it, continues to demand a high price of the Indian student.

“The students often face difficulties in the use and understanding of the English language. Often their language problems are compounded in high school by the increased difficulty in materials used.

Very often, attendance in high school means a move away from home, often to towns and cities. Students face the problem of adjusting to a different society and facing the loneliness of being away from loved ones.

They must adjust to schools which, compared to their community schools are enormous and impersonal. They must adjust to the system of moving from room to room meeting teacher after teacher each of whom know little about him.

He is suddenly expected to compete with students who have lived in the area all their lives and know English well. He is expected to participate but may be embarrassed to do so because of his lack of English or embarrassment of his accent. It isn't long before he begins to appear rather stupid to all his fellow classmates. He realizes this and withdraws even further. The rest of the story is simple: frustration, loneliness, truancy, drop-out.”¹

The educational process to which we are subjected today remains open to criticism. It remains inadequate. We are subjected to school programs designed for the majority urban, middle-class society. Particular needs are not being met. This arises, in part, from the fact that too often only the standard curricula and materials prepared for all schools in the province are being used. More serious is the fact that many of the teachers are of middle-class backgrounds and bring with them their values. They impose these values upon their students. They are not sufficiently experienced or knowledgeable in cross-cultural situations and are, therefore, not alert to adapting curricula the better to meet their students' needs.

In the last two or three years the educational institutions are finally beginning to take action in the direction of better preparation for teachers moving into cross-cultural situations, curriculum adaptation, and more suitable instructional materials.

In the area of language, recent research indicates that across Canada 50% of the Indian children enter school with no facility in the English language. Another 30% enter school with some knowledge of English while only 20% are fluent in English when they begin school. Though very few Indian children are fluent in English, it has been their second language of instruction.²

For some inexplicable reason, the Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs, which is responsible for the education of Registered Indian children, has not prevailed upon its teachers to gain knowledge of any of the Indian languages. They believe that mastery of English is the key to the Indian child's academic progress. While this belief may be true, the means of achieving the end is important. Instruction in the native language for the first few years should have been implemented ages ago. English, during this time, could have been taught systematically as a second language. Instruction in the child's own tongue would give the child more security and enjoyment in school. Learning after all goes far beyond gaining a knowledge of the English language.

Integration

In 1948, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate, and the House of Commons recommended a policy was to have Indian children educated in the provincial schools. The earliest figures available indicate that in Manitoba in 1957, 66 students out of a total Indian school population of 4, 647 were attending provincial

schools. The figures for 1970-71 indicate that 5, 138 students of a total Indian population of 10, 796 attend provincial schools. Today, 50% of Indian students are in attendance in provincial non-Indian schools.

Integrated education was proposed with the hope of bringing us into the mainstream of Canadian life. This policy reflected the frank acknowledgement that we had been accorded inadequate facilities and ineffective instruction.

Despite the goodwill that underlay this new policy, no genuine appraisal was made of its relevance to the Indian reality. Again, we were confronted with the invitation to participate in the annihilation of our culture and our way of life. The government had simply rephrased this long standing invitation in more delusory language. The essential factor, remaining from earlier days, was that the government was not prescribing education for us, but re-imposing a series of hurdles which were not only not congenial to a true educational process, but antipathetical to it. To this paradox of well-meaning intentions and destructive formulae the Indian was expected to yield a ready assent.

Today, we witness the results of over twenty years of integration. It is obvious that though an increasing number are integrated each year, integration has failed to provide a successful education program. Many non-Indians believe that we have failed education but the truth of the matter is that education has failed us. It has failed us because it was imposed upon us, not relevant to us, nor were we given the opportunity of being involved in designing it. Education has failed to recognize our cultural values and customs, our language, and our contributions to mankind. It has led to failure and the lowering of self-esteem.

The history of Indian education up to the present day reflects a definition of education in terms of schooling, a definition that reflects a very narrow approach to the entire question.

The treaties between the Indian people of Manitoba and the Canadian government gave to us the right to request the establishment of schools on reserves. Treaties No. 1 and No. 2 between her Majesty the Queen and the Chippewa and Cree Indians of Manitoba signed in 1871 reads:

“And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.”

Similar statements appear in the treaties that followed. Having bargained for this inclusion we were, after requesting such schools, denied even a minimum of discretionary power in their operation. The right to request the assignment of a school was by some naturally considered to mean that we could subsequently have some rights in determining the developing nature of the schools. One white agent logically concluded that “one of the results of the treaties (could be) to make the Chiefs believe they had some right to a voice regarding the character and management of their schools, as well as regarding the initiatory steps of their establishment.”³

The treaties did not originate formal education for Indians in Manitoba. Schooling, in the form of religiously administered institutions, had begun on a limited basis early in the 19th century. In 1822, the Anglican Church organized a school at Red River and instructed a small number of Indian boys in agriculture and in other subjects. Within six weeks, there were four schools in the area and these eventually developed into the first boarding school in what was to become the province of Manitoba. In 1840, the Reverend James Evans established a mission and school at Norway House and began the teaching of Indians in Cree syllabics.

In the late 1870's, after the signing of the treaties in Manitoba, the government increased the number of schools of this type – mission or day schools. In 1886, there were 47 day schools in Manitoba; in 1912, after new boundaries were effected for the province, there were 41 day schools and in 1941, 44 day schools.

The day or mission schools built after the signing of the treaties in Manitoba in the late 1870's were not acceptable to the Indian people. Most objected to having their children converted to a religion that was not their own. Indian people who wanted education were forced to accept religious conversion. As late as 1905 and later, education was refused by a number of bands who rejected the religion of the whiteman. Many believed that in the hereafter, they would be separated from their children if their children had a different religion. Thus, freedom of religion which had been held sacred was denied us.

Most of those who accepted education saw their children receive a type of schooling which would not be considered as such within the context of a positive definition of education. No truly concerted effort was made to educate us. Most of the teachers and administrators blamed notorious failures in schooling on the Indians' lack of consistency in attending school. Other teachers unconsciously destroyed whatever prospect of success there may have been by attributing to us an inability to reason in abstract and subtle terms. Invoking an almost romantic image of the "noble savage", the Indian child was described as close to nature, with acutely developed animal faculties, but with limited reasoning ability.

In most instances the essential shortcoming in education was the lack of qualified personnel. One Indian Agent noted:

"It is often said that the roving habits of the Indians are against any lasting benefit being derived by their children from the day school, but experience has shown that in every case where there was a teacher who had the proper qualifications, he could always show good results and have a fair average attendance all the year."⁴

Earlier, it was observed that "the children, when at school, are very apt learners, but it is much to be regretted that the teachers are very incompetent to teach anything beyond simple elements."⁵

The lack of a coherent program of education further added to the unattractiveness of schooling to the Indian community. At the reserve level, education frequently meant chaos and confusion. There was competition between missionaries, disputes between them and the government. This contentious atmosphere and the absence of a defined educational policy, affected or was, at least, congenial to a proliferation and perpetuation of bizarre and destructive practices. Matters of critical importance were sometimes determined by almost random factors. In many reserves, some children were taught in Cree, others in English and no attempt at uniformity was ever made nor was any attempt to establish which form of instruction was most effective. Sometimes missionaries sabotaged government efforts to have children educated at boarding schools simply because this meant "loss of souls" to a particular missionary group.

The purpose of Indian education from the very beginning was to remove the Indian child from the influence of the parent. Of the adult Indian, the following comment by an inspector of the Indian agencies of Manitoba, seems characteristic:

"Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little at farming, and at stock raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all. The child again, who goes to day school, learns little

and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combatted.”⁶

It appears that we were considered pagans and incorrigible nomads.

The institution devised as a means of isolating the child from his parents and the influence of the reserve were the industrial and boarding schools. The former, in their inception and development, were influenced by the writings of the Reverend Dr. Ryerson. In a report dated 1848 which dealt specifically with the subject of manual labour schools, Ryerson advised the Department of Indian Affairs that the manual labour school should be transformed into the “Industrial School” where, in addition to manual labour, there would be a stress on religion and industry. Despite this, Ryerson believed that we should not be taught carpentering, cabinet-making, tailoring, etc. presumably because we would not be able to compete with the white worker in these areas.

The dominant force in the Industrial School, according to Ryerson, was to be religion. The superintendent was to be a pastor, school master and farmer. The Department accepted virtually all of Ryerson’s advice with the exception of the prohibition on carpentering, cabinet-making, etc.

When the concept of the Industrial School was introduced into the House of Commons, Sir Hector Langevin explained the Government’s attitude thus:

“They (Industrial Schools) have succeeded very well in the United States, and it is quite likely that they will succeed here as well. The fact is that if you wish to educate these children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being taught. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they still remain savages, whereas separating them in the way proposed they acquire the habits and tastes...of civilized people.”⁷

The Industrial School of which there was one in Manitoba in 1890, followed the Ryerson plan in substance. It was operated by missionaries, thus assuring a religious influence. The Indian Department did not become intimately involved with the educational process afforded by the Industrial Schools; it simply provided the buildings and paid the missionaries for the board, clothing and education of each child. The missionaries supplied the furniture, textbooks, and the salaries of the superintendants and teachers. Eventually, there were four Industrial Schools in Manitoba, enrolling a considerable number of Indian students.

Their operation was necessarily oppressive. Having first achieved the effect of separating the child from his parents for long periods of time, the student was subjected to a severe regimen of work in noisome atmosphere. The boys were expected to clean the stables, mend broken machinery and work in the fields. In fact, by the “half-day plan” they were expected to spend as much time in this kind of manual labour as in school. The same was true of the Indian girl, who had to spend half her waking time scrubbing floors and doing other forms of housework. The Industrial School, as well as the boarding school, was most notable for the incredibly high mortality rates among the students. At about the turn of the century, it was estimated that fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools “did not live to benefit from the education they had received therein.”⁸

In 1886, the Department introduced the boarding school to Manitoba. The boarding school was usually located off the reserve and parents were not allowed to visit their children except on Sunday. The curriculum of the boarding school was oriented toward farming pursuits to the exclusion of the trades. Like the industrial school, there was heavy emphasis on manual labour and the “half-day plan”.

There emerged in the early 1900's, a type of schooling known as the "residential school" that embodied many of the aspects of both the Indian boarding and industrial schools. They were operated under church control and followed the curricula of the province. The residential school retained the "half day plan" of the industrial and boarding schools.

The residential school was co-educational and had a capacity for between 75-250 pupils. They were equipped with dormitories, classrooms, kitchens, dining rooms, playrooms, and staff quarters. Some of the residential schools were located on reserves.

The school program of the government was vacillating concerning the ultimate object of education. The recurrent emphasis was upon the concept of the Indian student as a potential farmer, however, there were frequent shifts toward types of vocational curricula which aimed the Indian toward an urban life. The official announcements of the government are invested with an air of purpose, which is somewhat deceptive. There never really existed a viable program either to make the Indian a farmer or to adjust to the life of the whiteman. This permitted the government to shift the onus of the failure of such an alleged program to the Indian. This was the tactic of Minister of Interior, J.A. Crear, in 1940 when he announced that the government had decided to quit its effort to bring the Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life. He stated in a rather paradoxically entitled paper, "Canada's Indian Problem", that the Indian was not "mentally and temperamentally equipped to compete successfully with the white population in the modern struggle for existence. Therefore, the Training Services is not attempting to equip the Indian to work and live in the white urban communities... To a great extent, the Service is attempting to help the Indians make their living on their own reserves."⁹

Then in 1948, came the official policy of integration, one of the policies that has led to today's deplorable statistics.

After one hundred years, the whiteman still has not learned his lesson.

Position

To be effective, education must be nurtured in relevancy, commitment, motivation and identifiable purpose. The process must be part of the community activities and community progress.

We, the Indian people of Manitoba believe in education;

As a preparation for total living, and in this context it extends far beyond the boundaries of what is conventionally considered schooling;

As a prime means of improving our economic and social conditions;

As a means of providing that which should be the right of every citizen: namely, the choice of where to live and to work. The essential provision of those required skills that will allow this privilege of choice;

As a means by which we can be enabled to participate fully in our own social, economic, political, and educational advancement;

As a comprehensive program which must be designed to meet the needs of the total community by including offerings to people of all ages.

The present system of education is to be noted for its irrelevancy to the culture and environment in which people live; by its lack of involvement by both parents and students; by its inability to achieve its purpose without a concurrent estrangement of the student from his environment.

Education as a program of government has fallen tragically short of its objectives of Indian advancement. As a tool to develop the capability to participate equally with the rest of society, the education process has been notably narrow in its concept and rigid in its approach. The time has come for a drastic change in the orientation of education in order to pursue a program of education in its broadest context, a program designed to include all aspects of the community so as to ensure that all people have adequate opportunity to improve their knowledge and expand their options.

The provision in the treaties for schools on reserves must be interpreted in a present context to mean comprehensive education for Indian people.

The federal government must recognize the total failure of the present education system for Indian people.

It must recognize the need for change in the assimilationist policy of education perpetuated for decades.

The Government of Canada must not only realize its obligation to treaty promises, but its moral obligation to assist in upgrading the standard of education for Indian people in recognition of the past function of education in the destruction of the Indian way of life.

A positive program of education opportunity must be developed:

- a) that relates to the total community, both in-school and out-of-school;
- b) that makes maximum use of the physical plant by broadening its use to external activities in both the fields of education and recreation;
- c) that provides a focal point for community advancement and community activities;
- d) that provides for constant involvement and commitment of the local population in both the design and operation of the educational system.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We call upon the federal government to make a clear declaration of recognition of responsibility for education as a federal obligation to Indian people as clearly set forth in the Treaties signed by the Crown.
2. We call upon the federal government to make a clear declaration recognizing that it is their responsibility to provide the means for our education: monies, facilities, resource personnel. It is our responsibility, especially after 100 years of the whiteman's failure and as those with the most to gain and the most to lose, to direct the changes in the education process.
3. There must be a transfer of educational control to the local responsibility centre (reserve)
4. There must be a redefinition of education in a total context.
5. There must be parental participation.
6. Research must be conducted by or at least controlled by the Indian organization representing Indian people.
7. There must be stress on excellence in education programs.

There are two major areas of concern with respect to education. The first deals with the lack of participation already noted by both parents and students in the educational process. This requires immediate attention and action by the government.

The second is the external effects of the environment upon the educational process and the pressures that are brought to bear upon the student that inhibit or preclude achievement of his potential.

We, the Indian people of Manitoba, recommend to the federal government two steps urgently required to bring about greater educational opportunity for Indian people.

Step One

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development must immediately make provision for the establishment of local school boards at the reserve level, such school boards to have all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of a conventional school board with special agreements with the federal government with respect to contractual arrangements with teachers to ensure that Indian students have access to the best teachers available.

Local school boards would be responsible for:

- a) direct participation on curriculum development
- b) administration of the physical education plant,
- c) co-ordination of educational programs, both internally and externally,
- d) the development of adult education facilities to improve the knowledge and opportunities of all members of Indian society

In addition to the foregoing, we call upon the government to make a declaration of recognition of educational responsibility as a federal obligation to Indian people. Rejection of Federal control does not mean rejection of Federal monies.

Provision must be made whereby training is available to those reserves desiring local control of education, and this training must be on-going.

Step Two

We, the Indian people of Manitoba feel that a comprehensive study of the total ramifications of the educational process including all of the constraints that inhibit its growth, should be taken immediately in order that a more effective educational program may be developed. We do not want, as has been the case in the past, a continued isolated approach to the question of education, but we want an examination of education in its total context, including the effects of the environment upon the process.

In addition, we recommend that the study be implemented and controlled by the organization elected to represent the Indian people of Manitoba.

Many studies have been conducted on the Canadian Indians by anthropologists, sociologists, etc., for which large sums of money have been granted by the federal government. In view of the fact that virtually nothing has been gained by the Indian people from such studies, we request that monies be made available to us to do our own research. No longer will we passively cooperate with "outsiders" assigned to

study us. All future studies must provide meaningful information based upon direct programs leading to our own betterment.

Further to the two steps recommended we urge the Federal Government:

1. To assure our right to total and overall educational assistance to pursue education in any educational institution of Canada,
2. To recognize the need for education programs offering opportunities to people of all ages.

The following recommendations are made regarding the Indian Program. (This program refers to education from pre-kindergarten to the end of high school)

We recommend for immediate action the following:

1. The establishment of classes for four-year olds
2. that wherever the Indian language is the dominant language of the community, instruction be conducted in the native language during the first few years of school
3. that teachers of Indian origin be hired to teach Indians whenever possible.

Indian teachers when appropriately prepared are in a more favourable position to relate to Indian children. It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of teachers there are today of Indian origin. We do know, however that in Manitoba at present, the Federal Government employs about seven teachers of Indian origin. This is out of a total of three hundred and thirty seven (337) teachers employed in all. It is imperative that we have more Indian teachers in our schools.

4. that native people be employed as teacher-assistants to help teachers with classes having Indian children. This program has been implemented in many federal schools and is proving to be very successful. Integrated schools such as those at Oak Lake, The Pas, and Winnipeg should be directed to implement such a program. Until such time as Indian teachers are available, teacher-assistants perform a very valuable function.

Indian teachers and teacher-assistants are of great value to Indian education:

- i) They facilitate learning for the non-English speaking child,
 - ii) They help the native child by presenting a model of a person in a responsible position,
 - iii) They provide liaison between home and school,
 - iv) They help interpret the community to the teacher and vice-versa
5. that the dominant native language of the community be taught in the time allotted on curriculum for "teaching a second language" rather than imposing a foreign language such as French, German or Ukrainian on the students already knowing something of the two languages.

It is deliberate to introduce that native language in the elementary grades. This action will prevent loss of native language, learning of the syllabic system and last but not least it will show the Indian language in a positive light through its placement on the school curriculum.

6. that schools all be made non-denominational. The emphasis on religious denomination has caused friction and division within communities over the years. The regulation in the Indian Act

regarding the hiring of teachers in accordance with religious denomination is restrictive and jeopardizes the possibility of hiring the best teachers.

7. that the Federal Government be advised not to phase out any student residences operating at present to serve Indian students without first consulting the Indian people and their organization, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood; that the Government be encouraged to staff the residences with people of native origin in key positions. Residences described above could continue to provide for children from broken homes and for those who live a great distance from schools. An example of the latter are those living along the Hudson Bay railway line.
8. that the parents of the community be consulted by the school authorities regarding the school curriculum. Parents want to be involved in decisions regarding the school program. The valuable recommendations from parents on how to enrich the program culturally, materials to be used, what is to be taught, etc. would greatly enhance what school has to offer the Indian children.
9. that high schools be established at various reserves to serve the students of surrounding reserves. That such high schools be operated and maintained by an all Indian School Board.

It is evident that the federal government's present plan to provide high school education for Indian students is characterized by only limited success. For example, statistics showing Indian student enrollment in Federal and Provincial Schools in Grade XII over the years is as follows:

1949-50	1	
1955-56	2	
1959-60	7	
1964-65	34	
1968-69	58	(See Table No. 2)

The numbers in Grade Twelve are increasing but in terms of the total school population, the figures are unimpressive. To graduate from high school in 1968-69, a student would likely have started school in 1957-58. The enrollment figures for Grade 1 in that year was 1081. This indicates that 94.63% of the students failed to reach Grade XII. (See Table No. 1) This is a straight forward indication that there is a need for further experimental programs to search for a means whereby Indian people will be able to attain the same educational standards as the majority of society.

Alternate means of obtaining the goal of high school education must be made possible. Reserve high schools would enable students to live in familiar surroundings to live among their own people and be involved in a high school program better adapted to meet their particular needs:

10. that the Government provide as another alternate program for high school students, small residence type accommodations. Such a residence should be designed to accommodate approximately twelve students to be maintained and supervised by Indian parents.

A homelike atmosphere would exist in this kind of design and it would operate more on a family basis than on an institutional basis. At present, residences resembling those recommended operate in Teulon, Manitoba, under the United Church Board of Home Missions. There is a residence for boys and one for the girls, each accommodating 20 to 25 students. It appears to be a most successful operation. Statistics show retention rate between 1965-70 as being between 93% and 100%.

It appears that smaller residences operated by Indian people would be an improvement even over the Teulon residences and could be expected to produce even better results. The residences should be situated in towns and cities where high schools are available.

11. that the establishment of high schools designated reserve points and the establishment of small type residences in towns and cities as proposed in (10) and (11) be conducted on an experimental basis. A study should concurrently be implemented by Indian people of all existing means of educating high school students to determine which means is proving most successful.

Too often the Government has proposed plans that encompass total populations. It is obvious that the first move was to schools on reserves, followed by a mass plan of residential schools, to a plan of integration. It appears that an attempt has been made to phase out the latter plan for a new one in each case. Presently, the stage is one of phasing out residential schools in favour of integration by having students bussed from reserves to schools and by a program of private home placement. Modifications are more in order in some cases than total rejection of a program.

With regard to our recommendations, we emphasize the need to experiment and evaluate before launching into full-scale operations as has been done in the past.

12. that there be adequate Indian representation on Provincial School Board which have Indian pupils attending schools in their district or divisions.

We make the following recommendations in the area of Post-School Programs. Post school programs refer to programs provided for those having completed high school and for those who are no longer in the In-School program.

1. that up-grading classes continue to be offered on and off reserves.

For many years, up-grading classes have been offered but the results have not been positive. The drop-out rate is astounding. Some reasons attributed to this failure are:

- i) lack of proper counselling prior and during the course
- ii) inadequately prepared instructors
- iii) irrelevance of content

Upgrading classes properly conducted can be a means for many Indians to eventually find economic security.

2. that basic literacy course be offered on and off reserves to enable those desiring to learn to speak, and to read and write English to do so.
3. that vocational training be offered on and off reserves. On reserve programs would be meaningful if conducted according to visible economic development.
4. that every effort be made to assist students in University to be successful. This could mean recommending to Universities a "Chair of Native Studies" to provide relevant programs. That sincere and meaningful counselling and tutoring program be available to the students.

In the area of Adult Education we recommend the following:

1. Program designed to train native people as:
 1. Teacher assistants
 2. Counselor assistants
 3. Recreation co-ordinators
 4. Police constables
 5. Medical assistants
 6. Magistrates
 7. School trustees
 8. Automobile drivers, etc.
2. Courses in Administration and Human Relations for Chiefs, councilors, band managers, and band secretaries. That such training be provided in three levels to accommodate the various stages of advancement that exist in Indian communities.
3. Courses on and off reserves in family education
 - a. General home management
 - health
 - budgeting
 - cooking and sewing
4. Other courses:
 - a. Human relations
 - b. The Indian Act
 - c. Legal rights of Indians
 - d. The law
 - e. Politics and government

As an outcome of training programs it is imperative that recognition be given to trainees for certification equal to the trade to enable mobility of the candidates.

Provincial Involvement

Education of Indian people is basically a federal government responsibility originating from the signing of the treaties from 1871 onward. The interpretation of this "responsibility" by federal officials has over the last hundred years excluded Indian people from any meaningful involvement in deciding their own education destiny. Historically, officials of the federal government made all the decisions and the arrangements as to the where, why, who and when of education for Indian people. Historically, too, officials of the federal government entered into agreements with officials of the provincial government on our behalf for certain educational services. These agreements, many of which are finalized without consultation with Indian people are now our concern.

It is our intention to review the existing agreements and to make the necessary recommendations for their revision, termination or continuance. We call upon the Federal Government to terminate its policy of making decisions for Indian people. We must and we will be involved from hereon in, in determining our own destiny. Future recommendations for services to provincial governments and their institutions will come directly from the Indian people or through their organization the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

Rivers

Historically, the various facets of education for Indian people have been presented in a fragmented manner of unrelatedness. The reserve was the site of many of the elementary school programs, whereas the secondary school and the post-secondary school programs were conducted off reserves. Adult programs of training and relocation were approached from the standpoint of academic and vocational upgrading and skills development. These factors are what might be referred to as physical factors of employment that are applicable to the employee but have little reference to the family unit.

As stated in our position, we strongly believe that for education to be effective, it must be nurtured in relevancy, commitment, motivation and identifiable purpose. The process must be a part of the community activities and community progress. With this in mind, it is necessary for the Indian people to have access to facilities wherein this concept may be realized. The acquisition of Rivers Air Base as a training centre for Indian people will provide such a facility.

The principle objective of the Centre is to establish a basis of life skills development which encompasses everything from grade school through to employment giving consideration to the family as a total unit. Social orientation, which has been given little attention in the past, will now be emphasized. The predominant factor of failure in most training and relocation programs has been that the social problems of family relocation and the concurrent social dislocation have been ignored and attempts have been made to attack the symptom rather than the cause of failure.

The entire program of the Centre will be geared to acquainting the family in training with the reality of both the independence of man and the inter-dependence of society and to help the individual to utilize his potential in both the social and economic sense.

The relevancy, commitment, motivation and identifiable purpose with which training programs will be conducted at the centre is to provide a "community classroom". Programs previously offered at Community Colleges and Universities for training Indian people as teachers, teacher assistants, counselor assistants, recreation coordinators, dental assistants, etc, will have greater meaning if conducted within the "community classroom". The doors of the Centre will open to invite such programs to operate within this new "reality". Programs not yet established and those not firmly established at any University or Community College will find their roots at the Centre. This is urgent in the light of training for magistrates, school trustees, police constables, etc.

Through recognition of education as a preparation for total living and recognition of the family as a unit, we believe that programs once offered in isolation as a "things unto themselves" will in this context have greater meaning and therefore, provide a greater opportunity for our people.

Requirements by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood to realize the objectives in education as set out in this paper, for the immediate future.

At present, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Education Section, consists of one education director and one part time secretary to serve fifty-four Indian reserves and to provide liaison between the governments, institutions, agencies and the Brotherhood on a province wide basis. The demand for educational consultation from the Brotherhood is great. It is the vehicle through which Indian people can make their recommendations known to the authorities and it is the vehicle of assistance in developing meaningful programs.

It is the intent of Indian people to control their education system. To assist in the realization of this goal, the organization representing Indian people of Manitoba, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood requires personnel:

- 1) To assist Indian bands in preparing for the establishment of school boards. This implies training sessions specifically for potential trustees and generally for the total community.
- 2) To design a comprehensive study of the total ramifications of the educational process including all the constraints that inhibit its growth, in order that a more effective education program may be developed.
- 3) To review Agreements made by federal officials with provincial officials in regard to education affecting Indian people. The review is to be conducted in the light of recommending the revision, terminance or continuance of such existing agreements.

For these three major areas and the everyday matters referred to the Education Section, of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, we recommend the immediate provision of funds for employment of:

- 1) 6 education consultants (generalists) to cover the province as divided by Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and designated as Vice Presidents' regions, the Regions are: North, North-west, North-east, South-west, Southeast, Interlake.
- 2) A research staff as required:
 - i. 1 Director
 - ii. Several assistants
- 3) Education specialists – to provide more effective service in specialized fields.
 - i. Counselor
 - ii. Public relations officer

Further to this, a subsequent increase in budget for personnel and materials will be required.

These specific recommendations are by no means exhaustive of the educational needs of Indian people. We realize that of utmost importance is our gain of control of education. Once we have that, we will be able to incorporate the kinds of programs that will have meaning for us, and that will free us from our present plight.

To further this process, a five member committee should be structured comprising of two members representing the Indian people of Manitoba, two members from the Federal Government and one member from an outside sector. It would be the responsibility of this committee to ensure that the necessary steps are implemented to promote the furthering of the recommendations contained herein. We recommend that this committee be established immediately.

One hundred years ago, our forefathers signed agreements that have caused us no end of grief. Our proposals today are not centered around commitments but a general “unlocking of doors” to enable us to move more feely ahead.

Recent statistics show that 74% of the Manitoba Indian Population is under 30 years of age. This is very significant in the light of quality and quantity of current and future education programs.

We hereby request due consideration of our position in education.

FOOTNOTES

1. **(Indians-Canadians: Plus or Minus?)** (A Resource Book for Teachers Project Canada West – 1971)
2. Rose C. Colliou, **5000 Little Indians Went to School**, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971, p.44
3. **Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds**, 1879, p.11
4. **Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs** for the year ended June 30, 1904, in Canada, **Sessional Papers**, 1905, (Number 27) p. 90
5. **Ibid**, Annual Report for the year, 1877, in Canada, **Sessional Papers**, 1878, (Number 10) p.44
6. **Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds**, p. 2
7. **House of Commons Debates**, May 22, 1883, p. 1376
8. H.J. Vallery, “A History of Indian Education in Canada”, unpublished Master’s Thesis, Queen’s University, 1942, 140
9. Quoted in **Ibid**, 165

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENT BY GRADE IN RELATION TO THE INITIAL GRADE 1 ENROLLMENT (%)

YEAR OF GR. 1 ENROLL	Gr. 2 Enroll. 1 yr. <u>later</u>	Gr. 3 Enroll. 2 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 4 Enroll. 3 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 5 Enroll. 4 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 6 Enroll. 5 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 7 Enroll. 6 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 8 Enroll. 7 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 9 Enroll. 8 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 10 Enroll. 9 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 11 Enroll. 10 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 12 Enroll. 11 yrs. <u>later</u>	Gr. 12 Man. Enroll. <u>7 (below)</u>	YEAR OF GR. 1 ENROLL
1949-50	43.2	36.3	32.5	24.7	17.4	11.8	7.1	5.3	3.8	2.2			1960-61
1950-51	47.5	43.6	38.6	29.2	20.4	12.4	7.9	5.1	3.7		1.6		1961-62
1951-52	43.5	42.8	34.4	32.2	22.0	12.6	9.1	5.8		3.1	1.9	33.9	1962-63
1952-53	52.1	47.8	41.9	33.3	22.8	16.8	11.2		6.2	4.1	1.3	35.4	1963-64
1953-54	52.3	45.6	38.6	31.4	23.0	16.5		9.4	6.6	3.3	2.2	44.0	1964-65
1954-55	53.2	49.6	38.3	35.1	28.9		17.6	13.3	9.0	6.3	3.7	53.0	1965-66
1955-56	50.3	45.3	38.7	34.4		26.3	16.9	12.0	8.5	6.1	2.7	53.0	1966-67
1956-57	68.0	62.8	58.8		44.5	38.4	25.7	18.4	14.4	8.2	4.2	54.8	1967-68
1957-58	74.1	76.7		64.8	52.4	43.2	32.2	24.8	14.2	10.7	5.4	60.5	1968-69
1959-60		91.5	83.1	71.5	62.2	55.1	41.8	31.5	22.0	11.6	6.0	64.3	1969-70
1960-61													
1961-62	103.4	104.3	94.8	98.1	81.8	74.2	51.5	36.7	25.6	13.5	7.2	68.1	1970-71
1962-63	108.9	110.7	109.4	105.5	97.1	81.4	55.2	39.3	27.4	14.4	7.8	71.9	1971-72
1963-64	99.5	105.0	101.8	97.5	85.9		58.9	41.9	29.2	15.4	8.4	15.7	1972-73
1964-65	99.7	93.6	88.3	76.7			62.6	44.5	31.0	16.4	9.0	79.5	1973-74
1966-67	87.9	82.7	76.8				64.3	47.1	32.8	17.4	9.6	79.5	1974-75
1967-68	83.2	70.0					68.0	49.7	34.6	18.4	10.2	83.3	1975-76
1968-69	79.1						71.7	52.3	36.4	19.4	10.8	87.1	1976-77
												90.9	

(6) With Grade 1 enrollment as the base equal to 100%

(7) "Enrollment in Schools and Universities 1951-52 to 1975-76" Staff Study No. 20 – Economic Council of Canada. The retention rate for Manitoba would be slightly higher if inter-provincial migration is considered. The difference is about – 0.2% for 1960-61 and - 4% for 1967-68 (From Staff Study No. 25 Economic Council of Canada). This column represents Grade 12 enrollment in Manitoba related to Gr. 1, 11 years earlier.

(8) A retention rate over 100% indicates an increase in enrollment from one grade to the next in higher one a year later. This may be due to students enrolled in the schools at grades higher than the grade 1 level. It was assumed, when Grade 1 was set at 100% that all enrollment would be initiated at Grade 1. This trend in retention rates may be indicative of youth migration from a region where their enrollment statistics were not included in the Indian Affairs Branch Annual Reports or they were not part of the formal education system period, to a region where they entered the education system initially at grades higher than Grade 1.

The migration came to a peak in 1962-63 and then started to diminish.

TABLE 2
INDIAN STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS (1)

Enrollment at the Secondary School Level of Schooling

YEAR	GRADE 9	GRADE 10	GRADE 11	GRADE 12	TOTAL SECONDARY	OTHERS (2)	TOTAL INDIAN STUDENT ENROLLMENT
1949-50	69	18	7	1	95		3313
1950-51	54	11	5	-	70		3283
1951-52	64	19	12	7	102		3577
1952-53	27	31	18	8	84		3769
1953-54	60	23	26	-	109		4249
1954-55	49	23	22	2	96		4381
1955-56	32	30	7	2	71		4770
1956-57	58	30	13	8	109		4284
1957-58	74	15	13	-	102		4753
1958-59	66	52	11	1	130		5214
1959-60	84	48	30	7	169		5646
1960-61	143	87	45	20	295		6693
1961-62	199	100	57	27	383		7050
1962-63	198	134	51	18	401	12	7275
1963-64	219	140	94	34	487	573 (3)	8304
1964-65	268	171	101	56	596	476 (4)	8872
1965-66	287	154	98	44	583	438 (5)	9165
1967-68	335	224	116	50	725	89	9309
1968-69	337	234	144	58	773	94	9370

(2) Includes special and upgraded classes

(3) Includes 541 upgraded students

(4) Includes 449 upgraded students

(5) Includes 400 upgraded students