

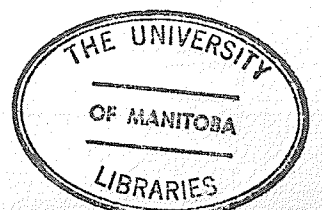
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

The Historical Development of Formal
Education in Gods Lake from
1903 to 1976

by
Ernesta M. Rivais

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment for the
Master's Degree

The Faculty of Education
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada
1978



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I hereby express appreciation to Professor Neil McDonald who has served as chairman of my Advisory Committee. His guidance and helpfulness has been of immense value in bringing this study to its conclusion. Thankfulness is extended to Dr. Keith Wilson and Dr. John Seymour, the other members of my Committee, whose advice and criticisms were of great value. Gratitude goes to Dr. John Taylor of the Canadian Indian Rights Commission, John Leslie of the Treaties and Historical Research Section of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, David Hume of the Public Archives of Canada, Maurice Kohut, Area Superintendent of Island Lake District, and other members of the Department of Indian Affairs, Manitoba Regional Office, who in their official capacity, willingly made departmental records available for this research. Appreciation is extended to the residents of Gods Lake and members of the Gods Lake Band who in their respective roles availed themselves to be interviewed; as well as Mrs. Cynthia Shumski who typed the thesis. Last but by no means least, gratitude is extended to my husband Paul who travelled to Ottawa to examine departmental files during my pregnancy. He has been a

constant source of inspiration, patience, support,
encouragement, and understanding throughout the time
spent on this research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was twofold: to trace the historical development of formal education in Gods Lake from 1903 to 1976, and to assess its impact, at the reserve level, on the Indian population.

Rationale of the Study

The education of Indian people in Canada has been the focal point of criticism from agencies and writers such as the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (1972), the National Indian Brotherhood (1954, 1969, 1972), Cardinal (1969), Sealey (1970), Robertson (1970), Walsh (1971), and Frideres (1970).

These criticisms were substantiated by studies which were carried out by Renaud (1967), Chalmers (1970), Vallery (1942), King (1965), Hawthorn Report (1967), and Sealey (1972). Many of these studies were comparative and focused on the achievement of Indian and non-Indian students in a similar academic setting whereas others dealt with the performance of Indian students in residential settings. These studies were of value but the majority of them were conducted over short periods of time in non-isolated

communities. Their findings were consistent with that of educators such as Gue (1967), Kirkness (1969), Blue (1973), and Murphy (1974). They agreed that the present system of education was not meeting the needs of Indian students.

To date, there is little documentation on the historical development of education in Northern Manitoba and so far no one has undertaken a study aimed at assessing the impact of formal education, at the reserve level, on the Indian people. Therefore, this study is in response to the need for such an investigation, but will be restricted to the Indian community of Gods Lake.

The writer has lived in Gods Lake for four years and it is hoped that this study will help educators to gain an insight into the way that the present educational system has failed to meet the needs of the Indian people, and that results obtained from the study could be extrapolated and applied to other isolated communities in Northern Manitoba.

In addition, it is hoped that educators who intend to work in Gods Lake will become aware of the historical development of formal education and will develop an understanding of the dilemma confronting Indian parents in the area.

Methodology of the Study

The information presented concerns an Indian community in Northern Manitoba, namely, Gods Lake. Research findings are based on interviews with the elders and younger members of the Gods Lake community as well as teachers who

have worked in the area, the personal observations of the writer who has lived and taught in the community for four years, the interpretation of data from various governmental, ecclesiastical and private agencies that have operated in the community, and the analysis of related readings.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to a specific isolated community and as a result some of the findings may not be applicable to other isolated communities. The data used throughout the analysis will be subject to interpretation and does not take into account the extended community of Gods River. The writer is faced with limited documentation from ecclesiastical agencies that have operated schools in the area.

Organization of the Study

A review of literature related to traditional and formal education as well as studies on native education will be dealt with in Chapter II.

Chapter III examines the role of the Swampy Cree Indians in the fur trade north of the 53rd parallel in Manitoba.

Chapter IV traces the historical development of Gods Lake from 1885 to 1976. In this chapter, attention will be focused on the socio-economic patterns of the Indian population.

Chapter V deals with the historical development of education in Gods Lake from 1903 to 1976.

Chapter VI assesses the impact of formal education, at the reserve level, on the Indian people of Gods Lake.

The final chapter summarizes the study and also provides some suggestions for consideration.

Definition and Explanation of Terms

Indian - In this study "Indian" refers to a person who is registered as an Indian and is subject to the terms and regulations of the Indian Act and the Indian Treaties.

Gods Lake¹ - The Indian name for Gods Lake is "Manitou Sagahagin" meaning "Lake of God" or "Great Spirit". The term Gods Lake is synonymous with Gods Narrows and refers to land set aside for band usage by Treaty No. 5 and the adhesion of 1909. The official reserve of Gods Lake was established by the Order-in-Council of 1929.

Formal Education - In this study refers to the type of education that has been provided to Indian students by the ecclesiastical agencies and later governmental agencies that have operated schools in Northern Manitoba. The function of this education was to provide formal, systematic knowledge, skills and competencies to Indian students.

Traditional Education² - In this study refers to the process of non-formal education based on a systematic pattern and geared to the total life experience of a child. It is the type of education which was provided to Indian children prior to European contact and in some cases continued until formal education was firmly rooted.

Day Schools - This refers to schools that are built, staffed, and administered by the Department of Indian Affairs, Education Section, wherever Indian bands are living in settled areas.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gods Lake - Spelled without an apostrophe as authorized by the Geographic Board of Canada, Cited in Northern Sportsman by H. S. Franks, February 1963, p. 9.
2. According to some of the elders at Gods Lake, the fundamentals of traditional education were practiced until the closure of Gods Lake Gold Mine. At this point, the effects of formal education were becoming apparent.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Traditional education was practiced by Indian tribes prior to European contact whereas formal education was introduced by the missionaries as a consequence of contact. The literature dealing with the traditional and formal education of Indian children consistently points out that these two philosophies were diametrically in conflict with each other.

Formal education is regarded by the majority of Canadians as a means to increase social mobility and opportunity, but Indian parents find it to be destructive to their self-esteem and irrelevant to their practical needs. ¹

Margaret Mead elaborates on the differences between formal and traditional educational practices:

There are several striking differences between education today and that of any contemporary primitive society, but perhaps the most important one is the shift from the need for an individual to learn something which everyone agrees he wishes to know, to the will of some individuals to teach something which it isn't agreed that anyone has any desire to know. ²

The purpose of this chapter is to examine traditional and formal education. The review will be general in nature

and content. Throughout the presentation an attempt will be made to reveal the conflicts that have developed because of the differences between the two models of education, and to present an assessment of some of the studies which have attempted to give possible solutions to the conflicts.

Traditional Education

Education is a process of teaching a culture. This teaching can be undertaken by a variety of methods of which the most frequent are formal and informal instruction. For several centuries the Algonkians, a name applied to one of Canada's native linguistic groups, lived under harsh conditions because of seasonal changes. The survival of this linguistic group was based on traditional educational patterns which followed an informal or systematic pattern. The aim of informal education was to prepare the Indian child for life by teaching the child the rudiments of the culture, customs, ideals, and art of his people. The education of their young was one of the few traits that the various Indian tribes had in common since each tribe differed drastically in customs, philosophies, and cultural patterns.

Traditional education followed a continuous pattern which frequently extended into maturity and old age. Jenness (1937) pointed out that the structure of traditional education among Indian people was based on two curricula, namely, secular and ethical - religious. Secular education followed a pattern of manual training which was aimed at providing the individual

with skills which would be required in later years. ³

Chalmers (1970) expands on the educational patterns by stating that the secular program appears to follow the fundamentals of specialized training. The specialized programs were usually vocational and were aimed at initiating both male and female into their respective roles. The males' vocational training was rigorous and encompassed hunting, journeymanship, artisanship, and craftsmanship. These programs required years of apprenticeship and practice. Underlying these training programs was the goal of hardening the youth both physically and mentally for adulthood. The females' specialized programs were domestic in content and covered all areas of handicraft and culinary skills. ⁴

Ethical-religious education was an integral part of Indian society and as a result it encompassed all aspects of life. Jenness (1939) stated that ethical-religious education was based on the narration of tales and legends of the past by the elders. The aim of these narratives and legends was to point out the moral implication with reference to the conduct of the young. ⁵ The language was taught by communication through the generations and was based on unwritten traditions. Education began at birth and was carried through to adolescence. Songs, dances, games, and festivals were some of the techniques that were used for educational purposes. Lowie (1954) describes the impact

of songs and drumming.

Songs accompanied drumming and rattling at dances and ceremonies. Some tribes regarded them as indispensable if not the most important element of supernatural revelations. ⁶

Legends and myths were told to explain natural phenomena such as the rustling of leaves, or to dampen undesirable behaviour in the young. Legends geared at controlling behaviour dealt with terrible monsters (Wherry 1969). One legend goes like this:

Lurking throughout the central path of the Pacific Northwest coast were giant serpents, harbingers of everything that was evil. Some had a head at each end with enormous teeth and long tongues. The Hai-et-lik of the Nootka country could shed his scales and become very slippery when attacked. Lightning flashed from the eyes in the Hai-et-lik's single head... ⁷

Added to the controlling influence of legends were strict codes of conduct. Chalmers (1970) elaborates by stating that adherence to the tribes' code of conduct was enforced by means of social pressures, disapproval or commendation through tribal opinion. ⁸ Undesirable behaviour was handled by admonition and ridicule in the presence of relatives and friends around the evening fire and by fear of supernatural sanctions. Prohibitions were limited and corporal punishment was rarely inflicted. Freedom did not mean licence since the smallness of the communities made every individual's life an open book to neighbours and, therefore, compelled every adult to take an interest in each child regardless of parental lineage.

Strict regulations regarding the behaviour and routines of the Indian child's life were taught from infancy and laid the foundation for the code of morality. Religious regulations seemed to perpetuate all aspects of the Indian's child life since it was felt that the great spirit gave help and guidance and presided over the earth. Jenness (1958) elaborates on this concept.

They sought from religion help and guidance in the present life alone, and with full consciousness of limitation in their own knowledge and power, they summoned to their aid the mysterious forces surrounding them in order to obtain during their mortal span all the blessings that their hearts desired. 9

Embedded in this belief was the idea that life, health, and success in all endeavors could be translated in terms of religion.

Chance (1968) points out that the motivational factors underlining the educational philosophy of the Indian people were restraints and control in all interpersonal relationships and dependence on supernatural powers. The interpersonal aspects of Indian behaviour reflect deep internal expressions of aggression, fear, pain, and other threat-provoking stimuli. Other non-assertive characteristics are inward personality, lack of competition or self-aggrandizement, quiet endurance, a fatalistic approach to the world, and a general hesitancy to intervene in the lives of others. 10

The Cree Indians viewed man as a being dependent

on the power of unseen forces. The unseen forces were contained in all living things including inanimate objects. These forces were mysterious and varied in power. The spirit was the personification of the mysterious force that operated a man's environment. Jenness (1958) elaborates.

All Indians believe in the existence of a great spirit, the Creator of all things... This great medicine pervades all air, earth and sky. That it is omnipresent, omnipotent, but subject to be changed and enlisted on their side in any undertaking if the proper ceremonies and sacrifices are made. It is the author of both good and evil according to its pleasure, or in accordance with their attention to their mode of worship... Power is its attribute and its residence is supported by some to be in the sun. 11

The supernatural spirit came in two forms which were either helpful or harmful. Kitci Manitu, otherwise known as the Great Spirit or master of life, was regarded by the Cree as being helpful since he was the Creator of life and the giver of all good things. The Cree Indians lived the spirit of Kitci Manitu but feared Matci Manitu because the latter was synonymous with evil. Belief in Matci Manitu varied among Cree tribes, however, and La Potherie claimed that the Cree often associated the moon and the sun with the Great Spirit. 12

The spirit of Manitu worked in close liaison with the environment and inhabited objects such as plants and animals. In Cree society economic survival was dependent on the success of the hunt, and the tribe's religious ceremony was directed at sacrificing animals spirits to ensure a good supply of food. Skinner elaborates further:

The economic conditions of the country are so hard and so much depends on the fortune of the chase that almost the whole life of these people is spent in sacrifices propitiating the souls of animals upon which they subsist in order to secure more certainly the future food supply; and in appealing to the great powers of nature for aid in the struggle for existence. 13

Jenness (1933) confirms Skinner's hypothesis regarding the appeasement of evil spirits by means of sacrifices. She writes:

Just as he propitiated his deities so he made sacrifice to the souls of animals and fish which he killed, lest they should be offended and disappear altogether from the country. 14

Equally important with gifts and sacrifices were taboos. These taboos were limitless and affected every phase of the social life including special occasions, death, and puberty. It was generally believed that a person could gain supernatural powers and protection by means of a vision. This vision came as the adolescent phase of development to selected individuals. This type of vision varied from tribe to tribe according to traditional patterns, but embodied a similar purpose which

...provided a means whereby man could divert to his own use some of the mysterious forces around him, and prevail against the difficulties of his environment. So, throughout nearly the whole of Canada, boys and sometimes girls passed days and even months in partial solitude, striving under the direction of parents and relatives to obtain a guardian spirit. 15

The visual symbol of the person's guardian spirit would be worn as a token or an amulet and would be held in great reverence, but not worshipped as it was only a symbol of power. Most Indians believed that guardian spirits protected

persons who prayed and fasted but each generation was responsible for obtaining its own.

Closely involved in the educational practices was the medicine man or shaman who played an important role in religious practices. The medicine man was regarded by his people as the intermediary between the forces of the visible and the invisible. He was seen as the most influential personage of the Indian band since he guarded the mysterious powers that were bestowed on him by the guardian spirit. ¹⁶ Jenness in referring to the function of the shaman writes that they were vested with the spiritual power and could become prophets, seers, healers of disease, or sorcerers of their tribes. Also, older shamans were responsible for teaching professional techniques to the young. ¹⁷ From childhood, Indian children were taught by their elders to fear and respect the power of the iniquitous spirits as well as several means of procuring their appeasement through regular methods. Admission to the esoteric mysteries of shamanism was open to all Indian youths, irrespective of sex, who were capable of enduring the isolation and fasting process, but shamanistic practices for females were restricted to herbal medicine.

Traditional models of education enabled the Indian child to function adequately within his society. The educational process was practical in nature and was suited to the child's way of life, which was nomadic since parents followed wildlife migration patterns and seasonal fluctuations of the land.

Formal Education

With the advent of the European migration to Canada, traditional Indian education has been replaced by a formal system of education which takes place within rigid settings at specific times. Bailey (1969) has argued that the historical factor which has given character to formal education was the development of religion, and the appearance of the clergy, since they were seen as possessing religious truths. King Louis XIV (1668) recognized the potential of religion as a vehicle through which the balance of power could be maintained among the European nations. Missionaries were sent from France to North America to spread the gospel among the Indian tribes. The missionaries brought with them a new and foreign culture and value system which contradicted the traditional beliefs and practices of the Indian people.

Each religious sect had its own particular opinion and each tried to protect and win the souls of Indian peoples. West and Provencher develop this point. Provencher, a Catholic missionary, writing of West, a Protestant missionary, in his diary states "God grant that his doctrine may not take root in the hearts of the Indians".¹⁸ West, recording in his diary, writes of his experience with Provencher as follows:

An Indian widow left two sons at the school. At first they kept running away. When they had gotten used to the school she came and took them away. I was informed that the Catholics were prejudicing her mind against the school and that some of the women of that persuasion had told her that I was collecting children from the Indians with the idea of taking them away to my country.¹⁹

Despite these differences among the churches in terms of conversion, their main objective, in the case of the Indian, has historically rested on a number of interrelated postulates. Davis (1967) writes:

Firstly, the universe as well as men were created by an omnipotent and omniscient God. Secondly, God created man as a duality consisting of a body that will die and a spirit of soul that will endure forever. Third, God provided to man his holy writ, thereby affording man a possible opportunity for salvation through eventual spiritual union with him in heaven. Fourth, for reasons both mysterious and unknown, only a limited number of men could hope to achieve salvation. Fifth, because of the mystery of God and his ways, no precise specification of the conditions under which salvation could be assured was humanly possible. Finally, the God who created man alone and others unaided albeit faced with the necessity of seeking salvation through the exercise of his own initiative and resources. ²⁰

With the above ideology in mind, the churches placed great emphasis on religious instruction and negated the quality of other curriculum skills. West (1824) ²¹ and Kavenaugh (1946) ²² both expressed the idea that the main objective of missionaries was to teach and spread religious truths. Bailey (1969) argues that strong emphasis was placed on religious education because the missionaries were following the misconception that the Indians were without a religion. To the missionaries, a lack of a priest, temples, images, and other visible signs of worship were strong indicators of a lack of spiritual belief. With these misconceptions in mind the missionaries felt that it was their spiritual duty to introduce the Christian doctrine. ²³

Efforts aimed at converting the Indians to Christianity were introduced gradually by means of baptism. The Indians were exhorted to renounce their "pagan" customs, funeral rites, dreams, beliefs in the shaman, localized supernatural beings, and other elements of their religion which were considered unholy in the eyes of the missionaries. Yet, the spread of Christianity was not without its handicaps. Bailey (1969) writes that the spread of Christianity was limited initially because of linguistic barriers between the two groups, the isolation and nomadic existence of the Indians, mistrust, liquor, lack of territorial familiarity, illness, resistance to the faith, and rivalry between the church and the state.²⁴

Lack of initial success did not deter the zeal of the missionaries to impress upon the minds of the Indians the mysteries of the Christian faith, and after several years the spread of Christianity started to take root. The spread of Christianity among the Algonkian Indians resulted in the establishment of modern educational patterns. Many Indian tribes were forced to replace their traditional and secular educational patterns in return for the new faith of Christianity.

Formal education was introduced to the Algonkians in Manitoba by means of the Catholic missionaries at St. Boniface, Pembina and the Red River in 1818. This was followed by the establishment of Methodist and Anglican schools.²⁵

The success of educational programs was evaluated by the number of baptisms, church attendance, pupils' ability to recite the catechism, and the amount of soil cultivated. The measure of success comes across clearly. The Indians were considered to be uncivilized and progress was considered made when the Indians began to adopt to the values and customs of the missionaries. To the churches, the traditional education of the Indians was a deterrent to progress and needed replacing by a different type of education. Sir Francis Bond Head, Governor of Upper Canada, spoke of missionary efforts in these terms.

... the attempt to make farmers of the red men has been, generally speaking, a complete failure. The congregating them for the purpose of civilization has implanted more vices than it has eradicated and consequently the greatest kindness we can perform toward this intelligent, simple minded people is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from any communication with the whites.²⁶

The report of 1836 was not taken seriously since it was more convenient economically and physically to allow the churches to continue their educational programs.

A strong supporter of missionary educational zeal was E. Ryerson, an Indian Affairs Superintendent. He recommended to the government that a continuation in religious instructions and emphasis on agricultural programs were essential. According to this procedure a daily educational program should include the following:

Rise at five, attend to the house, prayers and lessons until seven, breakfast. Labor until twelve o'clock, dinner and intermission until one. Labor from one to six, supper at six, lessons until eight, bed between eight and nine. The hours of rising might be later in winter. 27

Certain aspects of Ryerson's proposal were adopted but were ineffective because of a lack of interest on the part of the students and a lack of funds.

With the passing of the British North America Act in 1867, Section 91, subsection 24, and the signing of treaties between the Federal Government and the various Indian tribes of Canada, the education of Indian children became the responsibility of the Federal Government.

At this point the goals of the missionaries and the state became similar. Perhaps it could be argued that the signing of the treaties between the various Indian tribes and the Federal Government officially laid the foundation for religious denominations to play an integral part in Indian education.

The linkage between the churches and the Federal Government on the subject of Indian education became closely interwoven as time progressed with the government concentrating on financial issues and leaving the operation of the schools to religious organizations. The intimate relationship between Church and State on the issue of Indian education became obvious in 1879 when Nicholas Flood Davin recommended to Sir John A. Macdonald that the government should contact the churches to board, educate, and train Indian pupils in the

area of industrial studies since they have proven themselves to be efficient and economical. It was also stressed that schools for this purpose should be located in central areas away from the reserve so that the retrogressive influence of the Indian parents could be overcome. 28

The recommendations were accepted by the government and the churches were given the opportunity to operate industrial schools. By 1886 there were in operation in Manitoba three types of schools: Industrial, Boarding, and Day schools. These schools were financed by the Federal Government and were operated by religious denominations. The churches favoured residential and industrial over day schools because they had virtually complete control over their students within a structured setting. Other advantages of residential schools were seen in the usage of English which was mandatory at all times.

With the appointment of D. Scott as Superintendent of Education in 1909, the Indian Affairs Branch gradually shifted its objectives. Vallery (1942) summarizes these objectives

The government and the churches have abandoned, to a large extent, previous policies which attempted to Canadianize the Indians. Through a process of vocational and to a smaller extent academic training, they are now attempting to make good Indians rather than a poor mixture of Indians and whites. While the idea is still Christian citizenship, the government now hopes to move towards this end by continuing to segregate the Indian population from the white race. 29

Programs of segregation meant minimal contact for the Indian student with non-Indian students. In many ways this policy appears as though it was based on the philosophy of "out of sight - out of mind", with the churches acting as the official protector of Indian children.

In 1910, a mutual agreement was drawn up between the government and the churches with the understanding that the government would handle all financial matters for the administration of schools. The maximum payment for a class A school was \$125.00 per annum and the government's stipulations were as follows:

Schools substantial and in a good state of repair, stone cement foundation, airy full basement with cement floor, pure and plentiful water supply throughout the building, proper system of drainage and disposal of sewage, hospital accommodation, ventilization, sufficient space per pupil, modern heating, room for farming, gardens, and industrial work. ³⁰

In return for financial assistance the churches looked after the administration of school programs, such as curriculum, staffing, and the establishment of buildings for instructional purposes. Governmental expenses to religious institutions showed an increase from \$2,000.00 in 1876 to \$2,331,533.00 in 1933. ³¹

Federal influence in Indian education showed a marked improvement after 1950 when the Indian Act was revised and the provincial course of study was introduced to Indian students at Residential, Day, and Provincial schools. Additional interest was shown in the area of the

acquisition of classroom supplies. The Federal Government began to purchase residential school property which had been previously owned by the churches and paid the salaries of teachers in accordance with salary schedules in other schools.³²

The role of the church and its influence on Indian education has been subject to strong criticisms from several writers. It was widely felt that missionaries in Canada recognized the rights of Indian parents but failed to accept them since they were mainly concerned with religious truths. Criticism of the churches varies from mild to the extreme. To some writers, the churches were concerned with financial gains rather than education. Van Thiel (1971) and Nelson (1969) were exponents of this viewpoint. Van Thiel comments

Since the government decided to give its grants to the Boarding School on the basis of attendance of the children, that is to say \$72.00 per child per annum, it has been the aim of those interested in the work to increase the number of the children at the school, not only for the good of the Christian work, but also to increase the assets.³³

Alex Nelson takes a similar view.

As teachers they (Missionaries) can be and always are miserable failures, but it doesn't matter so long as they keep up the missionary end of things, even if the Indian Department does not foot the bill for camouflage teachers.³⁴

Other writers have criticized the churches on the premise that they were concerned with Christianizing and perpetuating new values. Exponents of this theory are

King (1970), Frideres (1974) and Vallery (1942). King writes of the churches

The Christian Church must take most of the responsibility for the lack of adaptability of Indians to the modern Yukon. This is because Canadian society has forced on the churches a function that they cannot perform. Churches and their schools provided Christianity to the Indians. The Indians responded to Christianity so well that they abandoned basic cultural patterns ... within two generations. 35

Frideres supports King's reasoning

Education of natives by the Church has overtones of paternalism and moral salvation and they indoctrinate conservative attitudes. The basic text in Roman Catholicism is that poverty is not necessarily bad and that people should not attempt to produce social change in society to upgrade their position. By enduring their poverty they will be showing humility and making penance for their sins as an appeasement to God. Education for the natives meant 'moral' admonishments, cultural genocide and material exploitation by churches. 36

Herbert Vallery takes a more extreme view. He attacks all churches that have been involved in the education of Indian children.

The story of Indian Education in Canada must begin with the disastrous contact between the white race and the Indians ... We shall find that Indian Education is closely interwoven with the work of religious organizations and the various churches ... We must remember that the education of the Indians by the whites, attempted breaking-down of the hundred of years of the Indian cultures, civilization and education. 37

A similar but stronger view is expressed by Harold Cardinal in (1969). Cardinal centres his claim upon the argument that the missionaries made no attempt to understand native ways, culture, and religion. 38

Yet despite the intensity of the criticisms against the churches, it was evident that the missionaries were responsible for the introduction of formal education among the Cree Indians. The missionaries were aware that the solidarity of the Christian faith could not survive under nomadic conditions, and they therefore responded by establishing schools which were used as centres for introducing Indian youths to religious truths.

The Conflict

Formal education as expounded by the missionaries was aimed at civilizing the Indians through evangelism and preparing youths for a life of piety and industry; whereas traditional education was based on the philosophy of preparing the Indian youths for life in their natural environment. Differences in purpose between traditional and formal education have given rise to conflicts between the missionaries and the Indian people. Initially, formal education was the responsibility of the missionaries, but after the signing of the treaties between the various Indian tribes and the Federal Government, the education of Indian children was shifted to the Federal Government. The education of Indian children, to the Federal Government, meant the continuation of the missionaries' efforts. The missionaries were given complete autonomy to continue the administration of Indian education and in return the government oversaw the financial aspects.

By providing years of formal education to Indians in isolated settings, students were prepared neither for integration into provincial schools nor for the provincial curriculum. The new policy of integration in the sixties aroused the anger of both Indians and non-Indians. Frideres' criticism reads

Students are forced to attend non federal schools out of necessity, because there were no federal schools. The switch from one type of school system to another has a serious disruptive influence on education and the social development of native children. The change of social milieu has the greatest impact. 39

Indian agencies such as the National Indian Brotherhood and Manitoba Indian Brotherhood at the federal and local levels were also concerned about the government's new policy of integrating Indian students into provincial schools and the use of provincial curricula. According to these agencies, such a policy and program would further increase the anxiety of the Indian students. Literature describing the reasons for the low achievement of Indian children consistently points to the fact that the present system of education is not meeting the needs of native students has resulted in a high dropout rate, negative attitudes, and conflict over issues of identity.

Wahbung (1971), Sealey and Kirkness (1972), Dilling (1965), Spindler (1964), Walsh (1972), and Hawthorn Report (1967) support these findings. Their research indicates that the present system of education has resulted

in conflicts because it required extreme personality changes among Indian youths. Indian education has continued to be a negative experience because of conflicts between traditional and formal philosophies, and has resulted in low levels of motivation, alienation, and a poor sense of worth.

The elders of Gods Lake are in agreement with Wahbung's explanations for failure among Indian students. They feel that the present system of education makes very few provisions for perpetuating Indian culture. Since the outset of white education, the onus has been placed on Indian students to change. It was inconceivable that teachers should adopt elements from Indian life since this would have been contrary to the aims of formal education. For example, students were forced to accept a rigid schedule which was in conflict with their sense of time and program.⁴⁰

Added to the above is the problem of communication between parents and the school since the majority of parents communicate in Cree whereas the teachers speak English. Differences in communication patterns have resulted in the use of translators who act as liaison between parents and school personnel. Parents are reluctant to converse on topics of education with school personnel because communication has to be handled by means of a third person who is often hesitant to express negative feelings to both parties.⁴¹

An additional reason for the high dropout rate is the removal of Indian students from non-integrated to

integrated school settings during the final years of the matriculation program. Of all ethnic groups, Indian youths are the only group that are forced to leave their native environment in order to complete their schooling. Removal from one educational setting to another during the latter stage of one's development could be disruptive, since the period of adjustment to the new environment could psychologically hamper a child's progress. The adjustment period for the Indian child is more difficult since he or she has little faith in his or her own potential. ⁴²

The Hawthorn Report (1967) elaborates on some of the education problems that confront Indian students. The report considers the problems under the following headings:

1. Identity -

The young Indian child arrives at school with a cultural orientation, a set of values, and a structured personality. He has an identity as an individual and as a member of a specific cultural group. His cultural orientation and values will have prepared him to value certain things and not others, to perceive things in certain ways and to internalize goals for specific reasons shared with his community. To the extent that the school population holds different cultural orientations and values, his expectations and perceptions will differ from those of the others and a situation of conflict will be created. To the extent that the child learns that his way is not only different but is wrong, his identity and his security are attacked and he is confronted with a crucial problem. ⁴³

2. Formal and Informal Education -

The young Indian child is subjected to an informal education system within his own society which enables him to become an

Indian; formal education in the public schools seldom overlaps the Indian educational process but it does make certain inroads. At adolescence, about fifth to eighth grade, the antithetical position of the two cultures becomes crucial because it faces the Indian youth with a dilemma he cannot resolve. 44

3. Intelligence Tests -

The matter of intelligence tests is a serious one. The tests are known to be invalid for all populations except the one for which they were standardized, that is, English-speaking white middle-classes of an urban group. Non-Indian children from any other than the urban middle-class tend to score low on the tests; many minority group children are low scorers when measured by such tests. Even children from the middle-class can score low on group tests on any given day for a variety of reasons. The Indian child has little likelihood of scoring adequately on the tests because of the time they were given, because they bear little relationship to the things he knows, and because he has a low reading ability and perhaps also because his patterns of perception and abstraction may vary from those of his middle-class white peers. 45

4. Curriculum -

No systematic study was made of provincial curricula used in the public schools but several points warrant some consideration. In most systems there is no material related to Indian cultures. We strongly suggested that provincial curricula allow some flexibility in various subjects to permit inclusion of ethnic material from all groups in multi-racial schools. Social Studies, Art and Literature classes would lend themselves easily to such inclusions. The benefits of using local material would be sound pedagogically since it would focus interest and involve students from the various ethnic groups. It would also give them some sense of worth and of pride at being included. 46

Differences between formal and non-formal education increase the conflict between parents and children. Hawthorn summarizes the dilemma of the Indian youth.

Caught between the Indian and non-Indian worlds as well as between generations, the Indian child is faced with an overwhelming task: to assemble for himself an identity in situations of the utmost confusion. He must also develop a sufficient sense of self-worth to enable him to progress from childhood to adulthood with some conception of his role, his abilities, his limitations and some hope of success. The prerequisites for such a task include the development of skills to cope with his environment and the support of adults who will believe in him and guide him along his way. The child cannot resolve this dilemma while he is still dependent upon his family for primary needs and subject to the adult authority of the school which has found no meeting place with the home. ⁴⁷

Faced with an internal dilemma, the Indian child finds it difficult to cope with the problem of identity. Chance (1968) and Spindler (1974) elaborate on the dilemma of Indian children. Chance, in a study of Indian students, found that each summer when the child returns home from integrated schools he is faced with repeated conflicts because parents know little of his school experience and teachers know little of his home life. Conflict results in considerable internal stress at behavioural and cognitive levels. ⁴⁸ Spindler suggests that the self-identity of the child returning home is confused because he is expected to follow old traditions and practices of his past. The child is then forced later to reject one type of experience for another or to form a system between the two expectations.

An attempt to form a synthesis between the two modes meant that the child had to adjust or adapt behavioural patterns. The most common adaptive practice is to reject roles that demand cognitively different or behavioural thought responses. 49
The Indian child rejects school because it is probably the easiest way out and is often associated with forced participation.

It has been found that pre-school Cree children had clear and traditional models of identification. Their initial contact with school was harmless because their perception was limited and non-enquiring, but as the child grew older his self-reliance, dependence, interdependence, and role expectation tended to enter a phase of identity conflict since the child was unable to fulfill his parents' expectations. 50

Other analyses of the present educational system have been undertaken by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (1970) (1972), and Wahbung (1971). The authors of Wahbung found that the present education system was not meeting the needs of the Indian students and that failure was a reflection of weaknesses in the educational programs and was a result of:

1. Lack of clearly defined education objectives.
2. Failure to provide meaningful educational programs.
3. Lack of qualified personnel.
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. 51

A more critical view of the present system of education was taken by Frideres who states that the educational system that has developed within Canada is for white, urban, middle-class citizens, and as a result is irrelevant for the Indian students and community. ⁵² Waubageshig (1970) criticizes the government for merely fulfilling its fiscal obligation and concludes by stating that

The curriculum which Indian pupils follow is regulated by the provincial authorities and is identical to the curriculum followed by all students in the province. ⁵³

Under these circumstances it is evident that the modification of education programs is essential. Effective curricula can be achieved by means of a re-examination of content and a removal of texts that portray Indians in a negative light. Marlene Castellono elaborates on the issue of texts.

Education has projected Indians in negative light in texts ... Distortion in texts, limited or lack of involvement by native people has resulted in a distorted reflection by the Indian child. ⁵⁴

So far the criticisms of the present educational system tend to point towards the irrelevancy of educational programs and lack of parental involvement. Underlying these criticisms is the obvious fact that there is a lack of clearly defined goals in terms of Indian education. The National Indian Brotherhood policy paper defines their educational philosophy as follows

1. We want education to give our children the knowledge to understand and be proud of themselves and the knowledge to understand the world around them.

2. We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education of our children. Based on two education principles recognized in Canadian society: Parental responsibility and local control of education. Indian parents seek participation and partnership with the Federal Government, whose legal responsibility for Indian education is set out by the treaties and the Indian Act. While we assert that only Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living, we also strongly maintain that it is the financial responsibility of the Federal Government to provide education of all types and all levels to all status Indian people, whether living on or off reserves. It will be essential to the realization of this objective that representatives of the Indian people, in close co-operation with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs, establish the needs and priorities of local communities in relation to the funds which may be available through government sources.

3. Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until the curriculum recognizes Indian customs and values, Indian languages, and contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history. 55

The most significant factor of this philosophy is the desire by Indian parents to have their children educated. Education should not be limited to formal instructions but should include opportunities for self-development. Walsh develops the concept further:

Education cannot be limited to merely formal instruction. While it must provide the basic knowledge required for academic, professional and vocational courses, it must also encourage self-development. It must find expression in leadership in many types of community activities. 56

Indicative in this new approach to education is the desire to encourage self-development. Self-development,

as the name implies, centres around the "self" and is aimed at presenting a positive concept of the "self". To achieve a positive concept of "self" it means that teachers and students have to work collectively toward this aim. Schools have to adopt more flexible programs and the role of Indian parents has to be changed. The self-image is important to effective and stable development. One means of improving the Indian child's self-concept is by relating relevant material to his culture.

Lefley (1974) conducted a study in which American Indian students were given a course which stressed the positive aspects of Indian culture.

In this study the independent variable involves the very essence of these children's identity as human beings, during a period of profound cultural upheaval. It is believed that the three significant changes found--reduced distance between actual and ideal self, increased preference for Indian stimuli, and increased correlation between personal and ethnic self-perception--attest to the effectiveness of the culture program. 57

The foregoing reflects the problems of the present educational system as it relates to Indian children. The present educational system is concerned with cognitive skills, and little emphasis is placed on the affective concerns of the Indian child. Formal education is regarded not as an integral part of learning but as an imposition which fails to respond to the changing educational needs of the society in which it operates. The present school projects a rigid provincial program which is aimed at

perpetuating the views of the dominant culture at the expense of the wishes of minorities. The argument against the present system stems from the idea that schools are concerned with skills and little or no effort is placed upon the production of relevant programs to meet the needs of minority groups. The most significant point of this statement is the fact that non-relevant programs could result in a conflict between the child and the school. Conflict usually results in the child dropping out of school.

The literature reviewed has pointed to the need for relevancy in the present educational programs. Relevancy could be achieved by relating learning experiences to the child's immediate environment. This type of relationship is discussed by Fantini and Weinstein (1968) who define the cognitive and affective domain of learning.

The cognitive and affective functions of education are directed towards knowing and feeling. The cognitive function 'is directed to the achievement and communication of knowledge'. The affective function on the other hand 'pertains to the practical life-- to the emotions, the passions, the dispositions, the motives, the moral and aesthetic sensibilities, the capacity for feeling, concern, attachment of detachment, sympathy, empathy, and appreciation'. 58

Embedded in these definitions is the idea that there is a strong linkage between affect and cognitive functions. Cognition is concerned with understanding or knowing about a variety of academic subjects and affect concerns the readiness or preparation or self-concept of

the child. Fantini and Weinstein found that schools have experienced problems because of failure to relate the cognitive dimension of learning to the affective dimension. Institutions have been cognitively oriented and quite often assume that learners will be motivated to respond to curriculum content if enough pressure is imposed.⁵⁹ The interests of a child are very important since they determine whether the young child entering school will have a positive sense of identity and feeling of belonging or alienation and discontentedness.

Readiness is often related to a positive self-concept. Educators tend to support the importance of positive self-worth and identity as a basis for effective cognition. Ida Wasacase (1976), states that if the school rejects the only words that a child knows, the child's first experience will be related to failure and rejection. Embedded in this statement is the importance for acceptance regardless of the language. Positive acceptance often results in a positive sense of identity and aspiration.⁶⁰

Studies placing strong emphasis on the affective domain of learning have been subject to some criticism. To date, the most compelling opposition has come from Clifton (1977). He has taken a critical analysis of the Hawthorn Report on the grounds that (1) it has de-emphasized cognitive skills; (2) the methodology of the research is questionable; (3) there are ambiguities in the findings; and (4) there are a number of intervening and independent variables not used to measure academic performance.⁶¹ He

argues that the results of the majority of tests surrounding cognitive and non-cognitive abilities tends to be inconclusive.

Virtually every paper reviewed on the topic of verbal and non-verbal testing for Indian students tend to demonstrate that cultural variations were accounting for the differences between Indian and non-Indian students on verbal ability tests. ⁶²

Clifton's criticisms are inadequate because he has failed to analyze the purpose of the Hawthorn Report which was to examine the political, economic and educational problems relating to Indians. Throughout the Report, the author looked at the cognitive, non-cognitive and socio-economic factors and their influence upon Indian education. The findings of the report indicate a relationship between the cognitive and non-cognitive abilities, in that the cognitive serves to enhance the affective domain of learning. Thus, the more relevant the teaching the better the chances are for making contact with the culturally different learners. By presenting studies from Renaud (1958), Wiltshire and Grey (1969), and Vernon (1966) to substantiate the need for cognitive development among Indian students, he has succeeded in substantiating rather than refuting the findings on Indian education.

Studies by Renaud (1958), Franklyn (1974), and Majorbask (1972) all show that age-grade retardation, and dropping out of school by Indian students are a result of low reading skills. These findings are consistent with the recommendations of the Hawthorn Report. From these studies,

it seems logical to argue that the present curriculum needs to be modified and new approaches to reading be adopted. Experience has also taught us that learning to read in today's electronically dominated society seems to be a growing problem throughout the population. One hears that today's students reach universities or end their formal education as incompetent readers. The reasons for this are varied, but for the Indian child there is a greater reason for his failure. Mickelson and Galloway (1973) found that Indian children often lack certain verbal concepts such as 'through', 'between', 'behind', 'side', 'every', 'equal', 'least', 'always', and 'never'.⁶³ Bowd, in a survey conducted in 1972, looked into some of the problems associated with Indian education.

Socio-economic status and language background have been consistently found to influence the education achievement of Indian children. Even a cursory examination of the literature demonstrates that these same factors have been found to be of similar overall importance with respect to white children.⁶⁴

It is obvious from the results that Indian children commence school with disadvantages. Lack of ability in the language of instruction and inadequate experiences for success make it difficult for the Indian children to cope within school settings.

In discussing the reading problems of foreign language learners, Yorio (1971) defines reading as

...A selective process in which the reader, guided by his knowledge of his native language, picks up graphic cues and relates them to syntactic, semantic and phonological cues ... 65

To be a good reader one must have a very good knowledge of the language. Many Indian children enter school lacking this prerequisite. In learning to read in English they are often hampered by a deficiency in vocabulary. In addition, they have difficulty in making associations among reading cues which lead to comprehension and they forget cues more rapidly than they would in their native tongue. The learner of the new language also needs to overcome the interference of his native tongue when he attempts to read orally.

The reader must go from the surface structure (the printed form) to the deep structure to capture meaning (decoding process) and then he must encode again to produce another form of surface structure (sound). 66

This is a very complex mental activity and when, in conjunction with the other factors faced by disadvantaged learners, it proves extremely difficult.

From the foregoing it is evident that in many ways today's Indian child is caught in a cultural crossfire in which two opposing cultures do not co-exist comfortably. The Indian way of life was based on nomadic standards. The hunt was essential to the survival of the tribal family unit in the wilderness. Seasonal change was more important than day to day planning and status was conferred upon those most capable of surviving. Mutual caring and sharing were essential for the survival of the community. These deeply ingrained

values have come in conflict with the demands of an industrial society where time and scheduling are very important, where possession of material goods is status-forming, where the cohesion of the family is disintegrating, and the individual no longer has to rely on others to ensure his survival. Modern society is increasing in complexity and in order to keep up, the individual must master complex communication skills. Indian people need to fit into this new society, but their tie to the land and their own cultural background has not allowed them to adjust easily to the new ways. Internal and external pressures are demanding and it is difficult in the short span of time the child actually spends in school to make up all deficiencies.

Many suggestions have been made with respect to curriculum relevancy in school organization at the reserve and provincial levels. It has been suggested from the previous studies that relevant content aimed at projecting positive self-identity, affective learning, and cognition should be implemented in schools serving Indian children. It is believed that if the learner is not convinced that what he is learning is of value he will probably tune it out and not learn. If one accepts that it is better to use the learner's strengths to help him overcome his weaknesses, rather than stressing his shortcomings, the teacher of Indian children should use the culture of the children to build up their self-esteem. An analysis of

the aims and objectives of the Indian people in terms of their desires for their children should precede the implementation of programs. Besides, there should be a built-in monitoring system to continually evaluate and determine whether the objectives and aims are being met.

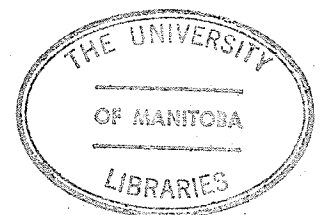
SUMMARY

The difference between traditional and formal education has been examined. A fairly detailed analysis as to possible methods that could be used to increase students' interests which in turn would enhance the school attendance was presented. Curriculum modification and parental involvement seemed to have been the most widely discussed topics under the present system of formal education. The provincial program of education with modifications has been accepted as a workable system at day and integrated schools but the dropout rate continues to be high at both levels. In light of the above, a number of relevant questions have arisen and hinge around the idea that perhaps the needs of the Indian people in Gods Lake are not being met under the present educational system.

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CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE SWAMPY CREE INDIANS IN NORTHERN MANITOBA, NORTH OF THE 53RD PARALLEL, AND THE IMPACT OF THE FUR TRADE ON THEIR LIVES

INTRODUCTION

A knowledge of the historical development of the fur trade in North-eastern Manitoba, north of the 53rd parallel, provides the basic background necessary for an understanding of the development of education and the settlement of the Swampy Cree Indians. For the purpose of this study, its importance lies in the fact that missionary centres were established around trading posts and gave rise to the mission schools. Consequently, this chapter will examine the role of the Swampy Cree Indians in the fur trade.

The Cree

"Nayheeyawuk" or "Nehethewak", precisely speaking people, is the name by which the Cree distinguished themselves from the other tribes. Other names such as Knisteneaux, Klistineaux, Kinistenoog and Christineaux have been used in reference to the Cree by Europeans.¹ Early classification of the Cree shows two divisions.

Jenness (1935) divides the Cree into two groups, namely:

1. Plains Cree, living on the prairies.
2. Woodland Cree, usually called Swampy Cree or Muskegon. They include not only the bands around the Southern part of Hudson Bay, but those living on the Peace, Athabasca and Slave Rivers and on Athabasca and Great Slave Lakes. ²

Another supporter of the two division concept is

Skinner. He states

The body politic of the tribe is made up of two great divisions: The Plains Cree of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan Prairies; and the Woods or Swampy Cree of Muskegon. ³

More recently, the two major divisions of the Cree tribe have been subject to modification. The Cree Indians recognize three major divisions to their tribe, namely:

The Muskegowuk or 'People of the Swampy', living in the muskeg country around Hudson Bay; the Sagowinniniwuk or 'People of the Woods', occupying the forested country of Northern Saskatchewan and Alberta; and the Pasquainniwak or 'People of the Plains', roaming the prairies of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The latter branch were known to the fur traders as the Plains Cree. ⁴

This tribal division of the Cree is substantiated by Crow who writes

Usually the tribe is spoken of as two main groups - the Woods Cree of the West, and the Muskegon or Swampy Cree of the East. There's now a third division, the Plains Cree, but they merged after the Europeans came. ⁵

Geographically, the exact time of the Cree migration into Western Canada is subject to several interpretations.

Hlady (1967) argues that Cree migration to the area dates

back to between 500 - 1000 A.D. Migration was based on the idea that as the Cree tribe increased in size they were forced to expand further inland in an attempt to utilize land, forest, and water in order to meet the needs of their families. ⁶

Migrational patterns of the Cree by 1700 reveal that the tribes were well distributed with the Chipewyan and Assiniboine tribes along areas leading to Hudson Bay. Data fails to reveal the causes for these distribution patterns, although it could be argued that since the Cree were primarily a woodland people they were forced to settle in areas, with other tribes, where there was an adequate supply of food.

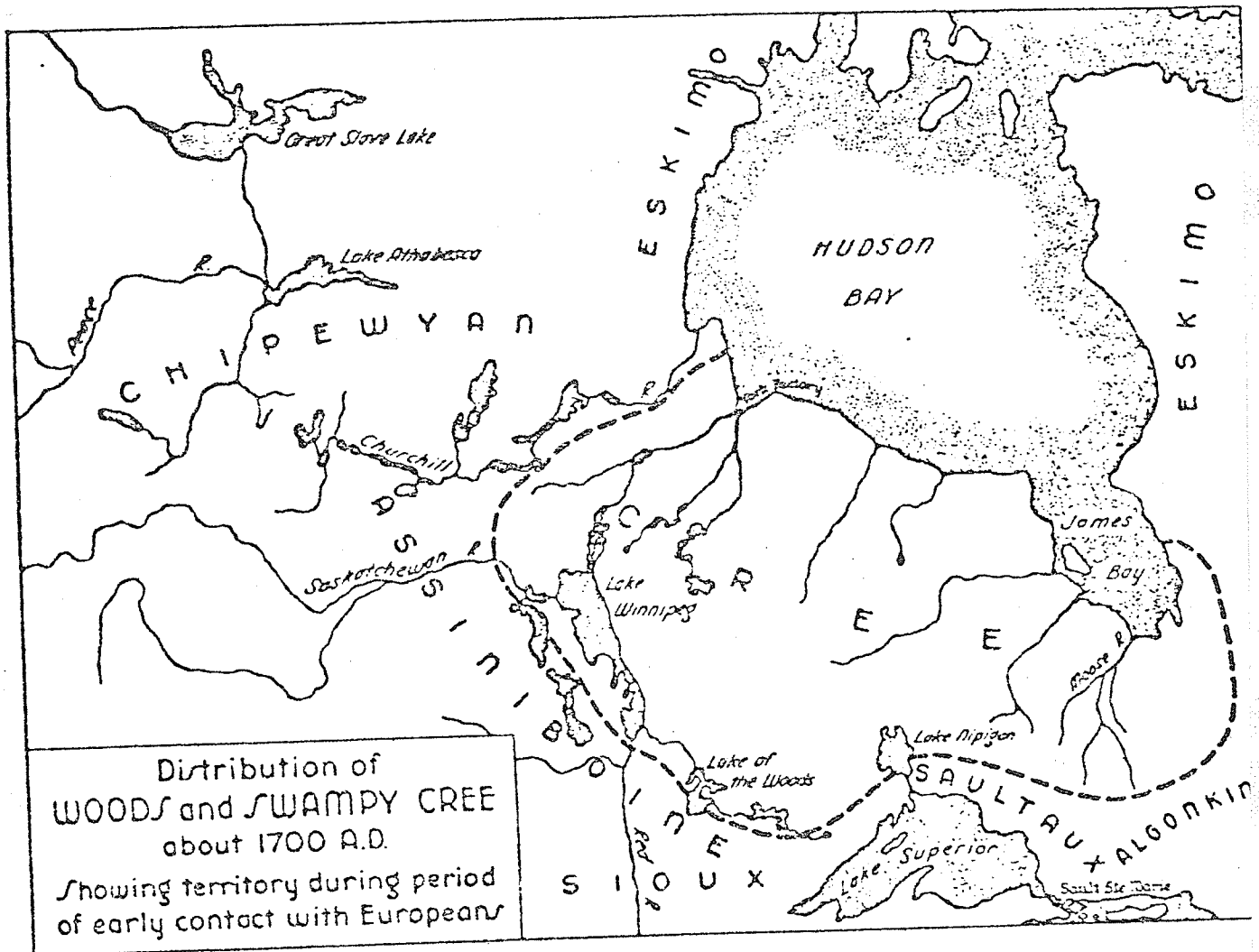
Further distribution of the tribe about 1900 A.D. indicates that the western expansion of the Cree was halted by the Beaver and Chipewyan tribes. Mason (1967) postulates the view that this kind of distribution was arranged out of necessity. Thus he writes

East of the plains regions of the Southern border of the Woodland Cree dwell several divisions of Ojibway or Sauteaux as they are known in Canada. Stopping the Cree advance toward the Rocky Mountains are the Peace River, Beaver, and forming a boundary between the Cree and their Northern neighbours, the Chipewyan, are Lake Athabasca and the Churchill River to Hudson Bay. ⁷

Another reason for the halting of migrational patterns during 1900 A.D. could be one of accommodation or infiltration on the part of the Sauteaux or Ojibway tribes by the Cree in areas which were held solely by the latter.

MAP I

DISTRIBUTION OF WOODS AND SWAMPY CREE
INDIANS ABOUT 1700 A.D.



Source: National Museum of Canada, 1967.

Godsell (1939) substantiates the concept of a merger based on his travelling experiences among the various tribes. He states that as the Ojibway or Sauteaux tribes spread northward from Turtle Mountain and the foothills of the Rockies, they merged gradually with the Cree tribes.⁸

Linguistically, the Cree people of Northern Manitoba are classified as Algonkian. The majority of the Indian bands in Manitoba speak Cree whereas other groups speak Ojibway or Sauteaux. Tyrrell (1931) reporting on the language of the Cree, writes

The language of the Crees, which is Algonkian, and that of the Indians in the neighbourhood of the fort is the same except for several words and a slight difference in accent.⁹

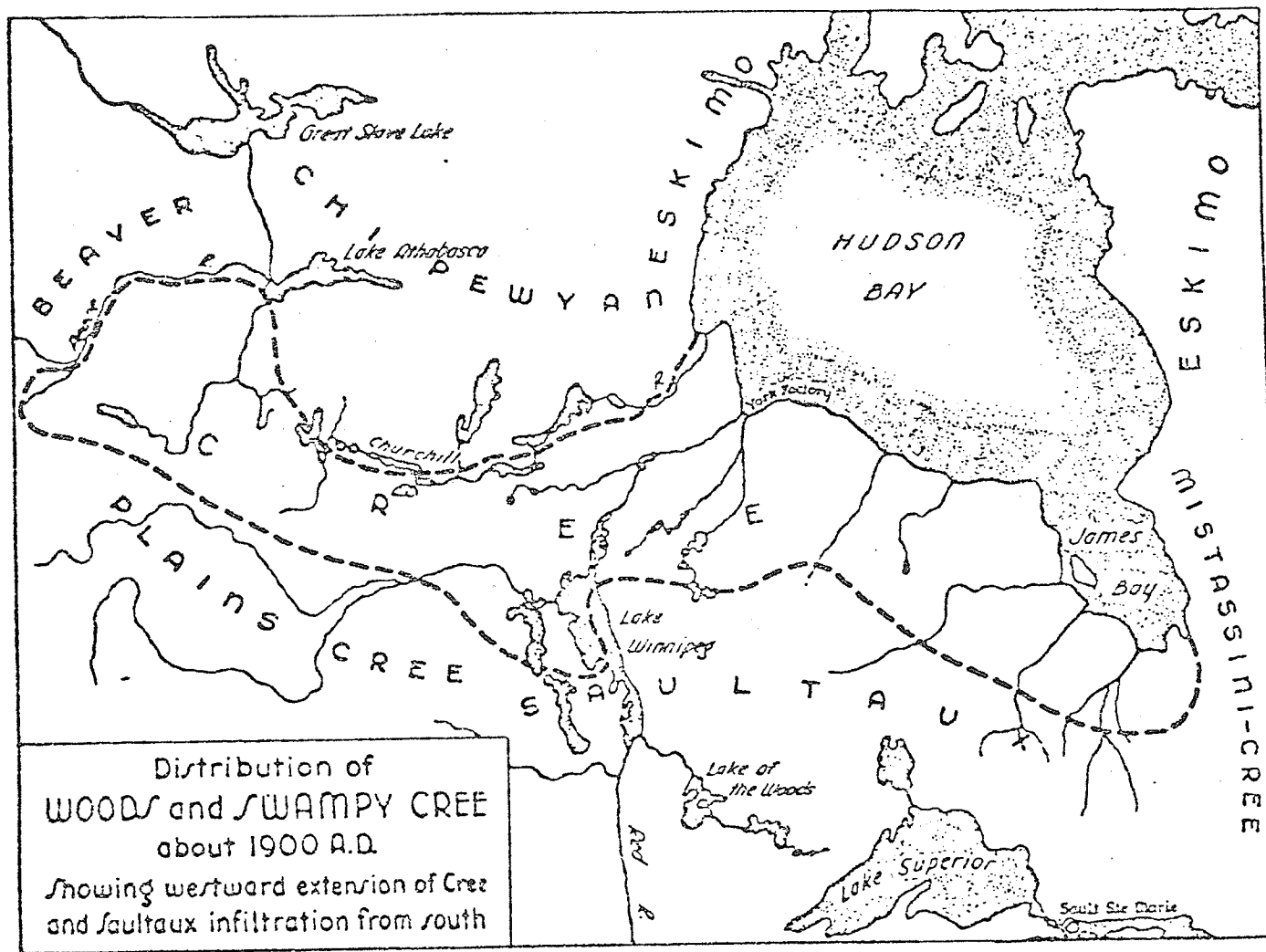
Despite dialectic differences between Cree and Sauteaux the language follows a mutually intelligible pattern of Cree.¹⁰

Several names have been ascribed to the Swampy Cree Indians. Names such as Muskegons (men of muskeg or swamp), Homeguards, Houseguards, and Uphill Indians have been used by writers such as Leechman (1957), Ray (1974) and Grant (1929). Skinner divided the muskegon people into five groups:

1. Winnipegotwug or 'Coast people' found as their name implies about the shores of James and Hudson Bays and hunting for a very short distance inland.
2. Nutcimiui-iiu or 'South-Inlanders' in the inland forests South and East of the Bay.
3. Kiwetin-iiuwug or 'North people' at Fort George and Northward.

MAP II

DISTRIBUTION OF WOODS AND SWAMPY CREE
INDIANS ABOUT 1900 A.D.



Source: National Museum of Canada, 1967.

4. Oscheiskakamikau-iiu or 'On the height of land people' residing on the height of land from Albany to Fort George.
5. Nekape-ininuwug or 'West people' York Cree residing in the vicinity of York Factory. ¹¹

Based on these descriptions it appears that the habitat of the Swampy Cree seems to be centered between Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg, an environment favourable to hunting large game animals, wildlife, plant food, and fishing because of the massive networks of lakes and streams in the area. Archeological findings support the above hypothesis. It has been indicated that the Swampy Cree Indians migrated and settled between Gods Lake and South Indian Lake from approximately 1500 A.D. onwards. Hlady (1970) reports on their settlement pattern

In the South they filled the void left by the Western movement of the Woodland Cree and occupied the Southern area gradually from 1650 A.D. until they occupied almost all of it by 1800 A.D. ¹²

The above statement is supported by the elders of the Gods Lake community who report that the Swampy Cree Indians made their permanent summer home in the Swampy areas of the northern woodland of Manitoba. ¹³

Prior to the influx of Europeans and the establishment of trading posts in northern Manitoba by the Hudson's Bay Company, the culture of the Cree people remained relatively unchanged.

Survival of the Cree society depended upon the ability of its people to conform to tribal ethics and way of life. Thus the Cree relied on their efforts to maintain

themselves and their families in the northern woodlands of present day northern manitoba. The hunting and fishing techniques were adapted to their environment and the rewards of their work were used as a source of clothing, shelter, food, and adornment. The meat of animals such as the Beaver, Caribou, and Moose was used for food. The skins of the Caribou or Moose were used as a source of shelter, clothing, and cooking utensils; and the feathers of wildlife were used for adornment and art.

The Fur Trade

The advent of the fur trade and the establishment of trading posts along Hudson Bay resulted in structural, political, and material changes among the Swampy Cree and other tribes. These changes manifested themselves in the late 19th century at the onset of the decline of the fur trade.

The fur trade gained its momentum in 1670 when Charles II of England granted a charter to the Governor of Rupertsland and his company of gentlemen to trade into all territory surrounding bodies of water which drained into Hudson Bay. The role of the company was wide and varied, ranging from the maintenance of its commercial empire to the sole monopoly of buying furs from the Indians. In response to its commission the Hudson's Bay Company responded and executed its function by establishing some of its trading posts along the shores of Hudson Bay. Posts

were built and opened at the mouths of rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. These posts were opened at Rupert House (1668), Moose Factory (1673), Albany House (1679), York Factory (1682), Fort Severn (1685), and Churchill (1717).¹⁴

The establishment of York Fort, later called York Factory, proved to be the commercial centre of Northern Manitoba. York Fort was built on a point of land separating the mouths of the Nelson and Hayes Rivers. Within its walls was an assortment of buildings ranging from homes for its employees to warehouses for storage. The importance of York Factory lies in the fact that it provided advantages to the Cree and Assiniboine Indians because of its strategic location and the size of its hinterland. The Fort offered direct water routes to central Manitoba as well as to England.¹⁵ Indian groups hoping to trade at York Factory had to pass across central and northern Manitoba through Cree and Assiniboine territory. This gave the Cree and Assiniboine Indians a military advantage as they were able to control a steady supply of arms and ammunition.¹⁶

The strategic location of York Factory intensified the rivalry between the French and English to the extent that York Factory changed hands several times during its operation. Rivalry for economic status was not restricted to the English and French. Indian tribes outside of the boundary of the homeguard Indians began to compete with inland tribes for control in carrying on trade to and from York Factory.

Sealey (1973) argues that

The Cree were fortunate in that they literally surrounded the posts on Hudson Bay and other tribes were forced to use them as middle men... Those who wished to trade directly with the Hudson's Bay Company such as the Chipewyans were gradually driven out of their traditional homelands... They allied with the Assiniboines, drove the Sioux to the South of the present day Manitoba border and were equally belligerent with Chipewyan Indians. Slowly but surely, they drove them away from Churchill and to the North and West. ¹⁸

Godsell (1938) elaborates on the encounters of the Cree and the Assiniboine with various tribes.

The advent of the Hudson's Bay Company proved propitious to the plans of the Assiniboines and Crees, and equally detrimental to the Blackfoot, since the former proceeded to arm themselves with flintlock muskets and control the trading routes leading to the English forts... Slowly but surely, with their Assiniboine allies, the Cree drove the Blackfoot westward and appropriated for themselves the magnificent buffalo pastures of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and much of Alberta... ¹⁹

By conquest the Cree and Assiniboine were able to control all inland trade to York Factory. Matthew Knight elaborates on the trading practices at York Factory

The Cree and Assiniboine took over control of the inland trade of York Factory ... Those that did come, always arrived in company with the Assiniboine and Cree. ²⁰

Knight's accounts were substantiated by Father Marest who writes

There are seven or eight different nations who have dealings with the fort and well-nigh three hundred or more of their canoes came to trade this year, 1695. The most distant, the most numerous, and the most important are the Assiniboines and the Cree ... ²¹

The Swampy Cree Indians occupied the area close to the Bay and accounted for twenty percent of the trade with York Factory. Some of the Swampy Cree Indians worked as houseguards or homeguards to the fort. As homeguards they supplied the fort with an adequate amount of food such as fowl, game, and fish. In fact it could be argued that they occupied a prestigious position since Bay employees at the fort were dependent on their willingness to supply food. This was because most Bay employees lacked the skills of providing for themselves in isolated settings. Another occupation of the Swampy Cree was that of middlemen, a position similar to that of other Cree and Assiniboine Indians. As middlemen, they made considerable profits for themselves. Sealey (1973) elaborates on their occupational habits

With the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company post at the mouth of the Hayes River in 1670, the Cree became middlemen to the fur trade. They travelled inland and exchanged trade goods with the interior tribes ... for furs which they then traded to the Hudson Bay. 22

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 temporarily halted the rivalry between the English and French. The English were given the undisputed possession of Bay posts, whereas the French remained in control along the Great Lakes. This settlement appeared reasonable at the time; but, to the French, successful competition with northern traders was dependent on their ability to penetrate into the Hudson's Bay territory. Frenchmen such as La Vérendrye and his sons,

Joseph La France and Captain Luc de la Corne, extended their trading forts into the Cree territory of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Manitoba and Saskatchewan Rivers.²³ The English retaliated by sending men such as Hendry, Henne, and Cocking in efforts to regain the trust of the Indians.

Competition between the French and English companies increased the array of exchangeable commodities that were available to the Indians. The French provided low bulk, high quality trade goods, whereas the English provided the Indians with large quantities of high bulk materials such as kettles, arms, and ammunition. The importance of York Factory continued to increase with the years because of the array of European foods that were made available to the Indians trading at its fort. Homeguard Indians who settled around the fort demanded blankets, cloth, and beads; whereas the Parkland Assiniboines and Cree consistently demanded hardware since these products were passed on to other groups with whom they traded. The need for basic items such as food stuff and hardware was required by all groups irrespective of location. Ray (1974) summarizes these needs as follows :

The tribal bands living in the forested tracks of land required a greater variety of metal goods, consumed more ammunition and placed a higher value on cloth and blankets than did the Indian groups living in the Parklands and Grasslands.²⁴

Leonard Mason extends Ray's arguments further by stating

Intense competition which resulted had an unfortunate effect on the Cree. He was aware of the great command for his furs and the fabulous prices he could command, but he also

acquired a craving for rum and whiskey which traders passed out freely to inspire the native trappers to greater efforts. 25

Guns proved to be an essential part of European goods because of their special features, an increase in shooting range, instant death, and ease of handling. Their disadvantages lay in the reloading process and the procurement of ammunition. The demand for guns varied according to their range and as a result one finds a decline from the need for four foot guns to shorter guns. 26

The importance of the gun can be summarized as follows:

With a gun a man could attain a greater mastery of his environment and subsequently have more time for other matters such as trapping and trading for furs which would allow for more guns as well as knives, iron, cooking utensils and other materials, which were superior to those commodities used by the Cree. 27

The availability of European goods to the Indians meant that a trading system which was mutually acceptable had to be developed by a barter system based on the terms of the Cree and Assiniboine middlemen. The "Made Beaver" was the standard unit of evaluation and all furs were subject to the conversion table. The procedure for trading was based on the conversion of beavers to sticks or tokens which were in turn exchanged for goods. Chappell (1817) explains the trading practices.

When the Indians came to the factory in June 1742, they could get but a pound of gunpowder for four beaver skins, a pound of shot for one beaver, an ell of coarse cloth for fifteen, a blanket for twelve, two fish-hooks or three flints for one, a gun for twenty-five skins, a pistol for ten, a hat with a white lace for seven, an axe for four, a hedging-bill for one, a gallon of brandy for four, a checked shirt for seven. 28

Embodied in the trading process was the practice of gift giving and credit. This practice was introduced prior to, and continued after, 1763 as a result of fierce competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and its rivals. The dispensation of gifts was used as a means of enhancing the status of band leaders and as a means of simplifying trade relations with the same leaders on a regular basis. Gift giving was carried out in a ceremonial manner and was conducted prior to trading. Alcohol was usually part of the gift giving process. Ray elaborates

The tendency towards greater per-capita consumption of alcohol and tobacco by Indians, which this lavish gift giving encouraged, was reinforced by the addictive nature of the two commodities. ²⁹

The years following the Treaty of Paris (1763) witnessed the intensity of the rivalry for furs. The French had lost Canada and were replaced by a new and aggressive fur trading company whose headquarters were centred in Montreal. The new traders amalgamated and formed the North West Company. The effectiveness of the company lay in its ability to organize and to pool its resources against the Hudson's Bay Company. They followed the inland waterways from Montreal and penetrated the domain of Rupertsland. In so doing they were able to bypass the Cree and Assiniboine middlemen and traded directly with other tribes. ³⁰ This new approach threatened the role of the Cree and Assiniboine Indians who had once controlled the position of middlemen, trading between the Indian tribes and the trading posts.

The period following 1790 witnessed the rapid decline of the Cree and Assiniboine in the fur trade because of fierce competition among the inland posts. The establishment of inland posts increased the demand for furs and eventually led to a disruption in the ecological balance. Ray argues that the need for furs forced tribes to move into areas previously occupied by other tribes. This shift meant that resources left by previous tribes would be depleted by the arrival of other tribes. The result was a shortage of fur bearing animals. The Swampy Cree Indians were forced to follow the above pattern since their survival was dependent on their ability to find food. ³¹

Trading directly with the Indian tribes by the North West Company forced the Hudson's Bay Company to open a series of inland posts to combat competition. Inland posts were opened between 1790 and 1798 in the interior of Manitoba and Saskatchewan at Gordon House, Oxford House, Cumberland House, and later Norway House. ³² The forts were small replicas of York Factory and functioned as staging depots as well as full trading posts. Oxford House proved to be most important of the four posts to the Swampy Cree Indians. Oxford House post functioned as an intermediary post (collecting furs from Cumberland House) and as an inland post (trading supplies for furs to Indian tribes in the area).

Furs were conveyed by the Swampy Cree Indians in ninety pound bundles by canoes to York Factory since the

latter was the main route for conveying furs from Manitoba to England. The longevity of Oxford House post, like many inland posts (Island Lake, Gods Lake), was subject to relocation since their existence depended upon their ability to provide maximum fur returns.

Faced with grave rivalry and a lessening of fur returns by the Indians, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company amalgamated in 1820. This merger profoundly affected the lives of the Indian people living in Manitoba. The Indians had developed a strong reliance on the traders and had adopted many European ways of making a livelihood. Several of the traditional practices of hunting had been discarded and new methods instituted. In addition, the fur bearing animals, wildlife, and large game population had been subject to fierce depletion. Decreases in fur were particularly noticeable in the beaver population. The Hudson's Bay Company attempted in 1827 to control the trapping of beaver by directing traders not to encourage the fishing of beaver.

I am sorry to learn from this lad, that you still continue to encourage the Indians to fish Beaver. May I beg of you to follow the instructions I gave you on this head. For having differed in opinion with some of our Gentlemen as to the proper mode of preserving that industrious animal ... the measures you pursue may therefore be considered by some as emanating from the Chief Factor in charge of the District. 33

The Hudson's Bay directive was seldom followed since the traders were more concerned with the survival of the posts rather than the methods of obtaining furs.

Governor Simpson responded to the problem of overtrapping by introducing new policies which were aimed at revitalizing the fur economy, but resulted in the modification of trading practices with the Indians. Credit, gift giving, and other European incentives were curtailed. The Swampy Cree Indians and their allies in northern Manitoba were no longer functional middlemen and homeguards. Instead, they became servants following the trails of trading posts.

By 1870 the Hudson's Bay Company had lost its monopoly and was forced to compete with free traders who had infiltrated the territory. The Hudson's Bay Company responded by reorganizing its business practices. One of its first considerations was a reduction of transportation costs, since freighting from York Factory to Winnipeg by the York Boats was becoming very expensive in terms of manual labour. York Factory's diminishing role was finally terminated and was replaced by Fort Garry on the lower Red River. Steamships were used as a means of transportation on the Saskatchewan River and Lake Winnipeg instead of York Boats which were operated by Indian crews.

At this point, the rising bubble of prosperity for the Swampy Cree trappers had burst.

Time that they formerly spent in hunting was devoted to trapping animals whose skins were of little use to them, and whose flesh, in many cases, were inedible. With the furs they bought powder and shot which soon became essential to their existence, and new wants--steel knives, brass kettles, beads had dominated their economy. 34

The Impact of the Fur Trade

The fur trade had affected the economic, political, and material culture of the Swampy Cree Indians because of the disparity between the philosophies of the Indians and the traders over land usage and its resources. Bailey summarizes the impact of the fur trade as follows:

Among a people who were thrown suddenly and violently from a communal to a highly competitive society in which disease and drunkenness contributed to the collapse of their role, and in which their leaders became as time went on, mere agents for enforcement of foreign and ill understood laws, the failure of many individuals to adapt themselves to the changed conditions was bound to occur ...³⁵

The clash was detrimental to the Indians because they found it difficult to procure the trade goods upon which they had come to rely. Prior to European contact, the Indians followed traditional practices of conservation which was in accordance with the philosophy that some animals should be spared to breed after each hunt, and that one part of the hunting ground should be spared for hunting the following year. Task bands were therefore assigned by the band to given geographic locations annually. Before the winter hunts, the band met in council and each task band was adjusted, redrawn or left intact according to the availability of food and sound hunting practices.³⁶ The Indians hunted to preserve their health and to provide food for their families. Prayer was an integral part of the hunt, and all parts of large game animals were utilized for purposes such as food, clothing, shelter, utensils,

footwear, and thread. With advent of the fur traders the Indians became dependent on European tools and related materials which were exchanged for furs. As the demand for furs increased so did the demand for European goods. The result of the demand and supply factor was a break with traditional practices of conservation. The quest for furs depleted the natural environment of the fur bearing animals and led to a scarcity of hides which were traditionally used for housing and clothing.

Politically, the Swampy Cree kinship groups consisted of individuals who were united by blood or marriage. They maintained the right to hunt and fish in certain districts. Trespassing was unknown since permission of passage was granted by respective tribes. The post fur trade era was marked by the allocation of land to groups but, with the advent of the fur trade, the solidarity of distinctive groups was dissolved. This type of arrangement was acceptable to traders since they preferred to deal with individuals rather than groups.

Prior to European contact members of tribes were rewarded for their accomplishments with respect and prestige. Leadership qualities were traditionally centred around success in hunting, trustworthiness, fighting, generosity, and kindness. With the advent of the fur traders, traditional leadership qualities were de-emphasized and leadership qualities were evaluated in terms of a person's ability to motivate his tribal group to meet the fur demands

of the traders. This approach contradicted traditional customs since it modified the role of chiefs and introduced a new one aimed at simplifying trading relationships and stabilizing the credit system. 37

Materially, the fur trade supplanted many aspects of the material life of the Swampy Cree. Guns and ammunition replaced the bow and arrow, metal containers replaced those of birch bark, and matches made fire-kindling easy.

The exact priority of European goods in terms of Indian demands is subject to conjecture, but it can be argued that European products lent themselves to an easier and more relaxed existence. Guns and ammunition were important items for hunting because of their range and hitting power. Chisels, files, axes, and kettles were items of secondary priority. The demand for alcohol and tobacco was high and these could be items of top priority. Rich (1960) argues in favour of the latter concept by stating

When rival white men outbid each other for furs, and still more for his provisions, the Indian exploited to the full the advantages which competition in a seller's market gave to him. He became (somehow like the monopolistic trader) greedy, idle, insolent, and so improvident that the trade was in serious danger of complete ruin and himself in danger of starvation. It was only his passion for spirits which could then jerk the Indian from his commanding position, turn the trade so that the European controlled it and the Indian became an eager buyer instead of a reluctant seller. 38

The demand for guns, ammunition and other European tools led to a dependence by the Indians on the European trades

and a rejection of traditional tools such as arrowheads, hide garments, nets, bows, and arrows.

Formerly, the traditional clothing of the Indians consisted of Moose hide, Caribou hide, and furs. These products were replaced by European clothes and beads. Isham (1957) draws a comparison between the two modes of styles to illustrate the point.

In the old days the women wore a leather smock with a loose robe over it, and the men a longer leather coat also with a loose robe for additional warmth when needed, but now they were all using cloth to make a garment which ties over the shoulders and serves them for a smock.³⁹

Skinner (1911) presents a similar argument by stating

In former times, leather and fur clothing were used extensively, by both sexes, but the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company placed within the reach of the Indians, first cloth and later European garments of all sorts which they have universally adopted.⁴⁰

The change from traditional clothing to European clothing is substantiated by Ballantyne (1972) who writes

Summer dress of the Indians is almost entirely provided by the Hudson's Bay Company. It consists chiefly of blue or gray cloth, or else a blanket capote reaching below the knee, made much too loose for the figure and strapped around the waist with a scarlet or crimson worsted belt, a very coarse blue striped cotton shirt is all the under clothing they wear, holding trousers to be quite superfluous; in lieu of which they make leggings of various kinds of cloth which reach from a few inches above the knees down to the ankle. These leggings are sometimes very tastefully decorated with beadwork, particularly those of women, and are provided with flaps or wings on either side.⁴¹

SUMMARY

It should be noted that the Swampy Cree Indians and their neighbours pursued traditional methods of hunting and fishing as a means of supporting and feeding their families. With the advent of the fur trade and the establishment of trading posts along Hudson Bay as well as in the interior of Manitoba, the energies of the Indian had shifted from hunting to trapping, since the latter could be exchanged for an array of European goods. Initially, the European goods were of high quality but due to the fierce competition, inter-tribal rivalries, and modification of trade practices, an array of inferior products was introduced. Limited supplies of fur bearing animals meant that the Indians could no longer acquire high quality European goods. The Hudson's Bay Company responded to this weak linkage by relocating its posts according to the availability of furs. This method was temporarily successful but economy demanded a reduction in the cost of transportation. The main depot of York Factory was transferred to Fort Garry on the Red River where steamboats provided a more effective method of transportation. York boats and canoes had proven inadequate by this time and Indian labour was no longer required. Faced with rejection by the Hudson's Bay Company, lack of occupational skills in other areas, fierce competition with Europeans, a diminished economic base, a reduction in fur bearing animals, and a decline in the quality and quantity of European goods, the Swampy Cree Indian and their allies

were forced to turn to the government for assistance. This came in the form of Treaty No. 5 of 1875 and its subsequent adhesion of 1909.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER 1V

HISTORY OF GODS LAKE

INTRODUCTION

The historical development of Gods Lake, like many other Northern communities in Manitoba, is intimately related to the lucrative fur trade, which brought Indians into contact with Europeans. Increased contact between the groups and exposure to a variety of material resources have led to alterations in the socio-economic, political and educational arrangement of Swampy Cree society. The decline of the fur trade led to the formation of several reserves including Gods Lake which was established according to the terms and conditions of Treaty No. 5 and its adhesion of 1909.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of Gods Lake from 1885 to 1976. Concepts that will be developed are Treaty No. 5 and the adhesion of 1909, the legal settlement of the reserve, Gods Lake gold mine, and the community from 1945 to 1976.

Treaty No. 5 and the Adhesion of 1909

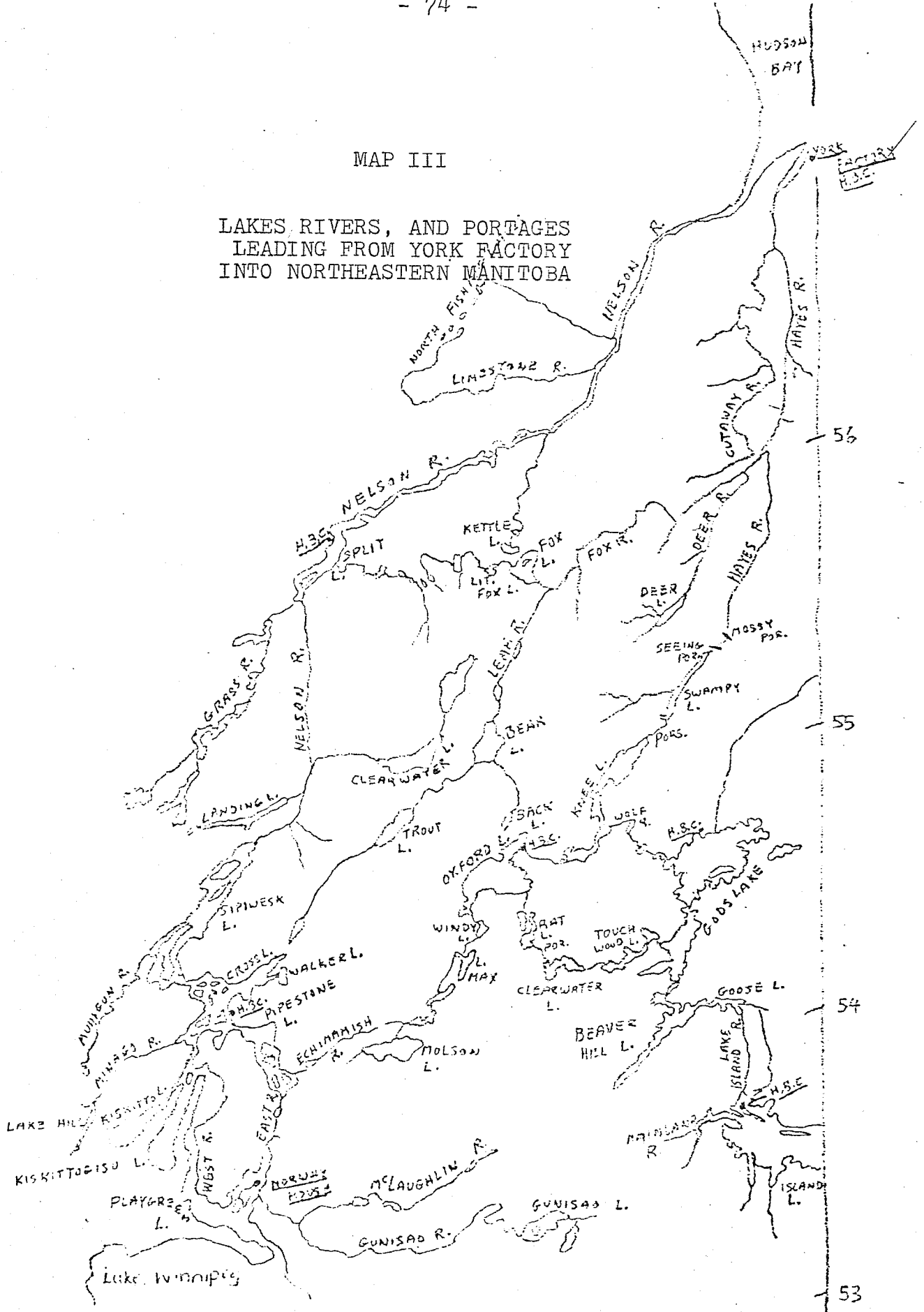
The Cree name for Gods Lake is Manitou Sagahay¹ which means "Lake of the God" or "Great Spirit". The

significance of the above name lies in the spiritual beliefs of the Cree Indians which were centred around the supremacy of the Kitci Manitu, who was viewed as the "Great Spirit" or "master of life". Kitci Manitu was regarded as the giver of all good things and was too benevolent to inflict punishment on his people. Love for Kitci Manitu was dis-associated from the general fear of Matci Manitu which was the evil spirit.² Traditionally Gods Lake was referred to as Devils Lake. It was believed that evil spirits inhabited the deep lake and surrounding areas. Their mood determined the condition of the waters. The waters would be calm if they were pleased and the waters would be tossed into violence if they were angry.³ The name "Devils Lake" was changed to Gods Lake at the turn of the century and several beautiful legends have been associated with the new name.

Gods Lake served as an intervening post of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1825 until 1939. Furs were sent from Gods Lake to Oxford House. From the latter distribution point, furs were sent to York Factory. The method of distribution at York Factory was dependent upon an involved network of rivers, lakes, and portages. Gluek (1957) described York Factory as being the administrative headquarters, the fiscal centre preparing indentures for all outfits and compiling annual financial statements for the whole department.⁴ Yet, despite the supremacy of York Factory, the inland trading posts, such as at Gods Lake, could not meet its demands. The

MAP III

LAKES, RIVERS, AND PORTAGES LEADING FROM YORK FACTORY INTO NORTHEASTERN MANITOBA



Source: Manitoba Archives

Hudson's Bay Company responded therefore by sporadically closing and re-opening its inland posts. ⁵

Faced with the depletion of furs and a lack of employment, the Swampy Cree Indians living between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay turned to the government for assistance.

Out of economic necessity rather than incentive, political and military pressure, the Indians agreed to settle on reserves with the promise that the government would look after their welfare and help to make yet another adjustment to changing economic conditions. ⁶

Assistance came in the form of a formalized system of government. A government representative was sent to arrange a treaty with the Cree who were willing to relinquish their land to white settlement in return for reserves on which they could earn a livelihood and pursue their traditional means of living.

An historic meeting between the Cree Indians from Cross Lake and Norway House was held in 1875 and resulted in the signing of Treaty No. 5. According to the terms of the treaty the Cree Indians relinquished their land and retained the right to hunt and fish. Additional terms of the treaty with the Indians were provisions for agricultural implements, cattle, seed, the maintenance of schools, the prohibition of the consumption of intoxicants, and the sum of five dollars in cash to be paid annually to each Indian. ⁷

Bands living between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay were not included in the original treaty. A delegation of Indians from north-eastern Manitoba approached the Indian commission at Norway House and applied for their inclusion into Treaty No. 5. Years elapsed before their inclusion was ratified. It came in the form of an adhesion which was signed by the elected officials of the bands at Oxford House, Island Lake, and Gods Lake.⁸

The signing of the Adhesion to Treaty No. 5 took place on August 6, 1909 and was a momentous occasion highlighted with handshaking and enthusiasm. Men were called into a council to hear the terms of the treaty, which were explained and approved unanimously. A formal election was held under the supervision of the Indian agent to fill the positions of one chief and two councillors. The functions of the councillors were to (1) act as representatives of the people, (2) listen to requests and complaints, and (3) distribute relief supplies and treaty goods such as steel traps, ammunition, fish net cord, tea, bacon, and flour. Treaty goods were distributed according to the respective size and need of each family.⁹

In return for performing these functions they were paid by the Canadian government. The chief was paid twenty-five dollars and each councillor was paid fifteen dollars annually. Security of tenure was promised to the chief and councillors by the Canadian government and they

were admonished to act as spokesmen for their people, bearing in mind that they were under the jurisdiction of the Indian agent. The formally elected chief for Gods Lake was Peter Watt (No. 1) and his two councillors were Peter Chubb (No. 24) and Big Simon (No. 42).¹⁰ The ceremony surrounding their induction was carried out in a formal manner in the presence of an assembled crowd with each of the elected officials receiving a medal and a uniform. The symbolic occasion was terminated with the officials being wrapped in the Union Jack as a sign of their allegiance to the king.

In Gods Lake the first treaty payment occurred in 1910. Seasonal bands¹¹ were paid treaty monies at their seasonal residences which were usually in areas surrounding the Bay's trading post. Indian agents were the distributors of treaty payments and supplies. They were accompanied by a small police detachment who were symbolic of an official treaty party and traders who were a symbol of trade.

Quite a few traders followed the treaty going around to Norway House, Cross Lake, Oxford House, Gods Lake and Island Lake ... traders went around with them too, trying to get treaty money for business. I think Hudson Bay Company and Old John Hire mostly got treaty money.¹²

The terms of the adhesion were similar to those of Treaty No. 5. Indian bands of the North-eastern district of Northern Manitoba were each granted a reserve. The land grant for each reserve was based on the qualification of 160 acres per family of five.¹³

At first glance the terms of the treaty and subsequent adhesion appear attractive. Dunning describes the acceptance of the treaty by the Indians as follows:

They lived from the main trade routes and their hunting land was neither sought after nor was good for farming. To them the treaty was an unqualified benefit; they lost nothing of value and they gained recognition from the government with not only annual treaty payments but the establishment of an Indian agent who would be responsible for them. This would mean at the very least, agricultural tools, seed, fish nets, shots, some food and relief supplies and medicine. 14

The disadvantages of the treaty were to manifest themselves in later years. The Indians were denied full title to their land grant and absolute control over the land was invested in the Minister of Indian Affairs.

Following the signing of the treaties the majority of the Cree Indians in Manitoba were settled on reserves where agriculture was introduced as a supplementary life style while awaiting the restoration of the natural fur resources of the environment. Agriculture proved unsuccessful for most reserves because of lack of techniques and the condition of the soil.

Alcohol was increasing as free traders swarmed lands previously controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. Missionary activities had intensified and the teaching of useful trades had restricted the nomadic existence of some tribes. The Swampy Cree Indians in Gods Lake were not affected by missionary activities since the period preceding

the signing of Treaty No. 5, and its subsequent adhesion of 1909 was one of economic instability.

Economic

The existence of the Gods Lake Seasonal Bands was dependent upon all able bodied members procuring furs which were exchanged for food and tools. Economic activities were centered upon trapping, hunting, and guiding. The latter occupations were held by the homeguard Indians¹⁵ who constituted 2% of the Indian population and consisted of two groups of individuals: those who voluntarily agreed to work for the trader, and those who were pressed into service in order to "work off" or clear outstanding debts. The traders' journals for Gods Lake give several examples of the latter. In 1891 one trader wrote:

Waboose still working about place.
The reason why I am keep him here
because he got heavy debt from
Stanley Simpson and he gets mad at
me sometimes. ¹⁶

The duties of the homeguard Indians between 1875-1910 were varied at Fort Hope. ¹⁷ There were jobs that dealt with the maintenance of the equipment at the Post. These could entail mudding the buildings in the fall, squaring logs for a new building, and cutting boards for a new porch and sidewalk. Lesser, but just as important, were duties such as cutting hay to provide bedding for the dogs for the winter, making of snowshoes, and fixing dog harnesses and sleds. Some of the duties dealt with

supplementing the food supply for the people working at the Post. These could entail hunting deer and ducks in the fall and the spring, and fishing to provide food for the dogs and the people. Some duties dealt with the daily activities of the fur trade itself, such as the collecting of furs from the fur camps, the packing of furs, and the collecting of trade goods from other posts when the trader's supply was low. 18

Of these above duties, there were two which held paramount importance. They were the gathering of fish in the fall and the trips to the fur camps during the winter. The gathering of enormous amounts of fish in the fall was essential since fish was a staple food item.

Sent the boat for a load of fish at John Chubb's Fishery. They brought home 2980. John Chubb killed 4000 this fall. I will have now for the winter 6330 and 93 sturgeon. 19

And

Day very fine, calm. Went for fish at Jnr. Clark's fishery. Brought home 2400 white fish and assorted 400. 20

Failure at the Fisheries usually meant a very hard winter for everyone concerned, therefore, it was important for fishermen to utilize the fishing season effectively.

Paid off the fall fishermen. I began the Fall Fishing this year (as usual) on the 25th September. That is, I gave the nets to the men and sent them off to their fishing grounds but the fish did not begin to catch until the latter end of the first

week in October and before the end of the second week or the beginning of the third, they had done spawning and had gone off to deep water. ²¹

The fish that had been caught would then be prepared in the following manner before they were shipped to the Trading Post for the winter. "Most of the fish are hung out on Stages as they are soft. The rest will be hung out tomorrow". ²²

The quantity of fish that was needed by the Trader and his men throughout the winter was large. The following account gives some idea of just how many fish was needed:

Went for a boat load of fish at Jerry's fishery. We brought home 2090. Jeremiah killed 2850 fish this fall and I bought 1115 and Jake killed 1520, which will make me 5485 fish for the winter. ²³

The remaining 98% of the Cree families migrated to their traplines from September to April annually in an attempt to obtain all available furs. Before leaving for the trapline, the Hudson's Bay traders at Gods Lake supplied the bands with the food and tools that were needed for the winter in advance. Seasonal bands ²⁴ collected their supplies on credit in the fall and paid for their debts intermittently with their fur catch. The fur trader's journal refers to the process of obtaining supplies as "coming in for debt", and in reference to a family wrote "Day very fine. I was very busy in the shop today debting Moses and his band". ²⁵

Furs were delivered by seasonal band leaders to the fort whenever a substantial amount of furs were caught or when there were sufficient furs to exchange for food and tools. The trader's report of 1892 supports this claim, "Peter Watte arrived this evening. He brought quite a lot of deer skins and some furs".²⁶

Furs that were not delivered to the fort during the year were picked up at intervals by the traders with the assistance of some homeguard Indians. In 1899 one report read: "Got William Menewap and Albert Williams ready to make a trip to Daniels' camp. Will start with them tomorrow".²⁷

On the trapline, Cree livelihood was no longer supported by beaver fur, but by large numbers of muskrat and mink as will in shown in Table I. Furs caught could not support the population as was indicated in the traders log book of 1893. "Indians are starving. No fish can be got anywhere. All Indians starving as they have no net".²⁸ Economic hardship continued until 1903. "These Indians are not hunting fur as there is no fur for them to hunt".²⁹ By 1909, the situation became more acute.

No fish and no fur and some of these Indians are sick. No deer, nor moose to be had. This do not stop the Indians from asking for tea and flour, but it is impossible for them to get these things as they are not able to pay for them.³⁰

The lack of proper conservation methods in the Gods Lake area were particularly felt between 1906 to 1909. Lack

TABLE: I

FURS DELIVERED TO FORT HOPE

BY TRAPPERS IN GODS LAKE

FOR JANUARY 1873

Dates	Beaver		Red Silver Cross Fox		Fisher Marten		Lynx Bear		Muskrat		Wolf Mink		Weasel	
	6	13	7	1	2	1	11	-	1	200	1	152	40	
January 5	6	13	7	1	2	1	11	-	1	200	1	152	40	
January 11	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
January 24	3	11	3	2	3	2	19	1	-	316	-	49	-	-
January 28	5	4	4	-	1	2	14	6	-	412	-	67	-	-
Totals	14	29	14	4	6	5	44	7	3	928	1	268	40	

Source: Extracted from correspondence taken from the Hudson's Bay Company Journal of Events for Fort Hope, Gods Lake between December 1892 and February 1893.

of game and fur-bearing animals led to a complete economic collapse for the Indians of Gods Lake and forced them to beg for provisions from the trader.

Alex Swain arrived here this evening from Pepequatooce. No officer in charge of that Post is well. Most of all his Indians are starving and killing no fur to any amount. It is very hard for him to get along. No fish and no fur and some of these Indians are sick. No Deer nor Moose to be had. This do not stop the Indians from asking for Tea and Flour but it is impossible for them to get these things as they are not able to pay for them. 31

This situation led to a complete resignation on the part of the Indian trappers and an economic crisis for the Hudson's Bay Company.

Peter Watte is staying at home cutting wood for his wife every day and he has Big Debt to try and pay between this and open water. If he don't, there will be very little for him to get next Fall. 32

Serious outbreaks of disease in Gods Lake during the 1890's further deteriorated the economic livelihood of the Indian people. The first was a measles epidemic which was introduced by the Fort Hope Fur Trader and his men when they returned from York Factory to start a new fur season at the end of August 1893. The Fur Trader had this report to make by September 14, 1893:

Most of the people around here are laid up with the measles. Thomas Kewaywincapos child died a few days ago from the effects of that disease. 33

Several children died of measles by the end of October 1893.

The second major epidemic that took its toll of the Indians of Gods Lake was an influenza epidemic or "La Grippe" which swept through the region in 1899. ³⁴

The effect of these epidemics was a reduction in fur caught because of the number of people who were sick in the individual seasonal bands. It was not uncommon for the entire seasonal band to be sick therefore leaving the traps untended. A report on the measles epidemic stated:

Thomas Hastings arrived today. He reports that all the Indians are sick the side he came from. Albert Williams arrived late this evening but brought nothing. All his family is very sick. ³⁵

Decreases in game due to overtrapping, as well as changes in traditional methods of hunting, meant that the Cree had to depend on nets, traps, and firearms to furnish the bulk of their food. Food captured was shared by all since attempts at storing game often resulted in spoilage. Pemmican and bannock were foods which required items from the traders' shelves in order to make them edible. Food preparation was based on boiling, roasting, and/or frying. Cooking and serving utensils were dependent upon the supply of the trader, and in times of scarcity were made by the Indians. Meat and fish diets were supplemented with items such as flour, lard, sugar, and tea from the traders' shelves. The diet of the Cree ranged from game such as moose, deer, muskrat, and rabbit in the cold months to fish in the summer months with the latter being used as a supplement in times of scarcity during winter months. ³⁶

Social

The homes of the Swampy Cree were called several names ranging from teepees to lodges. ³⁷ During the summer months the Cree migrated from their traplines with their families and furs and settled around the Hudson's Bay trading post. The frame of the teepees was made from small poles which were arranged in a circular fashion with an opening at the top of the cone. The frame of the cone structure was then covered with moose or caribou hide. Skins are excellent in a cold and dry climate but are not suitable where rain or wet snow is common. ³⁸

Animal hides were later replaced by canvas coverings in Gods Lake about 1910. Shortages of canvas coverings resulted in the use of old blankets and other available scraps. Canvas covering was available from the trading post in exchange for furs. Attempts at introducing log cabins to the Indians in Gods Lake by missionaries were short lived because teepees were easy to transport from one hunting area to another. ³⁹

Education

The education of the young was under the control of the parents and elders of Gods Lake. At the trapline, children learned by observation, practice, legends, and parables. Education was informal and learning was developed unconsciously. Symington (1973) referred to this type of learning by stating that the education of the young appeared

to be ingrained and that the young appear to have inborn knowledge. ⁴⁰

Missionary efforts in Northern Manitoba intensified in the early 20th century. Efforts were centred around moral adaptation, the teaching of religious truths, and the modification in traditional practices. In the past, youth marriages were arranged by the parents of both sexes. A new son from a marriage was welcomed immediately by the girl's parents since he was expected to be a good hunter and provider. The new wife became a member of the husband's family and was completely divorced from her parents. ⁴¹

Missionaries objected to youthful and arranged marriages since it was felt that the young should be given a choice in the type of partner he or she wanted to take. They reacted by discouraging youth unions in marriage until both partners were at least seventeen years of age.

At birth the young were named by the grandparents according to spiritual and natural phenomena that had occurred in the lives of Indian people. In so doing it was felt that the young would be protected from evil forces. Cree names were often difficult to pronounce by non-Indians including the missionaries who responded by encouraging Indian parents, at christening, to use English names. ⁴²

Interference in traditional marriages and names by missionaries affected the formal rites of initiation into puberty by Indian youth. The Swampy Cree placed

strong emphasis on the adolescence of the sexes since it was considered as a period of induction into adulthood and the esoteric mysteries of life. It was believed that at adolescence a boy's life changed from that of a child to that of a man and carried the responsibility of hunting and sexual maturity, whereas a girl's life carried the responsibility of womanhood and parenthood. Fasting and seclusion were part of the induction process for both sexes. A girl's first menstrual period was one of ceremony. The girl was removed from the mainstream of the camp and was placed in seclusion where she spent the period in fasting. The induction process of the male followed a pattern similar to that of the female, but the seclusion period varied in length according to band practices. It was expected that during the period of fasting the male would receive a vision from the guardian spirit. The completion of the puberty ceremony was often concluded in marriage. ⁴³

Formal education was attempted by missionaries on a seasonal basis since families migrated with their children to the trapline during the winter months. During the summer the educational experiences of the Indian child, unlike winter experiences, were centred around home chores and missionary teachings since all Indian families converged around the Hudson's Bay Store to trade their furs.

Seasonal education was introduced in response to the return of the Indians and was conducted from June 1st to September 30th annually by the Roman Catholic and United Church missionaries at Gods Lake. Teachers were recommended by the churches and were hired and paid by the Department of Indian Affairs. ⁴⁴

With the signing of the adhesion, the geographic boundaries of the Gods Lake Band were outlined and territorial restrictions were officially imposed. Prior to adhesion the Indians were free to hunt and trap at will in order to provide food and earnings for their families. The Indian people generally considered all non-fur bearing resources such as meat, fish, and berries as available through mother earth to anyone in need. Resentment or unwillingness to share their resources was unknown. ⁴⁵

Attempts at agriculture were undertaken by the Swampy Cree at Gods Lake with the assistance of the missionaries. Hoes, seeds, and other agricultural tools were provided by the government on an annual basis. The Indians, unaccustomed to agriculture, found it difficult to utilize the rewards of agriculture effectively. Faced with overwhelming odds such as the lack of supplementary tools, infertile soil, and the failure of the government to provide the needed guidance on agricultural methodology, the Swampy Cree abandoned gardening as a means of earning a livelihood. Instead they continued to migrate in small bands to winter camps. ⁴⁶ Bailey

elaborates on the reasons for the split from large groups to small family units.

With the scarcity of game resulting from the need for European goods together with the substitution of the more destructive firearms from the bow and arrow, the club and spear, the bands were forced to split into families, since the diminishing food supply in any one area was not sufficient for the subsistence of a large band. ⁴⁷

Settlement along Gods Lake by the Swampy Cree tended to be scattered along the vast lakes and shorelines from Wesachewan to the East End because the latter area often provided an adequate supply of water and protection from the cold winter months. Signs of winter were marked with the pulling down of tents by the Swampy Cree who departed from their summer base to their winter camps and traplines. Dog teams, tent equipment, and personal belongings were conveyed by canoes to their winter base camps. At the camps, families were settled in and the Indian trappers took off with their older sons in small groups on snowshoes with dog teams to the traplines. Steel traps, deadfalls, and snares were set on the trapline and were extended for at least one mile. Traps were inspected on a weekly basis. Animals caught on the trapline were taken to the base camp where they were skinned by the women. All animal pelts, except that of the beaver, were removed in one piece. ⁴⁸

The dependence of the Swampy Cree on external sources for many of the articles that they were once capable of furnishing for themselves has resulted in a trapper-trader

relationship. The trapper depended on the items on the trader's shelves and the trader depended on the trapper for furs and extended credit when required to the latter in the hope of continuing good business relationships.

The first Hudson's Bay post in Gods Lake was erected in 1825 between Gods River and the Hayes River Route. Periods preceding the establishment of the first Hudson's Bay post were characterized by instability. Trading posts on Gods Lake were opened, abandoned, and subsequently relocated at various times and locations. Posts were re-opened at Gods Lake in 1865 as part of the York Factory district and in 1869, 1872, 1886, 1899, 1901, and 1922 as part of the Norway House district. The exact length of the posts operations were uncertain but their sporadic existence were determined on the availability of furs from the area and favourable trade routes. In each instance, the Swampy Cree of Gods Lake followed the path of the trading posts. All families migrated from the trapline in the summer and pitched their tents around the Hudson's Bay Company post where they traded remaining furs for food and hunting equipment. ⁴⁹

Legal Settlement of Gods Lake Reserve

A survey aimed at determining the boundaries and specification of Gods Lake Reserve was undertaken by C. A. R. Lawrence for the Federal Government in 1924. In

accordance with the terms of Treaty No. 5 and its adhesion, each Indian family of five of the Gods Lake Band was allowed 160 acres of land. Confirmation of lands to the Gods Lake Band were allocated under the title deed of Order-In-Council No. 429 on February 25, 1930. Gods Lake Band was placed under the jurisdiction of the Island Lake Agency and its specifications were as follows:

Being a latitude 54 degrees, 32 minutes and longitude 94 degrees, 36 minutes derived from the provisional edition of Oxford House Olap Sheet No. 531 of the National topographic Series dated 1929 and in the Province of Manitoba and being composed of Gods Lake Indian Reserve No. 23 as shown on a plan of survey in the year 1924, of record in the Department of the Interior under No. Thirty-six thousand, Nine hundred and Thirty-two, containing by admeasurement Nine thousand, Eight hundred and Thirty-two acres more or less. ⁵⁰

Gods Lake Band was granted 9,832 acres of land surrounding Gods Lake. The composition of the total acreage was 70 percent forest and 30 percent water, muskeg, and rock. ⁵¹ The forested area of Gods Lake was covered with coniferous and deciduous growth. Small stands of Black Spruce suitable for pulp were scattered and were periodically destroyed by forest fires. Dense twisted and tangled second growth and deadfall trees of the area included Black Spruce, Balsam, Fir, Jack Pine, and Tamarack. Common deciduous trees were Black Poplar, Aspen, and Birch.

The fauna of the area was as varied as its forest and consisted of (1) large game such as Moose, Woodland

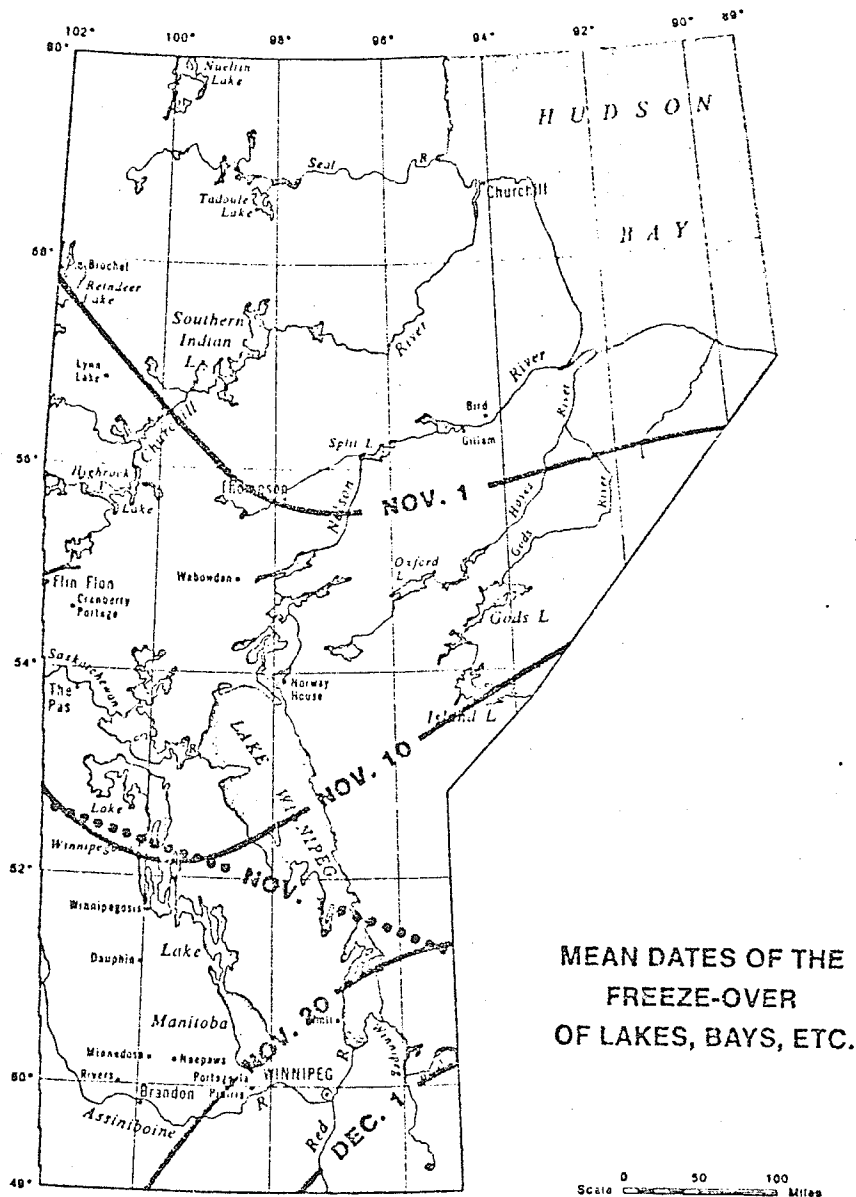
Caribou and Deer; (2) small fur bearing animals such as Muskrat, Otter, Marten, Beaver, Mink, Fisher, Lynx, and Fox; and (3) wildlife comprising birds such as Upland Game Birds, Geese, and Duck. ⁵² The waters of the lake produced an abundance of edible fish such as Brook Trout, Speckled Trout, Pickerel, Northern Pike, and Whitefish. ⁵³

Factors affecting the year round usage of the lake are freeze up and break up. During these periods transportation on the lake becomes stagnant due to the impassability of the lake. The break up period can be defined as the length of time between the initial break up of the ice surface to the complete absence of ice from the water. Freeze up can be defined as the length of time from the formation of the ice sheath on the lake to a permanent and solid ice cover. Factors which facilitate the break up process are (1) heavy snow covers which act as insulators of warmth and weakens the ice shield; and (2) swift currents within the water bodies under the frozen section.

Topographically, Gods Lake is located in North-eastern Manitoba and consists of a large body of water with an overall length of 54 miles and a maximum width of 18 miles. The size of the lake encompasses a widely scattered area with irregular lake margins, hundreds of miles of shoreline, and several islands. The largest of these islands is known as Elk Island and is approximately

MAP IV

MEAN DATES OF FREEZE - OVER ON
GODS LAKE

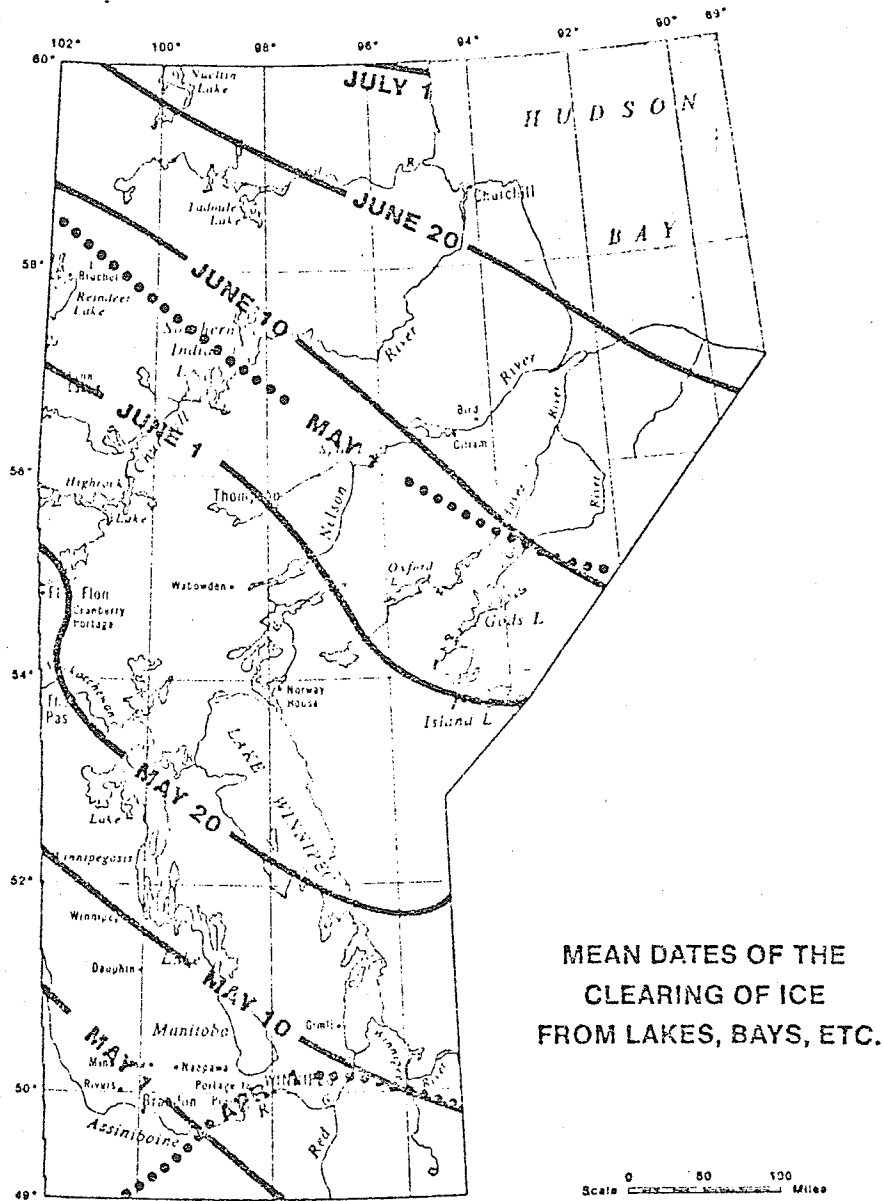


MEAN DATES OF THE
FREEZE-OVER
OF LAKES, BAYS, ETC.

Source: Department of Mines and Natural Resources

MAP V

MEAN DATES OF BREAK - UP ON
GODS LAKE



Source: Department of Mines and Natural Resources

15 miles long and 3 miles wide at the widest part. 54

The lake can be divided into two chains; namely, a Northern and a Southern section because of a constriction in the centre of the lake which is known as Gods Narrows. Current flow through Gods Narrows tends to be swift since water currents from the Southern section of the lake are forced through the constriction at the Narrows to its Northern estuary. Rivers emptying into Gods Lake are Kanuchuan, Knife, and Mink. Gods Lake serves as an estuary for small rivers and empties into Gods River.

The terrain of Gods Lake is rugged and rocky with long narrow swampy depressions. The country is covered by a blanket of glacial deposits, namely, till. Glacial features such as Eskers, Kames, and Drumlins are present. West of Chataway Lake, unstratified white clay deposits cover two or three square miles. Some of the material is slightly sandy. Gravel mixed with clay occurs at one locality on the South shore of Gods Lake immediately South of Gods Narrows. 55

The physical background of Gods Lake consists of granite rock which is faulted, folded, and shared. Volcanic intrusive rocks containing gold and other minerals cover Elk Island, Josey Island, and areas close to Knife and Chataway Lake. Extensive areas of granite are found in

MAP VI

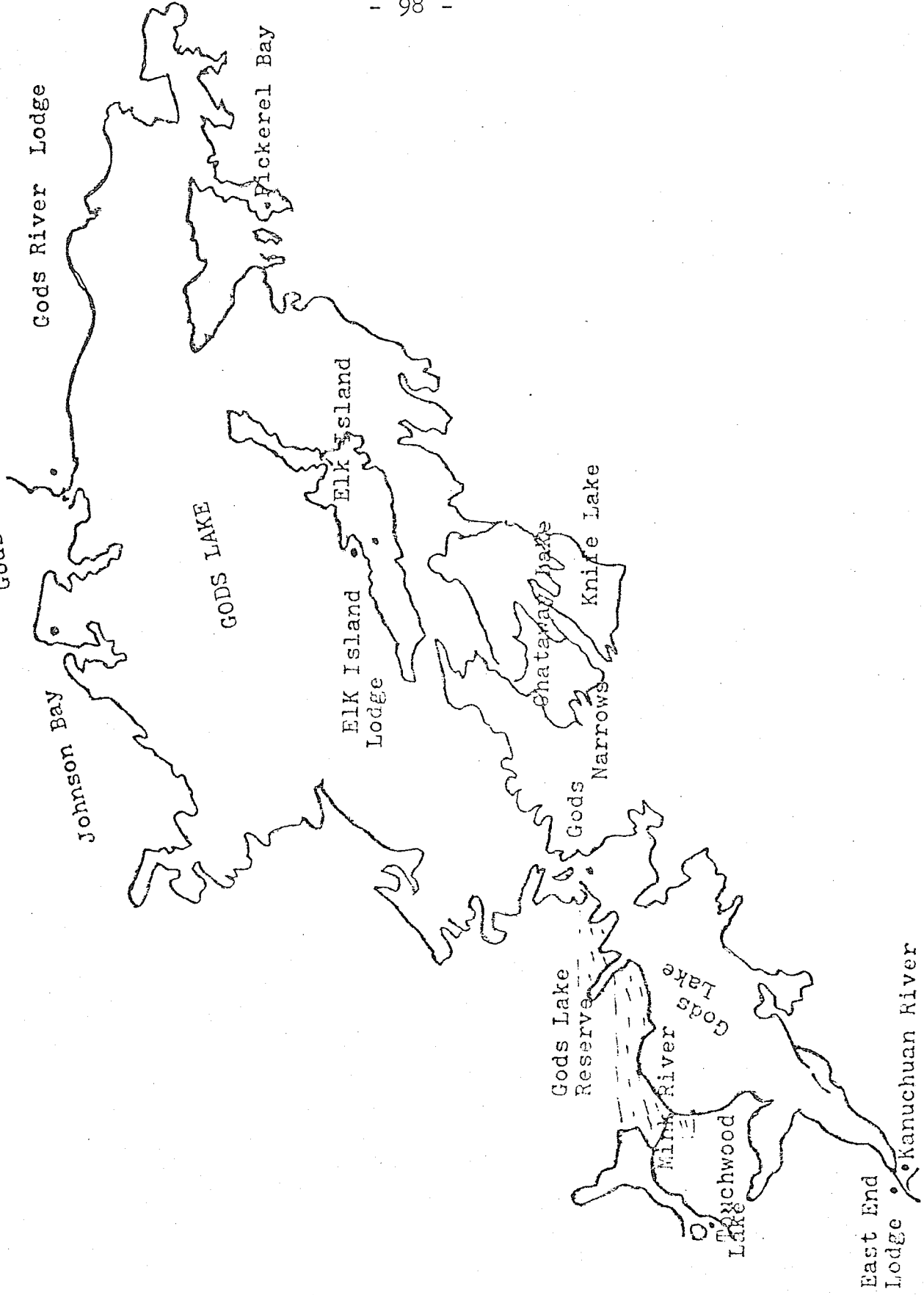
ELK ISLAND



Source: Department of Mines and Natural Resources

MAP VII

RIVERS AND LAKES
EMPTYING INTO GODS LAKE
Gods River



Source: Department of Mines and Natural Resources

areas East and South of Elk Island. The soil found around Gods Lake contains lithum, beryl, tin, and molybdenum bearing ores. Surface materials have been displaced and drainage changes have gouged out the rock. Depressions in the landscape have been filled by melting water. 56

Areas north-west of Bayley Bay and surrounding the southern portion of the lake are basically flat and swampy. The greater part of the area surrounding the lake is swampy and areas of well drained soil are limited. The drainage pattern around the lake is poor and numerous small lakes and islands impregnate the major body of water which empties into Gods River.

Gods Lake Gold Mine

The period of calm and tranquility that was being experienced by the Swampy Cree in Gods Lake following the adhesion of 1909 was short lived. The years 1927 to 1931 inclusively witnessed the arrival of a few European prospectors in the area but no discoveries were made until 1932. An eruption occurred when gold was discovered accidentally at Elk Island by Bob Townsey and Archie McDonald who entered the area from Island Lake. The prospectors worked in the vicinity of Knife Lake which was an area South of Gods Lake. Their prospecting extended from areas south of Gods Lake along the North shore of Elk Island. On arrival at Gods Lake they inspected Josey Island and while looking for a place to camp, Townsey discovered a quartz porphyry dyke which was cut

by a number of gold bearing bluish quartz stringers. On the strength of their discovery, Townsey and McDonald staked out the Reno group of claims. 57

Rumours of the discovery attracted other prospectors and claims were staked out at areas east of the mine along the north shore of Elk Island. Gold discoveries were made by Dan McCrea, Bob Brown, and Harvey McKenzie. Claims were staked by the Reno Group of Fifteen as well as the Ventura Group of Four. The various groups of prospectors including Townsey, Reno, Rand, Elk, and Cona combined with Gold Stand, Green Stone, and the Akers Group to form the Gods Lake Mines Ltd. in 1832. A total of 84 claims were staked.

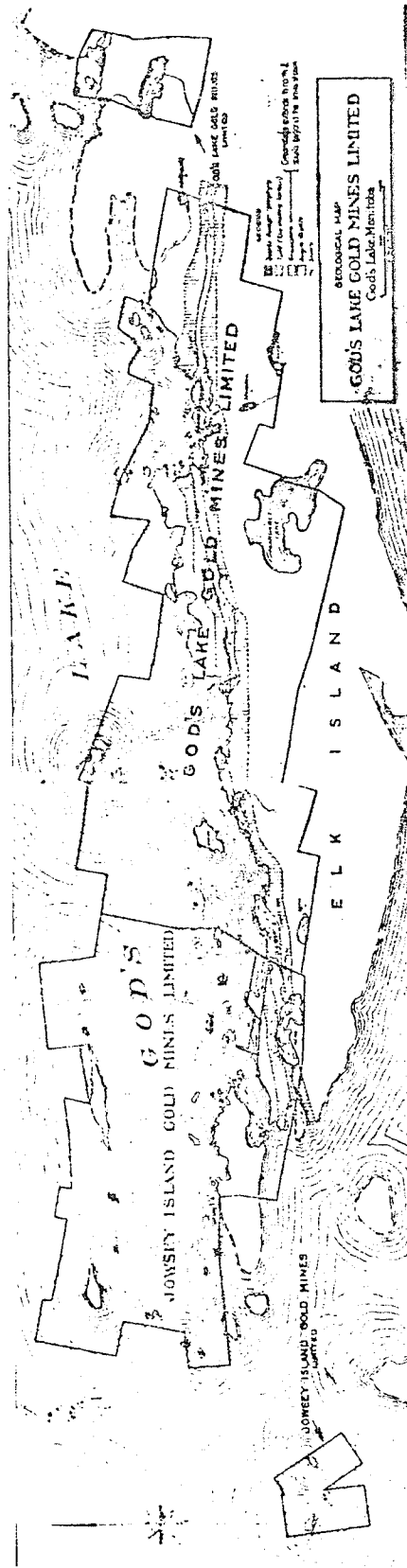
Added to the property of Gods Lake Gold Mines Ltd. was Josey Island Gold Mine Ltd. which was located along the north shore line of Elk Island and the adjacent islands to the west and north. 58

Preliminary developments were started in 1933 and a total of 41 diamond drills were put down on Akers' claims by the fall. In the winter of 1933-34, a winter road was cut from Ilford Mill and smelter equipment was transported in 1935 by winter road. Baker summarizes the transportation of equipment to Elk Island:

Twelve thousand, six hundred tons of freight including a complete mining plant and supplies for one year's operation were hauled in over 130 mile road. A shaft was sunk to a depth of 308 feet and two

MAP VIII

GODS LAKE AND JOSEY ISLAND
GOLD MINES



Source: The Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy 1935.

levels were opened up at depths of 150 and 275 feet respectively. ⁵⁹

The discovery of gold at Elk Island attracted European workers which accounted for the skilled labour force. Miners were employed on a six day or 48 hour a week basis and were paid \$7.50 per day. Underground and surface workers were paid \$4.50 per day. The majority of the Indians of the area were attracted by the activities of the miners. They pitched their tents in areas surrounding the mine and were employed as wood cutters, brush cleaners, kitchen helpers, and housekeepers. Wood cutters were paid \$4.00 per cord for wood that was delivered and \$2.00 if the wood was left in the bush where it was cut. ⁶⁰

Elk Island was transformed from a forested underdeveloped area to a booming town housing 300 Europeans and their families. The Gold Mines were operated by a power plant at Kanuchuan Rapids on the Island Lake River 20 miles south-west of Gods Narrows. Building materials for the mines and the town were transported by aeroplane in the summer and tractor train in the winter. In other instances freight was transported by canoes and over portages upon the backs of men. ⁶¹ Frank Avery elaborates on the living conditions of the Europeans at Elk Island

The miners now live in neat little bungalows complete with modern conveniences including frigidaires, electric light and heat, hot and cold water, radios, and last but not least, some of the most beautiful scenery to be found anywhere, as the sun lingeringly dips below the horizon for its brief mid-summer

nightly nap ... there is a townsite with rows of orderly houses, snowy laundry on the lines, curtained windows and the shrill cries of a rising generation. 62

Additional features of the Elk Island Community were as follows: (1) Recreational facilities at Elk Island consisted of a baseball diamond, tennis and badminton courts, and bridge clubs. (2) Health and sanitation of the miners and their families was under the supervision of Dr. D. C. Anderson. (3) A hotel was operated by Mr. and Mrs. H. Johnson. (4) One store was managed by T. Ruminski, a free trader for the Hudson's Bay Company. The role of the Hudson's Bay store changed from that of a fur trading post to a supply store in an attempt to meet the needs of the miners. (5) A private school for the children of the miners; and (6) a hydro electric plant with a capacity of 6,000 h.p. was part of the mine's operation. 63

Mining was a financial success for the European workers and gold prospectors. Gods Lake Mine was producing satisfactory grade ore with an average of \$80,000.00 to \$90,000.00 worth of gold being extracted from the mine on a monthly basis. The success of the mine brought a variety of services such as a Games Branch Officer, an R.C.M.P. office, hydro electricity, shopping, educational, medical, and living facilities to Elk Island. Air Service to the area was frequent and reliable. 64

The opening of the gold mine initiated a close interaction between the Indians and the Miners, with the

latter depending on the former for ample supplies of fire-wood. Wood was essential for supplementing electrical power and for heating the homes of the miners and other buildings such as the school, the hospital, and the hotel. Apart from cutting wood, the Indians provided other essential services such as underground workers, canoe freighters, domestic and kitchen helpers, and clearing brush from areas surrounding the mine as the need arose.

The Indians, on the other hand, had abandoned hunting and trapping and were, therefore, forced to rely on the miners for the necessary monies in order to trade effectively with the retailers. Monies earned by the Indians for services rendered were spent on clothing as well as the much needed ironware for cutting wood and clearing brush. Flour, sugar, and a variety of canned food became an essential part of the Indians' diet. The Indians had acquired a taste for canned foods because of their easy preparation.

The impact of the gold mine like that of the fur trade profoundly affected the lives of the Indian people in Gods Lake. The fur trade, unlike the gold mine, offered the Indian people a variety of European goods in exchange for their furs, whereas the gold mine introduced the Indian people to advanced European culture and a variety of services.

The interaction between the Indians and the miners resulted in considerable gains for the latter and few or

no returns for the former when one considers the fact that Elk Island was the largest gold mine in Manitoba. Its profits were phenomenal but none was passed on to the Indians since they were denied mineral rights to their land. The Indians of Gods Lake, according to the Indian Act, were granted hunting and trapping rights but were denied mineral rights.

Governmental policies were not the only indicators of discrimination. The availability of facilities to the miners offers a remarkable contrast when compared to the living conditions of the Indians. The homes of the miners and their families contained modern conveniences and medical and educational services were made available. In contrast, the Indian lived in crude shacks and tents without amenities such as lighting and regular medical services.

The expectancy of the mine was short lived. Miners were experiencing a shortage of high yielding ore as well as a shortage of non-Indian labour as a result of the Second World War. By 1944, all miners, personnel of Gods Lake Gold Mine and their families were withdrawn from the area along with medical and educational services. Faced with a loss of good customers the Hudson's Bay Retail Store withdrew its services from the area. Elk Island became a ghost town housing abandoned buildings. The abandoned mine was left under the supervision of a caretaker and prospecting activities were carried out on a small scale

until 1943 when all claims were allowed to lapse. ⁶⁵

At this point it became evident that the mine would not be re-opened. The Indian people at this time tried to re-adapt to the situation by reverting to trapping and hunting along the shoreline of Elk Island and the surrounding areas. Indians who were former employees of the mine continued to reside in teepees around the abandoned Elk Island mine and in some instances dismantled some of the buildings for firewood.

The Community 1945 to 1976

Faced with insufficient incomes from trapping because of a reduction in fur-bearing animals due to overtrapping and the rising prices of non-traditional products, the Indians began to realize that their existence depended upon a modification of some of their work habits. They responded by taking advantage of additional job opportunities such as freighting, odd jobs, and commercial fishing as a means of gaining a better income for their families.

Of the new jobs, commercial fishing offered employment to at least 100 Indians during the winter. Commercial fishing on Gods Lake came into being immediately following a noticeable decline in the gold mine industry. Tom Ruminski, a former employee of the Hudson's Bay Store at Elk Island, was a pioneer of the commercial fishing industry in Gods Lake. A fishing depot was built at Gods

River and the Indians of Gods Lake were encouraged to participate in the new venture. The Indians' response to commercial fishing was favourable since it gave them an opportunity to fish during the winter months. Employment opportunities from commercial fishing ranged from four weeks to four months and salaries varied accordingly. Fishermen were paid at a rate of five cents per pound for their fish. Supervisors, who oversaw the packaging and storage of fish, and operators of bombardiers were paid substantially higher. ⁶⁶

Commercial fishing was operated successfully in Gods Lake from 1942 to 1970 by private persons such as the Ruminski Brothers, Peter Lazarenko, and Duke Lyndal. During the winter, fish were caught by a process called jigging and by gill nets. Fish were transported by bombardiers or tractor trains on winter roads where they were placed on the railway enroute to Winnipeg. On arrival in Winnipeg fish distribution was handled by firms such as Keystone Fisheries. ⁶⁷

The success of commercial fishing in Gods Lake was dependent on winter roads which ran from Gods Lake to Ilford and other areas. The importance of winter roads lies in the fact that freight could be transported to and from Gods Lake more cheaply than by air. Initial attempts at the construction of winter roads began in 1920 amidst numerous difficulties but became a reality in Northern

Manitoba by 1940 when freight for Gods Lake Gold Mine was transported by winter road to Elk Island. The Sigfusson Brothers were the masters of winter road freighting in Northern Manitoba from 1942 to 1969. Hudson's Bay freight was transported to northern communities by tractor trains on winter roads at a pace of four to five miles an hour over treacherous conditions such as deep snow, slush, and weak ice. Bulk goods such as fuel, machinery, software, and hardware were brought in by winter freight. Tractor trains have been replaced by trailer trucks since the latter tend to be faster, less expensive, and have a greater freight capacity.

The period from 1950 to the present has witnessed a variety of changes in Gods Lake. The Gods Lake Band has settled in two areas, namely, Gods Lake Narrows and Gods River ⁶⁸ with the majority of inhabitants living in the former settlement. The traditional philosophies and skills of the Gods Lake Indians are rapidly declining because of conflicts between traditional and modern perceptions.

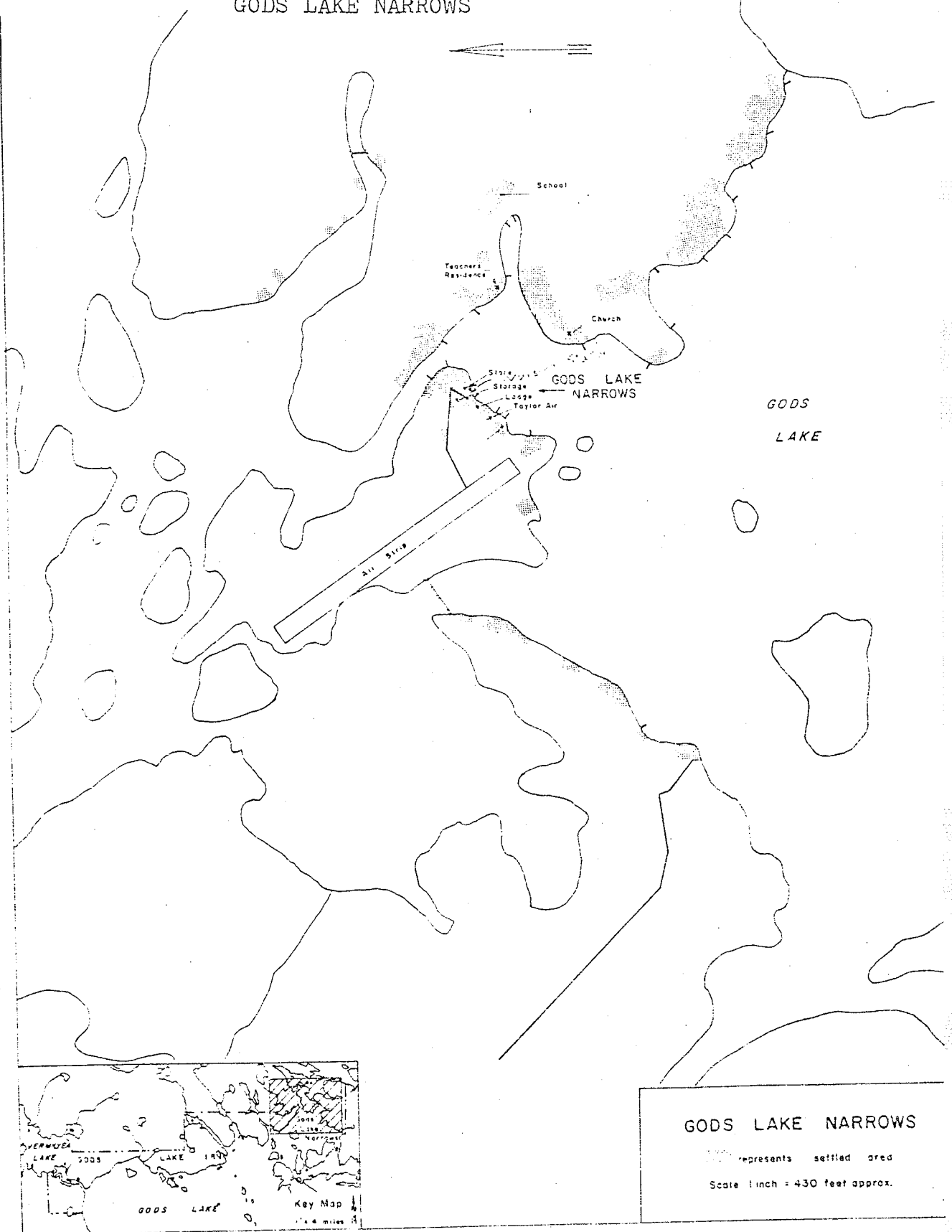
Bailey develops the argument by stating

From the contact of the Europeans and Indians arose the inevitable conflict of their cultures which resulted in most cases in the obliteration of those of the Indian. Often the latter failed to survive the shock of the conflict, whereas in other cases he adapted himself to the new conditions which were imposed by the immigration of an alliance. ⁶⁹

The degree of conflict experienced by the Gods Lake Band is similar to that of other Indian bands in Northern

MAP IX

THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT OF
GODS LAKE NARROWS



Source: Department of Mines and Natural Resources

Manitoba. Their appraisal of themselves and their ability to provide adequately for their families are negative. This situation is further complicated by the fact that in Canadian society there is a tendency to appraise a person by the nature of his material possessions. The fur trade, the gold mine, and the commercial fishing industry have brought substantial profits to non-Indians who have directed their operations in Gods Lake. Employment opportunities from private industries in Gods Lake for Indians have been minimal since managerial and other high paying jobs have always been held by non-Indians.

Despite minimal opportunities and finances, the cost of items on the trader's shelves continued to rise. Indian leaders have accepted the fact that the traditional means and skills cannot provide an adequate source of income for the growing population. They have responded to problems by relinquishing control of their economic, social, and educational programs to governmental and private agencies. 70

The government responded to this challenge by supplementing incomes from trapping and commercial fishing with unearned incomes from sources such as family allowances and welfare assistance. Governmental aids have been matched by an increase in the array of products on the trader's shelves.

Increases in unearned income have steadily led to a reduction in trapping and fishing by the young members of

the Gods Lake community. As a result, an economy once based on self-sufficiency has become a subsidized and marginal reserve economy. Frideres states

As welfare benefits increase, an apparently inescapable result seems to be that of a greater dependency of the recipients on the system and this is an anthem to any expression or development of initiative. ⁷¹

Apart from a lack of initiative which could be a result of welfare, the younger members of the Gods Lake community are faced with additional problems. Lack of opportunities in Gods Lake have increased the dependency of the people on the government. In terms of the economies of contemporary life, northern development is in reality in "the welfare era" for many people. ⁷² Job opportunities in the area are restricted to trapping and fishing since opportunities in other fields are minimal in some areas and non-existent in others. Faced with a lack of employment opportunities and inexperience in commercial industries, unemployment in the area has increased tremendously. The result of this combination is the destruction in human pride and dignity.

The Indian wants to retain his individuality. So he should. He wants to preserve his legends, traditions, and customs. So he should. He wants to be able to call for comfort and inspiration on those lovely things in his own religion which should not be allowed to pass away. So he should. What he wants, probably most of all, is to walk upright as a man, to earn his own way and look after his family, and to see that his children are properly trained to take their places as happy productive citizens in their own country. ⁷³

Increases in unearned income have resulted in a decrease in earned incomes. For the older members of the community trapping, guiding and commercial fishing are the principle means of income. Furs trapped in the area are handled by the Hudson's Bay Retail Store.⁷⁴ Fur prices are credited against one's bill and the difference in cost is given to the trapper. The fur crops for 1972 to 1976 are outlined in Table II.

The fur catch on Gods Lake during the 1972/73 period was considerably higher than preceding years because there were more trappers. Fur prices increased steadily from 1973/74 to 1974/75 despite fewer trappers. The year 1975/76 reflects a higher fur crop, more trappers, and subsequently higher incomes.

Commercial fishing is another primary source of income. As of 1970 it was operated by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood. Commercially caught fish are valued according to the species with White Fish being the most valuable. Other species such as Lake Trout, Pickerel, and Northern Pike are of economic value. The price of commercially caught fish has risen from five cents to the present rate of forty cents a pound depending on the species. Table III gives one insight into the amount of fish caught and the earnings accrued to fishermen.

TABLE: II

ANNUAL REPORTS OF CROPS AND VALUE OF ALL FURS TAKEN FROM GODS LAKE

1972 - 1976

Species	Crop	1972/73 Value	Crop	1973/74 Value	Crop	1974/75 Value	Crop	1975/76 Value
Bear, Black					2			130.00
Beaver	594	11,909.70	525	10,256.00	725	11,121.50	827	16,540.00
Ermine (Weasel)	61	62.83	4	4.80	54	43.20	39	35.10
Fisher	22	816.86	9	389.25	14	635.32	13	1,261.00
Red Fox	3	88.20	4	156.80	2	61.74		
Other Fox (Cross)	3	131.79	4	268.00	1	45.06		
Lynx	40	3,606.00	10	900.00	1	123.01		
Marten					1	15.34	1	24.00
Mink	282	6,598.80	56	1,232.00	198	2,599.74	116	3,016.00
Muskrat	125	330.00	278	778.40	892	2,337.04	1397	5,057.14
Otter	118	4,682.24	62	2,334.30	68	2,471.80	89	5,340.00
Squirrel	16	15.36	3	2.25	60	37.80	26	18.20
Wolf, Timber	1	28.98	3	180.00			1	101.00
Wolverine							1	159.00
Totals		\$28,270.76		\$11,501.80		\$19,514.75		\$31,681.44
Number of Trappers	71		59		50		68	
Average Income per Trapper	\$395.15		\$279.69		\$390.80		\$465.90	

Source: Annual Reports of Crops and Value 1972-76, Department of Renewable Resources and Transportation Services, Winnipeg: Manitoba.

TABLE: III

COMMERCIAL FISHING - GODS LAKE

TYPES OF FISH

PERIOD 1965-76

Year	Whitefish	Pickereel	Pike	Lake Trout	Total	Value to Fisherman
1965/66	519,700	400	5,300	19,900	545,300	26,000
1966/67	418,400	4,800	21,300	26,700	471,200	46,358
1967/68	451,800	10,000	36,500	38,400	536,700	73,436
1968/69	479,000	5,700	29,200	35,600	550,400	75,914
1969/70	452,200	2,600	29,000	25,200	509,000	68,704
1970/71	184,100	900		695	192,685	31,546
1971/72	224,700	4,100	9,000	10,800	248,500	33,949
1972/73	218,800	10,300	18,400	10,000	257,500	45,045
1973/74						
1974/75	297,487	1,532	2,372	6,709	308,100	50,363
1975/76					202,800	35,269
1976/77					242,386	35,270

Source: Fresh Water Institute, Annual Reports 1965-1977, Economic Branch, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The operation of commercial fishing prior to 1971 was handled by private persons. Since then it has been handled by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and later the Gods Lake Band. During the year 1973-74 commercial fishing was not carried out on the lake because of a lack of funds and poor lake conditions. A decline in the total catch is evident as of 1975 because of conflict between commercial and recreational fishing regulations.

Incomes accrued from commercial fishing are outlined in Table IV.

TABLE: IV

COMMERCIAL FISHING - GODS LAKE

INCOME TO FISHERMEN

PERIOD 1970-1977

Year	Total Poundage of Fish	Total Land Value of Fish	Number Fishermen Employed	Income Paid to Each Fishermen
1970/71	192,685	31,546	33	955.93
1971/72	248,500	33,949	61	556.54
1972/73	257,500	45,054	74	608.83
1974/75			NO RECORD	
1975/76	202,800	35,269	47	750.40
1976/77	242,236	35,270	29	1,215.20

Source: Fresh Water Institute, Economic Branch, Annual Reports for the period 1970/77, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Commercial fishing, like most occupations on Gods Lake, is seasonal. Earnings derived from commercial fishing are subject to prices as outlined by the Fresh Fish Marketing Corporation.⁷⁵ Incomes paid to fishermen are affected by transportation costs since fish are sent to Winnipeg by air freight which is expensive. The number of persons employed as fishermen during 1970 to 1977 tends to fluctuate. Incomes reflect a similar trend, except for 1976/77 when fewer fishermen were employed and income was greater than previous years.

Closely following commercial fishing was the introduction of recreational fishing. Gods Lake has often been referred to as a sportsman's paradise.⁷⁶ Recreational

fishing is based on the availability of trophy fish and trophy species. Lake Trout, Pickerel, and Northern Pike are highly valued by recreational fishermen.

During the summer months, the angling season provides a source of income for the Indians and a means of relaxation to anglers. The Indians work during this time as guides to American and Canadian anglers who are attracted to the area for trophy fishing. Guides were paid at a rate of \$35.00 per day and during the summer of 1976 approximately 61 licenses were sold. ⁷⁷

The demands for angling awards have resulted in the establishment of several lodges on Gods Lake by non-Indian persons. The first lodge on Gods Lake was opened in 1948 by P. Burton at Elk Island. Other lodges on Gods Lake have been subject to being sold and resold to private individuals. At present there are three lodges on Gods Lake and they are located at Elk Island, Gods Lake, and Kanuchewan Rapids. ⁷⁸ The impact of recreational fishing can be evaluated on the basis of economic returns to two of the three lodges on Gods Lake, (Table V).

Gods Lake lodges are operated by non-Indian personnel and guests are charged on an individual basis. Monies paid to lodge operators for 1975 were estimated at \$810,000.00.

TABLE: V

RECREATIONAL FISHING

ECONOMIC RETURNS FROM TWO LODGES AT GODS LAKE

YEAR 1975

Guests visiting the two lodges were estimated at 1,300

Accounts	Revenue
Basic Lodge Charter 79	\$675,000.00
20% Above Basic for Miscellaneous Expenses	135,000.00
Tips to Guides 80 (Indian)	<u>20,400.00</u>
TOTAL	\$830,400.00

Source: Report Submitted to Gods Lake Band by J.S. Sigurdson, Fisheries Biologist, Northern Region, Department of Renewable Resources and Transportation Services. January 20, 1976.

Other sources of income were derived from occupations such as maintenance and clerical positions. On the following page is a breakdown of occupational opportunities for the year 1976 in Gods Lake.

The major employment institutions in Gods Lake are the Hudson's Bay Store, Gods Narrows School, Gods Narrows Nursing Station, the Airport, and Gods Lake Band. The latter is the only one that is managed by Indians. Gods Lake Band, apart from acting as an intermediary between the Department of Indian Affairs and the reserve population, directs the operation of the reserve.

Medically, shamanistic practices and the role of the medicine man have been reduced considerably since the traditional forms of cures have proven to be ineffective. In response to the medical needs of the community a nursing station was set up and maintained by the Department of National Health and Welfare. Gods Lake Nursing Station was transferred from the original settlement at Elk Island. Prior to this period the health problems of the Indian people were handled by the Nursing Station which was located at Elk Island. There was one nurse in charge and home visits were made by dog team in the winter and canoe in the summer. Illnesses that could not be handled by the residing nurse were sent out by aeroplane, if available, or by canoe to Norway House where the main hospital was located. 81

A new nursing station was built in 1959 and at present there are three nurses who handle all minor medical

TABLE: VI

SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT IN GODS LAKE

1976

Institutions	Indian Employees Permanent and Casual Labour
Gods Narrows School	3
Gods Narrows Nursing Station	6
Gods Lake Band	16
Hudson's Bay Store	8
Gods Lake Airport	1

Source: Personal interviews with the employees from the above institutions in Gods Lake, (Gods Lake Band and Gods Narrows Nursing Station).

cases while serious cases are flown to hospitals at Norway House, Thompson, or Winnipeg. General practitioners, paramedicals, gynecologists and dentists visit the area periodically.⁸²

The medical profession places strong emphasis on a maternity and child health program. Other programs are Immunization, Tuberculosis Control and Community Health, Venereal Disease, School Health, and Chronic Diseases.⁸³ Infant mortality rate although high has been drastically reduced and the incidence of tuberculosis has been controlled through the co-operation of the people and the efforts of the medical services.

Improvements in health conditions have lead to a steady growth in population as shown by Table VII and VIII.

TABLE: VII

POPULATION OF GODS LAKE⁸⁴
1970-76

Year	Male	Female	Total
1970	384	372	756
1971	396	384	780
1972	406	393	799
1973	397	374	771
1974	420	393	813
1975	424	398	822
1976	411	384	795

Source: Department of Indian Affairs, Population Statistics 1970-76, Ottawa: Canada, 1977.

The total population of Gods Lake has grown steadily from 1970 to 1976. The male population is larger than the female population.

TABLE: VIII

AGE CATEGORY OF POPULATION

GODS LAKE

1976

Age	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
00 - 04	61	57	118	14.8
05 - 09	70	50	120	15.1
10 - 14	65	74	139	17.5
15 - 19	47	50	97	12.3
20 - 24	43	29	72	9.1
25 - 29	23	14	37	4.7
30 - 34	24	20	44	5.6
35 - 39	21	14	35	4.4
40 - 44	7	14	21	2.6
45 - 49	8	10	18	2.3
50 - 54	8	14	22	2.7
55 - 59	10	10	20	2.5
60 - 64	9	10	19	2.4
65 - 69	6	6	12	1.5
70 - 74	6	6	12	1.5
75 - 79	3	5	8	1.0
80 - 85+	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u> 85	<u>0.0</u>
	411	384	794	100.0

Source: Department of Indian Affairs, Population Statistics - Age Grouping, 1976, Ottawa: 1977.

Of the above figures 51% of the population is male and 49% is female. Approximately 47.4% of the population is 14 years or under; 48.6% of the population is between the ages of 15 and 64; and 4% is over 65 years of age.

An integral part of the health program is the accommodations of the Indian people. Traditional teepees have been replaced by low quality homes which are arranged at random in a linear pattern with the majority of these homes electrically lit but devoid of amenities such as indoor plumbing and heating. The Department of Indian Affairs Housing Program attempts to reduce the overcrowding of homes by the construction of new homes. As of 1975, an average of six new homes were built per year by the Gods Lake Band but because of increases in family sizes, the replacement of burnt homes, and the wearing out of old homes, the construction of new homes cannot adequately meet the demands of the Indian population.

Sources of internal transportation are supplied by the Hudson's Bay Retail Store. Traditional methods and skills have been replaced with items from the traders' shelves. Dog teams and snowshoes have been replaced by sophisticated equipment such as skidoos, and boats and motors. Winter travelling is accomplished by skidoos and summer travel on the lake is restricted to boats and canoes. The price range of these commodities range from \$1,400.00 to \$2,200.00.⁸⁶

Transportation to and from Gods Lake is restricted to aircraft and a temporary winter road because of the isolation of the community. Aircraft service to the area is daily except for Sundays. Private charters can be arranged easily with any of the air services that are available. Mail service is an integral part of air transport and is delivered to the area three times a week. The Hudson's Bay Retail Store acts as the distributory agent for mail service to and from Gods Lake.

The obtaining of personal clothing is no longer a vital part of the hunt. Hides were usually cleaned and tanned and were made into soft leggings, gloves, jackets, moccasins, and parkas. In winter, extra warmth was maintained by additions to summer wear such as rabbit skins or caribou hide. Clothing is now supplied by the Hudson's Bay General Store.

Other significant changes are noticeable in consumption patterns, law, and administration. The Indians of the area have been dependent on fish as a source of food but changing eating patterns has resulted in a decrease in domestic fishing activity and an ever increasing reliance on the community store for canned foods such as stews and soft drinks. ⁸⁷

The reserve is governed by a formal system of law which, unlike traditional patterns, is dependent on the wishes on the government and the R. C. M. P. A detachment of the R. C. M. P. at Norway House services the Gods Lake area on a weekly basis or as circumstances warrant. ⁸⁸

The role of the chief has been subject to a complete re-evaluation.

Formerly the chief was the best warrior and most trustworthy man. He was not elected or appointed but acquired his office by tacit consent at the death of a former incumbent. 89

With the advent of the fur trade, his role was modified. The chief was regarded as a captain by the traders and as such was given special privileges because of his oratory. The Indian Act in the initial stages of its draft redefined the chief's role to one of a liaison officer between the Indian people and the Indian agent but tenure was dependent on the latter.

As of 1946, the role of the chief was evaluated again. His role was one of an administrator and his tenure of office depended on the wishes of the Indian Band. In an attempt to enhance the democratic process, the Department of Indian Affairs has stipulated that an election should be held every two years. At this time a chief and councillors⁹⁰ are elected by secret ballot under the direction of a returning officer who is an employee of the Federal Government. At present Gods Lake Reserve is managed by the Gods Lake Band which consists of one chief and ten councillors. The Band submits a yearly budget to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Approved funds are deposited in a trust fund and includes monies for operations such as planning, budgeting, welfare, and housing programs.

SUMMARY

The historical development of Gods Lake was closely related to lucrative operations of the fur trade, the gold mine, and commercial fishing. These operations offered the Indians of the area opportunities for employment in menial tasks and increased their dependency on European materials. In response to the new system of employment, the Indians relinquished traditional skills and tools of the pre-fur trade era and have replaced them with new techniques in order to meet the demands of new trades. Income earned from trapping, guiding, and other casual means of employment have been supplemented with unearned income from welfare and social assistance programs. Unearned incomes have been subject to strong criticism from writers such as Frideres (1969) since it has been felt that they have instilled in the Indian people a feeling of hopelessness and indifference. In an attempt to combat negative criticisms, the Department of Indian Affairs has developed a series of programs in housing and essential services. These programs are aimed at providing a base for the economic, educational, health and welfare among Indian people. To date the effect of these programs is minimal and their full impact cannot yet be determined.

FOOTNOTES

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11. Task bands of the pre-fur era have been replaced by seasonal bands which have been assigned to specific trapping areas.
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13. Ibid., pp. 3-18.
14. R.W. Dunning, Social and Economic Changes Among Northern Ojibwa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 10.
15. Homeguard Indians listed in the Hudsons Bay Journal of Events at Fort Hope between 1875 and 1909 were Matthew Bee, Peter Murdo, William Paguitinack, John Chubb, Tom Duck, William Clark, and Waboose.

16. Hudson's Bay Company Journal of Events at Fort Hope, Gods Lake, Outfit 1891, HBCA, File B 283/a/1. Monday, 15 February 1892.
17. Fort Hope was the name assigned to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Gods Lake between 1890 and 1909
18. Extracted from correspondence taken from the Hudson's Bay Company Journals of Events for Fort Hope, Gods Lake, HBCA, File B 283/a/1. January 1891 to July 1909.
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20. Hudson's Bay Journal of Events at Fort Hope, Gods Lake Outfit 1897, HBCA, File B 283/a/2. Thursday, 21 October 1897.
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22. Hudson's Bay Company Journal of Events at Fort Hope, Gods Lake, Outfit 1897, HBCA, File B 283/a/2. Thursday, 21 October 1897.
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27. Hudson's Bay Company Journal of Events at Fort Hope, Gods Lake, Outfit 1899, HBCA, File B 283/a/2. Thursday, 8 June 1899.
28. Hudson's Bay Company Journal of Events at Fort Hope, Gods Lake, Outfit 1893, HBCA, File B 283/a/2. Tuesday, 11 April 1893.

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63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Barry, Geology of Gods Narrows Area, p. 27.
66. Interviews with P. and A. Burton, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1973.
67. Ibid.
68. Geographically, Gods River is under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government of Manitoba. It was not included in the lands granted in Treaty No. 5 and the adhesion of 1909 to Gods Lake Band. The residents of Gods River were part of Gods Lake Band prior to 1977 but resided on Crown land. They became a separate band as of 1977.
69. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonquin Cultures, 1504 - 1700, p. 1
70. Helm and Leacock, "The Hunting Tribes of Sub-Artic Canada", p. 362.
71. J. S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1974), p. 83.
72. Helm and Leacock, "The Hunting Tribes of Sub-Artic Canada", p. 301.
73. Frank Hall, ed., "The First Manitobans", Manitoba Pagent, vol. XVI, no. 1, (Autumn 1970): 9.
74. Interview with Manager, Hudson's Bay Store, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1973.
75. Personal Communication with Fresh Fish Marketing Corporation, Winnipeg, Manitoba, February 1978.
76. Interview with a resident of Gods Lake Community, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1974.

77. Department of Wildlife and Renewable Resources, Hunter's Safety Branch, Winnipeg, Manitoba, January 1978.
78. Personal Interview with a resident of Gods Lake Community, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1974.
79. Basic Lodge Charter as used in this context includes the usage of boat and motor, furnishing, transportation, food and other miscellaneous when staying at the lodge.
80. As indicated in the 1975 returns from two lodges on Gods Lake, guides were paid a total of \$20,400.00. These figures might be inflated because of differences in information by guides and anglers.
81. Personal Interview with an elder of Gods Lake Community, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1974.
82. A. Thompson to E. Rivais, Department of Health and Welfare, Ottawa: November 1977.
83. Personal Interview with Mrs. A. Baetsen, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1974.
84. The total population residing at Gods Lake is accounted for in Table VII. These figures do not include members of Gods Lake Band who are living off the reserve or on Crown land or members from other reserves who are residing at Gods Lake.
85. There is one female within the statistics whose age is unaccounted for. This person probably belongs to the 85+ category.
86. Personal Interview with Manager of the Hudson's Bay Store, Gods Lake, Manitoba, Winter 1974.
87. Personal observation of the writer.
88. Personal correspondence with an R.C.M.P. Officer, Norway House, Winter 1973.
89. Skinner, Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, p. 57.
90. The numbers of councillors to be elected are determined by the size of the Indian band.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN GODS LAKE

INTRODUCTION

Responsibility for formal education in Canada is regulated according to the terms of the Canadian constitution and is a provincial matter; but Indian education is the ultimate responsibility of the Federal government. The educational policy for Indian education is outlined throughout sections 114 to 122 of the Indian Act dated 1894 and amended in 1927, 1951 and 1956. The Act provided the legal basis for the establishment of Indian schools at the residential level, but later incorporated day and seasonal schools. The amendments of the Act raised the age for compulsory attendance from fifteen to sixteen years and authorized the appointment of the R.C.M.P., or special constables, or teachers to act as truant officers.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an account of the development of formal education in Gods Lake from 1903 to 1976. Discussions will be centered around church and federal schools.

The extension of formal education to Gods Lake occurred in compliance with Sections 114 to 121 of the Indian

Act. Section 114 made provisions for the Federal Government to enter into an educational agreement with religious organizations and reads:

(1) The Governor in Council may authorize the Minister in accordance with this Act to enter into agreements on behalf of her Majesty for the education in accordance with the Act of Indian Children, with ... a religious charitable organization.

(2) The Minister may ... establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children.¹

Section 121 of the Indian Act safeguards the religious affiliation of teachers of Indian children.

Where the majority of the members of a band belong to one religious denomination, the school established on the reserve that has been set apart for the use and benefit of that band shall be taught by teachers of that denomination.²

In addition to the Indian Act, Treaty No. 5 dated September 20, 1875 and its subsequent adhesion of 1909 were applicable to Indians in North Eastern Manitoba. Treaty No. 5 guaranteed educational concessions.

And further, her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserves should desire it.³

The adjudication of the legal provisions of the Indian Act and Treaty No. 5 was vested in Indian Affairs, a branch of the Department of the Interior (1880) and later Citizenship and Immigration.⁴ Faced with the lack of the necessary educational expertise and professional staff, the Department contracted its educational obligations to ecclesiastical agencies. The churches were offered financial

assistance by the government and they in turn supervised the operation of the schools.

The Methodist Church Seasonal School

The earliest indication of formal education in Gods Lake dates back to 1903 when the Methodist Church, which later became the United Church, began to operate a school in the area.⁵ The church was responsible for providing classroom furniture, maintaining a suitable educational structure, recruiting teachers, and implementing programs. Formal education was conducted on a seasonal basis by the visiting minister and was restricted to the summer months because it was the only time that all Indians were settled in the same area.

The promising beginning of the Methodist Church was marred by several difficulties. There was a lack of funds and attendance was sporadic since children accompanied their parents to the hunting grounds. Indian families were hunters who migrated to their traplines for the most part of the year and came near the religious establishment only in the summer and during great holidays.⁶

Attempts at procuring financial assistance from the government date back to 1907 when the Methodist Church authorities approached Indian Affairs to take over and be responsible for the cost of operating a school in Gods Lake. The request was denied because of the inability of the church to provide a suitable building and also because the location of the reserve had not yet been determined by the band.⁷

The rejection of the request placed the church in an embarrassing situation and led to the closure of the seasonal school⁸ from 1908 until 1911 when a resident missionary was assigned to Gods Lake. The missionary arrived in the summer of 1911 with instructions to build a place of worship and to make suitable arrangements for the opening of a school. Indian Affairs was informed of this arrangement and acceptance was granted. The missionary was nominated for the teaching position by the Superintendent of Methodist Schools and the appointment was validated by Indian Affairs.

Plans for the construction of a school building, as mentioned in the church's proposal, were not forthcoming. The teacher was unable to construct a school building owing to a lack of supplies and a tent was used instead for instructional purposes. This arrangement evoked criticisms from several factions, including the Gods Lake Indian Band, and led to the closure of the school.⁹

Financial aid to Gods Lake Seasonal School was terminated by the Federal Government from 1912 to 1921 over the issue of a suitable building for instructional purposes. During this period, attempts at reopening the school were undertaken by the Methodist Church in 1913, 1916, 1918, and 1921¹⁰ but were unsuccessful. The Church was of the opinion that all educational endeavors should be restricted to the summer months and a temporary building would have been appropriate. The Federal Government held the opposite view

and maintained that no financial assistance would be granted to the church until a permanent and suitable building for instruction had been provided. The church was unable to meet the stipulations of the government because of insufficient funds. ¹¹

By 1922 the Methodist Church had secured sufficient funds to construct a building which was to be used both as a school and a home for the teacher. The church authorities approached the Department of Indian Affairs to take over and be responsible for the cost of its operation. Indian Affairs responded by approving the reopening of the school, and agreed to pay the salary for one teacher as well as all operating costs as of October 9th. Gods Lake Seasonal School was placed under the jurisdiction of the Norway House Agency and commenced operation in the summer of 1923. ¹²

Educational progress following the reopening of the school was negligible. The school was opened for a few months and attendance was recorded at three out of fourteen students for an average of twenty one percent. ¹³ Poor attendance was due to the settlement patterns of Indian families who were scattered throughout the reserve since their survival was dependent on the hunt. Indian Affairs was alarmed at the attendance for the 1923 period as well as the early closing of the school and threatened to withdraw its financial assistance. The church was unable to guarantee better students' attendance for 1924 and the school was closed.

Gods Lake Seasonal School was reopened in 1925

amid a revision of the teachers' salary and the promise of better attendance. Prior to 1925 teachers' salaries were set at \$800 per annum,¹⁴ but with the new revision teachers were paid at the rate of \$5 per teaching day for regular teachers and \$4 for missionary teachers.¹⁵ This arrangement in its subtle form placed the onus on the teacher to maintain school since his/her salary was dependent on the number of days he/she taught.

Educational progress for the 1925 school year was satisfactory. The report recorded that "The spirit of the school is good and progress is being made".¹⁶ This glowing report was based on the attendance figures which showed an improvement over the 1923 figures. Attendance for the period 1923 to 1929 reflects the change.

TABLE: IX

ATTENDANCE

UNITED CHURCH SEASONAL SCHOOL - GODS LAKE

1923 - 1929

Year	No. of students		Total number	Average	% of
	Boys	Girls	of students	Attendance	Attendance
1923			10	3	21%
1925	4	10	14	5	35%
1926	19	22	41	11	26%
1927	5	5	10	5	50%
1928	12	16	28	14	50%
1929	6	6	12	10	83%

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Annual statement of Indian Day Schools in the Dominion, Ottawa 1923 - 1929.

A review of attendance and enrolment for the period 1925 to 1929 indicates fluctuating figures from a low of 10 in 1927 to a high of 41 in 1926. The attendance from 1925 through 1929 was better than that of 1923. The highest average attendance was recorded in 1929. Students' attendance reached a peak of 83%. Reasons for the change in attendance are varied and complex. Indian Affairs attributed the change in attendance pattern to parental interest and the compulsory education statute of 1920.

The main reason for improvement in attendance at the Indian School is a growing conviction on the part of our wards that their children must be better fitted for the future. Fewer and fewer natives are finding it possible to live by the chase and they are turning towards education to prepare themselves for encroaching civilization. 17

The field report from the Indian Agent presents a different view. Lack of parental interest owing to the nomadic existence of the families and the lack of a permanent reserve were identified in the report of 1927.

Since the survey of the Reserve, no doubt the people will be settling down to certain locations. There will always be a number of groups or villages, at some distance apart, but there will be a group at the mission, which will tend to increase, as the places of business are at this point also. Hunters' families accompany them to the trap grounds, which makes the permanent population to consist of only those who are unable to go hunting, widows, sick, etc. 18

A gradual increase in students' attendance commenced in 1929 and led to overcrowding by 1930. In an attempt to control

attendance the United Church considered the idea of operating classes on half days but the suggestion was denied. The school was closed from 1930 to 1931 and was reopened in 1932 after the existing school building was renovated. The number of teaching days for the school year was $56\frac{1}{2}$ days. Of these, $7\frac{1}{2}$ days were conducted on Saturdays. Pupils' enrolment was 48 and the average attendance was 19. The Agent's Report of 1932 describes the activities of the school as a success and attributes increases in attendance to treaty payments. ¹⁹

Favourable reports on education were subject to students' attendance and, consequently, if attendance was poor teaching activities were regarded as unsatisfactory. Staff turnover and qualifications were not considered as important factors in the education of Indian children. A teacher was hired annually to teach a mixed group of students ranging from grades one to seven in ability. During the period from 1931 to 1938, six teachers were hired. ²⁰ Of these teachers, two worked in the area for a maximum of two years each, whereas others remained in the area for one year. High staff turnover could be attributed to the isolation of the reserve since it was accessible only by aircraft. Chalmers in an overview of Indian education writes: "Poor pay, living and working conditions resulted in rapid staff turnover with accompanying negative effects on school programs." ²¹

This argument, though general in nature, could be applied to Gods Lake because salaries paid to missionary teachers remained at \$4 per teaching day from 1925 to 1938. ²²

Church authorities, unlike Indian Affairs, were concerned with the annual turnover in staff. They believed that there was a direct link between attendance and staff turnover. ²³ The average attendance from 1931 to 1937 supports the church's claim. Students' attendance between 1931 and 1934 was 49% as compared to 38% from 1935 to 1937. Staff turnover was its highest between 1935 to 1937.

In an attempt to reduce the annual staff turnover, the Methodist Church proposed that Indian Affairs should pay the return cost of teacher transportation to and from Gods Lake. The Department was reluctant to apply the suggestion but agreed to increase the teacher's rate of pay from \$4 to \$5 per teaching day. ²⁴ The minimal increase was not an incentive and this was shown in subsequent years. Staff turnover remained high and students' attendance continued to be sporadic.

Additional factors influencing the decline in the United Church attendance were the opening of the Roman Catholic Seasonal School, and Gods Lake Gold Mine at Elk Island. The latter began its operation in 1939 and attracted the majority of the Indian families since it offered opportunities for employment. The agent report of 1939 described the situation at Gods Lake.

The Gardens are neglected at Gods Lake because all the able bodied Indians and their families have been at Gods Lake Gold Mine cutting fuel wood for the Mine since early spring. The Mine pays Indians \$4.50 a cord for wood if delivered and \$2.00 if left in the bush where it is cut. 25

Faced with the possibility of a permanent settlement at Elk Island, the relocation of the seasonal school from Gods Lake to Elk Island was considered. 26 This idea was not carried through by the United Church teacher since the Roman Catholic teacher at Elk Island was unsuccessful in maintaining a regular attendance. The teacher attributed poor attendance to the proximity of the mine since children often assisted their parents in the cutting of wood.

The United Church, therefore, continued to operate its seasonal school at Gods Lake from 1939 to 1943. The closing of the Gods Lake Mine in 1943 laid the foundation for an assessment of the type of school that would be functional in the area. Discussions with the Church, the Band, and Indian Affairs were centered around the transformation of Gods Lake Seasonal school to a day school. Several Indian Agents were opposed to the operation of seasonal schools. One report stated:

...seasonal schools were ineffective because students were under strict supervision of parents for longer periods than the missionaries. The child couldn't be kept clean, suitably clothed and fed... 27

The above criticism appeared harsh, but does contain an element of truth. The United Church seasonal School at Gods Lake was ineffective. Poor attendance and a high staff turnover were some of the problems that were being experienced. However, Indian Affairs was prepared to consider the request for the opening of a day school, even though it was apparent that parents migrated from the main settlement of the reserve to their traplines several times a year. After several meetings and counter proposals, a decision in favour of a day school was adopted in 1943.²⁸ Gods Lake United Church Seasonal School was transformed to a day school effective September 1st, 1944 on a conditional basis. Teacher recruitment for the new type of school was difficult since working and living conditions were inadequate. No accommodation was provided for the teacher who was usually given the option of boarding with missionaries or using the school as a home as well as a place of work. Correspondence between Indian Affairs and the Methodist Church explains the situation, "I am hesitant to approve the appointment for the ten month term unless there is a resident missionary to reside with".²⁹ A missionary was residing in the area and the teaching position was filled.

Within a year, the problems at the United Church Day School were similar to those experienced in previous years under the Seasonal School. The report of 1945 reads:

...Small log building in fair repair.

Grade 1 - 14 pupils
2 - 4 pupils
3 - 6 pupils
4 - 1 pupils

Total 25

Attendance for the June quarter was 6.5. Six pupils had not attended at all during the quarter. No teacher's residence. Teacher must board with missionary. Indians are trappers and hunters and are away from the Reserve for weeks at a time. ...It seems impossible to operate a Day School with any degree of success under such conditions. 30

The report was shocking. The Indian Agent for the area responded to the problem by examining alternatives to the attendance problem. An investigation of the attendance in Island Lake, a neighbouring reserve, indicated that their schools operated on a ten month basis but annual holidays were taken in April and May in compliance with the hunting season. The possibility of implementing a similar system in Gods Lake was recommended to Indian Affairs but was never applied. Instead, the introduction of a noon lunch 31 program was viewed as the solution to the problem. Church authorities were of the opinion that once the nutritional needs of the children were met, their attendance would improve considerably. The noon lunch program was introduced in 1945 without Indian Affairs approval. The Agent Report of 1945 states: "I wish to submit that this was done...of the United Church without knowledge or authority of this office!" 32

Indian Affairs objected to the implementation of the program and was unwilling to pay the cost of items

debited to its accounts at the local Hudson's Bay store on voucher #432 to the value of \$63.84. A billing from the Hudson's Bay store placed Indian Affairs in an embarrassing situation and after several discussions, the cost for operating the lunch program was approved and was debited to the sick and destitute funds. ³³ Official approval for the lunch program was granted in 1946. Attendance, following the introduction of the noon lunch program, showed a slight improvement.

Poor facilities were later identified as another reason that could have contributed to inadequate attendance. An inspection of the lunch and school facilities in 1947 indicated that the school facilities at Gods Lake were in dire need of repair.

...It is not worth spending much on classrooms about 30'x10', poor floor, lighting and heating. Teacher's and pupils' desks are home made. Blackboard - 19ft. of black cloth...³⁴
Enrolment - 23 so far. Ungraded...

Poor and inadequate facilities meant that the present school could not cope with its projected enrolment of 30 pupils.

The report recommended :

The United Church contingent urgently needs a two-room school with living quarters to be built near the present site. The church should then be requested to demolish the old mission house. ³⁵

The agent's recommendations were presented and accepted by Indian Affairs who agreed to pay all capital costs for the construction of the new school and teacherage. This change in policy by Indian Affairs was an indicator that governmental interest had been developed beyond the payments

of the teacher's salary and purchase of classroom supplies. Several tenders for the construction of the Gods Lake Day School were submitted.

TABLE: X

TENDERS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION
OF THE
UNITED CHURCH DAY SCHOOL AT GODS LAKE

Contractors	Costs
E. Andrews	\$5,000
Matthew Construction Co., The Pas	\$5,900
Emery Brothers	\$5,800

Source: Department of Mines and Resources, Minutes of a meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, dated June 22nd, 1949.

The contract was offered to the lowest bidder.

...E. Andrews of Winnipeg, has produced evidence to the effect that he will build these schools in a satisfactory way. His tender covers all transportation and boarding costs and is felt to be fair and reasonable. 36

The acceptance of the above tender was in accordance with Section 36 of the Public Work Act, Chapter 166, R.S.C. 1927.

...Whenever any works are to be executed under the direction of any department of the Government, the minister having charge of such department shall invite tender by public advertisement for the execution of such works except in cases of pressing emergency in which delay would be injurious to the public interest... 37

Construction of the new school was due to commence early in 1948 but was delayed because of disputes over an appropriate site. Persons involved in the dispute were the Superintendent of the Nelson River Agency, The resident Missionary - teacher, and the Educational Survey Officer for Indian Affairs. ³⁸ Parental and band input was seldom sought during the course of the disputes except as a lever for balancing the odds. The controversy lasted for several months and was settled by Indian Affairs who made an arbitrary decision in determining the location of the site.

Freight for the construction of the new school was shipped by winter road and construction of the new building and teacherage began in late 1948. The new school was completed for the opening of the 1949-50 school year amid accusations of shoddy workmanship.

This building has been completed sufficiently to legalize payment to the contractor. However, the finishing was an extremely hurried job and reflects no credit to the man concerned. ³⁹

The contractor was paid a sum of \$4500.00 for work partially completed and \$500 was held back pending completion.

The Gods Lake School has not been completed according to specification. There is only one coat of paint on the inside of the school, the hinges put on the kitchen cupboards were old hinges and were not countersunk. The doors of the cupboard were poorly done. The kitchen cupboards have been put up with plywood without two by two's to support. ⁴⁰

Adjustments were completed during the 1949-50 school year amid poor attendance which was recorded as follows:

TABLE: XI

STUDENTS' ATTENDANCE AND ENROLMENT

UNITED CHURCH DAY SCHOOL

1949 - 50

Month	Average Enrolment	Average Attendance
Sept.	14	11.20
Oct.	14	8.05
Nov.	14	4.75
Dec.	14	1.08
Jan.	14	-
Feb.	14	6.25
March	14	-
April	14	-
May	14	-
June	14	-

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Teacher's Annual Return 1949-50, June 1950.

Attendance figures indicate a rapid decline as of November.

No attendance was recorded for January, March, April, May, and June. Consideration was given to the changing of the Gods Lake School from a day school to a seasonal school by Indian Affairs.

The institution of such a scheme was not forthcoming. The Department was more concerned about the closing of the Gods

Lake Gold Mine School since the attendance was poorer than the Gods Lake United Church Day School.⁴¹ The United Church continued to operate its day school, and enrolment for the 1950 school year was recorded at 26 pupils, but attendance was 6 pupils for the month of September. The teacher's annual report reflects the atmosphere of the school.

Neither parents nor the children are interested in the school...the children are sitting around the steps of the Hudson's Bay Company store all day... Many threats have been made to stop family allowance of children for non attendance but in no case has this measure been forthcoming.⁴²

The cooperation of the Gods Lake Band was sought as an instrument for reducing absenteeism but the results were not forthcoming since it was apparent that families needed the assistance of their children at the domestic level.

Gods Lake Mine School

The closing of the Gods Lake Gold Mine at Elk Island in 1943 did not deter the continuance of a settlement in the area. Instead, Indian families who had worked at the mine purchased some abandoned buildings from the Mining Company and removed them to a settlement adjacent to the Hudson's Bay Trading Post. The latter was the main stopping place on the winter freight route and was convenient to commercial fishing during the winter. Faced with the possibility of a permanent settlement at Elk Island, a request for a school was submitted to Indian Affairs in 1945.⁴³

A meeting between Departmental representatives and Gods Lake Band convened on October 20 and 21, 1945 at the R.C.M.P. Barracks at Elk Island. Topics on the agenda were the opening of a school at Elk Island, enrolment, and the acquisition of buildings. At the conclusion of the meetings, it was agreed that (1) the Department would finance the operation of a school on the condition that if it proved unsatisfactory it would be discontinued; (2) the school would be non-denominational since both Roman Catholic and United Church parents were living in the area; and, (3) rental arrangements would be made with the Gods Lake Gold Mine Company. ⁴⁴

An inspection of the abandoned mine school and equipment revealed that conditions were satisfactory and the building was well ventilated. Rental arrangements were concluded between Indian Affairs and the Gods Lake Gold Mine Company on the condition that the building would be vacated on a sixty day notice if the company was fortunate enough to be in a position to reopen the mine. Also, it was agreed that the Department would maintain good repair and would insure the building against loss by fire or other damages. The last stipulation was not acknowledged by Indian Affairs since it differed from Departmental policy. A nominal rent was paid to the company on the condition that it would look after the insurance of its buildings. ⁴⁵

Gods Lake Gold Mine Day School was opened on October 8, 1946, and a report from the Indian Agent describes

the atmosphere of the school rather than the progress of the students.

...I inspected this school on Oct. 23. There were 25 children present, they were well dressed, neat and clean. The building is in excellent condition ...it's also neat and tidy. ⁴⁶

The report was consistent with other annual reports and the emphasis comes across clearly. The upkeep of the building and the appearance of the children were important factors in Indian education. Progress was considered made when appearance conformed with the middle class model. The actual attendance and enrolment was recorded at 25 pupils. 6 out of the 25 students were non-treaty and arrangements were made for the collection of their tuition from the Department of Education, Province of Manitoba. The tuition rate was \$7.00 per month for each student. ⁴⁷

Unlike attendance, staff turnover proved to be a problem. Within a month of the school's opening, the teacher resigned but the position was filled effective November 7th, 1946. School progress received commendations from several persons. Medical Services (1947):

I visited the new school in operation at the Old Mine site and was particularly impressed by the progress made by the new teacher. ⁴⁸

The Indian Agent Report for (1947) supports the above observation.

...conducts the school very creditably. ...has obtained a complete set of the latest Manitoba Publications on the Course of Studies...is attempting to familiarize herself with the accepted teaching procedure. ⁴⁹

The exuberance of the new teacher was reflected in the desire to establish medical and nutritional aid to the students. A request for financial assistance for the operation of noon lunches was submitted and approved at a rate of \$15.00 per month.⁵⁰ The school operated successfully from 1946 until 1950 when attendance dropped from an average of 88% to 8%.

Declines in attendance evoked reactions from several factions. The teaching personnel were disgruntled with the situation and feared that there would be days when there would be no attendance. Several recommendations for the closing of the school were submitted. One of these recommendations read as follows:

...the school should be closed as parents and children apparently have no interest... The Indian families at the Mine are moving all the time to trapping grounds in September and the various parts of the lakes during the summer.⁵¹

The migration of families from Elk Island, because the mine no longer offered a source of employment, resulted in the closure of the Gods Lake Gold Mine School in 1951.

The Roman Catholic Seasonal School

The exclusive control of the United Church over Indian Education was broken by the Roman Catholic Church in 1931. An application for the opening of a school under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church was submitted to Indian Affairs. The request was denied but this did not

deter the zeal of the Catholic missionary who was residing at Gods Lake. Father Chamberland operated a seasonal school at the Roman Catholic mission from June to September, and from November to December in 1931. Students' Attendance during these periods were recorded at 20 and 14 pupils respectively. ⁵²

The efforts of Father Chamberland were reported to Indian Affairs, but the request for financial assistance to cover the cost of a teacher's allowance, supplies, and biscuits were rejected on the grounds that educational appropriations had been reduced considerably.

Father Chamberland, reflecting over his teaching experiences, wrote:

The main subjects taught were the basic: reading, arithmetic, and of course spelling ...it was irregular, but I believe the dozen or so children who attended learnt something, not enough to converse, but a certain understanding of English and simple arithmetic...we had poor response from the Department: they paid very low salaries, provided just the bare necessary material for the operation of the school... the church through its organizations continually pressured the Department for better schools, more qualified teachers and more school supplies...it is only after World War II that the Department started to do something significant in the field of education. ⁵³

The Roman Catholic Seasonal School at Gods Lake was officially recognized by His Excellency in Council in 1935. ⁵⁴ In accordance with the new agreement, a contract was drawn up by the Civil Service Commission and a teaching

position and a salary rating was assigned. The hiring of a teacher and the adoption of a program of studies were left to the discretion of the Catholic Church whose philosophy on the topic of Indian Education was outlined at the Convention of Catholic Principals in 1925. ⁵⁵

According to the terms of the convention, the Catholic Church was devoted to the education of Indian children and concluded that their beliefs require a program of studies which were in harmony with the tenets of their Catholic faith. ⁵⁶ The program of studies covered primary and secondary subjects and extended over a period of at least ten years since it was felt the Indian children received neither moral nor domestic education in their homes. ⁵⁷ Course outlines for primary and elementary grades are shown in Table XII.

In compliance with the Catholic philosophy, a missionary-teacher was hired for the 1935 school year as well as for subsequent years. ⁵⁸ Preference was given to missionary-teachers irrespective of preparation and qualifications. In cases where the missionary-teachers were not available, recruitment was based along religious lines. Teachers' recommended by the Catholic Church between 1935 to 1943 were accepted by the Department with some concern. One of several reports reflects this concern.

I feel it is regrettable that we cannot obtain a qualified teacher to take charge of this school. Care must be taken in appointing a teacher because we do not want to get back to the same condition that prevailed many years ago in Indian Schools when a great percentage

of the teachers were not qualified. If we hope to have our Indian day schools functioning properly, we must have teachers who are qualified and capable. 59

Missionary-teachers for the Roman Catholic Seasonal School remained in the area for an average of at least two years. Reasons for minimal staff turnover at the Roman Catholic School could be a result of (1) a structured educational program as outlined by the Roman Catholic Convention, (2) the establishment of a permanent resident priest in the area who was usually the teacher, and (3) the fact that Roman Catholicism was a relatively new faith to the area and it was imperative for the missionary-teacher to gain the support and confidence of the Indian people.

Following the appointment of a missionary-teacher in 1935, a petition requesting the establishment of a Boarding School for 25 students at Gods Lake was submitted to Indian Affairs by the Gods Lake Band. Extracts from the petition read:

...At present a summer school is operated here but is far from an ideal arrangement. Many of our people are here for but two months and a half during the summer leaving early in the fall to establish their winter camps at scattered points... Another alternative is a ten month's day school, is also not practical. Very few families domiciled here during the winter... We have consulted Rev. Father Payne who is in charge of this mission and if you see fit to grant this request he will furnish the necessary building free of charge. We ask that the choice of teachers be left to the Rev. Father. 60

An examination of the petition indicated that the content was contradictory and perhaps was a result of coercion. The petition outlined the migrational patterns

TABLE: XII

ROMAN CATHOLIC CURRICULUM
PRIMARY AND FOR ELEMENTARY GRADES

GRADES	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>SUBJECTS:</u>						
Christian Doctrine	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reading	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spelling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arithmetic	-	-	-	-	-	-
Writing	-	-	-	-	-	-
Language	-	-	Composition	-	-	-
Drawing	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hygiene	-	-	-	-	-	-
Physical training	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kindergarten	-	-	nature study	-	-	-
			history	-	-	-
			Civics	-	-	-
			Ethics	-	-	-
		Geography	-	-	-	
						Manual Work

Source: Report of the Convention of the Canadian Catholic Principals of Indian Residential Schools. July 6, 1925.
Labret: Saskatchewan.

of the Indian families making it obvious that the children accompanied their parents to the trapline. In view of the parent-child relationship described here, it would seem absurd for the Indian people to request the establishment of a Boarding School which would remove their children from their care and reduce the efficiency of the Seasonal Bands. Also, it could be argued that perhaps the Residential School was seen as a civilizing force by the missionary since parents seldom resided in the area of the mission. Indian families left the vicinity of the trading post during the fall and winter months and established winter camps at their traplines. The request was denied.

...The Department does not see the necessity for establishing a Residential School on Gods Lake Reserve. It is considered that the greater number of the children of school age could attend the Day Schools on the reserve and the Residential School at Norway House. 62

Another reason for the rejection of the request was the lack of funds and the fact that the request came too soon after approval had been granted for the operation of a seasonal school. 63

Students' attendance at the Roman Catholic Seasonal School however remained satisfactory until 1939 when, like the United Church School, attendance was affected by the opening of the Gods Lake Gold Mine. In response to the attendance problem, the teacher was granted permission by Indian Affairs to conduct classes near the mine site. A school was opened. Teaching efforts were unsuccessful

because children assisted their parents with the hauling and cutting of fuel wood. ⁶⁴

Failure of the Roman Catholic teacher to secure reasonable students' attendance deterred the efforts of the United Church teacher. The two schools were reopened at Gods Lake. The average attendance for the Roman Catholic Seasonal School was recorded at 9.45 as opposed to 16.4 in the previous year, thus registering a decrease of 6.95. ⁶⁵

The Roman Catholic Seasonal School at Gods Lake was reopened on a yearly basis for students who were visiting or residing in the area during the summer months. Students' attendance was poor and continued to drop rapidly as operation at the Gold Mine accelerated.

Added to the problem of attendance was that of recruiting suitably qualified teachers. The Roman Catholic and United Churches overlooked the importance of hiring suitably trained personnel and as a result one finds several statements such as these.

Is 19 years of age and not qualified as a teacher--Best man available under the circumstances. ⁶⁶

Has no professional training, has Grade 9 education and a good character. ⁶⁷

Has Grade 9 education, excellent character not had normal training, friend of missionary and his wife. ⁶⁸

The church's recruitment priority was placed on missionary-teachers who had neither teacher training nor experience.

In cases where they were unsuccessful, the services of

teachers were obtained on the recommendation of friends and other secondary sources. Indian Affairs was reluctant to approve the nomination of unqualified teachers, and recommended that the churches should contact the provincial Normal Schools a month or two before the session closed with a view towards securing the services of qualified teachers.⁶⁹ In theory the idea appeared noble but was difficult to institute since teachers often gave short notice before resigning.

Closely related to the problem of teachers' qualifications was low salary. The Catholic teacher's salary for 1941 was established at the rate of \$5 per teaching day for a period not exceeding sixty days.⁷⁰ The teacher's salary did not include bonuses for transportation or isolation. Transportation from Winnipeg to Gods Lake was by either aircraft or boat. The latter was seldom used because of climatic conditions whereas the former was expensive.

The question of teacher transportation was raised by the Roman Catholic Church in 1946. The Church felt that since their teacher recruitment often took place outside the Province of Manitoba, Indian Affairs should assume the responsibility for teacher transportation.⁷¹ Indian Affairs was reluctant to assume the cost of teacher transportation because it felt that such would create a precedent and friction among other churches. The request was denied but Indian Affairs did promise to review teachers' salaries for the coming school year.

The Roman Catholic mission at The Pas continued to recruit missionary-teachers from every available source. This provided the opportunity for the Catholic Church to break the control of the United Church. The monopoly of the United Church was broken in 1949, as is shown in the following excerpt.

More than half of the Indians of Gods Lake Band are Catholics; on the reserve at the Narrows, there were 10 Catholic families this winter with at least 12 children of school age, compare to 5 or 6 protestant families with an average of 2 or 3 children attending the United Church School. 72

Friction between the Roman Catholic and United Church missions over the education of Indian children increased in 1949. Accommodation at the Roman Catholic School was inadequate but there was more seating room at the United Church school. The Indian Agent recommended that the problem of accommodation could be temporarily resolved by allowing Roman Catholic students to attend the United Church school. The suggestion aroused a reaction from the Catholic missionary.

...I would not make objection for the Catholic children to go to the United Church day school as a temporary measure. If I had the assurance that there would be no proselytism done in the school, of that, I can but doubt very much after what has been done recently out of school. 73

The possibility of Catholic students attending the United Church School under the supervision of the Catholic Missionary was considered, but within a few

weeks the problem resolved itself. The projected enrolment for the Roman Catholic School had been inflated.

The precedent for a day school had been established. The United Church had been granted day school status amid poor attendance, and in 1949 a similar application was submitted by the Roman Catholic Vicar-Apostolic of Keewatin at The Pas. The application stated:

...The parents of those children are anxious to see them go to school before they are too old... They strongly suggest that the Gods Lake Roman Catholic Day School be accepted at once as a full time day school... 74

Indian Affairs responded to the request by carefully examining the attendance of all the schools in operation in Gods Lake. See Table XIII on the following page.

From the information presented in Table XIII it is evident that Gods Lake Seasonal Roman Catholic School functioned twice a year from June to August and then from March to May. During this time the average attendance was 35%. The students' attendance at the Gods Lake United Church Day School revealed a consistent pattern despite a rapid decline in enrolment from 29 students in 1948 to 14 students in 1949. Students' enrolment at the Gods Lake Gold Mine School remained steady but attendance dropped drastically from an average of 98% in 1946 to 3% in 1949.

Overall, the assessment indicated that attendance at the Roman Catholic Seasonal School was satisfactory. Approval for its conversion to a day school was granted and plans for the construction of a new school were undertaken.

TABLE: XIII

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE FOR
ALL SCHOOLS IN GODS LAKE
1949-50

Schools:	Roman Catholic	United Church	Gods Lake Gold Mine
Status of each school:	Seasonal	Day	Day
Enrolment:	42	14	29
Months	Attendance Percentages		
June	14.3	6	1.94
July	19.41	9.5	Holiday
August	17.22	9.75	Holiday
September		11.20	No Attendance
October		8.05	15.05
November		4.75	2.85
December		1.08	2.66
January		No Attendance	3.75
February		6.25	2.10
March	12.30	No Attendance	1.68
April	13.55	(Holiday)	2.68
May	17.94	(Holiday)	No Attendance

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa: File #501-25-1-044, May 3, 1950.

Day Schools

Prior to 1948, Indian Affairs participation in Indian education in Gods Lake was minimal and consisted of (1) the payment of teachers' salaries, (2) the shipment and purchasing of instructional supplies, and (3) the allocation of funds for the operation of a noon lunch program. However, the following years witnessed active governmental involvement in Indian education. For the first time, funds were allocated for the construction of new schools. The United and Roman Catholic Churches were granted new schools in 1949 and 1950 respectively. It was hoped that by centralizing the new schools in Gods Lake, they would attract those students who had been affected by the closure of the Gods Lake Gold Mine School and reduce the problem of sporadic attendance. This optimism was faulty. Neither the construction of new schools nor the transformation of Seasonal Schools to Day Schools resulted in an improvement in students' attendance and achievement. In fact, students' enrolment at both United Church and Roman Catholic Schools continued to decline.

Decreases in enrolment were due to the migration of Indian families to points some 20 to 40 miles out of Gods Lake property. I am told by the fur supervisor that the families are spreading out between Gods River on the north shore to the end of the lake. 76

Indian Affairs was unwilling to accept the above explanation since it had invested additional funds for education in the area. In an effort to control students'

attendance and enrolment, the threat of a discontinuance in family allowance was introduced and applied against parents whose children failed to attend school regularly. The effects of the threat were mentioned in the 1952 report which stated that students' attendance at both Roman Catholic and United Church Schools showed improvement during the winter months but declined in the spring and fall of each year when children accompanied their parents to the trapline. ⁷⁷

The prospect of no family allowance meant that families were forced to send their children to school irrespective of their needs. A recommendation aimed at reducing the problem of sporadic attendance in the spring and fall was made by the churches. One report stated, "We insisted this year that no child who could possibly attend day school would go out to residential school". ⁷⁸ Discontinuation of family allowance and the threat of non-attendance at residential school affected parental attitude and exhibited itself in improved students' attendance in subsequent years. Parents sent their children to school regularly and the attendance figures from 1953 reflected considerable changes. The average attendance for the United Church Day School and the Roman Catholic School were similar and recorded an attendance pattern of more than 70 percent as compared to less than 50 percent in previous years. ⁷⁹

Increases in attendance and enrolment meant that additional accommodations and teaching personnel had to

be acquired. Roman Catholic enrolment in 1958 was projected at 45 pupils as compared to 30 pupils at the United Church. ⁸⁰ The problem of students' accommodation at the Roman Catholic School was resolved by the rental of the Council Hall from the Gods Lake Band by Indian Affairs. A description of the Council Hall reads:

...it would appear to be suitable on a temporary basis. It will require another floor, porch and door and polyethylene storm windows. Two toilets would have to be erected and some painting due to the interior...the building is 20 x 40 and has eight windows. ⁸¹

The Council Hall was repaired at an estimated cost of \$400 and was available for the 1959-60 school year. Boarding arrangements for an additional teacher was made with the resident missionary. ⁸²

Plans for the construction of an additional classroom and teacherage were discussed but were not undertaken so in 1961, Gods Lake Band withdrew the services of its Council Hall. Indian Affairs was caught unprepared. The problem was temporarily resolved by directing the Roman Catholic School to operate on a staggered basis. Both teachers used the same classroom at different times. The first session of school was conducted from 8:00 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. and the second session was from 12:45 P.M. to 4:45 P.M. for 6 days per week. ⁸³

An additional classroom and teacherage was constructed in 1962. Increases in Catholic enrolment

resulted in decreases in United Enrolment. The trend was apparent in 1958 but accelerated rapidly as of 1959. (See Table XIV).

Changes in the students' enrolment and attendance were due to the gradual conversion of Indian families from Methodism to Catholicism. Shifts in religious affiliation meant that students were obliged to attend schools of their parents' faith irrespective of geographical location. Parents' homes were well distributed throughout the reserve as opposed to the Catholic schools which were located on the southwest and the United School on the Northeast section. The location of the religious schools in opposite directions meant that Catholic students living in the vicinity of the United Church were obliged to bypass the United Church School. A similar practice was followed by the United Church students who were living close to the Roman Catholic School.

Initially, the practice of Catholic children attending Catholic school was widely accepted by the Indian parents at Gods Lake but as family sizes increased, they developed a strong concern over the distance that their children had to travel in order to reach the schools of their faith. Parental concerns were expressed to the Gods Lake Band. A Band Council Resolution aimed at establishing the interdenominational approach to education was introduced in 1963 and resulted in 10 United Church pupils enrolling at the Roman Catholic Indian Day School because it was close to the home of the students. 84

TABLE: XIV

STUDENT ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE 1958-1964GODS LAKE

Year	Roman Catholic Day School			United Church Day School		
	Students' Enrolment	Actual Attendance	Percentage Attendance	Students' Enrolment	Actual Attendance	Percentage Attendance
1958-59	33	24.5	96.74	19	15.5	81.6
1959-60	52	45.25	84.2	35	22.45	74.84
1962-63	68	56.45	83.01	20	13.4	83.9
1963-64	75	59.03	88.	33	22.8	87.26

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Registers from the Roman Catholic and the United Church Day Schools 1958-1964, Ottawa.

The precedent of education across religious lines had been established. Student attendance at both schools maintained an average of at least 80 percent until late 1969 when family allowance was discontinued as an incentive. The school attendance for 1967-68 was 86.7 for the United School and 80% for the Roman Catholic School.⁸⁵ As the students' enrolment at both schools grew, the need for additional classrooms and teachers arose. Classrooms with attached teacherages were built for both schools in scattered locations in an attempt to gain maximum attendance.

A public meeting aimed at ascertaining parental views on whether they wanted a central denominational school or an expansion of the existing separate schools was called by Indian Affairs on June 23, 1964, at Gods Lake. All residents and church representatives of the area were invited and encouraged to express their views on the subject. Parents and United Church officials spoke strongly in favour of a central interdenominational school but their enthusiasm was not shared by the Roman Catholic minister.⁸⁶

Other issues discussed at the meeting were students' transportation and religious instruction. At the conclusion of the meeting a summary statement was made by Indian Affairs representatives in which it was indicated that if a central school was chosen it would

be staffed with teachers of various faiths in accordance with the beliefs represented. ⁸⁷

In agreement with the public meeting of 1964, a Band Council Resolution indicating that the parents of Gods Lake Reserve were in favour of an interdenominational school was submitted to Indian Affairs in April and again in June of 1965. Plans for the construction of the new school was deferred to the 1967-68 budget due to a lack of funds for capital construction. ⁸⁸

During the deferment period the topic of religious instruction proved to be the major obstacle. Parents were divided on the issue of an interdenominational school along religious lines and two petitions were submitted to Indian Affairs. ⁸⁹ An examination of the petitions indicated that the Catholic parents had voted against the construction of a central school. This attitude could have been a result of coercion since the construction of such a school would negate the principles of the Catholic church. The Gods Lake Council reacted to Catholic disapproval by submitting an additional Band Council Resolution to Indian Affairs which stated:

If the Indian Affairs cannot honor the original petition as submitted we hereby request that the Indian Affairs Branch through the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, grant permission for a referendum to be held and that the necessary documents be prepared and forwarded to the Superintendent, Island Lake Indian Agency. ⁹⁰

The proposed referendum was not carried through. Instead, it was suggested to the Gods Lake Band by Indian Affairs that they should reassure the parents that one school would serve the community effectively and religious commitment could be met by engaging a proportionate number of teachers to serve the denominational requirement by grouping pupils after 3:30 in separate classrooms for religious instruction.⁹¹ A consensus in favour of a central non-secular school was reached in 1968.

In preparation for the transfer from secular schools to a non-secular school, Indian Affairs discontinued the practice of hiring a principal for each school along religious lines. One administrator was hired for both schools effective September, 1968, and teachers' appointments were no longer subject to the churches' ratification. A preliminary evaluation of possible school sites was undertaken as of June 19, 1969. The evaluation was limited to two sites as all others were ruled out as being faulty and unsuitable. Site #1 was located in the vicinity of the United Church and site #2 was located in an area close to the Roman Catholic Church. Both sites were inspected by the Department of Public Affairs and it was recommended that site #1 should be accepted. The Gods Lake Band was informed of the recommendation and was urged to accept the site since it was in accordance with engineering considerations.⁹²

The proposal was accepted by the Gods Lake Band and funds were allocated for capital construction as of

1969. Materials for the actual construction of the school were shipped by winter freight as of the winter of 1970-71. ⁹³ Construction of the new school with eleven classrooms and thirteen teacherages was completed in 1972. Facilities were made available for students from Nursery to Grade Eight. The students' enrolment for the new school was 269 and the actual attendance was 65%. Students' attendance for the period 1972-77 showed a steady decrease.

TABLE: XV

STUDENTS AVERAGE ATTENDANCE FOR
GODS NARROWS SCHOOL
1972-1976

School Year	Attendance Percentage
1972-73	65
1973-74	62
1974-75	51
1975-76	65

Source: Department of Indian Affairs, Classroom Registers, 1972-76, Gods Lake, Manitoba

Decreases in attendance due to a high drop out rate has become a matter for grave concern. Gods Lake Band has responded to the problem by regulating students' allowances, ⁹⁴ and by appointing a truant officer in 1975, but attendance continues to be poor.

SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to trace the development of formal education in Gods Lake from 1903 to 1976. The information presented has shown that from 1903 to 1945, in order to obtain a formal education, children in Gods Lake were required to attend seasonal schools. The Methodist Seasonal School operated as an exclusive unit from 1903 to 1930 when its monopoly was broken by the Roman Catholic Seasonal School in 1931. The closure of the Gods Lake Gold Mine led to the formation of an Indian settlement and later, the establishment of the Gods Lake Mine School which, unlike its predecessors, was non-secular. This school was in operation from 1946 to 1950 when poor attendance resulted in its closure. The United and Roman Catholic Schools were transformed from seasonal to day schools between 1948 and 1950 respectively and continued to function along secular lines until 1962. Parents, at this time, expressed concern over the secular approach to their children's education and allowances were made for children to attend schools located closest to their homes rather than along religious lines. A non-secular school encompassing both Roman Catholic and United Church students was opened in 1971 under the direct auspices of The Department of Indian Affairs.

Initially, the churches were responsible for providing and maintaining schools as well as the hiring of teachers. Government involvement was minimal and was restricted to the payment of salaries and the purchasing

of school supplies. Both institutions were in support of education for Indian students but differed on the means of achieving the objective. The churches were concerned with the teaching of religion truths and overlooked the importance of hiring suitably trained personnel. Indian Affairs viewed education as an investment and was concerned with poor attendance, limited enrolment, and the upkeep of schools. Poor attendance was an indication of a poor investment as seen in the following excerpts:

...I realize the desire of the various churches to do what they think is good work, but I think that expenditures such as I have instanced are a horrendous waste of public monies. 95

and

...The Department is anxious to see the Indian children educated, but there was no use in the Department spending a lot of money to keep a school and teacher there if the parents were not going to cooperate and see that their children went to school. 96

A modicum of understanding between the church and Indian Affairs was arrived at in 1949. Seasonal schools were replaced by day schools and Indian Affairs began to take an active part in education. Day Schools were extended to Grade 8 in 1960, Grade 9 in 1972, Grade 10 in 1973, and Grade 11 in 1976 at the reserve level. Students completing matriculation on the reserve were sent to Residential Schools and later Provincial Schools to complete their high school matriculation. Problems of

poor attendance, high staff turnover, and the need for additional classrooms were reoccurring themes throughout the history of Indian education.

FOOTNOTES

1. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Act (Ottawa: Queens Printers, 1970), p. 52.
2. Ibid., p. 55.
3. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Treaty #5 (Ottawa: Queens Printers, 1970), p. 5.
4. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 1603 - Part 1 Ottawa: 2 February 1903.
5. The Act of Union of 1925 joined the Congregational, some Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches in Canada.
6. Great holidays is a term frequently used by missionaries in the early 20th Century and refers to the Christmas and New Year holidays.
7. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 1, Ottawa: 3 November 1907.
8. Seasonal or Summer schools were institutions for formal education, and were maintained by the missionaries. They were located on reserves and were opened from June 1st to September 30th annually. Their existence was dependent on departmental assistance, students' attendance, and the availability of teachers.
9. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Ottawa: October 1912.
10. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Ottawa: 1913 to 1921.
11. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Ottawa: 14 February 1916.
12. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Ottawa: 9 October 1922.
13. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Indian Agent Report for Norway House, PAC, Ottawa: 1923.

14. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Part 1, Ottawa: 9 October 1923.
15. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 1, Ottawa: 21 October 1923.
16. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 1, Ottawa: September 1925.
17. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Superintendent of Schools' Annual Report, PAC, Ottawa: 1920.
18. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 123-3-1, Ottawa: 27 January 1927.
19. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, Ottawa: March 1932.
20. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Statements of Indian Day Schools in the Dominion for the Fiscal Year 1931 - 1938, Ottawa.
21. J.W. Chalmers, Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain - A History of Native Education in Canada, (Edmonton: n.p., n.d.), p. 161.
22. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, Teachers Salaries 1925-38, Ottawa.
23. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, Ottawa: 24 February 1938.
24. Ibid.
25. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 4 October 1939.
26. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Ottawa: 13 September 1939.
27. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Part 2, Ottawa: 1943.
28. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, RG10 vol. 6234 File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 27 August 1943.

29. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 28 August 1944.
30. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 17 August 1945.
31. Items purchased for the noon lunch program were trumilk, cocoa, sugar, macaroni, rice, flour, raisins, lard, biscuits and rolled oats.
32. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 22 August 1945.
33. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 7 December 1945.
34. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513 Part 2, Ottawa: 19 September 1947.
35. Ibid.
36. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Minutes of a meeting of the Privy Council, DINAA, Ottawa: 22 June 1949.
37. Ibid.
38. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 25, 29, 30 July 1949.
39. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 29 October 1949.
40. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 22 February 1950.
41. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 3 May 1950.
42. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Indian Agent Report, DINAA, Ottawa: 1950.

43. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 30 October 1945.
44. Ibid.
45. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 11 February 1946.
46. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 15 October 1946.
47. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 18 September 1947.
48. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Medical Services Norway House, Ottawa: 1 April 1947.
49. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 20 September 1947.
50. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Indian Agent Report, Ottawa: 2 January 1947.
51. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 3 February 1947.
52. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 123-13-1, Ottawa: 13 June 1932.
53. Father A. Chamberland to E. Rivais. The Pas, Manitoba, 21 October 1977.
54. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, RG10 vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, Ottawa: 6 July 1925.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, Ottawa: 11 March 1935.
59. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 20 May 1941.

60. The petition was signed by members of Gods Lake Band and was handed to the Indian Agent while he was paying annuities at Gods Lake.
61. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 123-13-1, Ottawa: 20 July 1935.
62. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 123-13-1, Ottawa: 26 August 1938.
63. Ibid.
64. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 123-13-1, Ottawa: 4 October 1939.
65. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Agent Report Norway House, PAC, Ottawa: 17 October 1939.
66. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: October 1941.
67. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 1944.
68. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 1945.
69. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 123-13-1, Ottawa: 20 May 1941.
70. Ibid.
71. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 123-13-1, Ottawa: 19 April 1946.
72. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1, Ottawa: 24 February 1949.
73. Ibid.
74. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. 6234, File 513-1, 549-1 (E), Ottawa: 26 August 1949.
75. Summer holidays were taken earlier by the United Church School because of the Rat hunt.
76. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. I, File 501/25-1-044, Ottawa: 4 March 1952.

77. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 549-6, Ottawa: 4 March 1952.
78. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. I, File 501/1-13-039, Ottawa: 18 March 1958.
79. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Classroom Registers 1953-1970, DINAA, Ottawa.
80. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 101/1-13, Ottawa: 23 July 1958.
81. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 101/25-1-6, Ottawa: 11 July 1958.
82. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 101/25-1, Ottawa: 10 July 1955.
83. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 101/23-16-549, Ottawa: 20 July 1961.
84. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, File 101/1-13-970, Ottawa: 30 September 1963.
85. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Classroom Registers 1958-1968, DINAA, MRO, Ottawa.
86. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, vol. I, File 101/1-13 (E1), Ottawa: 9 July 1964.
87. Ibid.
88. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, MRO, File 526/6-1-006 (E), Ottawa: 23 March 1967.
89. Ibid.
90. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Band Council Resolution, DINAA, MRO, Ottawa: 19 January 1967.
91. Ibid.
92. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, MRO, File 506/6-1-039 (DE), Ottawa: 24 June 1969.
93. Ibid.

94. All Indian students between the ages of 14 to 17 are given an allowance of \$10 whereas students 18 years and over age granted \$20 a month for attending school regularly. Students who fail to attend school for reasons other than illness are penalized at a rate of .50¢ for each school day missed.
95. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, Ottawa: 23 October 1912.
96. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, DINAA, Ottawa: 27 October 1943.

CHAPTER VI

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF FORMAL EDUCATION, AT THE RESERVE LEVEL, ON THE INDIAN PEOPLE OF GODS LAKE

INTRODUCTION

The term 'Culture' because of its broad significance carries a variety of meanings. Wahbung defines culture as:

A way of life. It is the sum total of learned integrated behaviour patterns of an individual or a group. In the broad sense and of most importance, culture has to do with how we live from day to day, the quality of our daily lives. ¹

From the above definition it is apparent that culture includes more than accumulated knowledge. It includes values, beliefs, and norms which have been passed down from generation to generation. Education is a cultural process and as such should provide each individual with personal growth and the skills to contribute to the maintenance and improvement of a given society. Embedded in the purpose of education is the idea that if one acquires the necessary training, one is assured social mobility and better occupational opportunities.

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the impact of formal education, at the reserve level, on the Indian people of Gods Lake.

Historically, formal education in Gods Lake commenced amid a period of economic instability which necessitated continuation in traditional educational practices. Economic instability was a result of the geographic isolation of the community and the limited resources of the land. Indian families were compelled to rely on the natural resources of the area for a source of food and for a means of acquiring an income.

Indian families migrated from Gods Lake Reserve at the first sign of fall to the trapline and returned at the end of spring. At the trapline, the unit of social organization was the family. Snidell (1968) elaborates on the socialization of the Cree:

Through observing their parents and elder siblings Cree children learn very early in life the basic components of adult roles. As soon as a child is able to walk he is given small tasks to perform such as carrying a little water or a few pieces of wood. If he does not do them he is not punished because Cree parents think he is not old enough to "understand" yet... At about five or six years of age children begin to perform chores regularly and are punished if they do not wish to obey. Children at this stage do new chores such as caring for smaller siblings and washing dishes and they begin to carry significant quantities of wood, water, and boughs. ²

Through socialization children (1) were taught the Cree language, (2) internalized traditional cognitive patterns of thought, norms, and expectations about behaviour,

and (3) practiced skills, appropriate for the age and sex, that would prepare the individual for life on the reserve. ³

As the Cree children grew older the girls were taught to make clothing and the boys were allowed to accompany their fathers while trapping and hunting. They also learned the habits of the animals upon which their lives would depend upon in later years. Preston (1966) supports the theory of apprenticeship. He writes:

Instruction is given by example with direct explanation or guidance. In keeping with training for self-reliance, each child must learn to do things for himself with minimal help from others. Family life in the bush limits feelings of competition since comparison is drawn between parent and child rather than between child and peers. Although recognition is given for competence, the child nevertheless observes that his status is clearly subservient to that of adults. He also learns that parents are emotionally reticent in the face of anger, fear, hunger, or pain, and he is expected to act in a similar manner. Punishment for fighting and other wrong doing is mild, usually involving teasing, laughter, or ridicule, occasionally reinforced to threats of possible supernatural sanctions. ⁴

The opening of a Seasonal School in Gods Lake created a situation in which two types of diametrically opposed philosophies on education co-existed. Walcott (1967) describes the encounter between traditional and formal education.

...two educational systems, one essentially informal, indigenous, and present oriented,

and the other essentially formal, external, and future oriented confronting the children, their parents, and the appointed teachers with antithetical goals and a range of real and potential conflicts. 5

From the outset, formal education was at variance with traditional Indian education and was running up against economic structures which were viewed as impediments to effective education. Families and children spent considerable time on the trapline because the economic survival of the Gods Lake Band was dependent upon the aid of all able bodied persons including children of reasonable ages. Indian families were primarily dependent upon earned income from furs to purchase items on the trader's shelves and unearned income from treaty payments. The trapping and fishing activities of the families were interfering with the formal educational process. Seasonal Schools were adopted because it was the only means of meeting the realities of parental activities and traditional habits. The impact of Seasonal Schools was minimal since formal educational activities were restricted to the summer. The missionary report of 1912 shows the influence of traditional work habits on formal education:

They are in a state of transition from one camping ground to another or till they settle, it does not appear wise to erect a school building till the Indians are upon their reserve as chosen by them. 6

The migration of the Gods Lake Band to the trapline continued for several years. The Indian Agent Report of 1931

gives a further indication of the impact of economic conditions on the educational system. "Does not recommend a day school because of migration of families during the winter months".⁷

Seasonal Schools were established by the missionaries in areas close to the trading posts in an effort to attract those children who had returned with their parents from the traplines. Parents often settled close to the trading post after having traded their furs in exchange for provisions for the following year.⁸ At the Seasonal Schools, children were taught in ungraded classes and were given instruction in Geography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Spelling, and Singing. Seasonal Schools remained in effect as long as Indian families were dependent upon the natural resources of the land for a source of food and a means of acquiring an income.

The opening of the Gods Lake Gold Mine in 1939 affected the work practices of the Indian families and reduced the isolation of the community. The relationship between the homeguard Indian families and the trader was changed from one of interdependence to one of total dependence. The Indians were no longer needed as procurers of food since the operation of the Gold Mine attracted a variety of services to the area. Regular air service and annual winter freighting were developed. Canned food, perishables, and other highly valued commodities were shipped by aircraft with the high cost of transportation

being passed on to the consumers.

Advances in transportation facilities placed the Hudson's Bay Trader in a commanding position. The trader's demand for local foods was reduced. He became the sole distributor for all types of food. Fish and meat, which were once the basic items of food in the diet of the Indians, were gradually replaced by canned foods.

Fishing and hunting became an inadequate source of income and Indian families were forced to accept the type of manual labour which was offered by the mining company. Parental dependence on children as wage earners became greater since the prices of the items on the trader's shelves were increasing at a phenomenal rate. Missionary efforts at maintaining Summer Schools were negated. The Indian Agent Report gives one an insight into the situation.

This year, owing to the Indians being at the mines, both teachers were given authority to hold their schools near the mines. The R.C. school teacher moved to the mines, but was not very successful in getting attendance at the school, so moved back to the mission. The U.C. school teacher, when he heard the result of the R.C. teacher's move, remained where he was, and neither school was having much success apparently, in getting children to attend. The teachers were hoping, however, that the situation would improve during the next two months. 9

Attempts aimed at securing students' attendance were futile as was shown in the report of 1940. "Attendance irregular, families take children out to assist in the cutting of wood for the mine" 10 Poor attendance did not deter the

zeal of the missionaries for formal education. Seasonal Schools remained in operation at Gods Lake until 1948 in spite of poor attendance.

The mine operated successfully for five years. The profits were substantial. The Indian people gained little economically since most of the money left the reserve but they acquired an increased awareness of the importance of money. The closure of the Gods Lake Gold Mine was the turning point in Indian education. Formal education was beginning to affect traditional educational practices. Home discipline and family relationships as a whole were gradually changing. Children were becoming the guides for their parents through the mysteries of an encroaching white civilization.

The authority of the elders was slipping and it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to maintain the interest of the children in traditional folklores and ceremonies. Participation in traditional rites, which marked the initiation in puberty and adolescence for males and females respectively, were diminishing. The traditional practice of fasting in seclusion, which was necessary for acceptance as a member into the Band, was abandoned. The passing of traditional ceremonies had broken an essential link in family relationships and children were beginning to lose respect for the traditions that had held the band together.

Guiding, a by-product of recreational fishing, became an additional source of income. It provided seasonal employment for those Indians who were interested. Incomes from guiding, fishing, and trapping had to be supplemented by unearned incomes from governmental agencies. Governmental aid came in the form of family allowance payments and welfare subsidies.

Modification in the economic base of Gods Lake meant that the need for the help of the children was reduced. This laid the foundation for the closure of the Seasonal Schools and the opening of Day Schools at Gods Lake by the ecclesiastical agencies.

The opening of Day Schools in Gods Lake commenced in 1949. The waking time of the children was divided between the classroom and small home chores. The socialization of Cree children in the Day Schools differed from that of their homes and their interaction with the teachers differed sharply from that of their parents. In the home, they were viewed as little adults and contributed to the group according to the level of their maturity. In the classroom, children had fewer tasks to perform and competition was reinforced rather than discouraged.

Attending school radically disrupted the development of the Indian children. The activities of the school were unrelated to their future participation in adult life. Curriculum content was based on the provincial curriculum and was identical to that of other Canadian children.

The children were taught skills and values that were deemed to be socially acceptable within a non-Indian setting. The result of this program was that the children's culture was ignored.

Parental input into the education of their children was never sought and some adults were becoming dependent upon their children to read and write notes to their teachers and other English-speaking residents.

Parental resistance to the operation of Day Schools manifested itself in poor attendance and an impressive "promised" enrolment. The latter was never carried out and could have been a parental way of handling missionaries persistence. Reports from two out of three schools in Gods Lake explains the situation further:

...neither the parents nor the children are interested in school...children are sitting around the steps of the Hudson's Bay Company all day. 11

and

...The school should be closed as the parents and children apparently have no interest... the Indian families are moving all the time. 12

Parents often promised teachers that they would send their children to school but seldom carried out the agreement. In other instances, they gave their children the choice of attending or not attending school.

Compulsory attendance was introduced in the late fifties with family allowance and later reduction in Welfare payments being used as controlling elements. Attendance was marked by fluctuating figures since individual parents

responded differently to the controls. The Gods Lake Band seldom applied the Welfare reduction since it affected the children more than the parents. All controls were removed by 1969.

Compulsory attendance did not guarantee academic success. A report in 1972 from Winnipeg showed that almost 50% of the Indian and Metis students who started high school in Winnipeg in September 1971 dropped out within six months. ¹³ In Gods Lake, the situation is more alarming. Between 1960 and 1976, 123 students were sent to boarding schools and/or provincial schools and 115 either refused to return the following year or returned home within six months. So far, 8 persons on the reserve have completed Grade twelve successfully.

A survey aimed at determining the attendance pattern of students in Gods Lake before and after controls were applied as well as the drop out rate was undertaken by the writer in 1977. In an attempt to achieve this objective, the attendance of students enrolled in Grade One in 1963, 64, and 65 were examined over a ten year period. Students were divided into three groups namely Group A-1964-65, Group B-1965-66, and Group C-1966-67. Each group was analyzed at three year intervals commencing at Grade One and were followed through at Grade Four, Grade Seven, and Grade Ten. The latter grade was necessary since the day school at Gods Lake operated from Grade One to Ten until 1976 when Grade Eleven was introduced. Students wishing to go beyond Grade Eleven were sent out to

provincial or residential schools to complete high school matriculation.

Students' achievement was considered in the survey but was not a determining factor since allowances were made for those students who had to repeat grades. Other factors that were considered were the transfer of students from one school to another, as well as the health of students.

The results of the survey were summarized in Tables XVI, XVII, and XVIII.

TABLE: XVI

STUDENTS' ENROLMENT

GROUP A

Year	Grade	Enrolment	Loss (no)	Percentage (%)
1964-65	1	27	0	0
1967-68	4	26	1	3.3
1970-71	7	21	5	22.3
1973-74	10	10	11	63.3

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Gods Lake Class Room Registers 1960-1977, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1977.

Table XVI indicates that 27 students were enrolled in Grade One, 26 students at the Grade Four level, 21 students at the Grade Seven level, and 10 students at the Grade Ten level. These figures show a slight decline of 3.3% in students' enrolment at the elementary level and a rapid decline of 85.6% in enrolment from Grades Seven to Ten. The overall drop out rate of those students enrolled in Grade One from 1964 to 1974 was 88.9%.

TABLE: XVII

STUDENTS' ENROLMENT

GROUP B

Year	Grade	Enrolment	Loss (no)	Percentage (%)
1965-66	1	36	0	0
1968-69	4	35	1	3.3
1971-72	7	29	7	19.4
1974-75	10	12	20	55.5

Source: Department of Indian Affairs, Gods Lake Class Room Registers 1960-1967, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Table XVII indicates that 36 students were enrolled at Grade One, 35 students at the Grade Four level, 29 students at the Grade Seven level, and 12 students at the Grade Ten level. These figures show a slight decline in students' enrolment at the elementary level and a rapid decline of 74.9% between Grades Seven and Ten. The overall drop out rate from Grades One to Ten was 78.2%

TABLE: XVIII

STUDENTS' ENROLMENT

GROUP C

Year	Grade	Enrolment	Loss (no)	Percentage (%)
1966-67	1	30	0	0
1969-70	4	27	3	10
1972-73	7	25	5	16.7
1975-76	10	17	13	43.3

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Gods Lake Class Room Registers 1960-1977, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Table XVIII reveals that 30 students were enrolled in Grade One, 27 students at the Grade Four level, 25 students at the Grade Seven level, and 17 students at the Grade Ten level. A minimal decline in students' enrolment was noticeable at the elementary level but a rapid decline of 60% is apparent between Grades Seven and Ten. The overall drop out rate from Grades One to Ten was 70%.

The overall enrolment and drop out rate from the three groups of students that were studied follow a consistent pattern. Enrolment and attendance trends were satisfactory from Grades One to Six, but showed a drastic decline from Grades Seven to Ten. Students' enrolment increased from 27 in 1965-66 to 36 in 1965-66, but declined to 30 in 1966-67. The students' drop out rate showed a steady decline from 88.9% in 1964-74, to 78.2% in 1965-75, to 70% in 1966-76.

Enrolment in Grade Ten did not necessarily indicate satisfactory attendance. The attendance of students who were enrolled in Grade Ten from Groups A, B, and C were examined. Each student's attendance was recorded for the respective school year from 1973-1976. See Tables XIX, XX and XXI on the following pages.

A comparison among students' attendance from 1973-76 is summarized in Table XXII.

TABLE: XIX

GRADE TEN ATTENDANCE

GROUP A

1973-74

Number of days school was opened = 188

Number of students = 10

<u>DAYS PRESENT</u>	<u>DAYS ABSENT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF STUDENTS</u>
58	130	1
78	110	1
84	104	1
100	88	1
108	80	1
117	71	1
119	69	1
130	58	1
137	51	1
153	35	1

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs,
Class Room Registers 1973-74, Gods Lake, Manitoba

TABLE: XX

GRADE TEN ATTENDANCE

GROUP B

1974-75

Number of days school was opened = 180
Number of students = 12

<u>DAYS PRESENT</u>	<u>DAYS ABSENT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF STUDENTS</u>
27	153	1
32	148	1
33	147	1
38	142	3
47	133	1
52	128	1
62	118	1
86	94	1
111	69	1
123	67	1

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Class Room Registers 1974-75, Gods Lake, Manitoba

TABLE: XXI

GRADE TEN ATTENDANCE

GROUP C

1975-76

Number of days school was opened = 191

Number of students = 17

<u>DAYS PRESENT</u>	<u>DAYS ABSENT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF STUDENTS</u>
24	167	1
25	166	1
26	165	1
52	139	2
78	113	1
84	107	1
94	97	2
100	91	1
126	65	1
137	54	1
139	52	2
146	45	1
164	27	1
165	26	1

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs,
Class Room Registers 1975-76, Gods Lake, Manitoba

TABLE: XXII

COMPARISON OF ATTENDANCE IN PERCENTAGES

GROUPS A, B, AND C

GRADE 10 1973-76

	COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2	COLUMN 3
GROUPS	A	B	C
STUDENTS' ENROLMENT	10	12	17
100-90%	-	-	-
89-80%	1	-	-
79-70%	1	-	6
69-60%	3	2	1
59-50%	2	1	1
49-40%	2	1	4
39% or Less	1	8	5

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Class Room Registers 1973-77, Gods Lake, Manitoba.

Column I indicates that 1 out of 10 students attended school for 89-80%, 1 student for 79-70%, 3 students for 69-60%, 2 students for 59-50%, 2 students for 49-40%, and 1 student for 39% or less %.

Column II shows that 77 of the students' population at the Grade Ten level attended school for 39% or less of the time and 17% attended for 69-60% of the time.

Column III reveals that 6 out of 17 students attended school for 79-70% of the time, 1 student for 69-60%, 1 student for 59-50%, 4 students for 49-40%, and 5 students for 39% or less.

The attendance figures indicate that 1 out of 39 students between 1973 and 1976 was present for 89-80%, 11 for 79-60%, and 27 for less than 60% of the time.

Data relating to the educational achievement and drop out rate among Indians and non-Indians in Canadian schools was collected in 1969. Figures show that 89.5% of the Indian students were enrolled in elementary schools and 71.3% non-Indians attend elementary school; secondary grades were composed of 10.2% of Indian students while 24.1% of the non-Indian student population was in secondary grades. ¹⁴

These statistics indicate a sharp decrease in the Indian student population from the elementary to the secondary level. Statistics also pointed out that about 50% of Indian students do not advance past grade six, and 60% do not go beyond grade eight. The national rate of drop-outs for Indians at the elementary and secondary education level was estimated to be about 94% to 96%, and for non-Indians the drop-out rate was about 12%.¹⁵ From these figures it was evident that the educational achievement of Indians was significantly lower than that of non-Indians.

Manitoba's provincial statistics indicate the same general trend as the national figures; a significantly greater number of drop-outs among Indian students than non-Indian students. Based on past trends it was predicted that of those Indian children in Manitoba who were in the first grade in 1967-68 and should be grade twelve in 1980, only 10.8% will actually graduate as compared to 90.0% of other Manitobans.¹⁶

Unsatisfactory attendance was not only restricted to the Gods Lake Day School. Two of the larger schools in the Island Lake District showed a similar pattern. Attendance Reports from Gods Lake, Oxford House, and Garden Hill Schools are shown in Table XXIII on the following page. The students' attendance at the major schools in Island Lake was recorded at less than 100% for the opening of school in 1976-77. Attendance for Gods Lake

TABLE: XXIII

ATTENDANCE PERCENTAGES
FOR
KINDERGARTEN TO GRADE TEN
1976-77

SCHOOLS	GODS LAKE	OXFORD HOUSE	GARDEN HILL
PUPILS' ENROLMENT	370	344	499
MONTHS			
September	60.3	76.8	74.0
October	72	71.4	69.8
November	69.1	70.6	72.9
December	78.7	67.3	70.2
January	64.8	62.9	64.3
February	75.5	68.3	66.9
March	67.3	65	62.5
April	56.5	64	42.8
May	52.8	62	43.9
June	49.4	60	42.8

Source: Department of Indian Affairs, Principals' Reports - Gods Lake, Oxford House, and Garden Hill School 1976-77, Winnipeg: Manitoba.

indicated that 39.7% of the students were not present in September as compared to 23.2% at Oxford House and 26.1% at Garden Hill. Attendance seemed to stabilize at Oxford House and Garden Hill from October to December, but the situation at Gods Lake seemed to follow a more complex pattern. Attendance increased in October and continued until February. Declines in attendance were apparent for all schools from March to June. In the latter month, attendance for all schools was poor.

The fact that the students' attendance and drop-out rate at Gods Lake was consistent with the provincial and national figures would seem to indicate that the present school, at the reserve level, was not meeting the needs of the Indian students. A drop-out rate and attendance pattern of this size indicate poor scholastic practices and a failure of the school to prepare the students to meet their environment.

Communication with parents, elders, and teachers in Gods Lake indicate two variables that have contributed to the ineffectiveness of formal education upon the Indian people. The teachers identified educational factors, whereas the elders and younger members of the Gods Lake Community identified environmental factors. The areas of identification were not rigid and some information overlapped.

Educational Factors

1. Culture

Upon entering school, Indian children in Gods Lake

come with values and a culture that is different from that of the school. Seasonal and Day Schools did not respect the culture of the Indian people and have succeeded in alienating the students because of differences between the two cultures. A comparison between the values of the Indian families and the dominant society illustrate these differences. In Indian culture time is important, but emphasis is placed upon the present and the resources that are available today. The non-Indian culture value time in terms of a rigid schedule that is guided by the clock and is future oriented. Patience is a value and a necessity for Indian people and stems from their way of life based on hunting, trapping, and fishing while quick action is valued by the dominant society. The extended family concept is strongly valued in Indian societies as compared to the nuclear family of non-Indians. Indians respect their elders and care for the aged; non-Indians admire youthfulness and often place the aged in an old folks home. Sharing, giving, and a communal way of life are valued by the Indian but the quality of thrift is stressed by the non-Indian. An Indian lives in balance with nature and does not attempt to control it. In contrast, the non-Indian searches for ways to control and exploit the elements of the environment. 17

Differences in cultural background between the school and the community have attributed to the lack of success in education. Schools, from their conception, were not a continuation of the socialization of the homes and were

therefore discontinuous with previous learning practices. The school represents a formal education whose function is to reduce the culture of the children. This happens in a subtle manner since teachers are often not aware that they are influenced by their values and therefore fail to take into consideration the culture of the children. Teachers are not required to have knowledge of the community to which they are being assigned and often assume that they are aware of the needs of the community. In addition, contact with the lives of their pupils is often restricted to the classroom and the Hudson's Bay Store.¹⁸ Due to limited contact they fail to comprehend that as long as the Gods Lake Reserve exists, there will always be a Cree people with a distinct language, heritage, and a way of life that should be considered in program planning. To the majority of Indian people in Gods Lake, the reserve is their home in spite of the poverty level and the social problems in the community. To them it symbolizes the present, the past, and the future, but to the teachers it symbolizes a brief interlude. By refusing to accept the culture of the community, the programs initiated by the school become a source of confusion and frustration rather than one of motivation and learning.¹⁹

2. Language

Language is a part of the multiple facets of culture and is the most important factor in determining culture. Language forms the basis for learning. Children communicate with the language they speak with their parents

and environmental influences at home determine the degree of language acquisition in the school.

Indian students in Gods Lake begin school at an academic disadvantage because English is the language of the school whereas Cree is the language of the community. English is, therefore, the second language for the students. 99% of Indian students entering kindergarten and nursery have no knowledge of English, but lessons are conducted in English with the assistance of an Indian teacher's aide. ²⁰ This arrangement has advantages for the teacher and the students. The teacher's aide provides a link among the home, the school, and the community and gives the Indian children an example of an Indian adult who has a skilled position. The usage of a teacher's aide as a teaching assistance ends abruptly at Grade One and students are expected to speak and comprehend in English. ²¹

Of all students entering Grade One in 1975, 60% of the students lacked fluency in the English language, 20% had some knowledge in English, while 20% were fluent in English. ²² The ability level in English is below that of English speaking children and yet English continues to be the language of instruction. Indian students find it difficult to communicate and operate in English since there is no reinforcement of the language in the homes. Compared to the middle-class children, Indian students are reared in surroundings lacking books, magazines, radio and television because the impact of poverty makes

such stimuli unattainable. Unlike the non-Indian child, the Indian child is not familiar with objects that would expose him to the verbal skills of the English language, thus, his or her opportunities for verbal development is decreased.

Lack of competency in the English language is not the result of a lack of intelligence. Indian children are more susceptible to weaknesses within the school system. The Coleman report of 1968 elaborates.

The average white student's achievement seems to be less affected by the strengths and weaknesses of his schools' facilities, curriculum, and teachers than is the average minority pupils. To put it another way, the environment of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils. 23

The major problem confronting Indian students in Gods Narrows School is English. Language becomes a barrier to scholastic success since English is taught as a first language rather than a second language. Teaching English as a first language has resulted in linguistic confusion and the poor development of language skills which manifest themselves at the junior and senior high levels where the need for language skills are a prerequisite for the handling of advanced subject matter. 70% of all students entering Grade Seven at Gods Lake have poor language skills and as a result it is not uncommon to find students who are enrolled in Grade Seven, Eight, Nine, and Ten at a Grade Six reading level. Difficulties in language over a prolonged period of time result in age grade retardation.

and culminates in the dropping out of school by Indian students.

3. Curriculum

The educational program that is offered at Gods Narrows School gives rise to many problems for the Indian students. The educational program is skill oriented and geared towards Occupational Entrance. Factors contributing to this situation are complex but could be placed into two categories: the inability of Indian Affairs to maintain staff cohesiveness for any great length of time, and the difficulties which arise from the curriculum itself. ²⁴

Historically, a high staff turnover has been a recurring theme at the Gods Lake Schools. Staff turnover was recorded at 88% per annum between the years of 1903 to 1976, and transfers in and out of the school during a given school year was recorded at 14%. ²⁵ This constant rate of staff turnover reduced the students' strength of identification and weakened their trust in the modern educational program. This trend is noticeable throughout the entire school and the question, "Are you returning next year?", can be heard at the end of each term from Grades One to Ten. ²⁶ Between 1973 and 1976, 92% of the teachers recruited for Gods Narrows School were inexperienced and 98% were from out of province and were unfamiliar with the Manitoba provincial curriculum. ²⁷

Lack of familiarity with the provincial curriculum, minimal contact with the community, and no working knowledge

of Cree makes it difficult for the inexperienced teacher to assess correctly the needs of the community and restricts attempts at curriculum modification. The provincial curriculum is therefore followed rigidly and contributes to the inability of Indian students to comprehend what is being taught. In addition, the cognitive dimension of learning is stressed and attempts at balancing cognitive and affective aspects of education are seldom introduced.

The subjects offered at Gods Narrows School follow the basic provincial requirements with minimum options from Grade Seven to Ten. Subjects taught at the Grade Seven to Nine level are restricted to English, Mathematics, Science, History and Geography, Health, Physical Education, Guidance, Industrial Arts, and Home Economics. The subjects taught at the Grade Ten and Eleven level are English, Mathematics, Science, History, Physical Education, and Home Economics with the options being restricted to one facet of Business Education or Secretarial Practice. A further problem is the inability of the Department of Indian Affairs to procure teachers for specialized areas such as Physical Education, Home Economics, Science, and Business Education. This forces teachers who are not trained in specialized subject areas to teach these subjects as best they can. There is also a lack of supplementary materials for these specialized subject areas which increases the difficulties for unqualified

teachers to do an effective job. The main reasons for this lack of material is usually stated by Indian Affairs as being a "lack of funds".²⁸

Environmental Factors

According to the 1976 statistics, there are 795 people in Gods Lake.²⁹ Of these, there are approximately 339 possible employable Indian people which consist of 184 males and 155 females. An analysis of Employment Opportunities in Gods Lake indicate that 31.2% of the labour force are engaged in seasonal work, 10.4% in permanent semi-skilled work, and 58.4% are unemployed.³⁰

The unskilled and unemployed constitute the greater percentage of the people residing at Gods Lake. Trapping, guiding, and hunting form the base of seasonal employment and permanent employment is restricted to a few minor jobs which are usually clerical in nature with the local government, the Hudson's Bay Store, the School, and the airport.

The present economic base cannot support the Indian population and the average earned income per person for Gods Lake was recorded at \$4000 for 1976³¹ as compared to \$8000 for other Manitobans.³²

Lack of employment opportunities and insufficient income from the physical resources of the community have increased the need for unearned subsidies. Welfare payments to the Gods Lake Band between 1975-76 gives an indication

as to the growing dependence. In 1975-76, there were 153 welfare cases per month at a unit cost of \$249.00, as compared to 388 welfare cases per month at a unit cost of \$344.00 in 1976-77. Unit costs have increased by \$95.00 and welfare cases have increased by 135. ³³ Rapid increases in welfare payments are due to the nature of unemployment in Gods Lake, and has affected students and parental attitude towards education. Welfare programs are viewed as a right and the young are not ashamed to accept this type of treatment.

Attempts at structuring opportunities through school achievement became meaningless because of the absence of an adequate economic base and a lack of professional and skilled models of identification. The lack of opportunity therefore reinforces the existing sense of "why bother". ³⁴ Walsh elaborates on the above further. He states

Generally Indian people in reserves tend to have little faith in their own abilities to control their environment and lives. The Indian student comes to have these characteristics. He comes to accept his failure and to believe that there is nothing he can do to alter his status and proceeds to complete the self-fulfilling prophecy of the "inadequate and unmotivated Indian". ³⁵

Research has shown that there is a relationship between the home environment and school performance. It was found that the worse the home condition the poorer the academic performance of the student. ³⁶ Although the study was

conducted on an American Indian reserve, the relationship between poverty and performance at school would appear to hold true for Gods Lake since most families were poor. All Indian houses in Gods Lake are of a low quality and are devoid of basic amenities such as sewer, septic tanks, running water, indoor toilets, indoor baths, and telephone. 37

According to Statistics Canada, overcrowding occurs when the number of people per house exceeds the number of rooms. In 1976 there were approximately 128 family units for a population of 795 persons. The following is a breakdown of Reserve homes:

TABLE: XXIV

GODS LAKE RESERVE HOUSES

NUMBER OF ROOMS

NUMBER OF ROOMS	HOMES	PERCENTAGE
1-2	7	22
3-4	57	28.9
5-6	63	49.1
7+	0	0

Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Department of Statistics Division, Indian Housing Survey, Ottawa, 1976.

There is an average of 6.2 persons attached to each home in Gods Lake and 50.9 percent of the homes are overcrowded. Overcrowding in Indian homes poses an additional handicap because it deprives the children of opportunities to read and study. Wahbung elaborates on the problem of

overcrowding

...Is also a phenomenon contributing to certain social, interpersonal situations. Bearing in mind that one of the three principle causes of death of registered Indian people is violence (homicide, suicide) and accidents, the problem of overcrowding takes on serious additional implications. 38

Overcrowding and massive unemployment makes it difficult for parents and children to see education as a way of improving their dilemma. Parents therefore endorse education superficially but have not accepted its value.

SUMMARY

Formal education in Gods Lake has had a minimal impact because it was developed in competition with educational practices. Formal education was based on a rigid schedule and sought to replace the culture of the Indian child with that of the dominant society. Peer group, home influence, and language were not regarded as a potentially constructive source and no attempt was made to adapt programs or to include parents in the formal education process. Educational programs were skill oriented and little effort was made to assess the needs of the community.

The initial contact between the preschool Indian children and the school was harmless because their perception of differences were limited and non enquiring. As the children grew older, they became aware of the fact that the socialization of the school differed from that of their

homes. Faced with two types of socialization that were drastically opposed to each other, the children became confused and developed negative attitudes towards school.

Active Departmental involvement in education has improved some aspects of formal education, such as staff recruitment,³⁹ but has not resolved the educational problem. Failure of the present educational system to meet the needs of the Indian people is reflected economically in a large unskilled labour force; and scholastically by poor attendance, and a high drop-out rate, at the reserve level, that is comparable to provincial and national figures. Reasons for the failure of formal education were attributed to the rigid usage of the present curriculum, the present cognitive orientation of the school, a high staff turn over, and the socio-economic structure of the community.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Indian Tribes of Manitoba, Wahbung - Our Tomorrow's (Winnipeg: Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1971), p. 45.
2. Peter S. Snidell, "Some Discontinuities in the Enculturation of Mistassene Cree Children", cited in Conflict in Culture: Developmental Change Among the Cree, by Norman Chance, (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology 1968), p. 89.
3. Personal interview with elders of Gods Lake Community, Gods Lake, Manitoba, February 1973.
4. Richard Preston "Peer Group vs Trapline: Shifting Directions in Cree Socialization", cited in Conflict in Culture: Developmental Change Among the Cree, by Norman Chance, (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology 1968), p. 24.
5. Harry F. Wolcott, A Kwakiutl Village and School (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1967), p. 8.
6. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 513-1 Part 2, Ottawa: 12 October 1912.
7. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, PAC, File 513-1, Part 2, Ottawa: 1931.
8. Hudson's Bay Company Journal of Events at Fort Hope, HBCA, File B283/a/1, Gods Lake, Manitoba, 1890-1910.
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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize briefly the historical development of formal education in Gods Lake from 1903 to 1976 and its impact, at the reserve level, on the Indian people. On completion of the summarization, suggestions aimed at reducing the ineffectiveness of education will be presented.

In this study economic factors were identified as being influences on the historical development of formal education in Gods Lake. The introduction of the fur trade and the establishment of York Fort on the shores of Hudson Bay resulted in modifications in the living habits and economic practices of the Swampy Cree Indians in Manitoba. The demand for furs by the traders forced the Indians to abandon the traditional practice of hunting as a major means of livelihood for trapping since all furs could be exchanged for a variety of European materials. The rivalry for furs between the trading companies led to the establishment of several interior posts which contributed to the discontinuation of conservation practices and which

led to the subsequent decline of the fur trade.

The historical development of formal education in Gods Lake was closely linked with the decline of the lucrative fur trade which led to the settlement of some Swampy Cree Indians on reserves in Northern Manitoba. Formal education in Gods Lake commenced prior to the official settlement of the reserve and was left to discretion of the churches. The Methodist Church was the first institution for formal education in Gods Lake. It operated successfully from 1903 to 1930 when it was joined by the Roman Catholic Church who introduced a similar program. Initially, education was conducted by both agencies on a seasonal basis and was restricted to the summer months in an attempt to recruit Indian students.

The maintenance of Seasonal Schools was divided between the churches and Indian Affairs. The former were responsible for the construction and operation of classrooms whereas the latter provided funds for classroom supplies and teachers' salaries. This type of dual responsibility placed the onus on the churches to maintain schools at the reserve level and failure to do so resulted in cancellations of departmental aid.

The acquisition of school buildings did not guarantee satisfactory attendance. In an attempt to rectify the problem of poor attendance, teachers' salaries were based on the number of days taught. This new approach to the problem

of poor attendance was unsatisfactory since staff turn-over at the end of the school year and during the school year was staggering.

The opening of the Gods Lake Gold Mine in 1939 intensified the problem of attendance since children assisted their parents with mining activities. The closure of the Mine in 1943 resulted in the establishment of an Indian settlement and the opening of a non-secular day school at Elk Island. The Mine School functioned successfully until 1950, when attendance started to deteriorate. Problems at the Mine School led to the conversion of both Seasonal Schools to Day Schools in 1949 and 1950 respectively.

The transformation did not resolve the problem of attendance. Instead, it increased the need for additional classrooms and magnified the problem of high staff turn-over. Controls aimed at reducing the problem of sporadic attendance and the need for additional classrooms were temporarily resolved by a reduction in welfare and family allowance, and the construction of a new non-secular school to encompass existing church schools.

The historical development of formal education in Gods Lake has been marred by several problems and as a consequence, its impact at the reserve level has been minimal. Formal education was developed in competition with traditional educational practices which were in existence prior to European contact and continued until the closure

of the Gods Lake Gold Mine in 1939. The socialization of the Indian child in the school setting differed drastically from that in the home and has contributed to the educational problems. At home, the children learned the native language and behaved in the manner of their elders. In school they are compelled to learn and speak English since it is the language of the school. The existing program has not been designed to meet the needs of the Indian people and ignores the relationship between the child and the home environment. Instead, it is designed to change the young in the hope that they would acquire the values, literacy, and job skills of the non-Indians. The success of the Indian students in the school system has been slight since attempts at curriculum modification have been minimal and little consideration has been given to the culture and the needs of the Indian people.

Having analysed the factors that have contributed to the ineffectiveness of formal education at the reserve level in Gods Lake, one comes to the conclusion that education cannot be viewed as the total solution to the problems in Gods Lake. Instead, it is hoped that education could foster the growth of a sense of Indian identity and a positive self image for the residents of Gods Lake.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Curriculum

Curriculum development is a complex organizational

problem involving all of those who are directly concerned with the process of education. A relevant and effective curriculum, at the reserve level, will result only when educational goals and objectives are clearly defined and an effective program implemented as a means of achieving these goals and objectives.

The teacher's role at the reserve level should be aimed at defining local educational goals and objectives and providing meaningful experiences that will meet the more specific goals and objectives. Curriculum should be modified to find a medium between broad provincial goals and objectives and the more specific community goals and objectives. Needs, the core of curriculum programs, should be assessed before one attempts to adapt the academic programs. Perhaps the teacher should follow these steps in an attempt to identify adequately students needs. They are: (1) gather information about the present situation of the student, (2) compare the situation to expectations and then, (3) make a professional judgement in order to identify the needs. Indian parents have an important role since their support and input is essential to the effectiveness of education. Teachers must have knowledge about the community, the school, and the interests, needs, abilities, and character of their students. Parental resources, recommendations, expectations, and feedback provide valuable information for the task of curriculum modification and relevant program planning.

2. Language Instruction

One of the areas requiring immediate attention is that of language instruction. Language difference between the school and the home was identified as one of the main factors that he has contributed to the lack of success in school for Indian children. The ability level of students in English is below that of non-Indian children because of the existing Language Arts Program is parallel to that of the southern schools. This is because of the availability of texts, the influence of guidelines, and the lack of appropriate remedial materials. English is taught as a first language and attempts should be made immediately to obtain the services of teachers who have had experience or who have had training in the teaching of English as a second language.

Provisions should be made to introduce an intensive remedial program from Grades 1 - 10 in the area of language in an attempt to reduce the problem of age-grade retardation that is being experienced by students who have a poor academic foundation.

3. Culture and History

A selection of courses on Indian culture and history should be made available as part of the educational program at all levels of the school. This is essential in an attempt to acquaint students with their past heritage

and to dispel existing distortions. There is also a need to include a study based on the system and operation of the local government as part of a Civics or Social Studies Program.

4. Guidance

The function of the school is to prepare Indian students for gainful employment whether it is to be found on the reserve or in the city. The school plays a small role in providing employment opportunities, but it could maximize preparation for future careers by creating an awareness of educational and professional opportunities. Career development should include instruction in the skills needed for a job, awareness of academic requirements, and opportunities to explore different types of work. This approach will give the Indian child an opportunity to explore employment opportunities at the reserve and neighbouring areas.

5. Teacher Recruitment

At present it is often difficult for teachers to stay in Gods Lake because of the isolation of the community. Special arrangement should be made to encourage teachers who are doing well with Indian students to continue their careers in the school. Teachers should be hired for specific teaching areas and attempts should be made to obtain the services of teachers for the specialized subject areas. Personal

attributes that should be taken into consideration are:

(1) a positive role towards Indian children, (2) respect for Indian families, and (3) a willingness to be accountable for their performance as well as that of their students.

The teacher's education should include, in addition to the regular academic skills, education in cultural awareness and the teaching of English as a second language. The latter requirement should be mandatory at all levels.

Opportunities for learning about the conditions and needs of the community to which they will be assigned should be granted prior to the commencement of the school year. Inservices should be given prior to the commencement of the school year and/or at the beginning of the school term.

6. Teachers' Aides

Aides are invaluable because of their knowledge of the reserve and their ability to interpret behavior to teachers, children, and parents. Teachers' aides present a way of involving Indian adults directly into the educational program and a means by which adults become informed on educational issues. There is a need for the development of a program geared at recruiting, selecting and training paraprofessionals for the primary and elementary grades on the reserve.

7. Adjustment of the School Year

Most of the major activities in Gods Lake are usually restricted to the indoors because of the severity and length of the winter. Families tend to utilize the spring and summer by engaging in outdoor activities which usually involve migrating from the main settlement of the reserve. Students' attendance tends to drop off rapidly during the months of May and June, because of the movement of families and the advent of warm weather. Perhaps the rapid drop in attendance could be reduced by adjusting the school year to August through May instead of September through June.

8. Local Control

Indian parents recognize that education is important but do not see it as a means of improving the present economic dilemma, since monies from social programs exceed earned income and provide the necessary cash for food, clothing, and other materials. Parents therefore endorse educational superficially since they do not see the need for their children to achieve within the present educational system. Local control of education should be viewed as a means of alleviating the social and economic situation because it would provide opportunities for Indian adults to be hired in the school and represents a way of presenting models of identification for Indian students.

9. Integration and Orientation of Indian Students

At the present time, Indian children appear to

have special difficulties adapting to urban schools. They drop out of school in large numbers within six months after commencement. Indian students who migrate to the city to complete their high school matriculation should be given an orientation prior to the commencement of the school year. Attempts should be made to integrate students into small schools in suburban or rural settings on an individual rather than a group basis.

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APPENDIX I

Gods Lake General Register

Gods Lake

<u>Land</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
Gods Lake established O.C. - P.C. 429 (1586-22)	February 25, 1930	9,832
Original survey of Gods Lake undertaken by C.A.R. Lawrence	1924	
Land leased to Roman Catholic Church (1987-22)	July 26, 1977	7
Land leased to Roman Catholic Church (X16537)	November 15, 1934	5.86
Lease to Crown Manitoba for the establishment of a forest lookout tower at \$1.00 per year (1588-23)	April 8, 1954	0.92
Leased to Manitoba Hydro (L11525)	April 28, 1967 July 16, 1967 September 22, 1972	

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Winnipeg,
Manitoba, 1973.

APPENDIX II

Chiefs and Councillors Gods Lake Band

1917-1974

CHIEF Name and Band No.	COUNCILLORS Name and Band No.	EFFECTIVE DATE
<u>The following information was extracted from the treaty paylists - 1917 to 1940</u>		
Peter Watt, No. 1	Peter Chubb, No. 24 Simon Big, No. 42	August 9, 1917
The chief and councillors remained the same until 1921.		
Peter Watt	Thomas Duck, No. 2 Peter Chubb, No. 24 Simon Big, No. 42	August 1, 1921
Peter Chubb, councillor, died in 1921.		
Peter Watt	Thomas Duck, No. 2 Simon Big, No. 42	August 9, 1922
The councillors and chief remained the same until 1926.		
Peter Watt, No. 1	Thomas Duck, No. 2 Jacob Bee, No. 22	August 8, 1927
Peter Watt, No. 1	Thomas Duck, No. 2 Jacob Bee, No. 22	August 1, 1928
These remained the same until 1932.		
Jacob Bee, No. 22	Thomas Duck, No. 2 Edward Snowbird, No. 54	July 26, 1933
These remained the same until 1937.		
Henry John Ross, No. 14	Edward Snowbird, No. 54 Solomon Duck, No. 114	July, 1937
Henry Ross	Jacob Bee Elijah Duck, No. 102	July 29, 1939

APPENDIX II cont'd.

CHIEF Name and Band No.	COUNCILLORS Name and Band No.	EFFECTIVE DATE
Henry Ross, No. 14	Jacob Bee, No. 22 Elijah Duck, No. 102	July 22, 1940
Henry Ross, No. 14	Jacob Bee, No. 22 Elijah Duck, No. 102 Solomon Okemow, No. 114 Maxwell Bee, No. 179	July, 1945
<u>Extracted from the Election Files</u>		
September 10, 1946 all four councillors resigned and four new councillors were elected.		
Henry Ross	Zacharias Chubb, No. 142 George Andrew, No. 195 Adam Ogenia, No. 136 John Trout, No. 95	August 14, 1947
George Andrews	-----	June 30, 1952
John Henry Ross, No. 14	Elijah Duck No. 102 John Trout, No. 95 Zaccheus Nasee, No. 188 Mrs. Esther Ross, No. 148 Mrs. Lena Trout, No. 203	July 29, 1953
Thomas Okema	Simeon Ross Isias Bee Darius Trout David Kirkness George Andrew Jr.	August 16, 1955
George Andrew	Dulas Watt Lawrence Chubb Thomas Chubb Simeon Ross Fred Duck Elijah Duck	August 1, 1957

APPENDIX II cont'd.

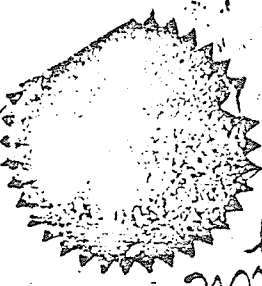
CHIEF Name and Band No.	COUNCILLORS Name and Band No.	EFFECTIVE DATE
<u>The following information was extracted from the Election Files - 1945 to 1974</u>		
Max Bee, No. 179	Alex Okemow, No. 255 Thomas Mason, No. 170 Amos Okemow Simeon Ross, No. 148 Elias Hill, No. 180 Esther Ross, No. 148	December 24, 1959
Chief Max Bee resigned April 13, 1961 and Tommy Okemow became chief December 24, 1961.		
Tommy Okema	Amos Okema, No. 217 Alex Okema, No. 255 Stanley Ross, No. 149 Thomas Okema, No. 153 Joseph White, No. 126 Job Okema, No. 144	December 24, 1961
Max Bee, No. 179	Simeon Ross, No. 148 Alex Okemow, No. 255 Amos Okemow, No. 217 Stanley Ross, No. 149 Solomon Okemow, No. 114 Thomas Chubb, No. 265 Esias Bee, No. 345 Alex Yellowback, No. 224	January 14, 1964
Chief Max Bee resigned April 2, 1964. Alex Okemow and Esias Bee resigned April 2 and February 21 respectively.		
Alex Okimow, No. 255 replaced Max Bee as chief, and Sandy Wood, No. 229 and Thomas Mason replaced the councillors in a bi-election August 18, 1965.		
Alex Okemow, No. 255	Esias Bee, No. 345 Elijah Duck, No. 102 Thomas Mason, No. 178 Thomas Okemow, No. 153 Joseph Qeskekapow, No. 331 Simeon Ross, No. 148 Stanley Ross, No. 149 Sandy Wood, No. 229	February 23, 1966

APPENDIX II cont'd.

CHIEF Name and Band No.	COUNCILLORS Name and Band No.	EFFECTIVE DATE
<p>Councillors Stanley Ross, Joseph Qeskekapow and Esias Bee resigned August 30, 1966. On January 5, 1967 Alex Yellowhead, No. 224, Adam Andrew, No. 137 and Job White, No. 294 replaced the councillors.</p>		
Alex Okemow	Fred Duck, No. 191 Steven Mason, No. 284 Thomas Mason, No. 178 Henry Paul Nazee, No. 386 Thomas Okemow, No. 153 Simeon Ross, No. 148 Dulas Watt, No. 274 William Watt, No. 290	February 27, 1968
<p>Councillors Dulas Watt, No. 274 and Henry Nazee, No. 386 resigned August 12, 1969 and were replaced by Maxwell Bee, No. 179, Daniel Wood, No. 220 and Amos Okemow, No. 217.</p>		
Maxwell Bee, No. 179	Lawrence Okemow, No. 434 George Ross, No. 169 Isiah Kirkness, No. 231 Elias Yellowhead, No. 192 Fred Duck, No. 191 William Watt, No. 290 Thomas Mason, No. 178 Amos Okemow, No. 217 Stephen Mason, No. 284 Thomas Okemow, No. 153	February 27, 1970
<p>Councillor Elias Yellowback resigned September 23, 1970.</p>		
<p><u>Chief and Council to be elected by majority of votes (Order in Council P.C. 4606) December 15, 1972</u></p>		
Fred Duck, No. 191	Adelaide Andrews, No. 221 Kent Bee, No. 396 Elias Hill, No. 180 Amos Okema, No. 217 Andrew Okema, No. 233 Ingrid Okema, No. 312 Joseph Okema, No. 219 William Perch, No. 260 George Ross, No. 169 Louis Ross, No. 324 Peter Watt, No. 453	February 28, 1972

APPENDIX II cont'd

CHIEF Name and Band No.	COUNCILLORS Name and Band No.	EFFECTIVE DATE
Chief Fred Duck resigned August 1, 1973 and Alex Okemow replaced him September 4, 1973.		
Alex Okemow, No. 255	Elias Hill, No. 180 Joseph Okemow, No. 132 Margaret Okemow, No. 255 Thomas Okemow, No. 153 Andrew Okemow, No. 233 William Perch, No. 260 John George Ross, No. 254 Harry Okemow, No. 312 John Robert Bee, No. 410 Mrs. Adelaide Andrews, No. 221	February 28, 1974



101/30-6
 LAND PATENTS BRANCH
 FEB 27 1930
 COMMISSIONER
 FEB 26 1930
 DOMINION LANDS

McGillivray

APPENDIX III

Order in Council - God's Lake

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

Tuesday, the 25th day of February, 1930.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior, and under and by virtue of Section 74, Chapter 113, R.S. 1927, is pleased to order that the land as described hereunder be and it is hereby withdrawn from the operation of the said Act and set apart for the use of the Indians as God's Lake Indian Reserve No. 25.

DESCRIPTION:

Being in latitude 54 degrees, 32 minutes and longitude 94 degrees, 36 minutes, derived from the provisional edition of Oxford House map sheet No. 53L of the National Topographic Series dated 1929 and in the Province of Manitoba and being composed of God's Lake Indian Reserve No. 23 as shown on a plan of survey thereof, by C.A.R. Lawrence, Dominion Land Surveyor, in the year 1924, of record in the Department of the Interior under number Thirty-six thousand nine hundred and thirty-two, containing by admeasurement Nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-two acres, more or less.

[Signature]
 Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Honourable
 the Minister of the Interior.

ABORIGINES..... INDIANS

Dwellings.....

TITLE Indian teepee at Gods Lake,

Man. 1925.....

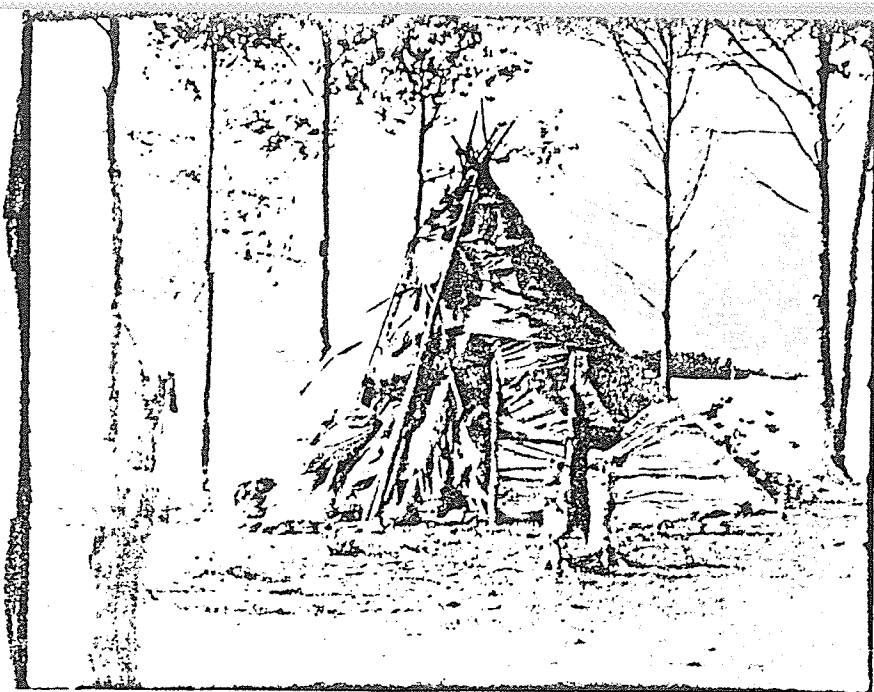
(R.D. Davidson).....

ACC. NO. 1960-125.....

COLL. MTS (Legal Surveys).....

NEG. NO. T.S. 10146.....

LOC. Box 1441.....



PA 20000

APPENDIX IV

Dwellings - Gods Lake

1925

ABORIGINES..... INDIANS

Dwellings.....

TITLE Indian teepees at Gods Lake,

Man. [Cree Indians] 1925.....

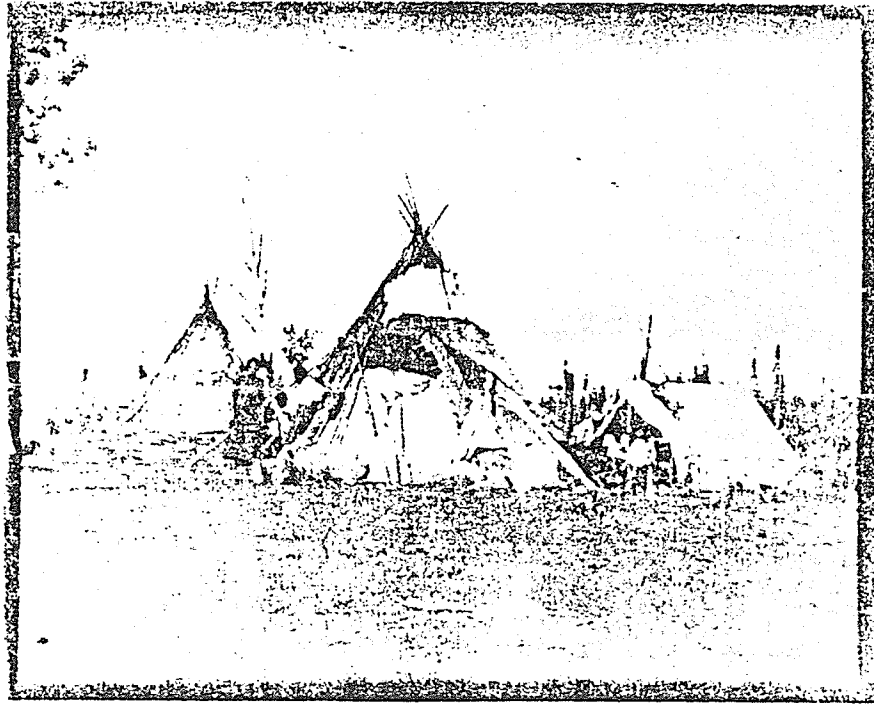
(R.D. Davidson).....

ACC. NO. 1960-125.....

COLL. MTS (Legal Surveys).....

NEG. NO. T.S. 10149.....

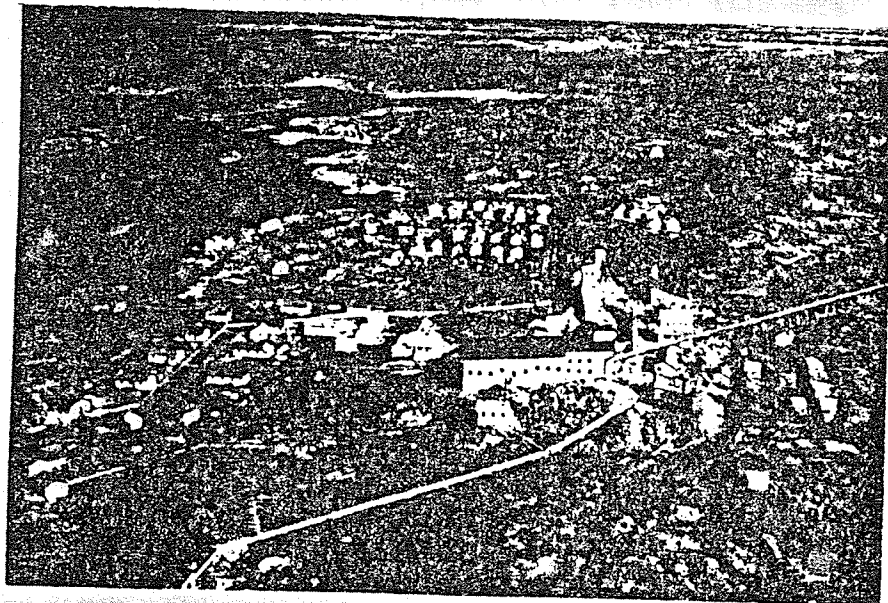
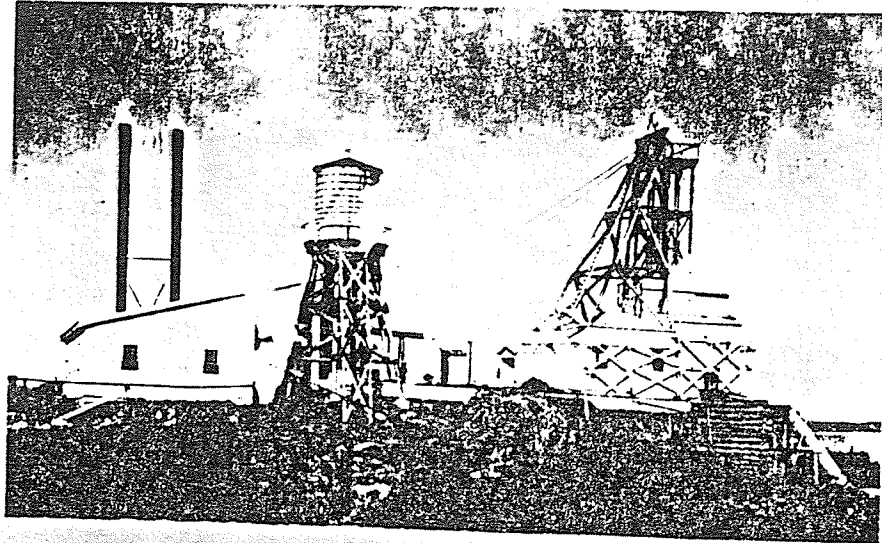
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PA 20001

APPENDIX V
Elk Island Settlement

1936



Source: Manitoba Provincial Archives