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Canada

Government of Canada and the
Education of the Canadian Indian:
The Nova Scotia Micmac Experience
1867 to 1972

by

Marial M. Mosher

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

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Halifax, Nova Scotia

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Abstract

This study grew out of an interest in Indian-non-Indian relations and field work carried out between 1967 and 1972. This period of time coincided with the initial reaction of Indians to the Federal Government's proposal to shift responsibility for Indian administration to the provinces. During the time that ensued, research on Indian affairs and the teaching of courses on Canadian indigenous peoples further developed my understanding of Indian administration.

In pursuing this study, the focus initially was on adult education with a pilot study done while I taught a course on social organization to a group of adults of the Millbrook Reserve in Nova Scotia. The emphasis changed as research brought to light the relationship of the general policies with regard to Indian administration and the school systems provided for the Indians. It became evident that formal education was used as a tool to achieve the goal of assimilation rather than the development of Indian students and the fostering of pride of inheritance.

The period 1867 to 1972 is historically significant as it marked the development of policies which were designed to bring about assimilation, but were, of themselves, contradictions of this goal. The relationship which developed was a dominant-subordinate one with the attendant dependency such a policy fosters. The education systems of this period also reflect the ambivalence of administrative policies. The Indians' own proposal with regard to education was the culmination of this period of education over which they had no control. This thesis is an attempt to relate general public policy for Indian affairs to the particular policies pursued in, and for, Indian schools.

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Although it is not possible here to identify everyone by name, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all the Indian and non-Indian people, both in official and non-official capacities, who assisted me with documents, invitations to conferences and gatherings, interviews, advice and discussion, all of which helped greatly in the research and field work for this study.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is focused on the Federal Government's policies with regard to Indian administration in relation to the education systems provided, in an attempt by the government to bring about the goal of assimilation. The research encompasses historical issues and analyses of the various situations from Confederation to the beginning of the contemporary era, in 1972, when an upsurge of political activity on the part of the Indians brought about proposals and movements toward major changes in both the philosophical and political aspects of Indian-non-Indian relations. The range of the research, therefore, is from 1867 to 1972, and the specific area of study is the Micmac bands of Nova Scotia.

The earliest attempts, by the missionaries, and the later policies of the Government to educate the Canadian Indians have been unsuccessful in terms of the Government's goal. The aim of the Government authorities was the assimilation of the Indians, which was not achieved nor did it provide any perceived value for the Indian people. Throughout the history of Indian-government relations, the professional cadre, working within the bureaucratic structure of Indian Affairs, has had a marked influence on the education policies as well as the interpretation of the policies. Many of the later changes in education for Indian people are the result of conflict over the control of this aspect of the Indian communities.

The policies relating to the education of Indian people are directly related to the policy which controls the lives of these people and the relationships between the Indians and the non-Indian society. The education systems, which reflect the overall policy, set the pattern for Indian-non-Indian interaction, particularly on the political and economic levels, and are the outcome of the Federal Government's attitude toward the status of Indians.

This status is a creation of the dominant European groups, and is a continuation of the colonial policy initiated during the early days of settlement in Canada. The Indians were set apart from the rest of the population of Canada both by geographical location and by legislation. Within the limits of special laws, the Indians did have the right of some participation in the

dominant society. Their special status, however, together with the historically established dominant-subordinate relationship with non-Indian authority, tended to emphasize isolation, and to preclude integration into the dominant society. In general, Indians and non-Indians had little or no understanding of one another's views of the world or their respective systems of values. Although they may have lived in adjacent communities, and made use of the same facilities, there was a minimum of social interaction between the two groups of people, and social distance existed in all aspects of everyday life. Although the Indian-non-Indian situation is volatile, there are aspects of the dominant-subordinate relationship which have persisted in every indication of change and a re-evaluation of the existing policies.

This study is about Native people who live on reserves, with particular reference to the Micmac bands of Nova Scotia. It is an attempt to relate government administrative policy with regard to status Indians to the education systems provided for them. The study is concerned with the actual experience of the Indians over the course of the last century.

The subject matter may seem minor in the light of education in general and the struggle to acquire adequate funding for the systems which prevail in the dominant society. For status Indians, as well as some non-status, it is of major importance in their struggle for self-determination. How the Federal and Provincial Governments came to terms with this aspect of Indian life will have a lasting effect on the relationship of the Indian community to the non-Indian society.

As a preliminary basis for the documentary research for this thesis an assessment was carried out of the relevant literature on Indian policy and education along with the writings on race and ethnic relations. Included in this survey an annotated bibliography was produced, for the thesis committee, to indicate the scope and subject emphasis of the various publications. In assembling data for this study extensive research was carried out at the Public Archives of Canada, the Nova Scotia Archives, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Indian Affairs Library. In addition, consultations at Regional and Band levels, and individual interviews were used to cover more specific aspects of the study. The material presented with regard to field work was from recorded notes and journals of research carried out through attendance at

conferences, meetings, and on the reserves as observer and observer participant during the period 1966 to 1972, and from 1980 periodically throughout the duration of the study.

Authors such as Lysyk (1967), Carstens (1971), Patterson (1972), Price (1979), Ponting and Gibbins (1980), Frideres (1983) emphasize, in various ways, the subordinate situation of the Indians and the failure of the Government's policy to bring about the assimilation of the Indians into the dominant society. From Ponting and Gibbins concept of the Indians' irrelevance in Canadian society to Patterson's claims that the Micmac Indians resisted the Government's plans for their culture change, this aspect of Indian administration is evident in the findings of incompetency, lack of understanding of Indian traditional culture, and the measure of authority expressed. The writings of Melling (1967), Walsh (1971), Nagler (1972, 1975), Getty and Lussier (1983), Cassidy and Bish (1989) all point to an ambivalence in the very Acts which were intended to hasten the process toward the goal of divesting the Indians of their heritage and, with some coercion, bring them into the mainstream of Canadian society. Weaver (1983), in her discussion of policy, shows how the decision-making behind the policies always had a "hidden agenda." Hence, the Government's acts and proposals never proclaimed their full meaning.

From the historic evidence there is no doubt that, as Ponting states:

> ... major policies cannot be changed or adopted without the cooperation of the politicians, and the politicians in turn must usually keep policy within the bounds of acceptability to the electorate (Ponting and Gibbins 1980:62).

Judging from the studies made of the public's knowledge and attitude toward Indian issues, carried out in the 1960s and 1970s, in spite of evidence of more interest in Indians, the general image of the Indian was negative, with little positive force toward social change (McDiarmid and Pratt 1971; Mackie 1974; Bibby 1975; Chamberlin 1975; Stymist 1975; Native Council of Canada 1976; Berry et al. 1977; Ponting 1986). All of these findings support Ponting's contention that the Indians became an irrelevant aspect of the Canadian society, which for the Indian culminated in the Government's proposal contained in the *White Paper* (Canada 1969).

The ethnic and race relationship of dominant-subordinate dependency will be looked at as the crucial relationship which developed between the Government, as well as the dominant society, and the Micmac people and their resistance to assimilation. In this type of relationship the Indians did not assimilate. At best, the culture change resulted in a marginal situation for the Indians.

In the period under study there is no doubt that considerable diffusion from the culture of the dominant society to the culture of the Canadian Indian was taking place. From the days of the fur trade changes in the economic and cultural life of the Indians occurred, such that traditional culture could not remain intact. What emerged as a way of life was a "hybrid" – a combination of the indigenous and the borrowed, or imposed, way of life. The Indians of the twentieth century did not expect to live as their ancestors did, and did not wholly reject the values of the dominant society. There were attitudes expressed and behavior patterns observed, however, that relate to vestiges of a value system which is different from non-Indian, and may be said to be Indian in essence.

It is recognized throughout the writings on race and ethnic relations that cultural affinity and group identity are strong factors in holding people together and giving them a consciousness of kind, or, as some writers contend, a sense of "peoplehood" (Herberg 1955; Gordon 1964; Hughes and Kallen 1974). When a dominant-subordinate relationship exists between groups, the members of the subordinate group tend to cling to the vestiges of their traditional culture which set them apart from other groups. Even with the diffusion of material goods and alien ideas, there is a need for a more positive group identity than that offered in the dominant society.

In contrast with their past experience of subordination, the contemporary movement by Native peoples to achieve sovereignty would have very different implications. Sovereignty for Native people means ethnic identity and self-government within the larger society. It implies a form of separation based on equality, not subordination, and a recognition as the indigenous people of Canada. It may be seen as a type of pluralism with some aspects of integration, but not as assimilation and loss of identity. Involvement for the Indian is not a specific plan, a definite answer to the question "What do you want of us?"

so often put to the Indian by the non-Indian. Involvement means time to consider, the right to make mistakes, and the right to change a plan of action or a decision no longer in accord with the circumstances. The bureaucrat does not function well in such a situation. There must be a law, a book of rules to legitimize the action.

At conferences, in the 1960s, with regard to a revised *Indian Act* (Canada 1876), it was evident that Indians and Department of Indian Affairs representatives, and non-Indians generally, did not approach problems in the same way. The Indians were pressured for decisions, or these were made for them, while the non-Indian officials were frustrated by the lack of definite orientation on the part of the Indians to the business in hand. Involvement often meant, to the Indians, the discussion of matters far removed from the question presented in an agenda. If it concerned the Indian people, why was it not relevant? Claims and injustices, nursed by the Indians for generations, were real to them in the light of proposed policy, and they maintained that modified or new policies must cover the whole situation not just certain aspects of Indian-non-Indian relations. Here again the Indian delegates found themselves between two cultures, two sets of values.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Indians were accused by non-Indians of spending large sums of money on conferences, meetings, and travel to such gatherings. There is no doubt that, to the "outsider," the Indians seemed to be occupied with such activity. It must be noted, however, that the Indians had much "catching-up" to do. The ways of the white man, his laws, and the values of the dominant society were not readily understood by the Indians. They were in the process of learning how to deal with the dominant society, on various levels of government, and needed the support and dialogue of these conferences to help them understand the bureaucratic process. The Indian leaders were learning how to deal with the non-Indian in terms not always in accordance with Indian values and process of decision making. The Indians, therefore, contended that this emphasis on "coming together to talk" was a necessary part of the movement toward independence and equality within Canadian society.

The outcome of these conferences was the Government's proposal (Canada 1969) to transfer the administration of Indians to the provinces. This

document, known as the *White Paper*, ushered in an era for airing discontent and frustration on the part of the Indian people with regard to federal policies. In the associations and political movements there was evidence of increased awareness within the band leadership, and the Indian people in general, of the existing disparities in education, political control, and economic development. This era also brought about greater emphasis on cultural renewal, particularly in the matter of language. The research, done in this regard for the Micmac, is set out in the article by Battiste, in her study of Indian education (1987:107-125). This movement toward renewal of language was part of the Native Cultural Centres, and for the Micmac it was closely allied with the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies (Ibid:112).

Events which followed the rejection of the 1969 Government Policy Statement certainly have not brought about solutions to Indian issues or any models for Indian self-government which have been mutually acceptable to both the Indians and the government officials. What did develop was the establishment of the Assembly of First Nations, which became the representative group for Canadian aboriginal people. This Assembly has the force of speaking for all the Canadian status Indians, and in presenting a unified voice in negotiations with the Federal Government.

In view of the contemporary developments and the rapidly changing relationships between the Indians and the Federal Government, it is relevant to make some analysis of the policy relating to Native people in an historic sense. It is particularly important to look at the administration of Indian affairs carried out from the time of Confederation to the period of the Government's proposal of 1969. The reaction of the Indians to this document, which led to their increased political activity, became evident in the early 1970s, and is pertinent to their movement toward self-government. This period ushered in what might be called a new approach on the part of both the Indians and the Government to resolve their differences. This study, therefore, deals with the policies pertaining to the Native people from 1867 to 1972, and how these policies were reflected in the education systems, which were the forerunners of the 1972 demands for Indian control of their own education.

The report of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs in 1971 began by stating that Indian education policy had been shaped by:

> the day-to-day, year-to-year improvisation attitude of
> successive governments which regarded Indian
> education as a passing thing, soon to be handed over to
> the provinces (Canada 1971:8).

This report further indicated a renewed responsibility by the Government for Indian education, and supported the position put forward by the Indian Associations. These recommendations included Indian participation in decision-making, special training for teachers, greater cultural emphasis, pre-school education, and greater powers for Indian school committees (Ibid). Much of what was contained in this report coincided with the viewpoints expressed by the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) (National Indian Brotherhood 1972). This association consisted of Indian representatives from the tribes across Canada, and came into prominence at the time of the Government proposal (Canada 1969). It was seen by the Indians as a means of providing a unified voice in their own proposals for change in administrative policies.

An important factor in the development of Indian education since Confederation is that Provincial authorities periodically revised their legislation to ensure that education systems would develop in a rational relation to other aspects of society. Up to the time of the National Indian Brotherhood proposal, Indian education had not undergone any meaningful parallel development. A modern education system is not likely to be based on Sections 4(3) and 114 to 123 of the existing *Indian Act* (Canada 1876) dating from the previous century.

For this reason, in 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood argued that:

> Responsibility for integration belongs to the people in-
> volved. It cannot be legislated or promoted without the
> full consent and participation of the Indians and non-
> Indians concerned (NIB 1972:30).

In terms of education, this document emphasized the position that the will of the Indian people was expressed in "two fundamental principles of education ... parental responsibility, and local control" (Ibid:31). In conclusion, the whole concept of Indian control was summed up in the statement:

> If this policy is recognized and implemented by officials
> responsible for Indian education, then eventually the
> Indian people themselves will work out the existing

> problems and develop an appropriate education program
> for their children (Ibid: 31).

In a speech for a symposium on Amerindians, for the Royal Society of Canada, in 1974, Barber made the statement that:

> Indian grievances have been with us in this country
> since the early stages of European penetration of the
> North American continent. Until recently, they have
> received minimal public attention (1974:2).

Barber went on to comment on the attempts, on the part of the Government, to form an Indian Claims Commission. In the late 1960s, however, the Government changed its intent in favour of "extensive preliminary study and consultation before establishing special processes" for the settlement of Indian claims (Ibid). The basis for these claims goes back to the transfer of New France to Britain and the precedents and practices with respect to Indian lands as confirmed by the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (Canada 1973:1). The intent of this Proclamation was to protect Indian lands from encroachment by settlers until such time as a process was set up by the Crown for the surrender of Indian rights to vast territories, and the establishment of Indian rights under the Crown.

Such a stand on the part of the Indians coincided with the whole concept that Indians' grievances could be resolved only by the Indian people having control of their own administration. Such control not only related to education but to other aspects of Indian self-government. Not the least of these were land claims as a base for economic development on reserves to provide increased opportunities for improved living conditions. The education for future leadership was a major aspect of the whole concept of self-government.

The circumstances with regard to Indian claims vary across Canada as to the matter of treaty or non-treaty agreements. The Micmac, however, being in the non-treaty category, base their aboriginal rights on common law and custom as emphasized in the Royal Proclamation. In the Maritime Provinces the Indians claim that their rights were not officially extinguished by treaties, and present as proof the lack of any compensation as set out in the treaties of other regions. They further claimed that they were allies of the French and not subjects, therefore, the French could not have transferred to Britain a

sovereignty they did not hold. Barber commented on this aspect of the Micmac situation and stated that: "To date, the issue of aboriginal claim in the Maritimes has neither been fully acknowledged nor repudiated" (Ibid: 9).

Thus in the 1960s and early 1970s the Government was faced with an accumulation of grievances which go back over a hundred years, and were a legacy from the era before Confederation. Until the advent of the Government's proposal of 1969, known as the *White Paper*, these grievances were not well documented by the Indian leaders. This situation was due in part to weaknesses in communication and the dominant-subordinate nature of the relationship between the Indians and non-Indians in Canada. Historically, the relationships between Indians and the Government have been such that a barrier of distrust entered into negotiations. This lack of trust laid the foundation for much of the militancy and the rejection which followed the Government's 1969 proposal, and spurred the Indians' efforts toward self-government and control of their education. The Micmac people, who consider themselves a Sovereign Nation, have resisted all government efforts to bring about assimilation.

The dominant theme of the Canadian Indian policy since Confederation, and even before 1867, has been the superiority of the European culture and the subordination of the Native way of life. The Indians' experience in Confederation has been centered around isolation, government control, protection, unfulfilled promises, and the obvious indication that the Canadian system of government is slanted toward the non-Indian, dominant society, to set the standards for the Native people. The Indians, or First Nations people as they prefer to be called, have carried on an uneven struggle to maintain some vestiges of their own economic, political, and cultural life while, at the same time, attempting to come to terms with a powerful alien influence.

The various Government policies have been based on the goal of assimilation and the eventual termination of special Indian status and the lands, known as reserves, which are held in trust for the Indians living on them. It will be shown that policies to encourage, or coerce, Indians to give up their status and join the dominant society have not brought about the results envisioned by the Government. Community development projects, and educational systems have not encouraged the Indians in any appreciable

numbers to forego the questionable security of the reserve, and become citizens on the same basis as other Canadians under provincial jurisdiction.

In order to view the contemporary situation of Indian education in any meaningful way, it is essential that the historic aspects of education policy, particularly after Confederation and the advent of the *Indian Act*, be analyzed in terms of goals and the systems used to pursue them.

This study deals with the policies and philosophies evident in the Government officials' approach to this aspect of Indian Affairs in the period from Confederation, 1867, to the movement of Indian people to control their own education, as set forth in the document, *Indian Control of Indian Education, 1972*.

Although policies with regard to Indian education were of a federal character, there were regional variations in interpretation due to historic, economic, and environmental differences. This study, therefore, while of necessity dealing with general policy, will be limited to Nova Scotia and the Micmac people.

This thesis does not suggest that every effort toward providing education for Indians was necessarily wrong; it does suggest that what was being done needed to be questioned. In an era of rapid change, any approach which takes the established policy and practices as relevant, and clings to outmoded goals is, to say the least, impractical and unproductive. In any study of policy and resulting school systems the matter of what should be taught, how it should be taught, and to what purpose become pertinent questions. Such questions cannot adequately be answered outside the society and culture in which the education is dispensed. Thus, education becomes synonymous with what the social scientists call enculturation.

In a more narrowly defined sense, education is the deliberate and purposeful passing on of the knowledge, beliefs and skills of a culture. The terms deliberate and purposeful are not intended to deny the non-deliberate influences which may be more powerful factors. In a modern society, however, the concept of education has negated the casual process of learning in favour of a structured, purposeful system.

The historic aspects of the study are well covered in the archival material and the literature. There is considerable material with regard to policy and the political aspects of Indian-non-Indian relations for the period under study as well as the more recent contemporary work. The archival material on the education of Indians gives a good indication of the administrative policies and the details of the regulations and operation of the schools. Miscellaneous documents, readings, articles, letters, interviews, and field notes supplement this information.

The time span, from Confederation 1867 to 1972, was quite manageable, as there were few major changes in policy during some periods. It was not until 1948 that there was a comprehensive review of Indian Affairs, and in 1951 there was a revision of the *Indian Act*. The next major change followed the attempt, in 1969, to bring about forced assimilation through the Government policy contained in the *White Paper*.

Chapter two deals with the theoretical approach to race and ethnic relations in terms of the forces toward and away from assimilation. Emphasis is focussed on the most relevant group cohesion as it pertains to the Indians' relationship to the dominant society. This discussion points to the dominant-subordinate nature of group interaction when the power is vested in one group to produce inequality between the two.

Chapter three traces the historical development of Government policy from colonial administration to the advent of the *White Paper* of 1969 and the reaction of the Indians to the proposal. In the discussion of policy it will be shown how the various Acts, regulations, and special committees were all oriented toward the Government's goal of assimilation. The success or failure of the policies was related to this goal. It also is evident that the ambivalence of separation, as indicated by these regulations, was in conflict with the intended goal of assimilation.

Chapter four covers the various systems of education which developed with the changing aspects of Government-Indian administrative policy. It will be shown how the destruction of Indian culture and the goal of assimilation were major aspects of these systems. It also will be shown how the *White Paper* gave impetus to the Indians' proposal for control of their own education. This

document was the culmination of a long history of educational policies in which the Indians had no participation in the decision-making.

Chapter five is intended to bring the discussions of chapters two, three, and four into a cohesive relationship. This chapter points to the relevance of an understanding of the relation of the nature of Government-Indian policy, school systems, and the concept of assimilation in looking at the future of Indian education and Indian-non-Indian relations.

To date, conferences on self-government or any major change in political status for Native peoples have ended in failure to come to any agreement between the First Nations leaders and the representatives of the levels of Government. Even within the two groups, Indian and Government, there is not enough agreement to resolve the issues. It would appear that in the near future there is little likelihood of a firm acceptable policy coming into effect. Education for the Native people has become of prime importance to provide the kind of leadership which will take up the negotiations which will be necessary to bring about an acceptable change in the political, economic, and social situation of the Canadian indigenous people.

Chapter 2

Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectives

Race and ethnic relations are two concepts which are central to an understanding of the role of the education system in the implementation of the assimilationist policies of the Federal Government. In this chapter a theoretical framework will be developed to incorporate the major aspects of these concepts, in terms of culture change, and the manner in which they have been employed by social scientists to explain the process of assimilation and the manifestation of sovereignty. It is relevant to this study to present some causal analysis of what contributed to the lack of success of the Government policies and education systems to bring about a form of assimilation which would incorporate the Indian people into the mainstream of Canadian society, eliminate special status, the *Indian Act*, and any strong ethnic identity. In a review of the relevant theories the aspects emphasized in one approach may better explain the phenomena under study, or it may be evident that a combination of views has the key to understanding the situation which evolved. It should be noted that the focus of this study is on the Micmacs of Nova Scotia during the period between 1867 and 1972. For the most part, however, Government policy applied to all status Indians across Canada, but there were regional differences in implementation.

The *British North America Act* of 1867 refers to two types of Canadians, "citizens and Indians," and states that Indians and lands reserved for Indians were the legislative and administrative responsibility of the Federal Government (Section 91:24). In later legislation, the *Indian Act*, it was established that an individual was either an "Indian or a non-Indian," and any person given the status of an Indian was subject to the Act (Lysyk 1967:541-542). This section of the BNA Act implies a distinct separation of citizen and Indian. This classification reflects the attitude of Europeans of the era, which applied distinctions in terms of race and ethnicity as well as upper and lower levels of society. This constitutional foundation became the framework for the administration of Indian[1] peoples, which has segregated them from the dominant

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1   Indian, in the context of this study, means a registered, status Indian who comes under the regulations of the *Indian Act*. The contemporary use of the term Native applies to Indians, but is a more inclusive term to include other indigenous peoples.

Canadian society throughout the history of Indian-non-Indian relations. This segregation has resulted in economic, political, and social marginality for the Indians of Canada.

Various theories have been used to explain the forces working against assimilation, and which reinforce ethnic identity. There are also concepts to indicate the aspects of group relations which tend toward integration and final assimilation. This relationship is a key concept in the development of this study, and is emphasized as a major goal of the Government policy in relation to the Indian people. On the other hand, sovereignty as used in this context relates to self-government, which is interpreted as political and economic control on the ethnic group level. This ideological concept is opposed to assimilation in the sense that it emphasizes a plurality based on ethnic power, and implies equality in relation to a dominant society.

In reviewing the theories of group relations, the one which is most relevant in Indian-non-Indian relations is that of dominant-subordination, with the Native peoples in the subordinate position. From this type of group interaction a dependency developed which grew out of, and influenced, the Federal Government's administration of Indian affairs. From this point of view, the forces toward and the forces resistant to the Government's goal of assimilation will be analyzed in terms of Government policy, and its relation to the systems of education which developed.

From the earliest policies, which placed the Indians in a situation of isolation, to the culmination of the conferences on Indian administration, documented in the *Government Proposal* of 1969, known as the White Paper, a form of ambivalence has been evident in the policies. The concept of special laws, as evident in the *Indian Act*, and the Government's goal of assimilation were diametrically opposed to one another in the reality of executing the laws and regulations laid down for the Indians. Such a relationship could not, and did not, bring about assimilation. Rather, a dominant-subordinate relationship was established, which resulted in dependency on the part of the Indians.

Dominance-subordination is relevant in accounting for the relationship which develops in a colonial situation. This theoretical approach is based on a concept of superiority on the part of the dominant society and, to some extent, is a rationale for colonial rule and social stratification. This relationship is a

manifestation of the philosophy of the members of a dominant society, and relies on a conviction that authority is most effective in the hands of those who hold the power.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the "uncivilized" peoples were seen as inferior beings, as less than human, and the terms "barbarian" and "savage" were in common use in referring to them. In such a context the influence of the early attitudes toward evolution are relevant. Writers such as Charles Darwin (1859), Edward Tylor (1871), Louis Henry Morgan (1877), in their generalized theories, saw evolution as a straight ascending line, such as a progression from savagery through barbarism to civilization. The influence of this thought was evident in the behavior of the Europeans in their territorial expansion.

As national policies reflect the conditions and sentiments of a people, policies pursued by European Governments toward aborigines were a reflection of European opinion. To the colonial powers these people "were but property to be used and expended as public and private gain" (Otis 1878:47). These indigenous people were not considered to be entitled to freedom and citizens' rights, and strict control was recommended as necessary for conversion to Christianity and acculturation. As early as the explorer John Cabot's time, Henry VII of Britain authorized him "to seek out and occupy the countries of the heathen and the infidels" (Ibid.).

Brebner (1927) emphasizes the concept of moral superiority held by Europeans during early colonial expansion, and Patterson (1972) equates the dependency of indigenous peoples as being perceived by the "conquerors" as a mark of cultural inferiority. These attitudes influenced British colonial policy, and it was quite acceptable that the European political, economic, religious, educational, and social institutions were considered to be the ones most likely to bring about the desired behavior patterns and major cultural change among the subordinate groups of people. Colonial authorities justified the takeover of territory in terms of cultural superiority, "that the earth belonged to mankind generally and to those who can most effectively utilize it." Agricultural peoples were perceived to have a right to displace a hunting people by reason of being on a higher cultural level.

In terms of "social Darwinist" thought, which was in evidence prior to the twentieth century, it was considered morally right that these "weaker" societies, with their "inefficient" systems, should disappear, and be replaced by those with a more efficient use of the environment, adapted to a sedentary life style and an agriculture economy. According to Patterson:

> The Europeans, secular and religious, had a sense of mission to change the rest of the world – economically, ideologically, physically, and in any other way which might be thought necessary to achieve "progress." The desired changes could be brought about by "educating" the native, "converting" the native, "administrating" the native, and generally "enlightening" the native (1972:23).

Such an attitude on the part of the decision-makers contributed to the separation of peoples on the basis of domination and subordination. This view of indigenous peoples is reflected in much of the early historic accounts in such descriptions as "cruel," "bloodthirsty," "warlike," and "dishonest." These attitudes on the part of the general public resulted in social stratification based on a dominant-subordinate relationship, which correlated with the prevailing ideologies of white supremacy.

This social stratification also relates to the lack of power and independence of a subordinate group. When ethnic stratification becomes institutional, that is legitimated through custom, law, or social structure, it acquires a "moral law" and an "invisible wall, separating and isolating" the various groups. Hughes and Kallen (1974:128-149) illuminate the implications of this approach in their discussion of group relations. Laws based on this concept are a deterrent to interaction between unequal groups and to any advance toward assimilation. Carstens (1971) brings out this aspect of dominance in his reference to coercion on the part of policy-makers in the colonial situation. He claims that the authorities create and maintain "perpetual dependency" to bring about changes in the life style of a people. This lack of power may bring about change, but it leaves the people in a state of subordination. Interaction built on dominance-subordination, once entrenched in the relationship between groups, tends to remain and influence the type of stratification which develops. In spite of cultural change on the part of the subordinate group, under a colonial system the social strata will retain a separation based on

racial and/or ethnic differences. In such a relationship a set of laws and regulations, developed with a lack of power on the part of the subordinate group, will bring about a type of dependency which becomes entrenched in the administrative policy.

The concept on which dependency theory is based is that protection and the provision of certain services, which are funded and administered by government agents, create a dependency which becomes chronic. This situation develops into a paternalistic wardship relationship. This colonial type of administration fosters a reliance on powers outside the group for material needs of the ward society as well as an expectation that the demands of the group will continue to be met by the outside authority. In this type of administration demands are made by the paternalistic government, such as changes in behavior and the relinquishment of certain rights on the part of the ward society. The result of such a relationship is one of separateness, isolation within a prescribed framework.

Such dependency makes it difficult for the receiving group to control its own economic development, and to take responsibility for the most efficient use of its resources. The result of this situation may be poverty and under-employment within the group. These aspects further contribute to the dependency of the people. The concept of the culture of poverty, as presented by Lewis (1966), is related to dependency, and results in a lack of incentive to break out of this pattern. This aspect of dependency indicates an absence of motivation and a political and economic inability to bring about change that could result in independence. Thus, in Lewis' terms, the culture adapts to accommodate the dependent way of life. Such a dependent relationship brings about its own bureaucratic structure, which increases with further demands, as the people become more dependent. The whole concept of this bureaucratic administration is built on impersonal, efficient carrying out of duties in terms of specific laws and regulations, which originate outside the dependent society. Even the receipt of the benefits carries the status of wardship, and is not likely to bring the two societies into a relationship of equality.

Modernization and technological change, in a situation where the economy of the dominant society is based on industrialization, aggravates the awareness of poverty in a dependent society in comparison to an affluent

world. The mechanism of industrialism, and economic development destroys, or transforms, the traditional characteristics of a society. A resistance to change, a clinging to the old ways, does not produce individuals with an incentive toward achievement. The dependent society, therefore, does not enter the dominant economic sphere, and the culture of poverty syndrome may replace the traditional way of life. The reluctance to "take off" economically is used to support the theories of economic development presented in the studies made by such writers as Rostow (1960), Hagen (1962), Hoselitz and Moore (1963). These writers emphasize the role of leadership and the appropriate economic situations which stimulate a people to seek change in their economy and social structure. There are dormant periods in the history of these societies which could be compared to the lack of motivation in a dependent group. In this approach there must be a starting point, a conviction on the part of some members of the group that change is necessary.

In terms of these theories, some major innovation or incentive, perceived by the subordinate group as advantageous, is necessary to stimulate the kind of change to enter the economic sphere of the dominant group. If the economic base does not exist, or is not perceived to be attainable, the dependency is seen to be a more secure way of life. Also, if there is a sense of injustice, for which the dominant society is held responsible, the provision of goods, services, and protection may be seen as compensation for assets lost by the group. In such a case dependency is not seen as a weakness, but becomes an acceptable way of life. Wien, in his discussion of the difficulty of rebuilding a local economy, points out that when a community is hampered by a combination of dependency and colonialism, progress toward independence is slow or non-existent. This continued dependence is particularly resistant to change where the inequities are based on racial or ethnic differences (Wien 1983:103-123).

In viewing dependency the macro-perspective is presented by Carstens (1971), Cummings and Mickenberg (1972), Patterson (1972), Frideres (1983) to account for the relationship in a colonial situation. This approach shifts the emphasis from the individual to a structural basis. The whole colonization process begins with the initial incursion of a conquering, or dominant group, into a geographic territory, followed by a "destructive effect on the social and cultural structure of the indigenous group" (Kennedy 1945; Blaunner 1969). In these cases, local political, economic, kinship, and religious systems are

disrupted, and there is a loss of power within the colonized group. The processes of external political control, economic dependence, and pressures to adopt alien life styles result in a tendency for the subordinate group to accept the status. Even if, later, the members of this group reject their powerless situation, there is little they can do to regain their independence. The base on which the group survives is one of dependence and, thus, a dependent relationship to the dominant group persists.

The dominant-subordinate relationship, with its attendant dependency on the part of the subordinate group, is a barrier to the realization of assimilation and a force working against such a goal. Assimilation refers to "the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture" (Berry and Tischler 1978:247). This common culture includes such aspects as language, technology, food, sports, and social interaction, as well as values, sentiments, and attitudes. Assimilation may be the fusion of cultural heritages or the absorption of one cultural group by a more dominant one. In the latter case, it may be a matter of culture change on the part of one group, usually the subordinate one, to meet the acceptable pattern of the more powerful one. In such situations the subordinate group has been culturally assimilated. Integration in relation to assimilation may be seen as:

> A process whereby units or elements of a society are
> brought into an active and coordinated compliance with
> the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant
> group in that society (Schermerhorn 1970:14).

In dealing with assimilation as a goal, integration, therefore, is a stage in the process rather than an end in itself. Conditions which foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into a dominant society are relevant to a study of the forces which bring about or resist assimilation.

As used in the theoretical discussion for this study the term culture is defined according to Harris as: "the learned patterns of behavior and thought characteristic of a societal group" (1980:557).

This concept includes a whole way of life and the world view of a people. Enculturation, or the socialization process, is "a partially conscious and partially unconscious learning experience" (Harris 1980:103) through which traditional ways of thinking and behaving are passed on from one generation

to another. Culture, however, is dynamic and people do accept, or select, change in accordance with innovation and diffusion. Cultural differences, however, do separate groups of people and create barriers, which must be bridged in order to bring about inter-group relations. Culture and social structure are closely related and, according to Schermerhorn: "A multicultural or multiethnic society is by implication a society with plural structural units" (1970:124).

Social stratification and kinship groupings indicate relationships both within an ethnic group and with another group. Members of each group carry out roles in their own institutions, and their social participation is predominately with members of their own group. Thus, cultural groups may become "exclusive units, each constituting an area of common life" (Gordon 1964:235-237). The only unifying force in such societies is related to a "coercive political institution" (Schermerhorn 1970:124).

In using the terms race and ethnic, some distinction should be made between the two categories. Race technically refers to differences in genetic traits, which are manifest in physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, eye form, or other observable biological aspects among human groups. The term ethnic refers to any group which is defined by culture, religion, nationality or other non-physical traits. An ethnic group also may be a racial group, and a racial group often will have ethnic characteristics which set them apart from other racial or ethnic groups. In the case of the Native people, both racial and ethnic differences were evident in the relationship to the Euro-Canadian society, which viewed the Indians as people who were not suited to full membership in the dominant society. The ways of the Native people were seen as detrimental to harmonious existence with the European life style and beliefs and, therefore, should be changed. Policies and laws were directed toward suppressing "un-Christian" and "un-civilized" ways in order to bring about assimilation. At the same time, these policies and regulations of themselves set up a form of separation.

Racial or ethnic identity alone will not maintain this separateness. In the dominant-subordinate relationship, however, internal conflict, diffusion, and external coercion tend to weaken traditional values, while perceived injustices and external threat to the group tend to strengthen group solidarity.

In such situations, the vestiges of traditional culture become major aspects in resisting change which is perceived as detrimental to the survival of the group. Another aspect of this separation is that differences in culture, that is, beliefs, view of the world, and, in brief, the ways of life of a people tend to reinforce ethnic identity. This sense of belonging to a particular group as opposed to another group is one aspect of the separation of peoples. In the dominant-subordinate situation this sense of belonging becomes a haven from the exclusion of the dominant society, and, at the same time, reinforces the cultural aspect of the subordinate group.

In considering culture as an influence toward assimilation, the major aspect is change brought about by diffusion or coercion. Carstens, in his study of "Coercion and Change" (Carstens 1971:126-145), emphasized the role of coercion as the more important factor in bringing about change in a culture. Diffusion may be resisted or selectively accepted, but it is a much more insidious process than change brought about by administrative regulations. The norms within the social system, which are themselves cultural items, define the forms of patterning of interaction among the members of the ethnic group. It is through these norms that value-patterns are maintained within the social structure (Parsons 1951:42; Schermerhorn 1970:34). Disruption of the system, therefore, is brought about through changes in the socialization of the younger members, or the non-conformity of the elder members of the group. Lockwood (1956:136), however, points out the role of the "pressure of interests engendered by scarce means" in cultural change affecting social structures. This approach could be considered as a form of coercion initiated by an administrative power.

Culture as a force opposed to assimilation works in two directions: one is the cultural tie within the group which is to be assimilated; the other is the way cultural differences are perceived by the dominant society. In the first situation, the individuals find some security in their own culture, and tend to distrust, or not understand, the alien ways of the dominant group. In the second case, the dominant society views the different culture as inferior, or a hindrance to the acceptance of culture change by the subordinate group. Cultural differences have a major influence on the way in which a people accepts policies, emanating from government or church authorities, which are

intended to promote alien behavior patterns. In his discussion of culture theory, Manners states that:

> ...it is the contact and the nature of the contact along with the change it presents which determine the total cultural effect (Manners and Kaplan 1971:161).

Neither the dominant society nor the subordinate group completely control the nature of this contact, and culture change may not be in accord with the goals of either group. The life experience of an individual is patterned by the culture of the ethnic group, and reflects the attitudes, ideas, and behavior held in common by the members. Kluckhohn and Murray emphasize this aspect of culture in their studies of personality (1949:164). This influence of culture, however, does not exclude social change which may be incorporated into a way of life of a people. In his field work among the Menomini Indians, Spindler found that these people resorted to a variety of ways of adapting to cultural change. Some relied on keeping the old ways alive, while others turned to the Peyote Cult as a religious adjustment to deal with civilization. The groups most willing to adapt moved toward Western culture during a lifetime, and became oriented toward middle-class American ways. Spindler came to the conclusion that, regardless of the reaction to culture change, the greatest degree of adaptation came about when the Menomini were able to achieve success in terms of the dominant society (1963:24, 25). On the other hand, Hallowell (1955) in his study of the Ojibwa related the psychological changes, occurring in the people, to the culture changes in their way of life brought about by the impact of Euro-American cultural influences. In his cultural assessment, however, he came to the conclusion that, despite changes in dress, religion, and economic techniques, the Ojibwa remained, "psychologically speaking," Indians (1955).

There is evidence, however, that in viewing culture as a major factor in maintaining group solidarity and resistance to assimilation it is necessary to take account of the amount of diffusion and the degree of coercion which may have disrupted the traditional value system. Weighted against this premise is the strength of the "old" culture, and how functional it may be in adapting to culture change. In some cases, the "old" culture is blended with the "new" in

such a way as to produce a way of life different from both components, yet with the power to sustain group identity.

Another aspect of group identity is the concept of actual and figurative boundaries in group relations. In the boundary-maintaining point of view the focus of study becomes the ethnic boundary that defines membership in the group and not the culture of the group. Barth (1969:15) refers to these boundaries as social although there also may be territorial aspects present. According to Barth:

> If a group maintains its identity when members interact
> with others, this entails criteria for determining
> membership and ways of signalling membership and
> exclusion (1969:15).

In terms of this statement, deliberate separation, under a set of laws, in relation to a society which recognizes racial or ethnic barriers and social stratification is a boundary-maintaining aspect of group interaction. Barth does not emphasize differential power relationships. In a dominant-subordinate situation, however, power and lack of power would be pertinent to the interaction between the groups. Thus the persistence of an ethnic group in contact with a dominant society implies that criteria for identification and a structuring of interaction are prescribed by a set of rules (Goffman 1959; Barth 1969:16).

Whether the criteria for identification is a "culturally defined ethnic category," in terms of an ancestral heritage, or a racial category, in terms of physical characteristics, a concept of boundary is present, and serves to create a sense of "peoplehood." Writers such as Gordon (1964), Hughes and Kallen (1974) bring out this concept in their discussion of ethnic identity. Herberg also uses the term "peoplehood," in the sense of a boundary, in his study of group relations:

> The way in which one identifies and locates oneself (who,
> what, am I?) is closely related to how one is identified
> and located in the larger community (who, what, is he?)
> (1955:25).

Lewin carries this view of identity one step further in that the "interdependence of fate" is the basic component of group cohesion rather than differences

or similarities among individuals (1948:163-66, 183-85). The use of the term "fate" in this approach implies the pressures of historic events and group responses to them.

In dealing with the concept of ethnic boundaries, Novak refers to pluralism as a cultural, political, and economic reality, and states that: "Individuals have walked different paths of "assimilation" and "modernization" to a different degree at different speeds" (Novak, in Dashefsky 1976: 213-14).

In some cases there is conscious resistance, while others have tried "the path of assimilation" and found it wanting. Ethnic power resides within the group, and loss of identity leaves the individual vulnerable. In view of the concept of ethnic boundaries, some theorists, such as Pettigrew, contend that assimilation and pluralism are not "mutually exclusive alternatives" in group relations (1971:23-24). This approach is supported by the sociological theories of Park (1950), Greeley (1969) in their models of competition, conflict, and accommodation as leading to varying degrees of acculturation in relation to a dominant society. In the final stages of these models, the ethnic boundaries are modified by adaptation not assimilation (Greeley 1969:31-37).

Banton, in his studies of race relations, emphasizes that the type of contact has a marked influence on the relationship between groups. He maintains that peripheral contact and institutional interaction preclude integration, and that race remains a "social sign" or barrier. In such relationships political and civil rights may be available to the subordinate group without the "dissolution of the boundaries" of the group (1967:73). In her study of the Makah, Colson (1953) found that a "sense of separateness" persisted as long as there was any basis for it in the group identity. In situations where the initial relationship was of a peripheral nature, the interaction between the two groups is limited. When such contact becomes institutional, with the advent of laws and regulations, the relationship may not proceed beyond this stage.

For an ethnic group to become an integral part of an encompassing social system complementary features, such as common interests, which foster interdependence or symbiosis are necessary. Where ethnic identities are organized and allocated in accordance with group sanctions and value systems,

there will be a tendency for ethnic boundaries to emerge within the larger social system. Barth (1969) makes this point in his discussion of "boundary-maintaining mechanisms," and emphasizes the organizational features of ethnic identity. This organizational aspect of the group identity is an important force governing inter-ethnic group relations. This concept of group identity tends to reinforce conformity to internal group sanctions and value systems. In the studies which Barth refers to in his discussion of ethnic group relations, there is evidence that aspects other than culture have a major influence in maintaining boundaries. This type of contact sets a pattern, and "barriers" develop depending on whether the interaction is symbiotic or perceived to be advantageous only to one group. The group which emerges with the advantage is the more dominant in the relationship. In such cases, in spite of culture changes, ethnic identity in the less advantaged group becomes a strong force in maintaining the barriers. According to Blom:

> ... the organization of ethnic identities does not depend
> on cultural diversity ... but rather on the assignment of
> particular social meanings to a limited set of acts (in
> Barth 1969: 74).

In the boundary maintaining theoretical approach, although cultural differences are not denied, it is claimed that the ethnic boundaries do not depend on these differences in themselves, but, rather, on the organization, or structures, which separate people into different reference groups.

Another aspect of the dominant-subordinate relationship is that of marginality. This concept grew out of the studies of people caught in a situation of dealing with two cultures in which integration with the dominant group was restricted by race, ethnic identity, nationality, or economic strata. Members of the subordinate group may find themselves in a conflict of identities between acculturation to the dominant society and their identity to their own ethnic group. Newman uses the term "multiple realities" to describe dominant-subordinate relations, and refers to majority-minority identities which may conflict with each other (Newman, in Dashefsky 1976:40). Dickie-Clark (1966) uses this concept in terms of the "marginal situation," which acknowledges psychological ramifications without the need to make specific personality measurements. Stonequist (1937), Mann (1948), with the concept

of "marginal man," had the problem of identifying specific psychological factors in their studies of marginality.

In summing up the key concept of Newman's (1976) approach to ethnic identities Dashefsky states that "It is the differential distribution of powers that provides the important distinction between minority and dominant groups" (1976:45).

The reference to power supports Dickie-Clark's theory that superior-subordinate power relationships result in a marginal situation and "refers to the fairly long-lasting, large scale hierarchical situation in which two or more whole groups or even nations exist together" (1966:21).

The groups vary in power and privilege, and are unequal in opportunities and status. The barriers are such that they prevent the subordinate group from full participation in the dominant group, but do not exclude interaction on certain institutional levels.

The idea of marginality implies some structural limits to group inter-action. Stonequist (1937), in dealing with dominate-subordinate relationships, introduced the concept of the intermediate position. Hughes and Hughes (1952) liken this marginality to the "status dilemma" found in hierarchial, stratified social structures. Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) emphasize membership and incomplete membership in group relations. In these cases the elements of evaluation and ranking are present in all levels of group interaction. Some rankings are institutionalized, or may be emphasized by a dominant strata of society. Race, ethnic group, education, occupation, and religion are aspects of group or individual ratings which may lead to a marginal situation. When the ranking of a stratum or group in a society is regulated by a hierarchy status, consistency is an important aspect of maintaining the relationship. If the ranking is inconsistent, and perceived as such by a subordinate group, there is a likelihood of ambivalence in the limits of interaction and the barriers which exist.

Barriers exist when there are areas of activity from which a group is excluded in terms of the relationship and the social structure. Dickie-Clark states "that complete exclusion and complete inclusion are incomparable with the notion of marginality" (1966:32). The barrier must be permeable, or

incomplete in some way, for marginality to develop. In such cases some of the rights of the dominant society may be open to the subordinate group, which would give some incompleteness to the barriers. In other words, the members of the subordinate group are accepted into the dominant system at certain points, but denied access at other levels regardless of whether they are accui,turated or not. In his studies of acculturation, Linton (1940) found that the nature of the contact had a marked effect on the acceptance or rejection of cultural change. If the barriers were incomplete and the behavior patterns and value systems are not too incompatible, the change may be adopted.

Paine (1971) uses the concept of marginality in a different sense from that of cultural identity in discussing the relationship of the broker-client-patron. The middleman becomes a marginal person in the role of representing one group in transactions with the representatives of another group. This type of marginality implies some perceived advantage to the representative of the subordinate group, but remains a type of dominant-subordinate interaction. In some situations the middleman is seen as a useful means of influencing an indigenous people, and, to some extent, has been used to further Government policies for change or economic advantage. Stonequist, on the other hand, sees the "marginal man" in terms of cultural differences, and as the product of the

> contrast, tension, or conflicts of social groups divergent
> in race, or possessing distinct culture in which members
> of one group are seeking to adjust themselves to the
> group believed to possess greater prestige and power
> (1937:121).

The relationship of the group is one of inequality. The individuals of the subordinate group have contacts that lead to partial integration and partial psychological identity with the dominant group. Full acceptance is denied these individuals due to racial, cultural, or class differences, as they are in a marginal situation partly identified with two societies. In these relationships it is the conflict of the groups with different culture patterns which creates the marginal situation rather than the cultures themselves. Membership within a group is more important to the individual than the actual culture traits. The marginal situation, therefore, is the result of uncertain status in two groups, which tends to influence membership in both the dominant and subordinate societies.

Theory and Policy

In the theories of group relations reviewed, there are elements of interaction which take on greater or lesser importance as different situations evolve. Although the course of group relations is not identical, and varies with specific types of contact, and historic events, there are some similarities which might be classified as common factors, which are present to some degree in all contact situations. Dominance-subordination is evident in terms of the more powerful over the less powerful, particularly in the comparison of technology, weaponry, and economy. Diffusion of material culture and ideas may influence both groups, but is likely to be more pronounced for the subordinate group. Conflict, on economic, political, and cultural levels, becomes a part of the relationship in the struggle to maintain, or regain, some aspects of power. Out of the intergroup relationship the hybrid, cultural and/or racial, has a marked effect on the development of group interaction. These relationships go through steps, stages, and cycles, and the groups involved in the process emerge in a changed situation in terms of identity and ethnic survival. In the final analysis these relationships may move toward segregation or integration, or possibly some compromise between cultural/social integration and assimilation.

In an analysis of the effect of the administrative policies, over the period of the study, 1967 to 1972, certain theoretical approaches emerge as relevant to explain the relationships which developed between the Native and non-Native peoples. In this context cultural orientation will be treated as endemic in the situation, but not as a theoretical explanation in itself to account for the success or failure of the Federal Government's goal of assimilation of the Native people into the dominant society.

Dominant-subordinate and dependency, as used in this study, are viewed as related theoretical approaches, and will be combined as a relevant theory to explain the relationship which evolved as a result of the government policies. The theoretical frame of reference, therefore, in analyzing the situation which developed will be based on the concepts of dominant-subordinate-dependency theory. This approach will be used to assess the Federal Government's political policies and the education systems related to these policies in terms of progress toward and resistance to assimilation. The contention is that

marginality rather than the intended assimilation was the consequence of these policies.

In the dominant-subordinate approach, policies directed toward the control of group relations have as a major aim the elimination of conflict. In resolving conflict there are two extremes: one is assimilation, in which the differences tend to disappear; the opposite to assimilation is complete separation, or annihilation as the more drastic measure. Separation may be achieved, however, by the expulsion of the subordinate, or less powerful, group. A compromise to full expulsion is the physical isolation of the subordinate groups into ghetto neighbourhoods or residential reserves. There are examples in history of more permanent measures of separation, such as genocide, but in most cases what emerges is segregation.

Berry deals with this type of separation in terms of voluntary and involuntary segregation. He divides his theory into categories indicating degrees of segregation. The continuum covers a strictly voluntary situation to a strictly involuntary one indicating overlapping aspects of the relationship (Yuan 1963:255-257; Berry 1965:200). In the dominant-subordinate situation social distance is evident between the groups, and is based on some degree of physical isolation alone, as customs and traditions may also become barriers, and serve to separate groups as effectively as actual legal or geographic boundaries.

Another aspect of separation under a dominant-subordinate relationship is that of stratification. This type of structure refers to a society divided into classes, ranks, grades, or positions, and in which there is an unequal distribution of power, privilege, prestige, and types of employment. Perfect equality is non-existent, and all societies have some form of status symbols, even in the cases where the stratum is based on the division of labour in terms of sex, age, and kinship relationships. Stratification may be a manifestation of impassable barriers between groups, or the differentiation may be so slight that it may be overcome through a number of channels such as education, employment, or a degree of acculturation. In his theory of separation, Myrdal (1944) contends that segregation may be so complete that a dominant society has no opportunity to gain any understanding of a subordinate group, or to interact except in a formalized situation.

In Barth's study of separation he states that: "Colonial regimes are quite extreme in the extent to which the administration and its rules are divorced from locally based social life" (1969:36). Under such a regime certain rights to protection are provided for the indigenous group, which allow for "physical proximity and opportunities for contact" regardless of the lack of shared understanding between the colonial powers and the ethnic group. Interaction may be blocked, however, because of distrust, lack of opportunity, or internal sanctions which create their own barriers to integration or assimilation.

In accordance with Gordon's (1964) theory, assimilation falls into two categories:

1. Behavioral or cultural assimilation, which may be seen as accultural, that is learning the manners and accepting the expectations of a new society.

2. Structural assimilation, that is entering the institutions, and social groups of a dominant society, which entails a decrease in group differences on a primary level (1964: 71).

In these terms full assimilation, both cultural and structural, means that, apart from racial characteristics, sufficient vestiges of ethnic differences do not remain to detract from incorporation into the "new" or dominant society. In the case of the Micmac people of Nova Scotia, both these elements were incorporated into the policies which governed their lives. It is one thing to encourage and educate a people to accept a new set of manners and behaviour patterns; it is very different to provide for the fulfilment of the expectations. In the same way, structural assimilation may be seen to fall short of the goal when the social structure limits entrance to all but the lowest levels of a stratified society.

In the dominant-subordinate relationship, dependency grew out of the policies designed to protect and control the subordinate group. The dependency brought about types of adaptation to change which further emphasized this reliance on the dominant power. The patterns of adaptation varied with the conditions affecting the political systems and economic cycles of the dominant group as well as the pressures experienced within the subordinate group. In discussing these pressures toward cultural and economic change, Nagler (1972) claims that the traditional ways of life of a non-industrial

society have a bearing on how a people will adapt to an industrially oriented society. Economic absorption into a "new" culture is important in determining an individual's potential for assimilation into the dominant society (Ibid:135).

In the approaches to ethnic identity the basic forces which emerge are the resistance to assimilation on the part of one group and the barriers which exist between groups. These elements were present in the relationships which evolved under the Colonial Government policies of the pre-Confederation era, and were little changed until the late 1940s and early 1950s, when it became evident that the Indian people were not likely to disappear as a distinct people, and their situation required some review on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs.

Since World War II, there has been a significant change in formal relations as well as the attitudes between white and non-white people. With the retreat of Western colonial powers from Africa and Asia, and the interest in the emerging nations, came a greater awareness of race and ethnic relations within Canada's own borders. Native peoples began to look at the struggles of other racial groups in comparison to their own situation. This global view of race relations strengthened the identity of the Indian people within their own society, and brought a kind of "brotherhood" with the indigenous peoples of other areas of the world. Getty and Lussier sum up this social change in the statement:

> The interest in alleviating the conditions of Indians and improving their socioeconomic status are thus reflections of factors operating on a world scale rather than the results of a specific Canadian development (1985: 167).

In their twenty-first annual report, the Indian Eskimo Association (1963) made a comparison between help to the peoples of underdeveloped countries and what was being done about the poverty, economic and education problems of the Canadian Native people.

The policy proposal of 1969 (*White Paper*) sought to resolve the conflict which had developed with regard to Indian administration in terms of a lower standard of living, lack of political power, and inadequate education. Services for Indian people were to be turned over to the Provincial Governments, and

the solution to assimilation would evolve around the Indians becoming an integral part of the population under the Provincial Governments. The Indian people saw this policy as a threat to their special status. Their claim to identity was at stake, and self-determination became a focus for political action, and raised the Indian determination for more active participation in the control of their education system. This determination was evident in Nova Scotia by the stand taken by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians and the requests from Band Councils to have changes in the educational policies for their reserves. Outstanding in this regard were Eskasoni and Millbrook reserves as examples of a view of education as of primary concern in refuting the assimilationist policies of the Federal Government.

The Indian people claim that the education for their children has reflected the assimilation policies of the government rather than the development of the person in the context of pride of Indian heritage. Although much has been done to destroy and discourage Native culture, the vestiges were still in evidence when, in 1972, the Indian people made a claim to gain control of the education of their children. Among the Micmac leaders were a number who had been through an education system which negated their culture, yet they were strong advocates for change in overall policy with regard to Indian affairs. Much of the reaction has been directed against the policy of assimilation and the reluctance of the Federal Government to restore some semblance of self-government to the Native people. It is relevant in this aspect of Indian non-Indian relations to assess which element, or elements, of group relations were influencing the situations which developed. It also is significant to relate the various changes in policy to historic events and attitudes of the non-Native population.

Since early contact, and particularly since Confederation, Native groups have been drawn to some extent into the economic and social systems of the non-Native society. Alien and innovative institutions have replaced many of the traditional ways. Some aspects, however, change more slowly than others, and some Native communities have not found acceptable replacements for old customs and beliefs. These vestiges of tradition and different behavior patterns may be seen as forces working against assimilation in terms of ethnic identity and resistance to change.

Summary

In summary, the theory which emerged as the most relevant to explain the relationship which developed between the Indians and the Canadian Government is that of dominant-subordination. This relationship, which had its origin in the pre-Confederation era, has been a persistent force in the policies of the administration of the Indian people. The dependency which resulted is another element which tended to separate the Micmac people from the dominant society of Nova Scotia. This relationship, and the attendant stratification, resulted in isolation and lack of power for the Native people. Further policies tended to reinforce these aspects of interaction between the two groups. These policies were in themselves contradictions to the goal of assimilation. This relationship put the Indians in a conflict position of trying to deal with two value systems, their own traditional one and the "alier" one imposed upon them by the Government. The outcome was interaction on a marginal level and not the assimilation intended by the Government policy goal.

In the following chapter the significance of the policies with regard to the administration of Indian affairs in relation to assimilation will be analyzed. Particular reference will be made to the period from Confederation, 1867, to the advent of the Policy Statement, known as the *White Paper*, proposed in 1969, to bring about radical changes in the administration of the Indian people.

Chapter 3

Policy and Assimilation

The development of policies depends on the development of goals. In the case of the Federal Government decision-makers, in the final analysis, policy is the pursuit of objectives which are politically determined. These policies are limited by political imperatives, which may not reflect the original philosophy of ideals. In the case of policy with regard to Native people, the Government's social vision of assimilation conflicted with the reality of the situation and the interpretation of the policy. Even the decision-makers may find that policies fall far short of the original goals. The initiation of policy is closely related to the achievement of goals. In this study, policy is seen as the pursuit of a politically determined objective. In a sense, it may be said to be an assessment of reality, as perceived by the policy-maker, translated into a form of social action. Policy making may be focused on a particular philosophy, or social vision, but it is limited by political prerogatives.

In defining the use of the term "policy" reference is made to such dictionary statements of its meaning as: "a definite course of action adopted as expedient or from other considerations"; or as "a course of action adopted and pursued by a Government, ruler, political party, or the like" (Barnhart 1948); or "prudent conduct, sagacity, course or general plan of action (to be) adopted by Government, party or person" (Sykes 1984). It is logical, therefore, to say the term relates to a way of pursuing a goal, or getting something done in a particular way, of controlling people and/or situations.

Wilson defines policy making as the deliberate "selection of goals and means of achieving them" (1981:7) and relates the process to rationality as "a combination of normative values and technical considerations" (Ibid:9). In this regard decision-making which results in policy cannot be divorced from the culture in which it is made. Canadian Native policy always has reflected non-Native culture, and rarely have the values of Native peoples been incorporated into the policies in any way functional to the Indian society.

Tyler, in his study of Indian policy, brings out the importance of the historic aspect of Indian-non-Indian relations. In the approach to shaping future policy, he claims that "if a backward look means that mistakes of the

past are not repeated, looking backward can help both Indians and non-Indians" (1973:ii). It is not possible to "turn back the clock," but the past can give an awareness of mistakes and indicate options for the future. It is this view which underlies much of the contemporary Indians' determination to be involved in the decision-making and control of their own destiny.

In defining policy Tyler states that:

> ...Indian policy shall be considered a course of action
> pursued by any Government and adopted as expedient
> by that Government in its relations with any of the
> Indians of America (1973:2).

The term expedient may be interpreted to mean action that is advantageous, or considered advisable, under a particular set of circumstances, or to cover a specific period of time.

During the years since Confederation, 1867, the Micmac have experienced a series of changes in their relationship with the dominant society. This process has encompassed complete domination by the non-Indian authority, through a series of policy adjustments, to a move toward some form of self-government. This latter movement had its beginning as a reaction to the Government proposal of 1969. The Indian people began to exert some significant control over their own band Government, and also to make demands on the Federal Government for recognition of their right to self-government. Instead of self-government in the concept of autonomy, as perceived by the Indians, the Federal Government proposal contained the intent to include the Indian people entirely within the jurisdiction of provincial and other levels of existing governments. The transfer of the Indian Affairs Department responsibilities to the provinces and other federal agencies has come to the fore in the federal approach to the administration of Indian peoples since the end of World War II. During the 1960s and 1970s there has been a concerted effort toward Indian control of their own administration including the political, economic, and educational aspects of their communities and the allocation of funds.

The history of Indian-non-Indian relations in Canada ranges from the earliest contact, through the era of colonial administration, to the special status under the Federal Government, after Confederation, in 1867, to the

contemporary developments after 1969. The earliest date of any association between Indians and Europeans is uncertain, but the beginnings of sporadic, later continuous, relations with the early traders and adventurers began in the mid-fifteenth century. By 1534 the Indians were aware of the Europeans' interest in beaver skins, and were involved in trade. The fur trade and the introduction of European goods, particularly metal tools, weapons, and foods, resulted in changes in the Indians' way of life, which began to reshape Indian culture. Along with these changes came the devastating spread of white people's diseases, such as small-pox, measles, and tuberculosis, which took their toll of the Indian population (Bailey 1969; Patterson 1972).

Another element in Indian-European relations was the influence of the missionaries, who appeared in the early part of the seventeenth century and began the conversion of the Indians. The strong attachment to the Jesuits in the eastern part of the continent played an important part in the early history of the area and the struggle between the French and English for the conquest of Canada. This tie with the French Roman Catholic missionaries put the Micmac on the side of the French and resulted in a distrust of the Indians on the part of the British at the conclusion of the struggle. The British, however, did permit the Indians to retain the French missionaries after the conquest, so the conversion to Catholicism continued.

Under British control, the era of the trading post gave way to the era of increased settlement. This changed the relationship of the Indian to colonial power. It became important to the colonial office to establish treaties and/or agreements with the Indians for the occupation of land, and the acceptance of colonial authority. This emphasis on settlement and need for land resulted in the setting up of reserves and a more structured colonial administration in controlling the Indians.

One of the early official attempts at agreements with the Native peoples was the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which set forth four principles in dealing with land surrender and Indian rights:

1. That Indians possess occupancy rights to all lands which they have not surrendered.

2. That no land claimed by Indians may be granted to White settlers until formally surrendered.

3. That the Government assumes the responsibility of evicting all persons unlawfully occupying Indian lands.

4. That the surrender of Indian land may be made only to the Crown, and for a consideration (Canada 1763:1).

This Proclamation was entered into as a nation to nation relationship between the British Imperial Government and the Indian tribal groups, which established the Imperial responsibility for the policy of protection with regard to trade and encroachment on Indian land. King George III, in the Proclamation pronounced that the Indian people were under his sovereignty, protection and dominion. On the one hand, the Indian people were given nation status while on the other hand, they were placed under the protection of the Crown. In their summing up of this agreement Cassidy and Bish state that:

> The Royal Proclamation of 1763 reflected and framed the contradictory nature of Britain's and later Canada's relationship with her original people (1989:4).

This Proclamation set the stage for further policies, which were based on protecting the Indian people from the European settlers until the Native peoples would be assimilated into the dominant society. Such policy resulted in a dominant-subordinate relationship, based on the isolation of the Indian people, which of itself was a negation of the goal of assimilation.

An Indian Department to carry out regulations with regard to Indian administration had been formed in 1755 as an arm of the Colonial Military Authority, and this military control remained until 1799. Between 1799 and 1816, this administration passed to civil authority, but the military control was reasserted in 1816. By 1830 civil control of Indian affairs was re-established (Upton 1973:51). By this time settlement was of such a pattern that more power was passing from the Colonial Office to the Governors and civil authorities in the colony.

In 1837, a further change in the delegation of Indian Affairs was established by the Imperial Government Committee of the House of Commons. This decision stressed the need to keep Indian affairs under Imperial control (Manuel and Posluns 1974:162). The policy of central control was seen as a better form of administration, as it was removed from local affairs, and, thus,

had more likelihood of just and objective policies. The justification for this policy seems to have grown out of historical and political consideration rather than any constitutional necessity. Lysyk (1967), Manuel and Posluns (1974), Sanders (1978), in the interpretation of the initiation of policy, make a case for the influence of the Imperial Government in the shaping of Indian administrative authority which has persisted to the present. The concept of central control was continued at the time of Confederation, in 1867, by the Colonial Office, in Britain, transferring such responsibility to the Federal Government in Canada. The British North America Act, Section 91(24), placed the responsibility for the Indians and the lands set aside for them under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

The basic policy, and the one followed by the missionaries prior to Confederation, was to Christianize and civilize the Native people. With the breakdown of traditional culture and the weakening of political control under the influence of the missionaries, the way was opened up for Europeans to take over territory as settlers and rulers. In the decision-making process the non-Indians saw their European ways as superior to the ways of the Indian, in fact, all non-white peoples, and tried to change the ideology of their Native subjects. The acceptance of the Christian religion was seen by the Indians as a form of exchange in terms of trade and other perceived advantages. According to Patterson:

> The Europeans, secular and religious, had a sense of
> mission to change the rest of the world--economically,
> ideologically, physically, and in any other way which
> might be thought necessary to achieve "progress." The
> desired changes could be brought about by "educating"
> the native, "converting" the native, "administrating" the
> native, and generally "enlightening" the native
> (1972:23).

In order to carry out the policy of protection and control of the Indians, the reserve system, which was started prior to Confederation, was continued, and became the method of setting aside land for the specific occupation and use of Indians.

The reserve system brought about non-Indian styled bands as the basic institution for Indian local governments, which consist of a chief and a band

council, either elected or selected by a traditional form of consensus. The membership in the band and the limitations of the band government are set forth in laws and regulations contained in the *Indian Act*. These Indian governments are subordinate governments, which depend on Parliament for their existence, power and responsibilities, and are subject to a bureaucratic relationship with the Federal Department responsible for Indian administration. The band government authority is restricted to the reserve and the members of that community on matters of local concern. Figure 1 (p. 40) shows the channels of communication and authority from the band to the Federal Government. The role of the superintendents and agents was to provide a structure through which to carry out the administration of the Indians. This system gave sweeping powers to the officials at the various levels of the bureaucracy.

Although Indian land was protected, and Indian people were excluded from taxes, liens, mortgages, and other charges which might be made against them, they had to rely on the Federal Government for capital needed for economic ventures and band funding. Thus, Indian self-reliance was hampered, and the power of government on the reserve passed to the agents and superintendents. This system brought about a close supervision on the part of the agents for Micmac bands in that some of them lived on or near the reserve and had their offices adjacent to the band headquarters. This arrangement was a source of dissatisfaction for the Chief and Band Council as issues of local concern were subject to control outside the band. It was not until the early 1970s, with the bands managing more of their affairs, that this practice of the combined affairs was discontinued.

The transferring of the control of Indian Affairs to the Federal Government by the British North America Act of 1867 culminated in the Indian Act of 1876. This Act set forth the classification of Indians and established their legal status. Under this Act, an Indian was a male person of Indian blood who was a member of an Indian band, any child of such person, and a woman lawfully married to a legally recognized Indian. The Act also included Section 6 of an 1869 Act, which became the controversial Section 12.1.B, and was a source of protest and divisiveness among the Indians. This section of the Indian Act marked the official differentiation between the rights of men and women, in that an Indian woman marrying a non-Indian would lose her status

Figure 1
Channels of Communication and Authority

Indian Community   Non-Indian Community

Federal
Government

Department of
Indian Affairs
and Northern
Development

Specific
Government
Department

Regional Branch
Department of
Indian Affairs

Provincial
Government

Superintendent
Indian Affairs
Branch

Local Government
A. Municipality
B. Town Council

Band Council

Members of
Community
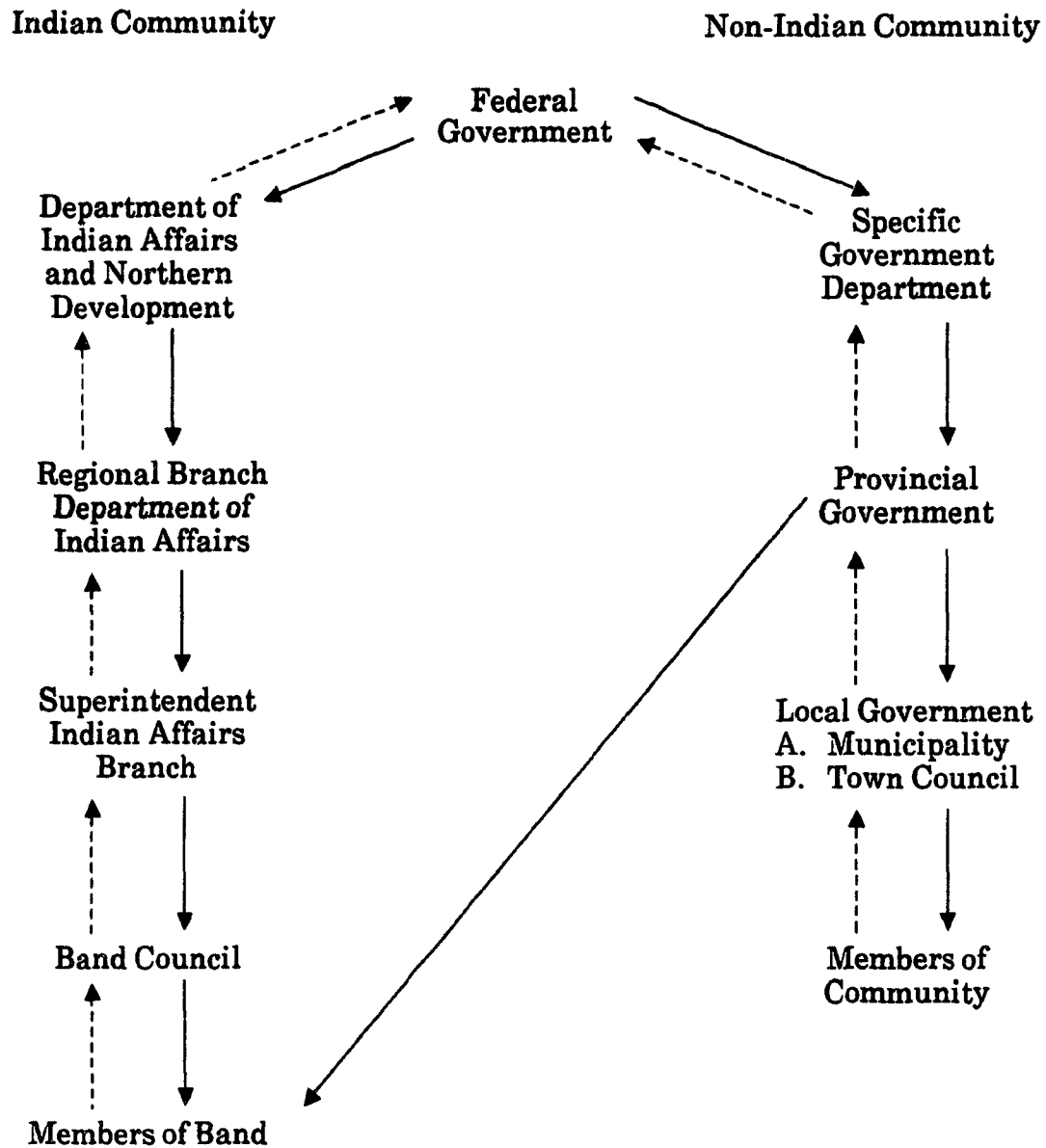
Members of Band

——— Channel of communications from Federal levels to members of community.

------ Channel from local level to Federal level.

as an Indian, while an Indian man could bestow Indian status on a woman through marriage regardless of her race. This Section of the Act, based on the statute of 1869, embodied the principle of assimilation. The Act also placed Indian women inferior to their husbands, and established patrilineal kinship without regard to the matrilineal system which existed in some of the tribes.

The *Indian Act* further sets out the difference between status or registered Indians and non-status Indians and Metis. Status Indians, the concern of this study, are persons who come under the legal jurisdiction of the Federal Government through the terms of the *Indian Act*, and have their names on a register kept by the Department of Indian Affairs. They also are included on the official list of their particular band. Non-status Indians are persons, formerly registered as Indians, who have lost their registered status, in the case of women through marriage to a non-Indian, or, in the case of both men and women, through a process of enfranchisement. This process is a legal act in which an Indian renounces Indian status and accepts the regular citizenship of a non-Indian. Metis is a name used to identify the children of mixed parentage, Indian and White, who were sometimes referred to as "half-breeds" as well as being identified as non-status. Historically, the Metis have a distinct identity, and make claims for rights and privileges which are denied them because of lack of Indian status. Although all the descendants of the Canadian indigenous peoples, including the Inuit of the Northern regions, may be referred to officially as Native people, the status Indians prefer their tribal name or, in the more contemporary period, since 1969, to be referred to as members of the First Nations.

The *Indian Act* consolidated pre-existing legislation, and the policy of cooperation between church and government in Indian affairs was inevitable. The missionaries had made a more lasting contract with the Native tribes than the early fishermen and explorers had done, and were the most likely to have learned the Native languages. The religious denominations, therefore, played an important role in the interaction of the government officials and the Indians, and were recognized as essential tools of assimilation.

This Act touched every aspect of Indian life, and has become a source of protection, as well as conflict and legal confusion in terms of its interpretation

in relation to Federal and Provincial laws, and human rights. According to Dr. Munro, former assistant deputy minister of the Indian Affairs Branch:

> The *Indian Act* is a land act. It is a Municipal Act, an Education Act and a Societies Act. It is primarily social legislation, but it has a very broad scope: there are provisions about liquor, agriculture and mining as well as Indian lands, band membership and so forth. It has elements that are embodied in perhaps two dozen different acts of any of the provinces and overrides some federal legislation in some respects ... It has the force of the criminal code and the impact of a constitution on those people and communities that come within its purview (Doerr 1974:40).

This aspect of the *Indian Act* has become a most contentious one in that it gave such sweeping powers to the Indian Affairs officials and to the Federal Government. According to Ponting: "The Indian Act extended the regulatory reach of the government into virtually every nook and cranny of Indian life" (1986:22).

It set the Indians apart from other Canadians in that they were subjected to a single department in the upper level of government while non-Indians dealt with a number of levels of government and various government departments on the Federal level. The Act did give a semblance of self-government, but the Indian participation in the decision-making which controlled their lives was more apparent than real. According to Manuel and Posluns in referring to Indian agents:

> ... It was the job of these new white chiefs to displace our traditional leaders in their care over our day-to-day lives in order to bring our way of life into line with the policies that had been decreed in Ottawa (1974:54).

These all-inclusive powers of the administrators brought about a state of dependency among the Indians which has characterized their relationship with government officials throughout the history of the *Indian Act*. Such dependency and restricted powers on the part of the Indians also generated hostility and anger, which, according to Ponting, became a disruptive force within the Indian community (Ponting 1986:23).

The totality of control over the lives of status Indians might be considered synonymous with the "total institution" described by Goffman (1959). In this situation a group of people live within a bureaucratic structure, with levels of authority, isolated from the outside society and dominated by means of a set of rules over which they have no control. Cardinal brings out this aspect of the *Indian Act*, in his discussion of the Indians' relationship to the non-Indian society and their struggle toward self-government, as a contradiction between social control and protection (1977:98). Such contradictions have resulted in the Indians' ambivalence toward the Act, as continuing the colonial situation yet being one means of the protection of their rights, particularly of what remains of their land.

In some cases, Micmac bands maintain that the right to govern is inherent in their traditional law. The *Indian Act* certainly states differently, as the Minister of Indian Affairs, according to this Act, is the final authority on all matters concerning the recognized legislation with regard to Indian affairs. Under the Act, Indian band authority is limited to those items outlined in the Act (Sections 80-83). Band Councils may make bylaws; they cannot legally make laws. Such bylaws must be consistent with the *Indian Act* or any regulations made by the Minister. These bylaws would concern local band matters such as band membership, law, order, and conduct on the reserve, control of residence on the reserve, and construction and maintenance of some utilities provided for the band. The Federal Government may make regulations with regard to the application of provincial laws, thus nullifying bylaws which are not consistent with laws which apply to non-Indian citizens.

The ambivalence endemic in the Act was the subjugation to colonial rule yet it was also seen as one of the "major protections for Indian rights" (Weaver 1973:2). Two incompatible goals emerged: one the policy of assimilation; the other protection for Native people by restricting their contact with non-Native society. Chamberlin also emphasizes this aspect of incompatibility in his treatment of the *Indian Act* (1975:90).

After Confederation, the control of Indian affairs was delegated to the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, and the Secretary of State was appointed Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. By 1873 this responsibility was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior,

and an Indian Lands Branch was established (Canada 1873). By 1875 the system of superintendents and agents was set up for the control of Indians and their reserves (Canada 1875). This changing of departments in the administration of Indian affairs marks the beginning of shifting of responsibilities and the creation of branches to carry out the policies with regard to Native peoples. By 1880, however, a separate Department of Indian Affairs was formed (Canada 1880). The Minister of the Interior continued as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and directed the operation of the new department. The creation of this department confirmed the separation of Indian administration from that of non-Indian people, and further isolated Indian people and their reserves from the dominant society.

At this time, the first amendments to the *Indian Act* were introduced to further support the federal government's policy of assimilation as the goal of the administration of the Native peoples. Enfranchisement was offered to those Indians who were considered to be more "advanced." An Indian with a university degree was *ipso facto* enfranchised and, therefore, no longer an Indian in terms of the Act.

The failure of this Enfranchisement Act, and earlier policies intended as persuasion toward assimilation were attributed to the continuance of traditional Native governments. Indian Affairs agents claimed that the local band authority was a "major block" to the "development logic" of the attempts at integration. The opinion of these officials was that if eventual assimilation was to be successful new institutions should replace tribal authority (Canada 1857, 1858, 1863). In addition, it was considered that, at the time, 1880s, the Indians were not sufficiently educated to accept changes necessary for integration and the advantages of life in the broader sphere of Canadian society.

Civilization, integration, assimilation, moving into the mainstream, absorption into the broader Canadian society are examples of terminology expressing the central theme of Canadian Indian policy. In 1880, Sir John A. Macdonald, then Minister of Indian Affairs, expressed the attitude of the Department in the statement:

> ...to wean them by slow degrees, from their nomadic habits, which have become almost an instinct, and by

> slow degrees absorb them on the land. Meantime, they
> must be fully protected (Miller et al., 1978:191).

The period 1881 to 1920 was one of increased endeavour by the Indian Affairs Branch to accelerate the process of assimilation. The *Indian Act* was subjected to amendments designed for greater government control over Indian Band Councils, land, education, and moral behavior. The basic features of the Act, however, were not altered, and the legislation governing Indian affairs resembles the original Act of 1876.

Traditional gatherings and ceremonies were banned as indications of behavior contrary to advancement toward a more "civilized" way of life. The Indian Advancement Act, of 1884, was an attempt to deal with the issues of local band government. This Act extended the powers of the Band Council by giving authority to appoint police and have some input in health regulations. On the other hand, this same Act increased the power of the superintendents to direct the bands' political affairs. The election and disposition of Indian officials and the size of a band were set out in this Act. In effect, the political affairs of the band were directed by the Agent (Canada 1884).

By 1884, the power to allot reserve land within the band or to lease land to non-Indians became the sole right of the Superintendent General. As the band councils had not exercised their authority over police and health matters they lost control over these aspects of the reserve (Canada 1879, 1884).

The Indian Advancement Act was followed by the Franchise Act of 1885. Both these Acts were indications of the Government's policy aimed at assimilation, but the nature of the restrictions imposed by the Acts had the opposite effect. The fitness of Indians to serve on their own councils was subject to the approval of the Superintendent, who could dismiss the Chief and Councillors if he did not consider them suitable for the appointments. The lack of power on the part of the Indians was not conducive to furthering the Government's goal of Indian independence and eventual assimilation. The Federal Franchise, of 1885, which extended the right to vote in Federal elections to Indian men, was another attempt to bring Native people into the mainstream of the dominant society. This franchise was withdrawn in 1896 after protests from non-Indians that Indians were not legal persons, and, therefore, not entitled to vote.

The concept of a possibility of a status similar to that of a municipality for a band was implicit in the Indian Advancement Act. Such a change of status would have come under the expanded band responsibility permitted by Section 82 of the *Indian Act*, but subject to the band having reached "an advanced stage of development" and the "approval of the Minister." This provision toward more political control for Indians did not develop, and in 1886 and 1887 further amendments were introduced to the *Indian Act* aimed at promoting more self-sufficiency. Such measures as the reduction in the provision of food, an extension of enfranchisement regulations, and compulsory school attendance for Indian children did not make any appreciable change in the Indians' dependence on the Indian Affairs Branch. Again the paternalism built into the relationship between the Indians and the Department of Indian Affairs, although it offered protection of lands, gave the Federal Government greater control over the lives of the Native people.

As part of the process toward assimilation, the federal agents promoted the idea of establishing a sedentary agricultural population among the Indians, but the Micmac were reluctant to abandon their nomadic lifestyle and considered an agriculture economy even more uncertain than their traditional system of hunting and gathering. Another deterrent to the farm way of life was the rocky nature of much of the land set aside as reserves. The situation varied according to the nature of the soil, and about a third of the Indian families in the Annapolis Valley turned to some form of farming (Harris n.d.:6; McGee 1974:28; Gonzalez 1981:62). A further problem, which was evident from the beginning of the reserve system, was the inroad of non-Indian settlers onto reserve lands. Since the boundaries were not clearly marked, and the Indians did not develop the land in the sense that the non-Indian considered it should be used, such intrusion was difficult for the authorities to control.

During the latter part of the 19th century, there was an increase in the level of government control and the resources provided to deal with the administration of Native people. There appeared, however, to be a limited capacity to bring about results in line with the Government's goal. As Upton expressed the situation, the Micmac

> continued to regard their homeland as a unit, and the
> whims of individual governments affected only a portion
> of their existence. They refused to give up the seasonal

rhythm of their lives; they refused to stay put on reserves, and they continued to travel across the land as before (1979:127).

Between 1886 and 1889 new branches were created in the Department which dealt with land, statistics, and schools. The Department was authorized to sell Indian land to non-Indians (Canada 1886). This power to dispose of land was a further threat to reserve territory. Around this same time, an increase in non-Indian settlement brought into question the occupation of land by Indians. In some cases, the reserves were viewed as deterrents to urban development and the exploitation of natural resources. This perception of Indian land was in accord with the policy to change the Indians' nomadic ways, and encourage them to use and develop their own land or lose it.

Clifford Sifton, who was appointed Superintendent General in 1896, carried out a major reorganization of the Department. He removed the deputies of the Interior and Indian Affairs, and placed both departments under a new appointee, James A. Smart. Sifton also decreased personnel in Indian Affairs, reorganized some of the agencies, and reduced salaries. These changes were instituted in order to bring about more efficiency and economy in the operation of the Department (Canada 1896).

Sifton's main interest was with the Department of the Interior and expansion of European settlement; there is little evidence that he had any knowledge of, or interest in, Indian affairs. Indian administration, therefore, was competing with settlement, particularly that going on in Western Canada, in terms of finances and ministerial attention (Canada 1899).

Neither Sifton nor Smart had a high opinion of the Indians' ability to become independent citizens. In Sifton's opinion the Indians did not have "the physical, mental, or moral get up" of the "White man", and never would have the ability to compete in the dominant society (Hall 1977:133-34).

By 1906 the number of amendments to the *Indian Act* had made it complicated to administer. Under Sifton's successor, Frank Oliver, the Act was consolidated to form a single Act with 195 Sections (Canada 1906a). A further reorganization of the Department structure, in 1909, brought in new branches to provide for the increased activities of the Department. Amendments to the consolidated Act reflected the view that protection and reserve

life were not the means to achieve assimilation; this policy hindered rather than accelerated the process. The assumption was that, if the protection the reserve provided was removed, and the Indian people forced to leave the reserve, assimilation need not be a long-term goal; it could be achieved more speedily. The Government did not want the reserve to become a permaɔ⸱ɔt fixture of Canadian society; the aim was to incorporate Indians, at least those individuals who had become civilized, "into the ordinary life of the country" (Canada 1906b). Assimilation, therefore, was not to be voluntary and the Superintendent General was given the power to set up boards of inquiry to decide the fitness of an Indian for enfranchisement. For this purpose, in 1920, legislation was passed empowering the Government to enfranchise Indians without any application being made by the individual concerned. Such Indians could then receive their share of band monies, be given title to the land they occupied, and become enfranchised (Canada 1920). This compulsory enfranchisement brought about such protests on the part of the Indians that the procedure was modified to appoint a board of inquiry only after an application for enfranchisement had been made.

According to Getty and Lussier in their discussion of this aspect of Indian administration:

> Dissatisfaction with the reserve system principally resulted from the fact that it only partially fulfilled its function. It did civilize the Indian, but it did not complete the process as envisioned by encouraging them to enfranchise (1985:49).

There is no doubt that a degree of acculturation had taken place among the people of the reserves during the period since Confederation. Neither the diffusion from the dominant society nor the type of administration provided had done much to integrate the Indian into the dominant society, and certainly there was no evidence of mass assimilation on the part of the Micmac.

The 1900s ushered in what might be labelled the "Scott era" in Indian Affairs. Although Scott was influential in the making of Indian policy during his earlier civil service appointments, it was as Deputy Superintendent and later as Superintendent General that he left his mark on the department, and influenced the course of Indian affairs up to the 1930s.

Duncan Campbell Scott began his career in the civil service as a copy clerk in the Department of Indian Affairs in 1879. By 1880 Scott's appointment was made permanent, and he started on his way toward the upper levels of Indian Affairs. In this process he had the responsibilities of the administration of the Indian Trust Fund and was concerned with the leasing and sale of reserve land. In 1893, Scott was promoted to chief clerk and accountant, which gave him considerable influence in policy development. By 1909 he was promoted to superintendent of education and, in 1913, he became deputy superintendent general (Canada 1893-1913; Titley 1986:24-25).

Scott's earlier appointments were served under Lawrence Vankoughnet, who was Superintendent General from 1874 to 1893. His attitude toward Indians might be said to be typical of the time; he had no patience with what he considered to be Indian "indifference or laziness," but he did support the premise that the successful Indian farmers should have the same rights as their non-Indian neighbours. In other words, he supported the franchise.

It is clear, however, that the Western provinces received Vankoughnet's greatest attention. By that time, the Eastern provinces were considered to have had their fundamental Indian problems solved, and did not require the same expenditures as the western areas. According to Getty and Lussier, Vankoughnet was interested primarily in decreasing expenditures, and that fiscal considerations came ahead of human ones (1985:108,111).

In 1880, the breakdown of total expenditures for the provinces indicate the priorities of the Department:

Prince Edward Island	$ 2,490.84
Nova Scotia	6,216.03
New Brunswick	6,518.47
Ontario and Quebec (together)	50,262.81
Manitoba and the North West	940,261.72
British Columbia	102,074.44

(Canada 1891:195-202; Getty and Lussier 1985:111)

It is evident, therefore, that the eastern areas received less funding for Indian administration than the western provinces. At that time the general attitude of both government officials and the settlers was that Indian difficulties were not of major public interest. As Western Canada had been

opened to non-Indian settlement, the exploitation and development of the land were the activities to be fostered.

When Clifford Sifton took over as Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General, Scott was in charge of accounts and had considerable experience with the administration of Indian affairs. Sifton's philosophy was that the Indians should be protected on reserves until they were acculturated, and, like his predecessors, he predicted that the ultimate result would be assimilation. The other major aspect of his policy was that the Indians should not create political difficulties. Scott also was committed to the concept that the only future for the Indians was assimilation into the dominant society, and his own administrative activities were focused toward that goal.

In 1901, Sifton reported to the House of Commons that the Indians no longer were considered dangerous, that they were becoming a peaceful people and that the efforts to civilize them were proceeding satisfactorily (Canada 1901).

During Sifton's term of office, major changes in administrative structure suited Scott's own priorities in these aspects of department operations. These changes in organization, although intended for the smoother operation of the department, really were meant to speed up the process of Indian self-sufficiency with the ultimate goal of assimilation.

To his credit, Sifton held firmly to the premise that Indian land should not be thrown open for settlement. In spite of pressure, both political and civilian, he maintained that: "The faith of the Government of Canada is pledged to the maintenance of the title of these Indians in that land" (Canada 1903, 1904). He further supported the right of the Indians' livelihood in relation to the land, and that any disposition of such land should be with Indian consent (Ibid.).

Scott's influence on the operation of the department became more evident under Charles Stewart, who became Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1922. He held this appointment during part of the time that Scott was Deputy Superintendent, and was associated with Scott in the matter of modifying the legislation with regard to the enfranchisement of Indians. Scott was an advocate of the policy to facilitate

the process of enfranchisement, and the amendment to Section 122 of the *Indian Act*, in 1918, was made in accordance with his wishes to simplify the process of enfranchisement. Scott, however, proposed an additional measure to Bill 14 to make enfranchisement compulsory. He presented his case to a Committee of the House of Commons in the following statement:

> I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that this country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone. That is my whole point. Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department and that is the whole object of this bill (Canada 1918).

This statement was in line with Scott's long-term goal to end the dependency and special status of Canada's Native people. Stewart, however, was successful in modifying Scott's amendment to at least require an application from the Indian before enfranchisement was processed (Canada 1922a; Titley 1986:51-52). Stewart's expressed attitude with regard to the Indian's opposition to enfranchisement was that they should be educated so that they would be willing to accept citizenship (Canada 1922b).

Initially, enfranchisement, while it removed the restrictions of the legal rights and liabilities between Indians and non-Indians, did not automatically include the right to vote. It did, however, require the relinquishing of reserve rights and special status. The right to vote required "proof of literacy, education, morality and solvency" thus imposing discriminatory conditions on the Indians (Canada 1857; Bartlett 1980:163). After Confederation, the franchise requirements were based on the provincial laws (Canada 1867a). As the provinces restricted the franchise to males who possessed property, the Native people for the most part were excluded. By 1869, this legislation was modified to permit an allotment of land to be granted to an Indian male who had attained a sufficient degree of civilization in order that he might be enfranchised (Canada 1869). In accordance with the goal of assimilation, it was Scott's intent to hasten the whole process by making the enfranchisement of suitably qualified Indians compulsory. The Franchise Act of 1885 was a further attempt to persuade Indians to leave the reserve and accept the vote in Federal elections. This Act was withdrawn in 1896, and it was not until the

amendment of 1920 that compulsory enfranchisement was established as a solution to overcoming the Indians' reluctance to leave the reserves. Stewart's objections in this matter left Scott without the authority intended by this amendment. According to Titley, this was one of the few instances that the Superintendent General prevailed over Scott's decisions in Indian Affairs (1986:51).

Scott saw diversity in adjustment to "civilization" in relation to the different culture groups. He considered the Indians of Southern Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia as being more easily transformed into the labour force and economy of the dominant society. Because of their lack of formal political structure and their hunting and gathering economy, the Micmac were not seen as well advanced considering the length of time they had been in contact with European influences (Scott 1914:622-23; Titley 1986:34-35).

Although Scott proclaimed, in his reports, that the Government's policy gradually was weaning the Indians from their traditional ways, he expressed doubts about the continued attendance of Indians at traditional ceremonies. The regulations forbidding ceremonies and dances of the Native peoples were directed against the West Coast Potlatch and the Prairie Indian rituals, such as the Sun Dance and the Thirst Dance. As the restrictions were written into the *Indian Act*, all Native gatherings and celebrations, which included dancing, were targets of suppression by the government agents. As for the Micmac, their periodic gatherings were of a less threatening nature, and not involved with the distribution of presents or body mutilation. The influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries had channelled Micmac gatherings into religious festivals, which were a confirmation of Christian religious ritual and the renewal of tribal unity. These gatherings developed into ceremonies such as the Festival of St. Anne, held at Chapel Island, Cape Breton. For the Micmac, although their tribal gatherings retained some of the influence of the traditional ceremonies, they were permitted to continue.

The department officials underestimated the Indians' resistance to the destruction of this aspect of their traditional cultures. Scott, therefore, realized that the restrictions of Section 149 of the *Indian Act* were not producing the desired results, and that coercion was of little use in dealing with the Indians. He resorted to an earlier stand in support of moderation in

accepting some aspects of what he referred to as "senseless drumming and dancing" (Titley 1986:162-183).

Successive Ministers of the Interior and Superintendents General regarded Indian Affairs as a minor part of their responsibilities, and Scott had considerable freedom in the administration of the Native people. He had gleaned some knowledge of the problems of the administration of the Indians, and probably was the only one in the department who had any grasp of the reality of the situations involved (Ibid:203). In the operation of Indian Affairs, Scott was an advocate of centralized decision-making, and discouraged any usurping of authority he considered the prerogative of the Department. This attitude tended to keep officials in the field in line with Scott's interpretations of the regulations under the *Indian Act*. As the Superintendent General relied on Scott's experience and knowledge of Indian affairs, amendments to the *Indian Act* were invariably initiated by the Deputy Superintendent. Indian policy, therefore, up until 1932, when Scott retired, was a continuation of the philosophy that had been in effect for the past nineteen years (Ibid.).

Scott never waivered from his conviction of the rightness of the department policy that the end result would be the disappearance of the Indians into the broader society, and that eventually they would cease to have a special status or be dependent on government funds. Titley sums up this devotion to policy in the statement: "Scott firmly believed in the great civilizing mission of the British Empire" (Ibid.:25).

The Indians did not share Scott's enthusiasm for what he considered the advantages of civilization. Titley expresses this attitude in the statement:

> They understood that civilization came in many shapes
> and sizes and the edition being forced upon them was by
> no means preferable to that which they already
> possessed (Ibid.:201).

Scott underestimated the strength of Native resistance to loss of identity, and perhaps missed the significance of the stirring of militancy among the Indians (Ibid.:202).

A number of candidates, including Diamond Jenness, a noted anthropologist, and William B. Newell, a Mohawk Indian, were lobbying for Scott's

appointment on his retirement. Harold W. McGill was the final choice, and took over this office in 1932. The changes in public attitude, and that of the Department, which were to come later, after World War II, were not much in evidence at the time that McGill took office. There was an indication, however, that he favoured a modification of the stand taken by Scott, that Indian culture was of no value to the Native people or to society in general. McGill expressed appreciation for the Indians' cultural heritage and "ancient values." He stated that Indians could adjust to modern life and become self-supporting as well as preserve some of their traditional cultural life (Canada 1936). McGill's approach to Indian administration marks the beginning of a turning point in Indian affairs which at least brought about an examination of earlier policies.

In the early 1930s there was some attempt to decrease the distinction between Indian and non-Indian communities by giving the Superintendent General authority to bring regulations applicable to reserves more in line with provincial laws. There also was a re-instatement of the authority for compulsory enfranchisement (Canada 1930-1933).

During the period 1933 to 1945, the economic depression pushed Indian matters into a position of neglect. The Indians, for the most part, were left to their life on the reserve and their own resources to survive. According to Getty and Lussier, "in that period the Government and civil servants in what became the Indian Affairs Branch appear not to have had any policy" (1985:31). The demands of World War II, in the period 1939 to 1945, also resulted in lack of any priority of Indian matters. Added to these events was the realization, on the part of the Indian Affairs officials, that all previous policies had failed to bring about the goal of assimilation as set forth by the department. In spite of these drawbacks, however, during this period, in 1936, there was a reorganization of the Department, as it was moved from the Minister of the Interior to the Department of Mines and Resources. This change resulted in the setting up of four branches of Indian Affairs: Field Administration; Medical Welfare and Training Service; Reserve and Trust Service; and Records Service. Under this arrangement, the Superintendent General was empowered to make loans to Indian bands or individuals for economic development on reserves. In spite of the change in organization, there was no evidence of change in the relationship of the Indian and the Federal Government until 1945, when the Minister

of Mines and Resources declared that the department would help the Native people to attain full citizenship while, at the same time, retaining their cultural heritage. At this time also the responsibility for Indian health services was transferred to the Department of Health and Welfare. This move was the first sign of a shifting of some aspects of administration from the Department of Indian Affairs. Further changes took place in this Department when the Welfare and Training Division was split into a Welfare Division and an Education Division, indicating a change in administrative emphasis.

In the 1940s the Federal Government attempted a major consolidation and centralization of the reserves in Nova Scotia. Rising unemployment and welfare costs of the Micmac reserves brought about this policy on the grounds that financial savings would result, and that larger communities would become more self- supporting. It would appear that the project was more for the convenience of Department officials than the benefit of the Indian people. According to Wien, the centralization policy was "a misguided step that had a profound effect on the Micmac communities of the province" (1986:31). The plan was to centralize all reserves into two locations, namely Eskasoni, in Cape Breton, and Shubenacadie, on the Nova Scotia mainland (Arneil 1941:4). The remaining reserve lands were to be sold, and the Indians who were capable of providing their own livelihood were to be encouraged to assume Canadian citizenship through enfranchisement (Wien 1986:32-33).

The project disrupted Micmac community life. Even the people who elected to move became disorganized when their leaders were displaced and, as "new arrivals," they did not integrate into the life of the "older residents" of the new locations. According to the Indians, much of their community interaction was lost, and never was restored in quite the same way. The members of the Eskasoni and Shubenacadie reserves showed considerable resentment to having "strangers" in their communities, and did not welcome the added strain on housing and other facilities (Patterson 1985:88, 119, 120). The relocation project, however, had a lasting effect on the reserves of the province, as Eskasoni and Shubenacadie became the most populated, and some of the smaller reserves were depleted of members.

By 1949, the relocation of the Micmac Indians was no longer a priority, and Indians residing on outlying reserves, with any type of viable economy,

were encouraged to remain. The decision to extend the usual services to all Nova Scotian reserves marked the end of the relocation policy of centralization (Canada 1949; Patterson 1985:88). The idea of centralization was contrary to aboriginal rights and to the policy of reserves as land held in trust specifically for the Indians and not available for disposal by any level of government. There was also the matter, much resented by the Indians, of a complete lack of any attention paid to the Indians' opinion or wishes with regard to what they perceived as their territory. For the Indians who did cooperate with the relocation, the promised improvement in life-style did not materialize, and the availability of employment was lacking. Finally, it was evident that the relocation program was a failure, and that approximately half of the displaced Micmac people had returned to their original communities (Gonzalez 1981:98). These reserves were the ones on which their ancestors had lived for generations, and which were seen as a source of security. The centralization program instead of resulting in more self-sufficiency increased the dependency of the displaced Indians on government support (Steen 1951:79). Traditional activities, such as hunting, trapping, and crafts, declined. The Government responded with welfare payments on an extensive scale, which made up the largest expenditure for the Micmac people in the budget of the Department of Indian Affairs (Wien 1986:36,37).

By 1945, an increase in public interest in Native people brought about pressure from Veterans' organizations, churches, and other citizen groups to have a Royal Commission investigate Indian administration. On the part of the Indians, a greater use of the English language and more awareness of the contrast between their situation and the professed ideas of a democratic society brought an increase in political activity. This activity was directed toward a change in the relationship of the Indian people to the dominant society. A re-assessment of the status of the Indians and their interaction patterns in the broader society revealed to the Native people that the existing government policies only continued a type of dominance which would not permit self-government in any way comparable to that envisioned by the Indians.

There was no Royal Commission, but in 1946, a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was empowered to study the Indian situation, and make recommendations to the Government. In the proceedings (Canada 1948:186-190) the Committee recommended a complete revision of the *Indian*

Act, the repeal of outdated sections, and that the terms of the Act should facilitate the transition of the Indians from the position of wards to full citizenship. In order to carry out these recommendations, it was stated that the new Act should provide:

A. A political voice for Indian women in band affairs.

B. Bands with more self-government and financial assistance.

C. Equal treatment of Indian and non-Indian in the matter of intoxicants.

D. A band might incorporate as a municipality.

E. Indian Affairs officials were to have their duties designed to assist the Indians in the responsibilities of self-government and to attain the rights of full citizenship.

The guidelines for future Indian policy were set out as follows:

A. Easing of enfranchisement.

B. Extension of the franchise to Indians.

C. Co-operation with the provinces in extending service to the Indian.

D. Education of Indian children with non-Indians in order to prepare Indian children for assimilation (Ibid.).

Some of the Indian representatives who submitted briefs called for an abolition of the Act while others requested changes, particularly in the matter of band membership and enfranchisement. The fact that the Committee recommended a political voice for Indian women is evidence of the recognition of a need for change in the legal status of women, compared to that of men, in the matter of right to vote in band elections, to participate in band business, and to inherit and administer estates. The Committee, however, did not heed the submissions with regard to membership, and missed the significance of what became a vital part of the Indians' later proposals with regard to decision-making and policy.

Although the Committee criticized much of the previous Indian policy, the recommendations supported the goal of assimilation. The Committee

assumed, however, that the process of civilization was complete, and that some of the protective measures of the earlier policies could be modified with a view to more self-government for the bands. A further intent of the recommendations was to turn over the responsibility for services for the Native people to the provinces. The repeal of the *Indian Act* and eventual elimination of special status and reserves were stated as long-term goals. Later this proposal was revised and brought forward in the *White Paper* (Canada 1969). In essence, Indian administration and the reserve system were regarded as a transitory aspect of Canadian Government policy. The ultimate goal was that, in time, with the assistance of Indian Affairs officials, the Native people would relinquish their culture, or at least most of it, and accept the values of the dominant society. In effect, the indigenous people would be incorporated into the mainstream society and cease to exist as a separate entity (Ibid.). This review of the administration of Indian Affairs was considered by the Minister to be imperative before any revision of the *Indian Act* could be undertaken (Canada 1946), and was the forerunner of the revised Act of 1951.

In 1949, however, the Indian Affairs Branch was transferred to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. A Construction and Engineering Service was added; otherwise the administrative structure of Indian Affairs remained unchanged. The policy of Indian Affairs under the new Department was stated as follows:

> The primary function of the Indian Affairs Branch under the citizenship and immigration Act and the *Indian Act* is to administer the affairs of the Indians of Canada in a manner that will enable them to make the necessary adjustment to become fully participating and self-supporting members of the communities in which they live. The functions of the Branch include the management of Indian reserves and surrounding lands, trust funds, education, social welfare, economic development, descent of property, band membership, enfranchisement of Indians and a variety of other matters (Canada 1948-1958:1).

It may be seen from this statement that, even after the recommendations of the Joint Committee, any move toward self-government of the bands was far from

being put into effect. The change of departments carried on the policies in existence with the same goal of assimilation.

On the recommendations of the Joint Committee, the *Indian Act* was revised, and a new Act was passed in 1951. A comparison with the original Act of 1876 shows that the basic features of the revised Act were not altered. This Act, like its predecessor, was designed to promote the integration of Native people into Canadian society. As Ponting and Gibbins expressed it: "In general the powers of the Minister were curtailed, although they remained formidable" (1980:13).

In the 1951 Act, the authority of the Minister to initiate action was reduced, but remained in a supervisory role with veto power. Such items as the banning of some ceremonies, the regulations against consuming liquor in public places, and enfranchisement without consent were dropped from the revised Act (Canada 1951). The Act emphasized: that Indian status should be defined more precisely; a facilitating of enfranchisement; and more responsibility to local bands (Ibid.; Canada 1948-1958). This Act was the culmination of numerous modifications in the amendments since the original Act, but the results did not address the underlying ambivalence of the laws affecting the lives of the Indians. As Bartlett expresses the weakness of these policies:

> The astonishing feature of the amendments up to 1950 is how little, despite their frequency, they sought to accomplish. They were preoccupied with details and never contradicted the basic rationale of the *Indian Act*, which demanded "civilization" and responsibility from the Indian population while denying them control over the forces affecting their lives (1980:6).

Running through all the amendments, the original *Indian Act*, and the revised Act is the expressed or implicit dominant-subordinate nature of the relationship between the Government and the Native people. Although the goal of assimilation is stated, all the regulations pertaining to status Indians are based on the premise that non-Indian officials are better qualified to make decisions that affect the Indians. Up to the 1950s, all the legislation designed to administer the Indians had been developed by non-Indians without any input from the Indians on their own behalf. As a result of this exclusion of the

Indians from the decision-making process, the *Indian Act* and the various amendments reflect the ethnocentricity of the non-Indian in the negation of Indian culture and language. The diffusion of material culture from the dominant society was not of sufficient influence to overcome the subordinate situation in which the Indians found themselves, as a result of the control exerted over all aspects of their lives.

In 1950, Walter E. Harris, Minister of Indian Affairs, in announcing a new Indian policy, echoed the statement made in 1880 by Sir John A. Macdonald with regard to protection and assimilation. The aims of the department had not changed in the seventy years of Federal Government administration. Harris reiterated the policy in his statement:

> The ultimate goal of our Indian policy is the integration of the Indians into the general life and economy of the country. It is recognized, however, that during a temporary transition period ... special treatment and legislation are necessary (Miller et al. 1978:191).

After World War II, however, the question of racial and intercultural relations had become matters of concern at the international and national levels of society. The indigenous peoples of Canada had been slower in making demands than those of other countries. As the "first Canadians," however, became conscious of the gap between themselves and the members of the dominant society, they became increasingly active and articulate in their requests for change. The Federal Government began to recognize the move on the part of the Indian leaders for some positive role in the decision-making which affected their people.

Getty and Lussier make a case for the lack of effective pressure from the Indians on governments in the fact "that they were officially outside the Federal and Provincial political systems" (1985:168). It was not until 1960 that the Native people received the federal franchise, which meant that they had lacked even the minimum power to influence the political situation which comes with the vote. Added to lack of political power was a lack of confidence, on the part of the Indians, in the Department and Government officials in general. Reference was made in the 1959-61 Joint Committee Report to the confusion, failure in establishing constructive relationships, and the wide-

spread misunderstanding which existed between the Indian Affairs Branch officials and the Indians (Canada 1961:15-23).

In 1959 changes were made in the Department organization to bring it more in line with changing administrative requirements. The Welfare Division of Indian Affairs was divided into an Economic Development Division, responsible for resource management, industrial and agriculture projects, and placement services, and a Welfare Division, responsible for community development, family allowances, child welfare, and rehabilitation. The most active of these divisions was Welfare and its role as the forerunner of what were to become the community development projects of the 1960s. By 1962, however, the Indian Affairs Branch was further reorganized, and its functions were grouped under three major sections: Education, responsible for all educational matters; Operations, responsible for the Economic Development Division, economic planning, trust and annuities, reserve lands and resources, welfare, field administration, and handicrafts; and Support Services, responsible for Band Councils, membership, estates, engineering, and construction.

The reorganization did not prove as effective in the reserve programs as expected. The Indian Affairs Branch officials, therefore, were confronted with the recommendation of the 1961 Joint Committee that the process of the integration of the Indians into the dominant society be accelerated. There also was the further observation of the Committee that there was a need to assess the effectiveness of the programs provided, and to revise them, or design new ones, in order to decrease the Indians' dependence on the Federal Government and place more responsibility on the provinces.

By 1964 there was a major reorganization of the Indian Affairs Branch in order to give officers in the field more authority and responsibility. Three new directorates were added: Development, which was responsible for establishing and coordinating industrial, resource, and social projects; Education, which was responsible for initiating and carrying out education policy; Administration, which dealt with Indian lands, estates, band membership, records, field administration. and support services.

Following this structural change in the Branch, in 1966, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was established, which later

became the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. From the time of Confederation to the late 1960s, the administration of Indian Affairs has lacked continuity. Since its initial formation within the Department of the Secretary of State, it has been transferred from one department to another; it started with the Department of the Interior in 1873; it became a separate Department in 1880; the next move was to the Department of Mines and Resources in 1936; and it was shifted to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950. By 1953, Indian administration was handled by the Northern Affairs and National Resources Department, until it finally became the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. All told, there were seven changes of Department identity before this responsibility came under the control of the renamed Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

In an attempt to respond to recommendations made by the Joint Committees, Indian Affairs carried out programs designed to encourage economic and social development in line with improving conditions on the reserves, and bringing about the type of independence which would hasten assimilation. As one step toward this self-sufficiency, community development projects were launched in 1964, and at the same time, plans were under way to transfer some services from the Federal government to the provinces (Canada 1964).

Community development may be classified as a method of administration that aims at a maximum participation of communities in all phases of the planning and implementation of their economic, social, and political development. The developmental agencies are involved in a process of change in which people are assisted to help themselves. According to Indian Affairs, "Community development is a process designed to employ, to the greatest extent possible, all available human and material resources in Indian communities" (Canada 1965-1966:46). The aim was to transfer the responsibility and authority for the management of their own affairs to the Indians after a period of assistance from the community development officers. The development grants and the processing of project submissions came under the Community Services Section of Indian Affairs. This Section also supervised leadership training for the Indians as community development personnel and for band "civil service" responsibilities (Ibid.:46). In this regard, the Cody International Institute of St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia, was

used, and the seven Indian students who attended the leadership course were sponsored by the Indian Affairs Branch (Ibid.:47).

Basically, the community development projects were focused on the optimum use of the resources of the reserves. The resources of a community may be classified into four broad categories: natural, factors which occur naturally in the environment; physical, which are developed through human effort such as buildings and machinery; institutional, which are the organizational aspects such as economic agencies and educational systems; and human, which are the characteristics of the people of the community, such as motivation, education, and leadership. Ideally, if a community is to maintain socio-economic stability, there must be a balance among its resources. As a preliminary approach to community development in Nova Scotia, a study was made of five Micmac reserves, which comprised 57 percent of the Indian population of the province, to assess the resources in relation to possible development projects. The result of the findings indicated that a major implication for a community development program was:

> ... that the creation of higher aspirations or expecta-
> tions among the Indians without the provision or the
> possibility of increased opportunity for the realization of
> these aspirations can produce increased alienation ...
> among these Indians (MacDonald 1967:65).

Consequently, it was emphasized in the report that the community development worker should have a realistic concept of the resource potential of the community, and that the Government agencies must support community action proposals once they are initiated by the community development worker if the project is to have any chance of success (Ibid.).

On the basis of this preliminary report, Paul Jobe, Director of Community Development on Indian Reserves, and his staff drew up guidelines for a Community Development and Research Program (1967). Four projects were carried out in this program. Indian Housing, on the Membertou (Sydney) and Eskasoni Reserves, were projects in cooperative house construction which were intended to improve housing on the reserves and involve the members of the reserve in the construction work. This project was assessed by the Saint Francis Xavier research team as a failure from a community development point of view. Lack of cooperation among the band members, insufficient

experience, and inadequate supervision and leadership were reported as responsible for the failure of the project. It was stated, however, that "continued guidance, supervision, and support from a capable leadership will be needed ... to achieve some mark of success" (Jobe and Davidson 1968:17). The other projects, "Current attitudes toward Band Council" (Pictou Reserve), "The Development of Recreational Facilities" (Nyanza Reserve), and "Adult Education" (Pictou Reserve), all had similar negative reports. The findings of the education project reflect attitudes toward education which were seen by the researchers as a useful basis for follow-up programs of this nature (Ibid. 2:1-4, 3:1-8, 4:1-4).

The community development programs had the potential for more involvement of the Indian people in their community affairs, and reducing bureaucratic control of the projects. The high expectations for the success of these programs were short lived, as a combination of controversy within the branch, and between the community development workers and the department agents, along with the Indians' reluctance to take on responsibility resulted in the termination of the program. In cases where the Indians did show signs of organization and self-determination, they were seen as disruptive forces, and a threat to established bureaucratic structure (Jobe and Davidson 1968:2-4; Manuel and Posluns 1974:128-55; Weaver 1983:28-29).

George Manuel reported, from his own experience as a community development officer, that it was extremely difficult to overcome the resistance encountered from the bureaucracy, in trying to change the system "from below" (Manuel and Posluns 1974:128-55). Although the community development program did not bring about the results intended by the upper levels of the Indian Affairs Branch, some worthwhile research came out of the efforts of the community development workers, which provided useful information with regard to conditions on the reserves.

Another important aspect of the community development program was the fact that the workers for the most part were non-Indians and the projects had to be approved by Indian Affairs officials. This policy placed the whole project in the category of a type of paternalism which negated the Indians' leadership potential, and became another instance of non-Indians telling Indians what they should do and how they should do it. According to Cassidy

and Bish, the community development program was terminated because it reinforced dissent on the part of the Indians to other department initiatives, particularly the transfer of services for the Indian to the provinces (1989:7).

Throughout the 1960s, Indian Affairs had followed a policy of shifting some services for the Indian people to the provinces. It had become clear to the Micmac people that these changes were an attempt on the part of the Federal Government to relinquish some responsibility for Indian administration. There was a reluctance on the part of the Indians to have to deal with the province. This was particularly evident in medical matters, when transportation to clinics and hospitals became matters of controversy, and financial responsibility at times was not clear.

From 1963 to 1967, the various programs carried out by the Department had indicated that some assessment should be made as to the current and future needs of the Indians for planning purposes. The idea of major research to determine future policy to bring the Indians into the mainstream of Canadian society coincided with a brief presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs, Richard Bell, by a delegation from the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. The result was a comprehensive survey carried out by a team under the direction of Dr. Harry Hawthorn (Canada 1967, 1968). This project was the first full-scale national survey of the conditions of the Indians of Canada, and became known as the Hawthorn Report. Volume one of *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* (1967, 1968) dealt with policy and the philosophy of special status labelled "citizens plus" (Hawthorn et al. 1967:13-20), a term later used by some of the Indian leaders in refuting the proposal contained in the *White Paper* (Canada 1969).

The recommendations contained in the two volumes were set out in 151 specific items under the following headings: General; Economic Development; Federal-Provincial Relations; Political; Welfare; Local Government; Special Educational Services; Health; Curriculum; Communications and Public Relations; Joint Agreements; Denominational and Independent Schools; and Vocational Training and Placement. The major focus of the recommendations was that the Indians should have a choice of life style, and that integration and assimilation were not decisions which anyone but the Indians themselves should make. The main emphasis of economic development was placed on

education, vocational training, mobility, and use of local resources. It was further stated that the Indian Affairs Branch should "act as a national conscience" to ensure equality of opportunity for the Indians, and protect their special status. The policy of extending provincial services to Indians was strongly supported, and it was stated that the BNA Act did not exclude provincial participation in Indian administration (Ibid.: 235). The report further recommended that Indian self-government should be pursued within the framework of provincial and local governments, and that the *Indian Act*, "suitably modified," should be maintained as the "most appropriate legislative vehicle" for the development of Indian self-government (Ibid.: 13-20).

In general, the Hawthorn Report drew attention to the poverty, under-development, and unemployment which existed on the reserves (Ibid.: 21-198). It substantiated many aspects of the problems of Indian administration. This report also provided a comprehensive reference for Indian Affairs officials in the revision of their programs. Much of what was recommended in the Hawthorn Report had been covered in the Joint Committee reports carried out at earlier dates. Like the earlier studies, it supported the devolution of Indian administration from the Federal Government level to the provinces, and the policies to bring about greater participation of the Indians in the dominant society.

Although the Report documented the conditions of the Indian people, in considerable detail, at the time the research was carried out, it did not lay any blame on the Indian Affairs bureaucracy for weaknesses in the system. Dunning (1967:52), Weaver (1983:24) comment on this lack of criticism of the paternalistic relationship of the Government and the Indians and the fact that the philosophy had not changed appreciably since 1867. As it was a time of a rapid succession of Ministers in the Department, seven from 1962 to 1968, and the policy proposal introduced by Mr. J. Chretien was to appear in 1969, there was little chance for the implementation of new policies, or to gage the impact of the Hawthorn Report on Indian Affairs.

As the *Indian Act* had not been revised since 1951, developments in Indian administration indicated that a further revision was long overdue. As a preamble to a proposed new Indian Act, the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in 1967, outlined the

need for a revised act in the light of the changes in policy, and the development of the Indian people and their orientation to the dominant society. He commented that the act had been described as "both a fortress and a prison," and that the laws pertaining to Indians had been severely criticized by both Indians and non- Indians. He further stated that if these laws "had met the hopes and aspirations of those who framed them, there would be no Indian 'problem' today" (Laing 1967a:3). Laing outlined ten major considerations which should be addressed in the drawing up of a new Act:

1. Indian status and band membership rights.
2. Conditions for relinquishing status and member-ship.
3. Management of resources and sale of land on reserves.
4. Revenue derived from resources used for the benefit of Indian people.
5. Band representation and passing of by-laws on matters affecting Indian people.
6. Restrictions in use of liquor by Indians.
7. Responsibility for education of Indian children.
8. Jurisdiction over estates.
9. Indians right to acquire property within the reserve.
10. The matter of taxes and debts with regard to personal property of Indian people on reserves (Ibid.:3-4).

In the original *Indian Act* and the 1951 revision, the common theme was protection and control of the Indians and their land. Laing stated that: "It cannot be denied that the Indian people were too long swathed in a blanket of paternalism" (Ibid.:5). He further gave assurance that the preparation of a new Act would be carried out after consultation with the representatives of the Indian people; and that "only when all this process has been completed will the Act come into force" (Ibid.:7).

It was on the basis of this forerunner to the conferences on a revised *Indian Act* that the Discussion Handbook, *Choosing a Path*, was presented to the Indian people as a guide for the delegates to these meetings. The first

section of this Handbook, under the heading "Consultation," sets out a different approach to that of the *Indian Act* in the statement:

> The Indians must be consulted about what is to be done and what is being done if they are to look after their own community affairs and have a full and equal place in Canadian society. Indian people must be encouraged to become more and more involved in the administration of their affairs as well as with the public business of the Canadian community. This is part of equality (Canada 1968:1).

Part 2 of this Handbook presents a statement of the objections of the Government under the headings: Indian Claims; Equality; Preserving Indian Values; Indian Cultural Heritage; Self-Government; Future Role of Government; and Personal and Community Responsibility (Ibid.:7,8,9,10). Part 3 of this publication is an outline of the proposed Act which covers the Sections of the 1951 *Indian Act* to be discussed during the conferences. Part 4 sets out questions to be raised in relation to the information in Part 3. This Handbook was not received with enthusiasm by some of the delegates to the conferences. It was seen as a product of non-Indian decision-making without consultation—the very aspect of Indian administration it was intended to address. One of the humourous references to this Handbook, made by the Indians, was that they wanted a "broad highway" and no longer would be satisfied with a "Path" (Canada 1968-1969).

The consultation conferences were set up in various regions across Canada, starting with the Maritime Provinces. It was evident, from the beginning, that hostility with regard to the restrictions imposed on the Indian people would bring to light the underlying conflict and smouldering bitterness which permeated some of these sessions.

At a preliminary conference, held in Truro, Nova Scotia, June 18 and 19, 1968, twenty-five delegates from Indian reserves in the Maritime Provinces assembled to discuss the questions presented in the Handbook *Choosing a Path*. These discussions tended to cover the major grievances of the reserves represented and focussed on land claims, health services, housing, and education rather than on specific changes in sections of the *Indian Act*. It was decided, however, that more authority should be permitted at the band level,

and that greater independence of decisions and actions be vested in the Chief and Band Council. The request for more band control of Indian reserves was countered by some delegates, who claimed that Band Councils were not qualified to make decisions unaided. The fear of making mistakes was expressed. This apprehension was understandable as mistakes were costly and difficult to correct. This matter of decision-making and responsibility was particularly evident in the discussion of economic projects on the reserves and use of funds. It was pointed out by some delegates that non-Indians also make mistakes, and that this was one consequence which goes with authority. It appeared that the Indians were so dependent on the support and security of official non-Indian authority that the desire for a more independent political structure was tempered by the responsibility involved (Canada 1968-1969). Many of the proposed changes to the *Indian Act* set out in the Handbook for discussion would add to the personal responsibility of the Indian people. In this way the Indian Affairs Department would become less involved in band business, and the role of the officials would change to an advisory capacity.

One of the major Eastern Conferences was held at Moncton, New Brunswick, July 29, 30, and 31, 1968. Delegates from all the bands in the Maritime Provinces attended, along with representatives from the Indian Advisory Council, the Chairman of the National Indian Brotherhood, the Minister of Indian Affairs, and a team of advisors from Indian Affairs. The Honourable Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs, opened this conference commenting on the changes in the needs and wishes of the Indian people since the last revision of the *Indian Act* in 1951. He further outlined some of the administrative problems proposed for discussion during the sessions and the final review which would be made at a national conference in Ottawa. Mr. Chretien also stated: "Being myself from a minority group, I understand the problems of a minority group. You have to be proud to be a minority group." This remark was not well received by the Indian delegates, as the Minister was new at his job, and the Indian people did not relate their situation to that of the French-Canadians of Quebec (Canada 1968-1969).

At the same conference, complaints were made with regard to the conduct of the sessions. One delegate expressed this discontent in the remark:

> This was supposed to be an Indian meeting but the
> Department has given us this book, *Choosing a Path*,

and other papers to read and this is a Department
meeting—this is not an Indian meeting.

Complaints also were made about the selection of a chairman for the
conference. The Indian Affairs Branch representative had asked the chairman
of the Indian Advisory Council of the region to chair the meetings. The
assumption was that an Indian holding this office would be the logical choice.
After a lengthy discussion by the Indian delegates in a closed meeting (the
non-Indians had been asked to withdraw) the original chairman was
reinstated. The delay and the closed meeting could be interpreted as a means
of showing Indian "power"—a gesture of self-government and a move to control
the meetings. The chairman, who had quickly, and with an appearance of
"hurt pride," vacated the chair, agreed to carry on the meetings. He remarked,
informally, that he knew his people, and that it was necessary that they
resolve such an impasse in their own way.

It is interesting to note that the complaint about the selection of a
chairman did not come up until the third day, after an evening gathering of the
Indian delegates. It was mentioned by one delegate that grievances were
brought up during the gathering, and plans were laid to introduce the delaying
tactics. Such tactics accomplished two things: one, to extend the length of the
conference; and two, to establish the fact of Indian control of the meetings.

In general, at these conferences, Indians expressed apprehension that
changes in the *Indian Act* would be hurried, and would not reflect the wishes of
the Indian people. The plea for more time came up repeatedly at the sessions.
The Indians claimed that they were being rushed into accepting proposals
which they did not fully understand. This uneasiness could be attributed to
the residual process of consensus which operated in their own meetings and
councils. This process entails considerable discussion, and it requires time to
come to satisfactory decisions. This matter of time and pressure was evident as
a source of conflict between the Indian delegates and the representatives of the
Indian Affairs Branch. The matter of the inequality of the Indians' position in
relation to the Indian Affairs Branch representatives was brought out in
discussion, and the whole question of which level of government should be
responsible for the administration of the Indians was fraught with
ambivalence and conflict which was far from resolved at the conferences.

With the introduction of the *Policy Proposal* of 1969, known as the *White Paper*, it became clear to the Indian people that the process of transferring aspects of Indian administration to the provinces was, in fact, a policy of termination of special status. Cardinal (1969), Weaver (1983) bring out this aspect of the proposed policy in their discussions of the moves by Indian Affairs, during the 1960s, to encourage provinces to provide more services to Indian people. The response of the Indians was not anticipated by the Government, and delayed any revision of the *Indian Act*. This reaction also set the stage for extended deliberations with regard to changes in policy and the Indians' demand for self-government (Indian Chiefs of Alberta 1970; Waubageshig 1970).

At the time the *White Paper* was put forward as a proposal for future policy, the Indians were not politically organized in any effective associations. The few regional groups had not become a unified voice either regionally or nationally. It became clear, in 1968, that some cohesion would be necessary if the Indians were to have their demands recognized by the Department officials. A more positive move did not come, however, until the threat of the Government proposal, as presented in the *White Paper,* was released (Whiteside 1973:38; Manuel and Posluns 1974:210; Cardinal 1977:182).

In 1944, attempts had been made to organize a North American Indian Brotherhood. By 1950 this organization was terminated due to discord among the various regional groups. This attempt at unity was followed by the formation of the National Indian Council, which became the official organization for status and non-status Indians. By 1968, however, this Council was split into the National Indian Brotherhood to represent the status Indians and the Canadian Metis Society for non-status Natives. The National Indian Brotherhood initially was formed on a non-political basis to speak for Indians on band issues, and to encourage the retention of traditional Native values. During the period of the *Indian Act* conferences, the National Indian Brotherhood was not an accepted vehicle to speak for all the Indian people of Canada. It was intended, by the founders, as a federation of provincial organizations, but no model for communication or action had been accepted by the Indians. Walter Dieter, the President, attended the conferences, and during informal gatherings with the Indian delegates promoted the need for unity of purpose and a national association. The position of the Brotherhood became a focus of

political leadership as a reaction to the *White Paper* of 1969. This change of emphasis brought the Brotherhood into a more prominent position as a national Indian organization with a headquarters in Ottawa.

During the consultation meetings, the most active provincial organizations were those of the Prairie provinces, with Ontario and Quebec less organized, and the Maritime Indians lacking any unified associations to deal with Indian issues on a regional or provincial level. A group of young leaders initiated meetings in 1969 with the intent of organizing a Nova Scotia Union to speak for the Micmac people of the province, and to cooperate with the National Indian Brotherhood, particularly on political matters. Preliminary planning meetings were held in February, June, and August of 1969, to ascertain whether or not the Indians of Nova Scotia were in favour of a union. There were delays, difficulties of financing such a venture, and in obtaining Indian support. The leaders of the planning sessions, however, decided to proceed with the organization of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians.

The Union of Nova Scotia Indians was officially organized in September 1969. The aims of the Union were set forth in the constitution as follows:

    (a) The aims and objectives of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians will relate to the problems of the Indians of Nova Scotia,

    (b) Will act as a liaison with all Indian people in the province, keeping in line with all ideas and opinions, and represent these ideas at the national level,

    (c) Will promote the welfare of Indians,

    (d) Will promote progress of all Indians of Nova Scotia on or off the Reserve,

    (e) Will maintain the rights of Indians in the Province of Nova Scotia and elsewhere,

    (f) Will cooperate with non-Indian organizations or agencies in matters pertaining to Indian interests (Union of Nova Scotia Indians 1969, Article III:1).

The general membership is made up of persons of Indian status who have attained the age of eighteen years. The Union operates with an executive and a Board of Directors, consisting of all the Chiefs of the bands in Nova Scotia.

The first executive was made up of the leaders who had initiated the planning meetings to organize the Union:

President:	Noel Doucette
Vice President (Mainland):	John Knockwood
Vice President (Cape Breton):	Joseph Marshall
Secretary Treasurer:	Stanley Johnson
Legal Advisor:	Alexander Denny

Another member of the planning group, Roy Gould, became Director of Communications (Ibid. Article III:2, Article IV:1). This union was a major step in giving the Nova Scotia bands a vehicle for concerted action, and for setting up a communication network among the Indians of the province. The publication, *Micmac News*, was the outcome of union activity, and formed a link with the Indian people, and an outlet not only for news but the expression of opinions.

The provincial unions were a positive move in the direction of Indians' demands for control of their own affairs. The consultation meetings had made the Indians aware of the necessity for some form of unity to consolidate any advantage they might have in negotiations with the government. These conferences also emphasized the differences which must be overcome to have the Indian people act with any national cooperation. At the various regional conferences, it was evident that some of the Western groups, particularly in British Columbia, were better prepared for the discussions of the questions in the Handbook, *Choosing a Path*, than was the case in the earlier Eastern meetings. Well presented briefs left no doubt about the dissatisfaction among the Indian people of the region. The motive of these briefs seemed to be that the delegates disposed of the specific questions and government recommendations with regard to a new Act in order to spend more time over their grievances with regard to land claims, employment discrimination, and the education policy. It was discrimination against Indians by non-Indians which was the "core" of the matter as the delegates expressed it. A new Act was seen only as a "benevolent re-write," and not as a solution to the problems. These delegates were well-versed in the implications of the *Indian Act*, and outspoken in expressing their opinions. It is likely that the increased sophisti-

cation in the Western presentations was partly the result of information available out of the earlier Eastern meetings, and to some extent related to the difference in the traditional political and social structures of the tribal groups.
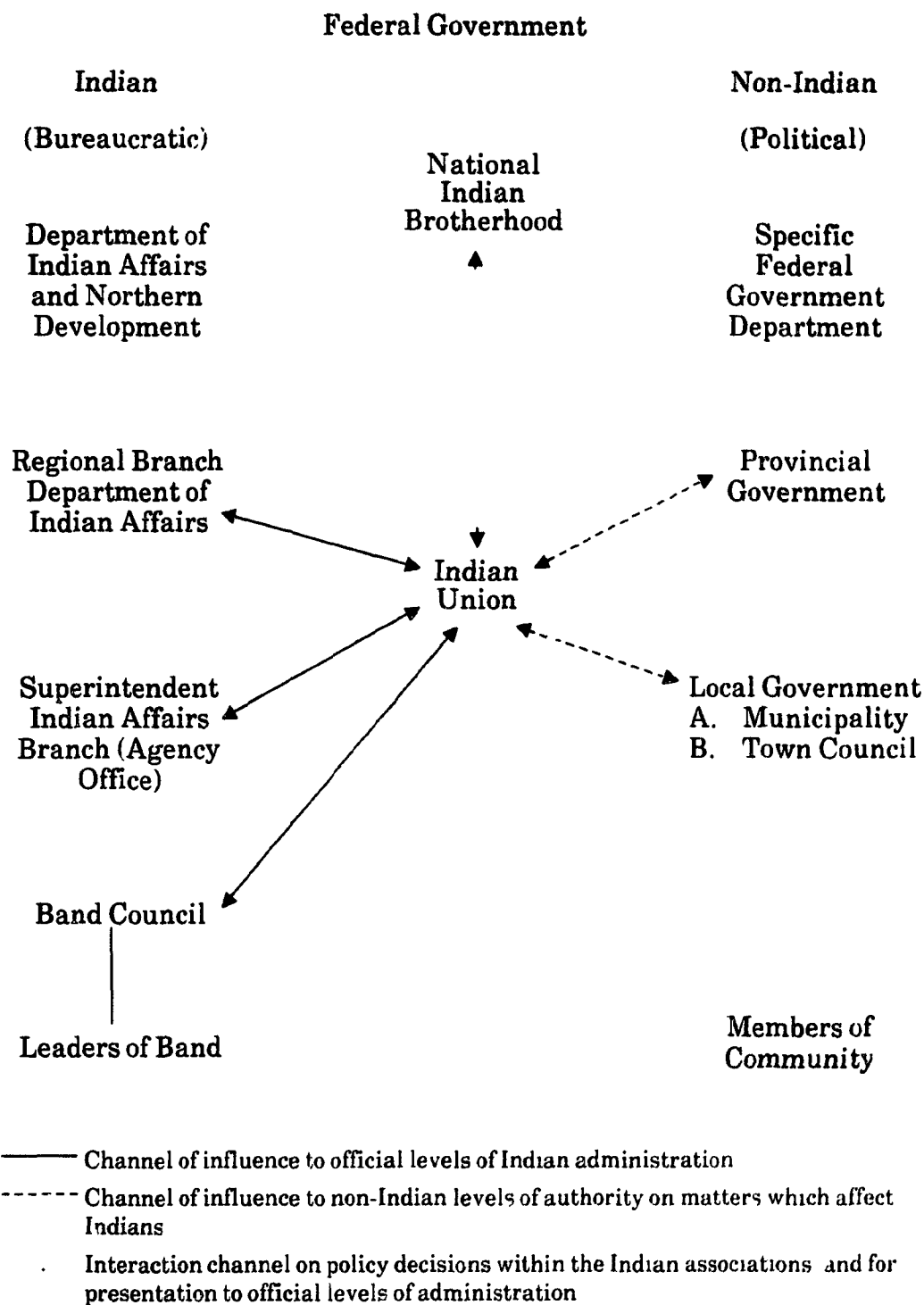
The lack of nation-wide unity among the various tribes and bands historically had been a weakness in any bargaining power the Indians might have had. It is evident from meetings and conferences that associations which did exist were fragile and tended to break down when band demands were at stake. Such lack of concerted effort had weakened control over negotiations for funds, for community development, and for revised laws. The unions, both provincial and that represented by the National Indian Brotherhood, were the Indians' answer to the *White Paper*, and the forerunner to a new era in the Indians' move to have a voice in the decision-making which affected their lives.

With the organization of the Provincial Indian Unions, the channels of communication and authority tended to include an additional level. The unions were not recognized officially, but these links with the National Indian Brotherhood became part of the administrative process and incorporated the unions into the decision-making aspect of the negotiations between the Brotherhood and the Department of Indian Affairs (Figure 2, p. 75). At a conference in Ottawa, April 1969, composed of forty delegates representing all the Indian people across Canada, the Indians presented a united front, which was authorized by the bands to make recommendations for all their people. At this conference regional and tribal differences were subordinated to the outstanding demands of Indians in general.

It was evident during the regional meetings that the Indians were not willing to accept a new *Indian Act* basically patterned on the terms of the 1951 revised act. There were questions and problems which the Indians put forward as being of greater urgency than a new act. A combination of delays and the reluctance of the Indians to make firm proposals for changes in policy brought the land claims into more prominence, and left the revision of the *Indian Act* in abeyance for future review.

The Government response was the announcement of the Government Proposal, the *White Paper*, setting out the policy to turn the administration of Indians and reserve lands over to the provincial governments. In the introduction to the government statement, recognition was given to "the intensive

Figure 2
Indian Union Channels of Communication

Federal Government

Indian   Non-Indian

(Bureaucratic)   (Political)

National
Indian
Brotherhood

Department of   ▲   Specific
Indian Affairs   Federal
and Northern   Government
Development   Department

Regional Branch   Provincial
Department of   Government
Indian Affairs ◀

Indian
Union

Superintendent
Indian Affairs ◀   Local Government
Branch (Agency   A. Municipality
Office)   B. Town Council

Band Council

Leaders of Band   Members of
                                                                Community

———— Channel of influence to official levels of Indian administration

- - - - - Channel of influence to non-Indian levels of authority on matters which affect
Indians

·   Interaction channel on policy decisions within the Indian associations and for
presentation to official levels of administration

discussions with Indian people" held during the late 1960s. Mr. Chretien stated that:

> The Government believes that to continue its past course
> of action would not serve the interests of either the
> Indian or their fellow Canadians (Canada 1969:5).

The statement goes on to discuss the legal structure in terms of discriminatory legislation and barriers created by this legislation in the separation of Indians from other Canadians. The contribution of the Indian cultural heritage was acknowledged in the statement: "The principle of equality and all that goes with it demands that all of us recognize each other's cultural heritage as a source of personal strength" (Ibid.:8). The section which deals with programs and services leaves no doubt as to the goal of the proposed policy, which is that: "Service must come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians" (Ibid.:9).

In presenting this proposal, the role of Indian Associations and the need for consultation are acknowledged, and that the process would take considerable time. The statement does not claim to "provide the ultimate solution to all problems"; it does provide, according to Mr. Chretien, a framework which would bring the Indian people together with other Canadians to work out a common destiny. Here is where the idea of assimilation is brought back rather obviously, into the policy goals of the Federal Government.

The proposed changes of administration from federal to provincial levels was the basis of the *White Paper* and the cause of much controversy between the Indians and the Federal Government. At the conferences, the Indians had made known their objections to any hurried changes of policy. Although they agreed that change was necessary and desirable, it was the firm intent of the Indian leaders that they should have an active role in forming new policies and dictating the terms.

Finally, the Indians year-long campaign against the Government's proposal resulted in the withdrawal of what the Indians considered the offensive *White Paper* just twenty-one days short of its first anniversary. Prime Minister Trudeau announced the decision to shelve the controversial proposal at a meeting of 350 Indian delegates from all parts of Canada. This

decision opened the way for other solutions to a change of policy. The solution did not seem to lie in the *Red Paper*, which the Indians had presented in rebuttal to the government proposal. Although the concept of "Citizen Plus" was retained by the Indians, something more positive in the way of self-government became the focus for negotiations between the Indians the government (Indian Chiefs of Alberta 1970).

The onus was placed on the Indian people to present proposals which would be practical and acceptable to the Federal Government. The Indians had been forced into a position of initiating action in their own time. As Mr. Chretien's unacceptable proposal had triggered off a unity of action among the Indian people, the withdrawal gave further impetus toward concerted action on the part of the Indians. It is unlikely that the tactics of the Minister were deliberately calculated to unite the Indian people, but such moves on the part of the government did bring about this result. In order to set up some mechanisms to deal more equitably with the non-Indian society, in addition to the provincial unions, the Indian, through various forms of associations, such as the "Womens' Homemakers" groups, began to modify, or change, their own concept of social organization to meet the demands of modern economic and political relations with the dominant society.

Traditionally, the Micmac people had forms of organization which met the requirements of their own way of life. Within the various ways of providing social control, the kinship and other obligatory cleavages, based on marriage and tribal alliances, played a major part in the social organization. All societies have their methods for regulating community life, and for carrying on interaction with other peoples. As Robert Lowie states: "The study of social organizations deals primarily with the significant groupings of individuals" (1960:3).

The voluntary associations which emerged in Indian society are defined as social groupings which have limited but clearly specified purposes to which the members belong deliberately, and from which they may resign at will. In this category service clubs, benevolent groups, consumer cooperatives, and community improvement groups are designed to produce some planned change in the environment or way of life. For the most part, the various Indian associations were organized to work toward better services on the reserves,

and to improve the education systems. Indian associations have grown out of the struggle to give articulation to the problems of the group, and are reflections of social change. They might be termed as instruments of that kind of change which Indians see as beneficial to their people, and as being useful in the struggle against what Indians perceive as social injustice.

Indians, unlike the people of an openly avowed apartheid society, carry on their activities in the ambivalent situation of being citizens with democratic rights yet experiencing discrimination in many aspects of life in a dominant society which does not admit discrimination. Indian associations reflected this ethos as they made independent resolutions on the one hand, while, on the other, they requested financial assistance and special concessions from the non-Indian society. A dependency was perpetuated in the very process of a bid for independent control over their own affairs. The Indians have not been efficient fund raisers for their own projects. In the final analysis, all proposals and resolutions have depended on outside financial aid to be effected. In many instances reserve funds were meagre, and individuals did not have sufficient income to finance their proposed projects. There also is an underlying expectation, expressed by the Indians, that the Indian Affairs Branch or some other government agency should provide the necessary funds for economic development and recreational facilities. At the meetings and conferences related to a revised *Indian Act*, there never was any suggestion by the Indians that they could or would provide capital for any proposed projects or changes in the status of the reserves. The Indian associations were not seen by the Indian people as means of raising funds from their own community efforts, but rather as a means of negotiating with the non-Indian society, particularly on government levels, and in spheres of employment.

The *Indian Act* and the amendments upon which Indian policy has been shaped has not brought about the Government's intended goal of assimilation. These policies resulted in isolation of the Micmac bands, and almost a complete lack of participation in the life of the dominant society. In order to bring about voluntary integration with eventual merging with a dominant society, the minority or ethnic group needs to bring a sense of pride of identity and position of equality to the relationship. The Indians have experienced negation of their traditional way of life, their rituals and ceremonies have been legally banned, at times, as deterrents to their becoming Christianized and civilized—in effect

forces against the acceptance of an alien Canadian-European culture. The dominant-subordinate relationship, and its attendant dependency is the type of ethnic race relationship which could not and did not bring about the goal of the government's policies.

There are many aspects of Indian life to be considered in any shift in administrative responsibility. Unresolved matters of aboriginal rights in relation to provincial laws, and the special status of reserves, which provide some security for the Indians, are but a few of the aspects of Indian administration which would have to be incorporated into a provincial system. As Indian life on a reserve is communal, the representatives of Indian Affairs are obliged to consider social structural issues, geographic situations, and the history of the relationship of the Indian bands with the Federal Government in any major change in the administrative responsibility, such as the shifting of Indian Affairs to provincial governments. Any government undertaking this administration will have to be committed initially to this community concept. The retention of Indian land and societies as such is a principle adhered to by the majority of status Indians. The determination of Indians to retain some vestiges of their traditional cultures and group identity have reinforced their demand for self-determination as a society within the Canadian national structure.

The reaction of the Indians to the *White Paper* marked a turning point in Indian-non-Indian relations, and the beginning of a long period of negotiations between the Native peoples and the Indian Affairs officials. In the early 1970s, the Indians', as well as the Government officials', attitude toward the *Indian Act* was that it was an anachronism in a modern industrial society. The Indians, however, were not willing to have the Act abolished without some guarantee that whatever would replace it would be in line with Native demands. They wanted sovereign status, but also the rights of trusteeship as set out in the act. This concept of sovereignty and trusteeship is a contradiction in itself. The Indians expressed their desire to develop their own reserves economically yet still reflect their traditional values. They wanted to do away with the Department of Indian Affairs, but retain what they considered the relevant aspects of the trustee relationship with the Federal Government. Such a relationship would be difficult to achieve. They argued,

however, that they did not need "an army" of civil servants to administer their affairs.

The question of policy change has followed the negotiations into the 1980s, and brought about a further study of the Indian situation by the Special Committee under the charimanship of Keith Penner. This study sets out many of the earlier problems of the administration of Indian affairs, and has made recommendations for changes in policy, many of which are similar to those proposed in earlier Joint Committee Reports and surveys. In the proposals made by this Committee, any revision of the *Indian Act* is summed up in the statement:

> The committee does not support amending the *Indian
> Act* as a route to self-government. The antiquated policy
> basis and structure of the *Indian Act* make it completely
> unacceptable as a blueprint for the future (Canada
> 1983:47).

The committee further makes clear that any legislation that evolves to bring about the necessary policy changes must be flexible enough to provide for the range of governments of the Indian First Nations, and that such governments should be protected by the Constitution (Ibid.:48,57).

Chapter 4

Education and Assimilation

In the broad sense, education is the passing on of learned accomplishments and behavior patterns within a society. In the formal sense, it is the institutionalized process of teaching and learning specific aspects of a society—the imparting and acquisition of knowledge and skill. Prior to the advent of the formal school, education was a process of imitation and experience, and there was little need for any special structural approach. The primitive approach to education was a family matter. Fathers or uncles taught the young boys and mothers or other female members of the kinship taught the girls. It was largely a matter of practice under the supervision and guidance of an older member of the family or tribe. The function of education, therefore, was based on the presentation and transmission of culture, and the passing on of beliefs, knowledge, skills, and values in accordance with the culture in which the individual would live out the life cycle.

In non-literate societies, the knowledge accumulated over the centuries had to be passed on from generation to generation without reference to written words. The ways of a people must be learned; they are not passed on genetically. In societies where there is a differentiation in social status, there is a difference in education systems. Thus, education prepares a child for a particular milieu in a particular society, that is, the transmission of different codes of behavior. Education, therefore, is a type of social control.

In an overview of theories relating to knowledge, ideology, and the politics of schooling, Sharp (1980) emphasizes some of the concepts which are relevant in looking at education in terms of policies. In Weber's era, the realm of the educated classes was divided into the "educated gentlemen," or *status quo* group, and the "professional expertise," or "credentialism group." This theory makes education an extension of social stratification. For Veblem, education was tied to a view of the world which is materialistically oriented, and places schooling in a socio-economic sphere. Mannheim maintained that education was related to class, occupational group, generation, and the ethos of competition. In these concepts of education, it is a tool to avoid disorder, and to control the members of society (Sharp 1980:29-40). Freire refers to education

as a means of "changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them" (1970:58-62), which is, in essence, a tool for replacing one world view with another.

The concept of education as a tool for change and/or social control is evident in all policies related to Native education initiated by the various government agencies since the European occupation of the New World. The intent of these policies was to turn tribal people into participating and assimilated members of the larger structure of the dominant non-Indian society. The encroachment on Indian lands and the inconsistencies of laws pertaining to Native people tended to engender distrust of non-Indian governments and education systems, which were paternalistic in nature, and did not foster Indian participation in the dominant society.

The matter of education during the period covered in this study has been a Federal responsibility, and the Indian people have had no official control over the decisions which affected them in this regard. This policy tended to alienate Indians from the whole formal education process, and was not conducive to students pursuing education beyond the elementary level.

In the pre-European period, the Micmac people had their own political, economic, social, and educational systems, which were based on the environment, and the resources at their disposal. The education of the Indians was oriented toward adaptation and survival. It was part of the whole socialization process, and was carried out through example and practical application within the context of the culture.

During the early era of European settlement, little attempt was made to provide the Native people with formal education comparable to non-Indian education. The only source of schooling, in any way similar to the European pattern, was provided by the missionaries in their zeal to convert the Indians. According to Jaenen, the early missionaries undertook "unattainable objectives" to convert and acculturate the Indian children (in Barman et al. 1986:45).

During the French regime, the Bourbon Government, in cooperation with the church, carried out a policy of "francizing" the Micmac with a view to eventually assimilating them into the French settlements. The primary

objective was to convert and civilize the Indians, in the conviction that they were without religion and were barbarians, and to achieve their submission to the authority of the Crown of France (Canada 1671:111; Grant and Biggar 1907). The French missionaries saw schooling as one aspect of this process of assimilation. In time, the educators realized that Indian cultures were not easily eradicated, and that traditional beliefs were well rooted in the Native culture. There also was some acceptance that many of the Native customs and practices were of practical relevance to the North American environment. It was realized that traditional European educational systems could not be imposed on the Native children with the same results as those achieved in French society. This alien education disrupted the traditional culture patterns, without offering complete opportunity to participate in French society, and left the children as misfits in both the Native and French worlds (Thwaites 1896 (16):251; Jaenen in Barman et al. 1986:45-61; Ralston 1981: 470-475). The educational policy carried out in New France was not seen as successful either by the colonial bureaucracy or the Gallican church.

Father Pierre Maillard, however, did leave a lasting legacy among the Micmac people. Between 1735 and 1738, during his sojourn in Cape Breton, Father Maillard developed a system of hieroglyphics which the Indians used for religious translation for nearly 200 years. This priest's death, in 1762, ended over a century's missionary work to transform the Indians into Christian Frenchmen. History has shown that the objective of bringing the Micmac into the Roman Catholic Church was successful, but the attempts to alienate the Indians from their traditional way of life did not bring about the desired result.

In the British Colonial period, education for Native people was a sporadic effort carried out by missionaries and a few government agents. The Colonial authorities and the churches sometimes clashed over finances and policy, but, for the most part, the churches set the pattern of education. Krauter and Davis state that "the Indians became pawns in inter-bureaucratic struggles among various agencies," and formal education was not well accepted by Indian parents, as it was contrary to traditional "learning-by-doing" (1978:16; Patterson 1972:114). These authors emphasize the resistance to education on the part of the Indians, and the coercion used to force school attendance. Reports of Micmac Missions bear out this reluctance to accept education. In

one instance teachers were forbidden by the Indians to approach their encampment, stones were thrown, and there were other threats of violence (Nova Scotia, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS) 1849, 1850, and 1866).

Under British rule legislation, prior to 1867, placed the responsibility for Indian education with the Colonial authorities. The early policies, like the French policies before them, did not achieve the intended result, that was to bring tribal people, as participating members, into the dominant non-Indian society. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were periods of settlement expansion, and it was seen as necessary by the Colonial authorities to control and placate the Indian population through a policy of isolated communities (reserves) and an education system aimed at changing the pattern of Indian life.

On the recommendation, in 1815, of Bishop Plessis, a Trappist monastery was founded, in 1819, by the Reverend Vince de Paul Merle, in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, but it was not until 1826 that Father Merle received any official support from the Nova Scotia Government. Joseph Howe, as Commissioner for Indians in 1840, acknowledged some success in this teaching and was the instigator of an "Act to provide for the Instruction and permanent Settlement of the Indians." This Act provided for a chief's house, a church, and a school on each reserve. It also permitted the attendance of Indian children at any provincial school. Although the provisions of this Act were not carried out, Howe did encourage the Indians to send their children to public schools (Nova Scotia 1844).

At the completion of Howe's tenure as Commissioner, in 1844, his plans to establish education systems for the Micmacs were neglected. In 1847, however, Abraham Gesner, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, introduced instruction in agriculture and industry. In his report of 1849, it is noted that seventeen Micmac families settled in Shubenacadie on the basis of this education scheme. This project was short-lived, however, due to crop failure and non-Indian encroachment on Indian lands. During this period, in 1846, there was one lasting contribution to education in the recording of Indian legends and the creation of the first dictionary of the Micmac language by the Reverend Silas Rand (Rand 1849, 1850).

Between 1850 and 1860, the government agencies paid little attention to Indian education. The members of Eskasoni Reserve failed in their efforts to have the school re-established which had been granted as early as 1845. During this period, two Micmac boys were not permitted to attend Pictou Academy, and a request by Father Courteau to have an Indian educated as a teacher for the Micmac people was withdrawn when the candidate changed his plans (Nova Scotia 1851:282; 1852:309; Ralston 1981:488). Under William Chearnley, as Commissioner, the education policy was based on the conviction that Indians were unwilling to work and were of "unsettled habits" (Nova Scotia 1859:24). Chearnley's policy was to limit his activities to practical aspects such as the distribution of blankets, clothing, and, where indicated, seed for farming. He considered the Micmac to be ineducable, thus justifying the government inaction in the matter of Indian education (Nova Scotia 1854:2, 1855,1856).

During the 1860s, in the period just prior to Confederation, members of the Legislative Assembly still held to the philosophy that education and civilization would result in assimilation as the answer to the Indian problem. Settlement and agriculture were to be the criteria to bring about this goal. The policy, however, was that settlement should precede the establishment of schools. When a sufficient number of Indians were settled and requested some form of education, it would be provided. Samuel Fairbanks, an Indian Commissioner, expressed the hope that the Micmac would learn from: "the example and success of a few of the tribe, aided by the advice and encouragement of men of influence about them" (Nova Scotia 1866:2).

This emphasis on settlement before education explains, in part, the lack of action with regard to Indian education. There also was a legacy from Chearnley's reports that the Micmac were "destined to live a roving life, almost wholly dependent on charity" (Nova Scotia 1861:2). In 1867, there were few Indians with any formal education or who were considered literate in the non-Indian sense. In over 250 years of European influence, no consistent formal educational system had been established.

At the time of Confederation, 1867, Section 91 Head 24 of the *British North America Act* placed the administration of Indians under the authority of the Federal Government, thus the policy with regard to the education of

Native people came under the jurisdiction of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. During the years immediately after Confederation, however, this responsibility was not exercised to any extent, and the Micmac Indians were neglected as far as education and relief were concerned (Nova Scotia 1870a:47). A Committee on Indian Affairs in 1870 confirmed this situation, and supported the report from Samuel Fairbanks, the Indian Agent from Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia 1870b:9). These findings were in accord with the report of William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, in his annual report for 1869, in the statement that the Federal Government could leave the Indians of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in "their present unprogressive state" or follow a policy "to bring them up to at least the standard of the more advanced Indians of Ontario and Quebec." On the basis of these reports, the Superintendent General proposed that the funds be granted for the education of the Indians in order to hasten the process of civilizing them (Canada 1869, 1870).

When Joseph Howe was appointed Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, in John A. Macdonald's cabinet (Nova Scotia 1870c), he brought to his office the same philosophy with regard to the education of the Micmac that he had proposed as Commissioner. He contended that consistent schooling was the foundation for Indian progress and assimilation. During the three years that he was Superintendent General, Howe improved the management of Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia, and increased the annual grant which was specifically allocated to the establishment of schools. In his report in 1872, he stated that:

> The Indians everywhere, have been encouraged to self-reliance and mental development. The schools already in existence have been sustained, and others have been established or aided (Nova Scotia 1872:1).

Howe visited a number of reserves and observed progress "to elevate the aborigines" (Ibid.). His philosophy with regard to the education of the Micmac people is summed up in the statement:

> I am in hopes that during the current years something like an approach to the Canadian system may be introduced into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (Ibid.).

The policies of 1868 and 1869 were still in effect and were designed "to lead the Indian people by degrees to mingle with the white race." The goal of assimilation still was much in evidence in the post-Confederation era.

The *Indian Act* of 1876, Section 113, to 122, makes provision for the Federal Government, through the Minister of Indian Affairs, to enter into agreements with provincial or municipal governments, local school boards, or religious organizations for the provision of educational services for Indians living on Canadian reserves. In accordance with this Act the Minister is authorized to establish, operate, and maintain schools for Indian children (113(2)). This Act provides for the complete authority of the Minister over all aspects of education, including standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education, inspection, discipline, attendance, and all regulations pertaining to the education of Indian children.

The responsibility for educating Native children brought about a cooperation between church and state which has left its mark on the way many Indians view the whole education process, and has influenced the attitudes of these people toward education policy. This policy brought the day schools into the life of the reserve, the much hated residential school into the system, and later made provision for the integrated system of Indian children attending provincial public schools.

The missionary on the Micmac reserve had been a person of considerable importance, who exercised functions other than spiritual, and who had assumed responsibility for education as well as dispensing medical supplies and, at times, even performing simple surgery (Grant 1984:173). By the 1880s, however, the growth of the Indian Affairs Department transferred economic and educational matters to the agents in accordance with the federal government's legal responsibility for the administration for Indians and their reserves.

The day schools were seen as a means to accomplish the goals of the Indian Affairs Branch, and in the earlier reports mention was made of the success with Indian children. It was soon evident, however, that attendance was low and parents did not encourage their children to enrol in the schools. In many instances, particularly on Cape Breton Island, members of the clergy

became agents, thus religious instruction was emphasized over secular subjects in these schools.

The Superintendents General and the Agents seem to have expected a great deal of dedication from the teachers in the Federal reserve schools. According to the regulations issued by the Department of Indian Affairs' officials, the teachers were responsible for teaching reluctant students as well as bringing promising students to a state of willingness to learn. These teachers were challenged to teach the alien curriculum of the non-Indian society to children from a different cultural background. Along with these duties were the responsibilities of enforcing discipline, protecting school property, maintaining school records and submitting school reports. Further duties required that teachers assist in yearly inspections, and be on duty not only during school hours but according to any additional regulations issued by the superintendent. They also were expected to interpret the field of education and its benefits to the Indian community in general and the parents of the pupils in particular. The information on the Federal schools in Nova Scotia indicates that the success or failure of a school depended on the personality of the teacher, although even in the terms of better attendance and progress of the students, the teacher and school were not accepted with any enthusiasm by the band in general (Canada 1879-1965).

By 1878 reports indicated that the day school program was not a complete failure, but other systems were being considered. The department officials commissioned an evaluation of the residential schools in the United States. From these recommendations the concept of the boarding school was introduced into the proposed education policy, but, at that time, no residential school was established in Nova Scotia. The philosophy was that greater progress could be made with the education of the children if they were removed from the influence of the reserve, and were "emancipated" from the ignorance and superstition of their culture. The Department, however, continued to establish and staff day schools, and by the 1900s such schools were available to most Indian children in Nova Scotia. The day school was re-evaluated, and the official attitude toward this system improved (Canada 1898).

Although the day schools for the most part were operated by non-Indians, there were some Indian teachers employed in these education systems. Victor

Christmas, of Eskasoni, taught at Whycocomagh from 1892 to 1894; Charles Bernard taught at Eskasoni from 1900 to 1903; and Frank Cabot, of Whycocomagh, taught at Malagawatch in 1914. These teachers were not certified, but, at that time, the Department had plans to have Native teachers as an asset with regard to language and acceptance by the Micmac communities. Agnes Gorman, who taught at Bear River in 1918, and at Eskasoni from 1918 go 1920, was a graduate of the Provincial Normal school at Truro, Nova Scotia, and Michael Prosper, who taught at Wagmatcook in 1931, may have had some qualifications as he had taught in the non-Indian public schools. These teachers did not have any better success in these appointments than the non-Indians had. There is no further evidence of Indian teachers in the education system until the 1970s.

Rarely did a teacher at any of these schools remain more than two years, and in some cases one year or less was the extent of their stay. There appears to have been a combination of isolation, lack of teacher qualification, and discontent on the part of the band members working against any long-term commitment on the part of the teachers. A brief history of the day schools of the Micmac reserves in Nova Scotia illustrates the situation of the school and the teacher in relation to the students and the members of the community.

In 1840, a number of children from the Micmac reserve at Bear River were admitted to the provincial school under a program promoted by Joseph Howe, as Indian Commissioner. There were twelve Indian children in this program, but there is no record that this arrangement continued after Howe's tenure as Commissioner in 1844. In 1872, when Howe was Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, the Indian Agent, John Harlow, reported that a school had been provided for the Bear River reserve. This reserve was the first in Nova Scotia to acquire a school after Confederation. This school was closed in 1873, but the Bear River day school resumed operation in 1878. In 1880, John Harlow, as Indian Agent, reported that the progress of the pupils was good, and expressed expectations of improvement in the education of Indian children. At that time there were twenty-two pupils enrolled, but the attendance was irregular, which the Agent attributed to the apathy of the parents. The school was closed in 1942 after a series of twelve teachers of varying terms with Mrs. Rose Ford remaining in the appointment for twenty years.

The Whycocomagh school was opened in 1874 after some unsuccessful attempts made in 1870 and 1871. The first teacher, John McEachen, taught in an abandoned house with twenty-five to thirty pupils on the register. The Agent, Reverend Donald McIsaac, reported the teacher's performance excellent, efficient, and successful, yet the daily attendance was low. The reports from this school also commented on the lack of interest on the part of the parents. McEachen taught at the school for eighteen years, but, according to the Agent, his work left little impact on the reserve. This teacher was followed by a succession of thirteen teachers to 1948, when the school was closed due to the centralization policy. Another school was opened in 1952 to accommodate the repopulation of the Whycocomagh reserve (Canada 1872-1952).

Prior to Confederation, the Micmac of Eskasoni had requested a school in 1845. A school building and funds for a teacher's salary were provided, but the school was closed in 1846 because the funds were needed for medical purposes. It was not until 1875 that funds were granted for another school building. Of eighty-three children of school age, forty-eight were enrolled, with an average attendance of twenty-nine. The first teacher, Roderick McNeil, was highly regarded by the Agent, but was not liked by the Indians; also the Chief of the band was opposed to the teaching in the English language. As a result of the conflict between the band and the teacher, the attendance rate fell to a daily average of ten pupils out of a possible ninety. The situation changed little prior to 1920, but some improvement in literacy was noted by 1940. A series of teachers and conflict with the Chief, along with political patronage, tended to plague the school, and resulted in disruption which lasted until the centralization program. In 1945, a four-classroom school was built along with residences for teachers and the Indian Agent and agency offices. This school was operated by the Sisters of St. Martha, of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, and was reported to be an improvement on the old type of day school with only one teacher. The school population continued to increase and further expansion of the school was carried out in 1949. The school continued to operate until the 1970s (Canada 1875-1947).

In 1877 a grant of $150.00 was made available for a school at Pictou Landing (Indian Cove), and in 1880 a school was opened with thirty-three pupils enrolled. Attendance was poor and in 1881 it dropped to seven. The Agent, Reverend Roderick McDonald, reported that the low attendance rate

was due to the indifference of the parents and the nomadic ways of the Indians. The school was closed in 1884, and reopened in 1898. It continued to operate until the 1950s. The attendance continued to be a problem, and some of the teachers' lack of qualifications contributed to disorder in the school.

In 1874 the Indian Agent, Reverend Joseph McDonald, requested a school for Wagmatcook (Nyanza, Middle River, Cape Breton). Five years later a school was opened with an enrollment of twenty-three. Attendance was poor and, although the teacher, Miss M.A. McEachen, was rated one of the best, the progress of the pupils was reported to be of indifferent standard. In 1901 the school was destroyed by a brush fire. It was rebuilt in 1902, and had a period when reports were satisfactory. After a series of teachers for short periods, the school continued until the 1950s, when a new two-classroom school was built (Canada 1874-1947).

The Chapel Island reserve has a special status among the Micmac people as it is adjacent to the island which is the gathering place for the Festival of Saint Ann, and is the area where the Indians have held their traditional ceremonies throughout their history. A school was opened on this reserve in 1886 with an enrollment of twenty-seven pupils, but the average rate of attendance was 31 percent, which dropped to 24 percent in 1898. In spite of favourable reports for 1893 and 1894, the attendance record for this school was considered the worst among the Indian day schools of the Maritime Provinces. In 1909 the Superintendent, Mr. A.J. Boyd, reported favourably on the teaching, but found the school building in need of repair. A further problem, brought to light by one of the teachers, was the matter of political patronage and the interference by local politicians in school matters. In 1965 the school was closed, and the pupils transferred to the public school in Johnstown, Nova Scotia (Canada 1893-1894; Hamilton 1986:48-51).

The reserve at New Germany was disbanded in 1933, but the Agent's report for 1882 stated that the Indians were farmers and industrious people. This band offered to build a school if the department would supply a teacher. It turned out that the Indians paid for a teacher, who taught in one of the homes on the reserve. There was some discussion among the Department officials as to the need of a school as the Indian children could attend the provincial public school. In 1885, however, funds were made available and a school was

constructed in 1886. It took six months to find a teacher, as it was reported that neither the pay nor the living arrangements were attractive to the likely candidates. Miss Maggie J. Barss finally got the school under way in 1887, with an enrollment of fourteen pupils. Reports indicate that the teachers and the progress of the pupils were satisfactory until 1897 when there were complaints about a new teacher. In 1898 Miss Barss was re-engaged, and reports indicate improvement in attendance of the pupils and the attitude of the parents. The members of the band council and the Department seemed to show an increased determination to have experienced, well qualified teachers in the reserve school.

A question of Indian status and the members of the community was challenged in the attendance at this school. It was reported that Federal funds were being spent for the education of non-Indian children. The Agent, Dr. J.S. Chisholm, acknowledged that there were few Indian children living on the reserve, and suggested that Indians from Gold River join the New Germany group. The question over the status of the children remained. There also was non-Indian interest in claiming the reserve land. The school was closed in 1926, and the building was turned over to provincial jurisdiction (Canada 1926).

As Indians had tended to frequent the Halifax-Dartmouth area, the Department, in 1880, set aside seventy acres of land to establish the Cole Harbour reserve, and initially ten families settled there. By 1885 a school was established, but it was not occupied until 1893. The teacher, Miss Catherine F. Longley, started out with twenty-four pupils but attendance decreased to eleven and, in four years, to five. By 1899 only two families with three children remained on the reserve. The school was short-lived and closed in 1899 (Canada 1885-1899).

The Millbrook reserve near Truro, Nova Scotia, is the result of Indian squatters settling in the area. In 1886, one hundred Indian families were allotted a thirty-five acre property, which was purchased by the Department of Indian Affairs for their use. Andrew Paul, who was a Grand Chief from Cape Breton, informed the Department that there were thirty children on this reserve and that a school was needed. The Agent, Dr. D.H. Muir, did not recognize the Chief's position and claimed that Paul had no official role in the

affairs of Millbrook. He further stated that there were only twenty children of school age at Millbrook and no school was needed.

In 1895 Muir requested a school, which was opened in 1898, when Thomas B. Smith took over as Agent. The first teacher was the Agent's daughter, Bessie M. Smith, which brought forth complaints from the parish priest, Reverend M.K. Kinsella, that the teacher was a Presbyterian and all the Micmacs were Roman Catholics. As a concession to Father Kinsella, Miss Smith was replaced by Miss Jessie M. Scott in 1901, who had one of the largest teaching appointments in the day school period, and was reported to be "an experienced and capable teacher." The Nova Scotia Superintendent, A.J. Boyd, also made favourable mention of this teacher's work. In spite of Miss Scott's capable operation of the school, attendance was poor. After a series of teachers, most of whom spent short periods in the appointment, the school was closed in 1956. Since 1957 the pupils have attended the schools in Truro (Canada 1889-1956).

In the mid and latter part of the nineteenth century, the Micmac Indians sought employment in the Sydney shipyards. For this reason, in 1880, the provincial government transferred land to the Federal Government specifically to establish a reserve for the eighteen families in this community located on King's Road, Sydney, Cape Breton, which became known as Membertou.

A school was established in 1903, with the aim of overcoming the isolation of the Indian people and the lack of ability to speak the English language. Miss Nellie C. Connolly, who had taught at Pictou Landing, was the first teacher and the enrollment was twenty-five. The attendance, like other reserve schools, only reflected a percentage of the registered children. All told, the school on this reserve was not considered to be a successful venture by the Indian Agent, Dr. D.K. McIntyre, and he resigned his appointment as a gesture of discouragement that he had failed to bring about any improvement on the reserve (Canada 1895-1956).

Successive teachers were considered incompetent. By 1922, however, it was reported that the teacher, Miss Catherine Gallagher, was "faithful and satisfactory." In 1927 a new school was built on the new location of the Membertou reserve, and Miss Gallagher conducted classes in this school until 1964. This teacher was one of the few in the day school system who stayed for a

long period of time (47 years), and was successful and highly regarded by the Indian people. After her retirement, the children from Membertou were enrolled in the Sydney public school (Gould 1985; Paul 1985).

The Membertou reserve, being adjacent to the City of Sydney, became more urban in its outlook than most of the reserves in Nova Scotia. Members of this reserve became more active in the organization of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. The communication centre, which was established in conjunction with the Union, was located on the reserve, and has played a major role in the movement toward self-government and Indian control of Indian affairs.

The Malagawatch reserve, which was located on the shores of the Bras d'Or Lakes in Cape Breton, has not been occupied since 1942. As early as 1874, however, there was a request by the Indian Agent, Reverend J.B. McDonald, for an abandoned building to be used as a school. It was not until 1907 that a further request for a school was made. In 1910 a school with a teacher residence was provided and classes began with an enrollment of seventeen. The teacher, Mr. Arsene Burns, introduced the first night school classes for adults in the Indian education system. This venture did not attract sufficient members to be considered worthwhile by the Department. By 1911 the day school attendance had decreased to one pupil. In 1914 Mr. Frank Cabot, a member of the Whycocomagh band, was engaged as the teacher, with an enrollment of twelve pupils. When Mr. Cabot left to further his own education, the school lasted, under another teacher, until 1917, when it was closed. By 1923 the school was re-opened, and continued until 1942, when it was closed in conjunction with the policy of centralization (Canada 1914-1942).

In the matter of Indian education, mention should be made of the efforts of one man, George F. Richardson, who, on his own initiative, started a school at Tuft's Cove, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. He had twenty-five Indian children registered in 1912. Although Tuft's Cove was not an official reserve, there were ten Micmac families living in this community at the time. When the Indian Affairs Branch Superintendent, A.J. Boyd, learned of the project, and informed the Federal authorities, it was agreed that the Department would pay rent for the quarters used as the school. Also a salary was provided for Mr. Richardson. This teacher's ill health, and the Halifax explosion of 1917, put an

end to this education project, and the Tuft's Cove area never did become a reserve.

Although the Indian Agent, John R. McDonald, requested a school for the Afton reserve in 1899, this community was one of the last Micmac bands to receive a school. It took several more requests, in 1904 and 1911, before a school finally was opened in 1913. The first teacher, William J. Rogers, had fifteen years teaching experience on accepting this appointment, and was reported to have some knowledge of the conditions and requirements of the Indians. The initial enrollment was thirty-nine pupils, which increased to forty-two by 1916. Mr. Rogers was replaced due to political pressure, which tended to influence the employment of teachers in a number of the reserves. After a series of five teachers, the school was closed in 1947 as part of the centralization policy. This school was re-opened in 1952 and continued until 1958, when all pupils were transferred to the provincial system (Canada 1899-1958).

Table 1 gives the period of operation of the schools and the number of teachers engaged.

Table 1: School Record, Operation and Teachers

Reserve	Period of Operation	Number of Teachers
Bear River	1872 to 1942	12
Whycocomagh	1874 to 1952	14
Eskasoni	1875 to 1947	29
Pictou Landing	1880 to 1957	9
Wagmatcook	1883 to 1947	18
Chapel Island	1886 to 1965	21
New Germany	1887 to 1926	11
Cole Harbour	1893 to 1899	2
Indian Brook	1894 to 1947	10
Millbrook	1898 to 1956	18
Sydney (Membertou)	1903 to 1964	10
Malagawatch	1910 to 1942	8
Tuft's Cover	1912 to 1917	1
Afton	1913 to 1947	6

It may be seen from the foregoing historic sketches that these day schools range from 1872 to 1913 as the period of their introduction into the education system. They lasted for various periods, with most of them closed by the 1940s, a few lasting into the 1950s, and two to the 1960s. In some cases the closing of the school coincided with the policy to integrate Indian children into the non-Indian provincial schools or at the time of the policy for the centralization and consolidation of the Nova Scotia reserves. For the most part, however, the day schools were considered failure. as far as serving the educational require-ments of the reserves (Hamilton 1986).

Although these day schools were operated for different periods of time, and were affected by local situations, there were similarities in the difficulties of operation. The formal qualifications of the teachers varied markedly, but the real difference appears to have been in the matter of dedication to the children's progress and welfare, and the ability to relate socially to the community. For the most part, the teachers failed to develop good relations with the Indian people, which resulted in intensifying the rejection of the Indians to the whole education system. The length of time spent in employ-ment at the schools also added to the lack of success of the system. The most successful results of the teaching appear to be in the few cases where teachers remained for considerable periods of time, and developed good relations with the parents and the reserve people in general.

When Duncan Campbell Scott was appointed Superintendent of Educa-tion in the Indian Affairs Branch in 1909, it marked a changed policy direction in Indian education. Systems that were considered inefficient, such as the industrial schools, were to be phased out in favour of improving other methods. Scott recognized the role of the day school in the Maritime Provinces, but he advocated residential schools wherever practical. He emphasized the key elements in Canadian Indian policy in the statement that:

> The destruction of the children's link to their ancestral
> culture and their assimilation into the dominant society
> were its main objectives (Titley 1986:75).

Questions of economy were always present in any dealings Scott had with the churches with regard to the provision of education. In 1910, Scott held a conference of the various religious denominations, and agreed on a per capita

increase from $72 to $100 and $125 per year for students in boarding schools. Any additional government spending, however, would bring about an increase in supervision and inspections by Department officials (Ibid.:85-87). Scott also increased teachers salaries from $300 to $400 per annum to come more into line with salaries of the non-Indian schools, which ranged from $500 to $600. Transportation and accommodation expenses were provided. He made improvements to school supplies such as footwear, clothing, and food. Games and simple calisthenics were introduced in the hope that attendance would improve, and to try to overcome the apathy, and in some cases hostility, of the parents (Ibid.:90). It was important for the education branch of the department to show that something was being achieved, as education was the most expensive component of Indian Affairs (Ibid.:90-93).

At the time the residential school was opened at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, in 1928-29 there were seventy-eight co-educational residential schools operating across Canada. The one at Shubenacadie was originally established to provide for Indian orphans and children from reserves at some distance from a school. It became part of the education system for Indians in the Maritime Provinces during Scott's time as Deputy Superintendent, and was intended to produce self-supporting citizens who would not return to the reserve and their aboriginal life-style (Canada 1928-1929; Scott 1929:9).

Scott's description of the operation of the Shubenacadie school gives a different picture to that of the reports by Battiste (1986) and Paul (1978) of the regime of that school. Scott claimed that the school would provide classroom work comparable to the public schools of Nova Scotia, and that the program would be both academic and vocational. The principal and teaching staff would be provided by the Roman Catholic Church, which would ensure that the pupils would receive a religious education. According to Scott, the whole organization of this school was designed to bring about the future assimilation of the graduates (Canada 1929).

Although the combination of academic classroom and vocational work was reported to be carried out, the criticisms of the residential system indicate that the program of study fell far short of the standard of the public schools of Nova Scotia. The reports of the treatment of the pupils, by administrative and teaching staff, gives a picture of lack of understanding of Indian culture and

extreme punishments for misdemeanors, which might have been dealt with more humanely. The reported reactions of the pupils was fear and attempts to escape an unhappy situation (Paul 1978; Battiste 1986).

In her study of the residential school at Shubenacadie, O'Hearn (1989) brings out the traumatic nature of the experience of the pupils. The lack of understanding, on the part of the administration and the teachers, of the Indian way of life and the importance of the children's traditional heritage is evident in the interviews of ex-residents of the school. O'Hearn states in her conclusions that: "... it has become obvious that a true and complete reconstruction of all the events, ideas, and personalities is not possible" (1989:134). The study does, however, give an undeniable impression of the way in which the Indians viewed the school. The school itself was a product of the Federal policies of the era, and reflects the short-comings of these policies in which Indian people had no control over the decisions which governed their lives or the education systems which were rooted in them.

These schools were operated by church denominations under contract to the Canadian Government, which paid all costs, including salaries to teachers and civil service employees. The church controlled the curriculum, and was referred to as "management" in contracts. Each church was free to emphasize religious training as a regular part of the program. Usually the denomination running the school had had a mission or had run a day-school prior to the advent of the residential school. In Nova Scotia, the Micmac under the French had been converted to Roman Catholicism so there was no church competition in the Indian school system. Fixed formulas were established in the residential schools to provide for food, clothing, transportation, and other operating expenses. The assignment of an Indian child to a residential school was the responsibility of the Indian Agency Superintendent. In a summary of school operations at Mopass, King comments that the schedule

> ... bears a striking resemblance to a well-run stock ranch or dairy farm in which valued animals are carefully nurtured. General health, proper nutrition, shelter, and physical care are efficiently and adequately provided. The children are moved, fed, cared for, and rested by a rotating crew of overseers who condition the herd to respond to sets of signals (1967:55).

In spite of the term "efficiently" King states that the records kept of the children and attention paid to individual characteristics, for the most part, were neglected by the "herders" (1967:55-56). The regimentation and supervision within these residential schools was on a strict time schedule. Life was lived on a ritualistic pattern. Days were organized on strict time segmentation for classes, chores, meals and bed time. In Mopass, whistles were used by the supervisors to regulate the schedule. These whistles seemed to have an urgency to them, and according to King's study, were resented by the children (Ibid.:46-49).

King's study of the school at Mopass is an example of the residential system, and how Indian children learned a sub-culture of their own which defeated the intended aims of the teachers and school administrators. The Indian children learned to adapt to the alien environment and behavior pattern through a "pragmatic gamesmanship," which was substituted for any decision-making on the part of the Indian child. According to King, the Indian children considered decisions as "detestable events" unless there was some direct benefit to be derived from them (Ibid.:78). The behavior of the Indian child in the residential school, therefore, was more likely to be one of conformity to routine. This study also emphasized the problems of inter-cultural communication, and pointed out some of the reasons for the failure of the residential school education system. King concluded that such a school system "is dysfunctional in the sense that it does not produce the kind of product which it is intended to produce," the desired product being:

> ...a well-integrated Canadian citizen equipped with attitudes and intellectual skills that enable him to function within the larger society in basically the same manner as other citizens (Ibid.:ix).

The residential school and the rights of parents to have their children at home was discussed in the House of Commons in 1946, when the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was proposed to look into all aspects of Indian administration (Canada 1946). It was stated that:

> In numbers the race is increasing: in educational effort the Indian is developing, slowly perhaps, but never-theless developing toward a better acquaintance with the ways of the white race. His blood is becoming

steadily more mixed, which, in fact points toward
ultimate assimilation (Ibid.:1496).

The discussion further points out that:

It is neither necessary nor merciful in the long run to
encourage him perpetually to continue in a state of bac '.-
wardness or semi-backwardness. Nevertheless . . . the
process of assimilation cannot be unduly hurried, nor
must it be rushed (Ibid.).

From the discussions preceding the appointment of this Joint Committee, it is
evident that education was intended as a major aspect of this investigation.
These preliminary statements also bear out that assimilation still was a
recognized goal of policy for Indian administration.

In this preliminary discussion there also was a suggestion that teachers
receive special training to teach in Indian schools (Ibid.:1514). There is no
evidence, however, that this recommendation was included in the Indian
education policy at that time. In line with the recommendations of the Special
Joint Committee, made in 1948, the policy of providing education for Indian
children with non-Indian children was given prominence in the planning
during the following decade. Prior to 1951, education programs for Indian
communities came under the Agency Superintendent. After 1951, the
Regional Officers appointed inspectors of schools for each region. The duties of
these officials were to make arrangements for attendance at non-Indian
schools, and advise students and parents in the selection of courses and post-
elementary education.

The philosophy prompting the integration policy was that this system of
education would introduce the Indian child more definitely into the dominant
society, and bring about an integration of Indian children with their non-
Indian classmates. It was proposed also that the provincial system would
provide a generally higher standard of teaching, offer a better variety of
subjects, and have better equipped classrooms. As a result of the decision to
integrate education, pre-school and kindergarten classes were introduced on
some reserves to prepare Indian children for grade one in the provincial school
system. The aim was to phase out all other systems for Indians, both day and
residential schools, in favour of integration. The disadvantages of this system
were noted by the parents in the matter of inconvenience of the children being

bused long distances to school, or, in some cases, having to leave home and live in a boarding residence during the school year. The parents resented the weakening of family ties and community relationships, as the children were taught the values of an alien society and a lack of respect for their own culture. The minority status in the school also made the Indian pupil aware of social inferiority and racial discrimination. This system did not have the same sense of isolation and extreme discipline as the residential school, but it was a traumatic situation when a child had to attend a school off the reserve. A system based on an alien culture, language, routine, and discipline was contrary to the life on the reserve and not understood by the Indian child. Kaegi, in a study of Indian education found that this alienation of the Indian child from the Native culture resulted in loss of confidence and negation of personal worth. This view of Indian education also made the point that living conditions on the reserve were not conducive to study, that lack of privacy, poor lighting, and general problems of poverty hampered the child's progress in school (Kaegi 1974:14,15). For many Indian children, school was something to be endured, and not seen as a way to a better life-style or to joining the dominant society.

From the time mandatory school attendance had been introduced, in 1920, Indian parents had managed to resist this regulation through carrying on some of their nomadic ways or simply refusing to enroll their children in the education system. As late as 1951, the Federal census showed that eight out of twenty Indians in Canada had no formal education. For the parents who did conform to the compulsory education regulations, there was the trauma of separation and the frustration of lack of perceived advantage for their children. For the children, themselves, by the time they had acquired basic literacy in an alien language, they had reached school leaving age. The school authorities also had an attitude that the level of educational aspiration should be low, and in line with possible employment (Whitehead 1981:67; Petrone 1983:47; Haegert 1983:20; Grant 1984:41-42).

A Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, in 1961, also emphasized the role of education in the statement:

> Your Committee is of the opinion that the key to full
> realization of self-determination and self-government
> and mutual self-respect for the heritage and culture of

Indian and non-Indian will be found in the field of
education (Canada 1961:610-611).

The Committee further stressed this point by stating:

Education is necessary if Indian people are to be able to
fit properly and completely into our economic and social
structure and effectively fill the role, which will be
demanded of them in years to come, as spokesmen and
leaders of their own people (Ibid.).

This emphasis on the role of education also was expressed in the Hawthorn
Report (Hawthorn 1968:30). In these statements the ideals expressed are
those of "self-determination" and the ability "to fit" into the dominant society.
A concern on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs and the churches as
to the efficiency of the residential school and the future role of this system
resulted in a study being carried out by the Canadian Welfare Council,
directed by George Caldwell, and funded by the Department (Caldwell 1967).

In this study, Caldwell found that the responsibility for the program was
complex, and at times confused between church and the Indian Affairs Branch.
Education, maintenance, admission of children and budget control were
regarded as responsibilities of the Branch; while the management of staff,
hiring and recruitment of child care supervisors, and the standard of day-to-
day child care were the responsibility of the church through the office of the
Principal. Since the teachers for the most part were members of religious
orders the separation of church and branch in operation were less clearly
defined. At times the Branch became involved in what initially had been the
exclusive responsibility of the church. It was well def ⁻d, however, that the
Branch, through the Regional Superintendent of r⌐. ⌐ential schools on
through the Director of Education Services, had a final authority for the
academic content of the schools (Ibid.:83).

This responsibility for program sometimes resulted in conflict for the
principal, who represented the church, when policy decisions which affected
his authority were made by the Branch. The goals of the church and the goals
of the Branch had different priorities. The church authorities viewed their
responsibility in the residential school program as that of spiritual agencies
while the Branch was primarily concerned with the educational function of the
program (Ibid.:84). The spiritual aspect was a minor adjunct to the goal of

assimilation, which prompted the establishment of this school system as a means of weaning Indian children from their culture and lives on the reserves. In general, the Branch exercised the major supervisory function over the program of the residential school. The bureaucratic structure within Indian Affairs, however, resulted in certain functions, such as applications for admission and requests for larger expenditures for maintenance, to be handled by the local Indian Agency. This channel of communication sometimes caused situations in which principals tended to by-pass all the regional structures and deal directly with the Director of Education Services (Ibid.:85).

The principal, however, did have a number of officials to whom he was accountable for the operation of the school. The following authorities had some responsibility for the administration of the residential school system:

> the regional Superintendent of Residential Schools;
>
> the local Agency Superintendent;
>
> the area District Superintendent;
>
> the officials of the Education Services Division;
>
> the official of the particular church denomination.

In the structure under which the schools operated, it would seem that the Regional Superintendent of Residential Schools would have the responsibility of evaluation, supervision, and consultation. Caldwell found that there was a need for a clarity in the procedures and personnel policies as well as the expectations of the church and the Indian Affairs Branch. According to this study there was an absence of "any formalized and routine system of education" (Ibid.:86) and that evaluation without a set of standards is meaningless in the institutional situation which existed at the residential school. Caldwell's conclusions and recommendation point out the problems and the administrative weaknesses of this system of educating Indian children. These findings emphasize the "high degree of conformity and sub-mission to authority on the part of the Indian child" and the "lack of individualization" in the program (Ibid.:110, 111). The Indian child was not approached as an individual, but became a number to be counted and controlled. According to Caldwell: "This is the failing of the daily living

program in the residential school" (Ibid.:120). In the conclusion of his study, Caldwell states that:

> The residential schools have become isolated from the Indian reserves in terms of involvement and yet do not participate very actively in the white community. They represent an island between two cultures. The involvement of the churches in the residential school field has been so systematized that it has become a managerial function rather than a creative and dynamic force for change (Ibid.:152).

The religious oriented residential school not only isolated Indian children from non-Indian children it was designed to alienate them from their own people. The emphasis on religious education relegated secular education to a minor place in the curriculum. The result was that this system did not prepare the Indian children for entry into the dominant society. This education system was a hindrance to any progress toward assimilation, and tended to leave the Indian student in a marginal position in relation to both Native and non-Native cultures. The very nature of the regulations of the residential school were intended to eradicate Native culture. Language is linked with the process of thought and the perception of the environment and the people in it. To prohibit the use of the language associated with the whole socialization process within one's own culture is a step toward disrupting not only the process of communication but the whole image of the world and the behavior pattern.

During the period of the residential school, Micmac children were subjected to an administrative policy designed to break down their identity as Indians and their links with their families. The fact that this regimen did not bring about the expected result indicates the strength of ethnic identity among the Native people. The education process, however, did place the student in a marginal situation more likely to create psychological confusion than the desired goal of the Government. The reports from the school and the Agents reflect the failure of the system in spite of the discipline imposed on the student.

As noted in Chapter 2 of this study, with reference to reserve life, the residential school further became a "total institution" in Goffman's terms (1961). The hierarchy of these schools was structured and oriented toward control of a captive population over which there was a division of authority of

different categories. This structure makes it possible to deal in an impersonal way within the hierarchy and between various levels of authority. This type of relationship does not encourage individual interaction or the understanding of cultural or environmental differences.

It is relevant to note that the record of the residential school is not fully known. Much that has been related by ex-pupils did not come to light until after a considerable lapse of time. The story is interwoven with official reports, usually favourable or non-committed, and the memories which appear to come from a bitter and deep-rooted resentment of everything which the school represented in the minds of the pupils, most of whom were forced, at an early age, to leave the familiar security of home and kinship to live in a completely alien world. Since the official records emanate from a non-Indian point of view, and ex-pupils reports are from personal experiences, as they perceived them, the whole story always will be clouded by two conflicting points of view.

A review of the history of the residential schools and the findings of the studies made by various research teams reveal the dominant-subordinate aspect of the whole system. Regardless of some discrepancy in the reports, the fact remains that the dominant group, the school authorities, possessed the power elements in the relationship and the subordinate group, the pupils, were a captive population in a closed social structure. The solution to conflict resorted to by the dominant group was enforced conformity and strict discipline. The reaction of the subordinate group was resentment and rebellion on the part of some, while others withdrew into a state of fear and hatred of the whole regime—as stated in their accounts of their treatment at the school (Caldwell 1967; King 1967; Paul 1978; Battiste 1986; O'Hearn 1989:115-129). This type of adaptation was not likely to produce a self-sufficient, assimilated member of Canadian society.

With the phasing out of the residential schools and the raised public awareness of human rights and race relations, there was a change in the Department's education policy. This change was a departure from the segregated education as represented by the day school and the residential systems. The objective was to change completely from the segregated education in existence since Confederation, which was based on protection and administrative convenience. The revised approach was based on the inte-

grated arrangements which already had been started in line with recommendations made between 1948 and 1961 by various Joint Committees and Reports. The Department began entering into contractual arrangements, known as joint school agreements with school boards and provincial Departments of Education, on a much broader scale, for Indian children to be educated along with non-Indian children. These agreements involved costsharing of school accommodation, and the paying of tuition fees for the pupils (Canada 1982:6).

In the 1950s and 1960s, there was considerable increase in the enrollment in provincial school systems. The Government's intention was to facilitate Indian attendance in provincial schools, and greater emphasis was placed on provincial curriculum in the federal schools designed toward the transfer of children to the integrated system. The formation of school committees on the reserves was encouraged, and by 1963 provision was made for the funding of these committees. The members were nominated by the Band Council to deal with attendance, truancy, care of school property, and extra-curricula activities (Nova Scotia 1948-1958). This was a first step in giving Indian people any role in the administration of Indian education. The policy was directed toward decentralization of the school system, increased efficiency, and the Indian involvement in their children's education. The change of education policy was based on the idea that this school system could bring about the economic and social assimilation of the Native people.

This education policy was a forerunner of a much broader change in Indian administration in the proposal for a revision of the *Indian Act*. In what the Indian Affairs Branch termed "Policies, Programs and New Directions in Indian Affairs," the approach was very different to the revision of the *Act* in 1951. Conferences were to be set up for consultations with the Indian people and delegates were invited to attend and to be prepared to discuss all aspects of the existing *Act*.

As a preliminary to the conferences on a revised *Indian Act*, held in the late 1960s, the handbook *Choosing a Path* states that Sections 113 to 122 of the *Indian Act*, which makes provision for the education of Indian children, were no longer relevant. These rules did not take into account the changing systems required to keep pace with educational needs. It was recommended that a new

act should give authority to enter into agreements for integrated education in provincial schools, to operate schools on reserves, or to set up any other educational system which would be applicable to the numbers of pupils and the wishes of the parents. The statement in the handbook further emphasized that the delegates to the conference should be ready to present choices in this regard (Canada 1968:15-16).

It became clear during these conferences, on the rewriting of the *Indian Act*, that Indians were aware of the lack of education which existed among their people. They also were convinced that the formal type of education was a necessary qualification for a well-paid job off the reserve, particularly in the urban areas. There was some controversy expressed over the value of education in the employment situation. Although there was agreement that education was important, other aspects of employment were cited as being greater barriers, such as discrimination, race, and cultural differences.

Non-Indian employers, although they agreed that level of education was an important factor, claimed that other aspects had a greater bearing on the Indians' chances of employment. These non-Indians cited the "stereotype" of the Indians in such discussions, and expressed the opinion that the Indian was irresponsible, lacking in respect for time, and unsuited to regular employment. From discussions with both Manpower representatives and employers, it was evident that in Nova Scotia a greater number of alternatives in job opportunities were open to non-Indians than to Indians, regardless of the educational standard achieved. The non-Indian was more likely to embark on an occupational career with greater confidence than the Indian who had equal education background and qualifications. This lack of equality created a hierarchal, marginal situation for the Indian which could not be overcome entirely by education—the one factor so many of the indigenous people had been led to believe would be the road to successful competition in the job market.

On the part of the Indian Affairs officials, education was seen as a means of preparing the Indians to take a more active part in their own affairs, and to participate in the affairs in the larger society—in other words, as a "push" toward integration, or possible assimilation. Any policy, therefore, to further this goal would have to give educational programs a prominent place. The

Indians expressed their view of education as a step toward self-government, obtaining aboriginal rights, and entering into a more viable economic situation in relation to the dominant society. The idea of giving up their ethnic identity and losing their racial status was not an acceptable answer to an educational system (Canada 1968-1969).

From the point of view of the attitude which culminated in the Indians' proposal for control of their own education, the influence of the churches on Indian education was harmful to traditional Indian culture. Even with the best intentions, these non-Indian teachers reflected the attitudes prevalent in the church hierarchy and Canadian society of the era. The Indians were seen as child-like, uncivilized heathens, and the church representatives considered it essential to destroy customs and beliefs which were not understood nor respected by non-Indians. There was a commitment to Christianize and civilize the Native people in order to fit them to live with, and in, a White society. The fact remains, however, that whatever formal education the Micmacs received prior to 1945 came from a religious dominated source. It was not until the mid 1940s that the Government took a more active part in making the education more secular.

Among other changes relating to Indians, the church authorities' responsibility for providing education, as delegated by the Indian Affairs administration, began by seeing Native people as objects to be molded to fit the various denominations' concepts of good Christians. It was not until the 1950s that a stirring of discontent with the type of education offered became evident among some bands, particularly the ones located adjacent to urban areas where job opportunities might be available if Indians had the basic educational requirements. The church authorities began to change from the paternalistic approach, which did not see the Indian people as being capable of taking on the responsibility for themselves and their own destiny, to an attitude of treating the Indians as persons. This change brought about some re-evaluation of the education curriculum as applied to Indians. Instead of consulting the Indian people, however, the revised policy merely attempted to give an education more in line with non-Indian values.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the attitude of some church authorities, in particular the Anglican and United Churches, changed to one of

recommending that Canadians become aware of the problems of the Indian people in all aspects of their lives and particularly the education process. The new approach was that education should make it possible for Indian children to gain a sense of achievement, also pride in their race, and be prepared to function successfully in the dominant society. The spokespeople for the churches admit that they need to learn from mistakes of the past. This admission has not come easily and it required a new kind of honesty. The churches could become vehicles of expression through which the Native peoples could be given an opportunity to speak for themselves. This attitude was particularly evident in the support given to Indian conferences with regard to Justice Berger's study of the proposed Mackenzie pipeline (1977), Georges Erasmus' proposal for self-government for the Dene (McCullum and McCullum 1975a) and the protest of the Cree over the James Bay development (McCullum and McCullum 1975b). These issues, while not specifically Micmac territorial problems, were accepted as their concerns judging by the delegates and general attendance at Nova Scotia meetings.

During the period of the late 1960s, it was evident that the Micmac people were becoming more aware of their subordinate status in Canadian society in the decisions which affected their lives. The increased opportunity for communication with Native people across Canada was evident in their provincial and regional meetings. More information with regard to Indian associations in other parts of the country became available to the Nova Scotia bands. Along with political and economic issues, education became a focus of attention for improvement in policies.

In 1967 Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs, made a statement with reference to the Indian education program and the principle educational objectives. Education was to be made available to all Indian children of school or kindergarten age, with provision for schooling up to and beyond high school in accordance with ability, talents, and willingness on the part of the students. Provision also was made for adult Indians to upgrade their educational status.

In order to carry out this program, a seven point policy was outlined, as follows:

1. A complete education for every status Indian child.
2. Collaboration with provinces to provide education for Indian children in provincial schools.
3. Fuller participation by Indian parents.
4. School curriculum to be that of the province.
5. Residential schools to be used for primary school pupils where absolutely necessary and operated under control of the Department.
6. All federal schools to operate at provincial standards.
7. Education program to be coordinated with Development Branch to ensure needs of Indian community are adequately met.

The goal of this program was to help Indian people to achieve full social and economic equality with other Canadians.

In discussing this policy further, the Minister commented on some of the philosophy basic to the commitment. Time was included as an important factor in the education process and the changes in the outlook of the Native people—that reorientation is a slow process. In this regard, "Operation Head Start" was put forward as an essential step to give "culturally deprived" children opportunities to overcome "the handicap of their environment." The statement on education goes on to propose improvements to reserve community life which would directly and indirectly affect the education of the children, the installation of electric power to bring the stimulus of television and other forms of technology to the homes, as well as improved homes in themselves as an incentive to better living conditions.

Throughout this education policy statement, the long-standing concept of acculturation, leading to assimilation, as the goal of the Government, is evident. Even at this date there is no mention that the Indian people might have something to offer as input into this education or some traditional values worth passing on to the education of their children (Nova Scotia 1967:25).

In this period of the 1960s, other reports and conferences emphasized the weaknesses of the Indian education systems, and expressed findings which indicated major changes in policy. Wolcott's studies in education and culture,

with regard to Indians, made reference to the needs of education programs as expressed in his statement: "Formal educational programs that are not accompanied by real economic and social opportunities are head-starts to nowhere" (1967:126).

Some of the questions related to educational programs put forward by Wolcott, in the discussion of his findings, point to the failure of education as the way to bring about assimilation:

1. What are the functional needs of villagers which can be met by formal education?

2. Which of these educational needs can be met through the established system of schools, given whatever limits have been imposed upon teacher effectiveness in terms of resources, personnel, and local acceptance?

3. What other kinds of educational programs might be developed to meet the needs which the school does not meet (Ibid.:126).

Even the most dedicated educator could not singly assess such a broad scope. Teachers do assume some responsibility for modification in terms of a particular community. The commitment to the formal interpretation of education programs may overshadow the teachers' ability to recognize the limitations of the structure in which they work. Wolcott found that the school and teacher were perceived as alien, different, perhaps threatening to the traditional Indian way of life (Ibid.). The teacher also had to recognize the fact that the formal curriculum was designed to transmit "White culture only" (Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson 1960:312). Such an assessment would require an investigative analysis carried out by research teams made up of educators and social scientists with considerable background knowledge of the cultural aspects involved. In his conclusions, Wolcott did emphasize needs which might be considered major aspects of education for Indian children. Among the fourteen items, the following might be considered the most relevant: the ability to communicate in English; a facility in basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills; opportunity to acquire the educational prerequisites for higher education or trades training; general knowledge of modern facilities of the dominant society; knowledge of the nature of work and

occupations; and accurate information with regard to Native rights and benefits (Ibid.:127,128).

Wolcott (1967) makes the point, termed by Spindler as "encounters with culture agents" (1963:380), that for the Indian child school attendance and the contact with the teacher may provide the only ongoing relationship with an individual of a different culture. Wolcott refers to this situation in the statement:

> For the Indian child the experience in the classroom may provide the only time when the distance between the mainstream of the dominant White society and his every day world is bridged by actual experience (Wolcott 1967:131).

In spite of this statement, Wolcott concluded with the question: "How do schools fail their Indian pupils?" This query reversed the original orientation of the study, which was "Why Indian pupils fail in school" (Ibid.). The only answer to these questions, put forward by Wolcott, was that teachers should not make a single-handed attempt at the acculturation of the pupils, but direct teaching energies to the instructional program (Ibid.).

At a conference held at the University of British Columbia in 1969, Frank Hardwick summed up the need for teachers to be well-informed on Indian history and culture in the statement:

> If the Indians are going to be integrated into the provincial school system, as they are, it will offer a tremendous challenge for teachers. There must be special programs and training ... (Stott 1969:7).

Hardwick also expressed concern that the school systems failed to bolster self-respect or provide incentive for the Indians in the matter of education, and that these systems have supported the inferior position of the Indians (Ibid.:7). These remarks were made at a time which followed closely the publication of the Hawthorn Report. Some of the major recommendations of this survey emphasize Hardwick's concerns. These findings, with regard to Indian education, emphasize the dominant aspect of the Government education policies and the need to enhance Indian traditional culture and values in the system. Although the report recommends the integration of Indian education with non-

Indian children, it also points out the weaknesses in this system as it existed, and supports the concept of more Indian participation and control of the policies with regard to the education of their children (Hawthorn et al. 1968:63-156).

At an Education Conference, held in Summerside, Prince Edward Island, the delegates from the Maritime Provinces representing the Micmac and Malecite Indians put forward the same problems of lack of control over their children's education and dissatisfaction with the existing education policies (Canada 1968-1969). A report from the House Standing Committee on Indian Affairs of a two-year study of Indian education also emphasized the failure of the school system to provide Indian children with a suitable education. Some of the findings point out the inadequacies of the system:

> A drop-out rate of four times the non-Indian average.
>
> A related unemployment rate of 50 percent.
>
> The inaccuracies and omissions relating to Indian history and contribution to Canada in history texts.
>
> The age-grade differences as a result of language problems.
>
> The lack of specialized training of teachers in cross-cultural education.
>
> The lack of consultation with parents with regard to changes from one school system to another (Anonymous 1975:3-7).

At the time that this House Committee was carrying on its investigations, the Indians themselves were becoming more organized in voicing their dissatisfaction with the education policies and their lack of control over these decisions.

At a conference held at the University of British Columbia, Barbara Lane supported the case for having Native teachers employed in the Indian school systems in the statement:

> If we accept the notion that there are important differences in background between Indian students and their non-Indian teachers, it follows that the greater these differences the more possibility for misunderstandings ... In short, teachers of Indian students are

involved in a cross-cultural communication and its problems (1967:35).

Lane goes on to point out the discrepancies in "styles of learning":

> Non-Indians place great value on speed and equate quickness with intelligence. In our schools children are encouraged to see who can answer first. Examinations are timed. Pupils work against the clock. Children who appear to have difficulty in keeping abreast of others in their grade are called 'slow learners' and teachers tend to regard these pupils as dull (Ibid.:37).

The discussions on this aspect of learning emphasized the cultural differences in that Indian children tend not to compete, and that reluctance to answer questions and perform in school has nothing to do with intelligence. The school records, however, indicate that Indian children do not compare favourably with the rest of the school population. According to Lane, this is a cultural aspect of education and reflects different value systems. In summing up this session of the conference, Lane made the following suggestions:

(1) that cultural signals are misread, as when a non-Indian teacher reads silence to signify assent;

(2) that different rates of response and possibility of learning are improperly evaluated, as when the school system equates slowness with lack of ability;

(3) that different notions of how learning should proceed cause Indian students to be misjudged, as when youngsters decline to compete or to work independently (Ibid.:39).

Two Native people who have bridged the gap between education within the Indian system and education in the broader sphere of the dominant society give relevant views of their own experience. Peter Christmas began his schooling in the Membertou reserve and continued at the residential school in Shubenacadie. He states that he was a drop-out from Sydney Academy, but nevertheless, he went on to graduate with a B.A. from St. Francis Xavier University and later a B.Ed. from Saint Mary's University. He claims that he "fell through the cracks into the non-Native world" (Shaver 1990:20).

Christmas' career took him into a teaching appointment in a non-Indian school, and later into the administrative staff of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. He makes a case for the role a Native teacher can play in both the Indian sphere and the non-Native society. He also recommends that Native teachers are important to improvement in Indian-non-Indian relations in the field of education. Christmas further recommends that school boards:"must recognize the value of having qualified Native teachers in their schools if things are to change" (Ibid.:22).

Sister Dorothy Moore remembers her teaching experience from the point of view of an Indian teaching in a non-Native situation. After some years in the public school teaching profession, Sister Moore became the Native Education Co-ordinator at the University College of Cape Breton. From her experience in the public schools, Sister Moore states that the Native teacher must: "play a dual role and help educate both students and the non-Native teachers" (Ibid.:23). This educator recommends an approach in which Native teachers could have some input into the planning of education programs. Such a policy could result in better understanding between Indians and non-Indians on all levels of education.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, Indian students in any Canadian school system were faced with the need to adapt to rapidly changing technology and ideas—in a sense a constantly changing society. In spite of education and training, many of these students will need to be prepared to cope with new skills and job changes throughout their working years. The complexity of the modern world will be far greater than that encountered by their parents, even though the older generation will have experienced much social change. Indian children, therefore, more than ever needed an education system and a curriculum which would prepare them for this changing world. The aims of such education should encompass the development of self-confidence; decision-making abilities; organizational skills; the ability to adapt to new situations; and the capability to handle finances. There are a number of ways of approaching such curriculum planning, but whether the models are product oriented, that is, the type of individual developed, or process oriented, that is, the method used, the student should be guided to bridge the gap between the subjects being presented and the society outside the school.

For the most part, the guiding principles of education for Indians has been based on political concerns and the process of fitting into a dominant social structure, and that one type of education is suitable for all children. This approach has ignored the capabilities and potential of individual Indians in an attempt at conformity. According to Hendrik Grolle, in a discussion of a new approach to education:

> the principles that ought to be guiding education must be purposeful. The purpose must be to obtain the best educated workers in any field in the world (Grolle 1990:36).

In this sense the purpose would be to educate the students to contribute to society to their greatest capacity. In such an approach to education, literacy is a basic requirement, and all students should be given an opportunity to attain their full potential in this regard. This area of education was put forward in the Indians' discussions at the conferences for a revised *Indian Act*. In the tribal societies, eloquence in speech has been a mark of leadership, and the elders have kept this tradition alive. It is from this source that the young Indians may gain an appreciation of the importance and power of literacy in their relationship with the dominant society.

At best, the Government has kept its commitment to provide education for the Indian people; at its worst the Government has given the goal of assimilation priority over helping the Indians to achieve social and economic equality with other Canadians. The attempt was made, however, to have the curriculum conform to that of the Province. The regulations required that the Federal Indian schools would adopt the course of studies of the province in which the school was located (Canada 1965).

There was also provision to meet the needs of learning the appropriate official language of instruction (Ibid.). No provision was made for a Native language to be taught or even recognized in the education system.

Berger, in discussing Indian education, made the following comments:

> ... it takes a while to establish a system of Indian education that does justice to the idea of transmitting their cultural heritage, their history, together with ours. Native people know that they must learn about the

> things that our children learn about in school. That
> involves studying mathematics and science and how to
> be literate in English. In addition, they believe that
> their children should learn about their own past, about
> their own people, learn who they are ... It seems to me
> that you really can't function in our society or any
> society unless you know who you are (Berger 1986:26).

Berger went on to say that Indian culture would not "vanish," that as a people they are in Canada to stay, and that their identity is deeply rooted in their beliefs (Ibid.).

It is not only the content of the curriculum that is important, it is the structure in which it is presented. A student may readily learn information alien to his culture if it is presented as material to learn and not necessarily to be accepted into an existing lifestyle. The problem with the curriculum used in the Indian education systems is that it was designed not to inform, but to bring about change—a change for which the Indian people had no input in the policy-making. The evidence from the Federal school systems indicates that such change should not be directed toward assimilation, but, rather, to live in a pluralistic society with a strong sense of traditional identity and worth, with the ability to live in either the dominant society or one oriented to Native life.

Chapter 5

Relationship of Policy, Education, and Assimilation

The whole history of Native education in Canada is characterized by the aim of bringing about the assimilation of the Indian people into the dominant Euro-Canadian society. The policies and administrative structures of Native schooling have reflected this intent, although the reality of Native-non-Native relations have worked against this solution for the "Native problem," as the responsibility for the protection and civilizing of these tribal peoples became known in the various Government departments charged with dealing with Indian affairs. A state of ambivalence developed in that the political policy of isolated reserves and special status for Native people was a contradiction to the concept of assimilation.

The early attempt of the missionaries in educating the Native people was misguided in that it resulted in the disruption of the Indian way of life, and did not achieve any educational equality with the non-Indian society. The lack of any understanding of Indian religious beliefs or appreciation of Indian cultural values left the Native people alienated and unprepared to benefit from the teaching provided.

The attempt to turn the Micmac away from their language and tribal ways was doomed because there were strong influences working against the aim of assimilation. As a legacy from earlier French Roman Catholic missionaries, the Micmac people had acquired forms of writing based on their own hieroglyphics, which tended to help keep their own language alive. Battiste brings out this aspect of Micmac literacy in her article "Micmac Literacy and Cognitive Assimilation," in which she refers to the functions of literacy as: "a shield in cultural transmission and as a sword of cognitive imperialism" (1986:23).

Father LeClerq and, after him, Father Maillard found that they could interpret the Roman Catholic Christian concepts for the Indians more effectively if they used the Micmac language and provided a written form, which would be understood by the Indians and relate to concepts already expressed in their language. This approach to writing provided a link with the tribal past as well as a change in literacy more acceptable to the Micmac. Father

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Maillard, however, was determined to keep the Indians from learning to write French, which he thought might be a threat to the colonial regime if the Indians could communicate by letter outside their own group (Ibid.:30-32).

Throughout the history of the education systems provided for the Indians, the policies of the Government administrators in attempts to improve the educational standards of the Indian people were not much different from those of the early missionaries. It is evident that these officials did not see the Indians as intellectually capable of having some input into the decision-making with regard to education any more than they did for the administration of the Indian communities. The special committees and studies, which were carried out, and the resultant recommendations, were all approved without the involvement of the people most vitally concerned, the Indians. This situation undoubtedly led to the attitude of distrust on the part of the Indians toward the intentions of the Government.

The general aspects of the era from Confederation to 1880 were marked by the attempt to "civilize" the Indians through conversion and sedentary settlement in the form of communities on reserve land. As the *Indian Act* set the Indians apart from other people living in the same vicinity, the education provided also emphasized this separateness. Right from the beginning of any attempt to educate the Indian, a dominant-subordinate relationship developed in this system which set the Indians apart from the non-Indian society. The special status of Indians, under the *Indian Act*, resulted in a policy of protection and wardship, which evolved into a dependency on the part of the Indians which denied any self-determination. This policy was reflected in the early education systems. The expectations of the superintendents and agents were that the Indians under these administrative relationships would be easily controlled and would progress toward the goal of assimilation.

In 1870, on the basis of superintendent's reports of insufficient support for Indian education, funds were provided to further the civilizing process through the school systems. This increased interest in education led to a closer cooperation between the Roman Catholic Church and the Federal Government. It was soon after this change of policy that the first day schools in Nova Scotia were established; the earliest being the one at Bear River in 1872, followed by Whycocomagh in 1874, Eskasoni in 1875, and Pictou Landing in

1880. These schools mark the beginning of a school system which was to last until the mid 1960s with varying reports of effectiveness in the education process.

In spite of the diffusion from the dominant society, the records show that the Indian people were not willing to accept assimilation into non-Indian way of life. They were reluctant to turn away from the residue of their traditional culture and become an undistinguishable part of a larger society. By 1880, under the *Indian Act* and with a separate Department of Indian Affairs, the isolation of Indians and their education systems confirmed the separateness of Indian-non-Indian relations. This administrative barrier continued throughout the periods of contact and policy development which followed Confederation.

During the period 1881 to 1920, further attempts at policies which would accelerate the process of assimilation resulted in even greater government control over Indian band administration. The original basic features of the *Indian Act*, however, were not altered, and the Indians remained a people apart from the economic, political, and social activities of the dominant Canadian society.

In an attempt to decrease the influence of traditional gatherings and ceremonies on the Indians, particularly the younger generation, such gatherings were banned. In the government's view the denial of dances, rituals, and songs would mean that the children were not likely to learn these aspects of their culture, hence such activities would cease to be carried on by the people.

Along with this breaking down of traditional celebrations, the Indian Advancement Act of 1884 was intended to extend more local power to the bands; but to offset this possible increase in band authority, the Act increased the power of the Superintendent in band political affairs and control of reserve land. This Act was followed by the Franchise Act of 1885, which was a further attempt to entice the Indians to leave the reserves and become assimilated into the dominant society. With the expansion of the Department of Indian Affairs between 1886 and 1889, the power of the Government to dispose of reserve land was a threat to Indian territory. Also, the increase in encroachment on reserve land by non-Indian settlement further brought the occupation and use of land into question. In a sense, this lack of protection of land was a form of

coercion to make the Indians either develop their land or have it occupied by non-Indians.

For a time during the late 1800s, Sifton, the Superintendent General, was preoccupied with Western expansion and development. The Eastern Indians' administration, therefore, tended to be neglected. At that time, neither Sifton nor members of his staff were convinced that the Micmac had the ability to compete in the "main stream" of Canadian society.

Sifton's successor undertook a further reorganization of the Department on the premise that the *Indian Act* and Indian administration had become too complicated under existing department structure. Along with department changes, a further attempt was made to bring about acceptance of enfranchisement. During this period, the day school was the education system intended as the civilizing agent for future assimilation.

The history of the day schools is evidence that this system did not provide an education conducive to bringing about assimilation, or even integration; nor did this phase of education policy succeed in producing the "enlightened" native (Patterson 1972:23) to fit into the dominant society. The system failed under the difficulties of the operation of the schools as well as the lack of any participation of the Indian people in the decision-making. The administrative and cultural conflict engendered in these systems tended to draw attention away from the students, and focus the efforts of the authorities on the problems of running these schools.

Since the negation of Native culture and language was part of the policy of assimilation, which was followed by the Government, this same policy was adhered to in the school systems. Progress in education was viewed in the light of anticipated results. The education and the conduct within the schools was oriented toward the Government's goal and not toward the psychological well-being and development of the Indian child. The destruction of culture and the contempt toward their people left its mark on the pupils when their dignity and traditions were denied to them. This loss of identity was not replaced with any internalized non-Indian culture. At best, it left the Indian child in a marginal situation.

One merit of the day school was that it was located on the reserve, and, thus, it was part of the physical environment. The Indian child was not disoriented from home and the community even though the teaching encompassed an alien culture, and enforced an unaccustomed type of discipline during school hours. In a sense the day school resembled the "little red school house" of the non-Indian rural communities, which also had some of the disadvantages of teacher turnover and operating facilities. The major difference was that for the most part the Indian day school was controlled by a non-Native teacher from a very different cultural background to that of the pupils. Also, the Indian parents were not convinced that the non-Indian type of education was the best type for their children. In the non-Indian country school, the cultures of teachers and pupils had much in common, and the parents of the children were allied with the teachers in the matter of the necessity for school attendance.

Although there was evidence of some local success, on the whole the day schools did not produce the results expected by the government or prove useful to the Indians. Reports from superintendents indicate that for the most part the teachers were not well qualified for their jobs. Also, in many cases, they were discontented with life on the reserve and did not remain long enough to make any favourable impression on the Indian people. The few dedicated teachers who showed some understanding of their pupils, and remained on the job for any length of time, also were faced with the indifference of the Indians and the lack of regular attendance of the pupils.

An example of what could be accomplished by a teacher in a day school is noted in the ability of the teacher, John Sark, a Micmac, at Lennox Island, to relate the Anglo-Saxon values presented in the text books to the Indian values in such a way as to lessen the alienation of the children to non-Indian society. It seems that an Indian teacher, with some experience in non-Indian society could bridge the culture barriers more effectively than the non-Indian teachers (McKenna 1990:109). Although this school at Lennox Island was one of the more efficiently run day schools in the Maritime Provinces, Sark, in a discussion of the responsibilities and difficulties of operating the school, stated that maintenance of the school and pupil attendance were on-going problems for the teacher (Ibid.:103-105). In the reports of the Nova Scotia day schools, there is evidence that the non-Indian teachers emphasized an education meant to

prepare children for jobs and life in an economy which, at that time, was not available to them.

The 1900s, when Duncan Campbell Scott became Superintendent of Education, marked the beginning of what has been termed the "Scott Era" in Indian Affairs. Although Scott recognized the role of the day school, he advocated the residential school as a more efficient and economical way to break down the Indian children's link with the reserve and, hence, their traditional culture and language. This direction of policy was in line with the dissatisfaction on the part of the Indian Affairs officials that the reserve system did not encourage Indians to seek enfranchisement. Scott was a strong supporter of Bill 14, an amendment to the *Indian Act* to hasten and simplify the process of enfranchisement. He also advocated that the bill should go further and make enfranchisement compulsory in the cases of Indians considered to be sufficiently qualified.

Scott did bring about some improvement in teachers' salaries, and in the curriculum. He did make it clear, however, that any increase in government spending would be subject to strict supervision on the part of the Department. Scott supported the policy of centralized authority, and held to his conviction that the Indians, as a people, would cease to have a special status and would become assimilated, a conviction which history shows was not shared by the Indians.

The amendment to the *Indian Act* in 1920, which made school attendance compulsory for Indian children between the ages of seven and sixteen, was a further intrusion into the Indians' way of life, and was resisted by many of the parents. For those who did conform, the results in terms of advantages, such as employment, were not perceived to outweigh the disadvantages of family separation and cultural disruption. Sections 118 and 119 of the *Indian Act* gave authority to a truant officer to take a child into custody for non attendance at school. These sections also stated that the child would be deemed to be a juvenile delinquent, which was further coercion to force the Indians to comply with the regulation.

It was during Scott's regimen as Deputy Superintendent that the residential school was established at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, in 1928. This school was in line with the policy of orienting the Indian children to non-

Indian ways of life, and eliminating the influence of the reserve and the family. The reports and documentation of the operation of the residential schools leave no doubt that these schools were not well received by the Indians, and that this type of education did not produce self-supporting individuals well adjusted to non-Indian society. The legacy of these schools left the Indians with a resentment to the whole education system, as expressed by ex-pupils, and did not acculturate the Indian into the non-Indian society. Although this system of separating children from their families and ethnic communities did introduce different cultural ways into their lives, it did not replace the close kinship ties and the sense of identity of the reserve. Neither did this type of school instill a desire to join a society which had brought so much trauma and confusion into their lives.

Scott's successor, Harold W. McGill, modified the earlier approach to Indian traditional culture and favoured more acceptance of the Indians' own way of life in their adjustment to change. This attitude brought about some assessment of the existing policies. This modification of policy was countered by a reinstatement of the authority for compulsory enfranchisement, which again reinforced the government's goal of assimilation. Although there was little change in the government's intent, McGill's approach to Indian administration at least indicated some dissatisfaction with earlier policies.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the Indian question was neglected by the government due to an economic depression and World War II. Unemployment and welfare costs of the Micmac reserves did bring about a major administrative change in the mid 1940s, in the matter of centralization. This policy was an attempt to economize and simplify Indian administration in Nova Scotia by creating larger but fewer Indian communities. The aftermath of this change was to increase the population of two reserves, Eskasoni and Shubenacadie, and consolidate Indian education services. The scheme disrupted life on most of the smaller reserves, and was resisted by the Indians to the extent that they tended to migrate back to their old territories. It was at this time that many of the day schools were closed and the residential school at Shubenacadie became the major centre of Indian education in the province.

By 1949 the relocation program was abandoned, and a decision was made by the Government to continue the usual services to all the remaining Micmac

reserves. The disruption of life on the reserves, however, resulted in an increase in dependency on welfare payments. There is no evidence that the centralization policy benefitted the Indians in any way or that it furthered the government's goal of assimilation.

After World War II there was pressure from various citizens' and church groups for the Government to re-assess the status of Indians and the type of administration they received. This public awareness, along with general dissatisfaction on the part of Indian Affairs officials brought about action from the House of Commons. In 1946 the question of the rights of Indian parents, with regard to the residential school and children taken away from home for education, was proposed as part of this assessment. Although the citizens' groups proposed a Royal Commission, the government appointed a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons to carry out this investigation.

The findings of this Committee, presented in 1948, resulted in a recommendation for a complete revision of the *Indian Act* to repeal outdated regulations, and reflect changing situations in Indian-non-Indian relations. The concepts of political representation, self-government, equal rights, and cooperation with the provinces for Indian services were included in the Committee report. The matter of education was a major aspect of this investigation. The policy of integrated education, that is Indian children attending non-Indian schools, was prominent in the recommendation for future Indian education.

The philosophy which prompted this policy was that such an education system would bring the Indian child more actively into the dominant society, and encourage interaction between Indian and non-Indian children. This policy was supported by the contention that the education standard would be higher with better qualified teachers, and a broader scope of subject than those provided in the Indian schools would be available to the Native children. The idea of children attending school off the reserve was not readily accepted by the Indian people, who claimed that this type of education still negated the Native culture, and emphasized non-Indian ways of living and an alien value system. Such an education policy resulted in lack of confidence, and loss of pride of identity and personal worth on the part of the Indian child.

The revised *Indian Act* of 1951 failed to accomplish the intent to make the Indian people more self-sufficient. This Act continued policies that were equally paternalistic as those of the old Act, and offset any gains that might have been made toward Indian independence. The goal of assimilation still was basic to the intent of the Act. Dependence became a way of life well entrenched into the dominant-subordinate relationship of the government to the administration of the Indian people. Although the re-assessment of this Act did not bring about major changes in the relationship of the Government and the Indian people, it did mark a turning point in that the revision was a reaction to the Joint Committee report, and a recognition that it was time to review Indian administrative policy.

In the 1950s educational institutions in the dominant society were re-evaluating traditional ideas, and looking at progressive techniques and philosophies. Educators were becoming more aware of the "forces of social background" and the relevance of community involvement in the school systems. The aftermath of World War II still was a strong influence on attitudes and aims in education. The result of this revived interest in learning was an upsurge of so-called mature students in all areas of education and an opening up of institutions of learning to age brackets beyond the normal stream of students.

The Indians who went through an educational experience which did not fit them to enter the employment market or to take advantage of the opportunity to pursue higher education were at a disadvantage in a society which was becoming more and more directed toward re-training and further education. The whole concept of life-long learning was becoming part of the dominant society's approach to education. This trend pre-supposes an attitude and relation to education which places a worthwhile value on learning from both a practical and a self-development point of view. Learning how to learn had become an essential aspect in the modern world of rapid change. The child, as well as the adult, needed to acquire this skill. The whole process is linked to behavior patterns and the role the individual will have as an adult in the community.

In the Federal schools, that is, day and residential schools, in most cases the students were not expected to go beyond grade eight. High school or

vocational school usually required attendance off the reserve. The revised *Indian Act* of 1951 provided for the extension of education facilities to include secondary and university education financed by Government funds. By 1956, limited funds also were appropriated for adult education. This addition to educational responsibilities on the part of the Government was the result of a preliminary survey, in 1956, to determine the rate of illiteracy. At that time, it was found that over twenty-five per cent of the Indian population was either illiterate or semi-illiterate in the English language.

As the Micmac adults became aware of the opportunities to improve their education, requests were made for upgrading classes. In 1959 St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, with a grant from Indian Affairs, sponsored an adult education program on the Cape Breton Island reserves. This idea was taken up by reserves on the provincial mainland, and special courses for women and recreational programs were initiated as community projects. According to Indian leaders involved in the education of their people, these adult courses did much to bring about greater awareness of the importance of education as a prerequisite of social and economic development in their communities (Canada 1965).

Periodic re-organization of the Indian Affairs Branch, which took place in the late 1950s and 1960s, did not prove as effective in the administration of the Native people as had been expected by the Department officials. In 1961 a Joint Committee recommended that Indian programs be assessed and revised, that the Indians' dependence on the Federal Government be decreased, and that the process toward assimilation be accelerated. This Committee also emphasized the role of education as the "key" to Indian self-determination and a necessary aspect of developing Indian leaders as spokesmen for their people. The response to the findings of this Committee brought about structural changes in the Department, and finally, in 1966, Indian Affairs was established as Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which title was changed to Indian and Northern Affairs. This change marked the end of a series of changing responsibilities in relation to Government Departments.

As a further response to the Joint Committee recommendations, the concept of community development was introduced into the reserve programs in an attempt

to encourage more Indian participation in development on the reserves. To the Micmᵢc people these projects were seen as activities controlled and financed through outside agencies, and the leadership did not come from the members of the reserve. The record of the community development program did not show any appreciable increase in Indian participation, and the projects tended to be abandoned.

During the 1950s and 1960s there was an increase in the rise in the enrollment of Indian children in the provincial schools. The intent of this policy was to phase out all Indian schools in the province, and encourage the integration of Indian children into the regular provincial school systems. The aim was to eliminate the segregation system of education which had existed since Confederation. The education policy, along with other aspects of Indian administration, marked tne beginning of policies to allocate provision of services to the Indians to the province. Throughout the 1960s Indian Affairs officials had followed a subtle policy of gradually shifting some services for Indians to the provinces. The Micmac were reluctant to deal with the provinces as they saw in these changes an attempt on the part of the Federal Government to relinquish responsibility for Indian administration. Although this administration had not brought about satisfactory results as far as the Indians were concerned, the link with the Federal Government was seen as a source of protection against actions of the Provincial Government with regard to land and aboriginal rights.

In the late 1960s, soon after the findings of the Joint Committee (1961) were made available to the Indian Affairs officials, a further study of all aspects of Indian administration was commissioned by the Government. The report of these findings, known as the *Hawthorn Report* (Hawthorn et al. 1967, 1968) repeated much that had been put forward in the Joint Committee report. Both reports advocated the termination of special status, which had been proposed at an earlier date by the Dominion Anthropologist, Diamond Jenness in his "Plan for Liquidating Canada's Indian Problem in 25 years"; (1947: 310-311). The *Hawthorn Report*, however, rejected complete termination in favour of a "citizens plus" status, but still advocated the change-over of Indian services to the provinces (Hawthorn et al. 1967:8). The report did, however, make a case for the modification of this change in the statement:

> the equal treatment in law and services of a people who at the present time do not have equal competitive capacities will not suffice for the attainment of substantive socioeconomic equality (1966:392).

This recommendation was disregarded by the Government in the policy proposals which followed a series of consultations with the Indians on a further revision of the *Indian Act*.

John McCallum made the comment that "policy that does not accurately reflect why a given undesirable situation has developed is unlikely to correct that situation, it may even make things worse" (McCallum 1990:24). This statement sums up the failure of the various amendments to the *Indian Act*, additional acts, such as Indian Advancement (1884) and Franchise (1886), and changing regulations with regard to rights to vote. Such changes all tended to confuse rather than clarify or improve Indian-non-Indian relations. Restrictions to traditional celebrations and ceremonies further alienated the Indian people in their perception of the dominant society.

The revision of the department structure with regard to registration as an Indian and education, along with other aspects of administration, did not further the goal of assimilation. This philosophy to increase coercion toward assimilation simply increased the dissatisfaction on the part of both the Native people and the Indian Affairs officials that the existing policies were not producing desired results.

Within the decision-making related to Indians there were conflicting ideas as to what constituted effective policy and what is politically feasible in terms of economic, social, and technical resources. There is a tendency to neglect the matter of translating policy into action. These aspects of policy are subject to the way in which they are perceived by both the policy-maker and the targetted population affected by the policy. Another major aspect is the "tool" or "tools" to be used by the policy-maker. Effective policy might be said to be that which can be successfully defended. In the case of the education policy for Indians, based on cultural destruction and assimilation, the tool, the school system, did not bring about the expected goal of the policy-makers. Also it did not provide for the perceived education needs of the Indians so it did not measure up to the criterium of success.

Education policies with regard to status Indians reflected the dominant-subordination relationship between the Government and the Native people. Education was used as a tool to further the policy of assimilation evident in the *Indian Act* and all amendments and other regulations pertaining to the Indians.

The contradictory nature of a policy which isolated the Indians, both geographically and politically, while at the same time holding to a goal of assimilation, had the seeds of conflict and failure within its very nature. The policy was not conducive to the integration of Native people into the dominant society. It certainly was not an instrument of assimilation. Destroying aspects of a culture is not necessarily the way to bring people into an alien society in such a way as to break down ethnic and racial barriers.

The history of Indian-non-Indian relations, as manifest in the policies designed to bring about assimilation, indicate a process of decision-making which negated the strength of traditional culture and ethnic identity. This attempt to eliminate values, norms, language and, in short, a whole way of life, indicates the lack of understanding which permitted such an approach to the administration of an indigenous people. These people had a history of their own and a viable economic, political, and social way of life dependent on the use of available resources and a sense of peoplehood. Such a background was a strong force against the coercion for change in all aspects of communal life as the Indians knew it. The struggle of the Indians to maintain some vestige of a disrupted culture and retain their sovereignty was a constant source of frustration to the Government officials in carrying out the policies providing for administration of the Native peoples.

The review of these policies shows that the motivation and the philosophy resulting in these acts and laws constantly reiterated the goal of assimilation. The policies were not designed so much for the Indians as they were for the convenience of the power structure and the final solution to what was considered to be a "problem." In other words, the policies were oriented toward the elimination of the Indians as a people with any special status or claim upon the Federal Government.

In accord with the reports from the various studies and Joint Committees on Indian administration, and in the light of recommendations for greater participation

of the Indians in their own affairs, the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs, proposed a further revision of the *Indian Act.* The Minister assured the Indians that a new Act would not come into force until after consultation with the representatives of the Indian people. This assurance was the forerunner of the conferences carried out in each region to ascertain the Indians' own proposals for such a revision.

There existed what Weaver (1981) refers to as the "hidden agenda" in the policy development prior to this proposal for a revised *Indian Act* and a change in administrative responsibilities of the Federal Government. A gradual shift of some aspects of administration, such as welfare, to the provinces, and the emphasis in education policy toward integration were signs of the final change envisioned by the government. There was evidence of a degree of what Gratton Gray refers to as a "social policy by stealth" (1990:17). This technique relies on amendments, acts, and shifting responsibilities and branch re-organization to camouflage changes in policy announcements. The rhetoric surrounding this method of change, for many people, both Indian and non-Indian, is complex and confusing. According to Gray, this style of policy-making has a built-in ability to "insulate itself from criticism" (Ibid.). As a result, a simpler more rational system is overlooked in the process.

As a preparation for the consultation conferences on the *Indian Act,* the handbook *Choosing a Path* (Canada 1968) was distributed to the Indian people as a guide for the delegates in the discussions at these meetings. This handbook emphasized the importance of consultation, Indian involvement in their own administration, and the objectives of equality, preserving Indian cultural heritage, and self-government. From the beginning of these conferences it was evident that the hostility and underlying conflict and bitterness of the Indian people would actually "take over" some of the sessions. The Indians were not as interested in the material presented to them in the handbook as they were in discussing major grievances, such as land claims, health services, housing, and education. These issues gained priority over the actual revision of the *Indian Act.* In general, the Indians expressed apprehension that a new *Indian Act* would be written before they had sufficient time to discuss and assess any proposed changes.

The culmination of this period of conferences, held in the late 1960s, brought about a proposal which was not in accord with what the Indians had been emphasizing during the consultation sessions. The Government's Statement *Indian Policy* (1969), which became known as the *White Paper*, negated much of what the Indians had been saying. This document proposed a type of giving which, in fact, to the Indians, took away more than it gave.

With the introduction of this proposal, it became evident that the transfer of Indian administration to the provinces meant the termination of special status, and the loss of any protection of lands and aboriginal rights on the part of the Federal Government. The response from the Native people was complete rejection and accelerated moves toward unified action both on the local and national levels. In fact, if the *White Paper* did nothing else for the Indians, it did focus attention and action on the development of regional and national associations to combat the threat to their status and rights under the *Indian Act*. The Micmac people of Nova Scotia were fortunate at that time to have a group of young leaders who were responsible for the formation of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. This union has been responsible for developing better communication among the Micmac people, and in functioning as an Indian political level in dealing with both the national Indian organizations and the Department of Indian Affairs.

It is ironic that the very political policies and education systems that were to bring about assimilation and resolve the "Indian problem" did just the opposite. It was the final threat of the proposal contained in the *White Paper* that brought about the kind of unified action that gave the Native people a stronger voice in their struggle toward self-determination. It is a further contradiction that the very policies to which the Indians reacted so strongly contributed to their ability to confront the Government in their demands for change. The associations and political movements which followed the 1969 proposal were all patterned for the most part on organizational models learned from the dominant society—the very government levels which the Native people saw as their adversaries. Granted that these structures incorporated Native values and ideas but, in essence, they have patterned themselves after non-Indian bureaucratic organizations.

Pan-Indian movements have become a major force in the growth of Indian organization in the political, economic, and cultural aspects of their struggle toward self-government or, at least, some control over the decisions which determine their lives. Within the Micmac, a proportion of the symbolic elements used to enhance their Indian heritage are borrowed from other Native culture groups, such as the Plains or Prairie groups, the feathered war-bonnet, and some ceremonies are features which are part of the non-Indian stereotype of the Indian and have little relation to the aboriginal facts. These Pan-Indian aspects of Indian associations are evident in the inter-band and inter-tribal participation of Native peoples across Canada. The asset for the less powerful Native groups is that this Pan-Indian movement acts as a "social and cultural framework" within which Native groups maintain a "sense of identity" with other tribal groups in a dominant society in which they have a subordinate status (Dozier, Simpson and Yinger 1957:13).

The Indians' interpretation of the proposal was that the Native people were considered to be marginal and, as Ponting and Gibbins expressed it in their study (1980) "irrelevant" to Canadian society. This proposal did not reflect the Indians' own demands for better living conditions and more control over their own administration. To the Native people, this transfer of responsibility to the provinces further negated their opportunity of developing their own communities and achieving self-government. There would not be left the security of the *Indian Act* and the Federal Government's responsibility in the Indians' pursuit of their perception of their future relationship with the dominant society.

The challenge for the government after the Indians' rejection of the *White Paper* was to recognize the consequences of earlier policies and the need for a changed, yet more acceptable, relationship with the Native people. At the same time, the Indians themselves began to revive their culture and redefine their place in Canadian society--in a sense, rediscover community and tribal society. In a discussion of Native rights as a major Canadian issue to be resolved, Peter Heap sums up the historic relationship in the following statement:

> Gradually, aided by a higher level of technology, an
> effective collection of new diseases, a persistent skill at
> cultural disruption, and an unshakable sense of racial
> superiority, Europeans succeeded in marginalizing the
> aboriginal peoples and almost, but not quite, destroying
> their sense of nationhood (Heap 1991:3).

The *White Paper* did set in motion a demand, on the part of the Indians, for a new relationship based on a recognition of aboriginal rights and control of their own administration.

Indian leaders claimed that the culture of the reserve tended to reinforce a sense of identity, which was lacking when the Indian tried to adjust to the non-Native society. These same Indians, as delegates to conferences, contended that where their Micmac culture was most in evidence there was less violence and crime (Canada 1968-1969). These comments also have been supported in studies such as the *Hawthorn Report* (Hawthorn et al. 1967, 1968), *Indians and the Law* (Monture 1967), and the more recent *Penner Report* (Canada 1983). In view of this relationship of Native culture to behavior, it seems relevant that educators should include aspects of traditional culture in the curriculum of Indian education. It was the expressed intent of these Indian delegates that Native leaders should have an active role in decision-making and the drawing up of terms for new policies with regard to Indian administration.

The Indians' campaign to discredit the Government's proposal brought about the withdrawal of the rejected *White Paper*. Prime Minister Trudeau announced this decision just twenty-one days short of a year after the proposal was presented to the Indian people. This decision gave further impetus for the Indian people to present counter proposals which would be acceptable to the Federal Government. It was evident to the Government officials that the *Indian Act* and the amendments which shaped Government policy with regard to the Indians had not achieved the goal of assimilation. It also was evident that the *White Paper* had not solved the question of a change in the Government's administration of the Indian people.

It was not until the withdrawal of the *Government Policy Proposal* that the Indians made their proposal that Indians gain control of their education. They had looked at the history of the various systems, and were aware of the

basic weaknesses. This policy statement was the beginning of an attempt to address the whole question of what education should mean to the Indian people. In their cultural adjustment to a greater participation in the dominant society, without discarding all their own traditional values and losing their identity, they recognized that formal education would have to have an important role. It seemed evident that this proposed education policy should look at fundamentals, discard the existing structure, and put forward a new style of education more suited to the demands of the Native people for self-government. Regardless of what form such a government might take, two important assets would be necessary: one, the awareness of dignity and respect of themselves as Native people; and two, the knowledge and skills to administer and control their own lives. These aspects of education appear in the proposal both as the guiding philosophy and the machinery for administering a revised education system.

The National Indian Brotherhood's policy paper *Indian Control of Indian Education* (1972) was seen as a start towards gaining control of their own affairs, and a move toward self-government. At this time the Government's goal of assimilation was modified, and Indian education became associated with the political aspects of Indian movements for self-government. These changes in Indian-non-Indian relations ushered in the contemporary era of the aboriginal people's demands for control of education as a right associated with sovereignty.

This statement on education was based on the work of the National Indian Brotherhood's Education Committee, which gathered material from the chiefs and band councils of the provinces and the Education Directors of Indian organizations across Canada. John Knockwood and Peter Christmas, of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, represented the Micmac Bands of Nova Scotia on the committee. This document was accepted by the General Assembly of the National Indian Brotherhood in August 1972, and it was presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in December 1972. In February 1973, the Minister approved the proposals of *Indian Control of Indian Education*, and committed the Department to the implementation of the new policy.

This proposal covered all aspects of Indian education in terms of philosophy, goals, principles, and directions. In the statement of philosophy, the opening paragraph sets the basis for the Indians' claim to control of their own education:

> In Indian tradition each adult is personally responsible
> for each child, to see that he learns all he needs to know
> in order to live a good life. As our fathers had a clear idea
> of what made a good man and a good life in their society,
> so we modern Indians want our children to learn that
> happiness and satisfaction come from:
>> pride in one's self
>> understanding one's fellow men, and
>> living in harmony with nature (NIB 1972:1).

While it was recognized that the Federal Government had legal responsibility for Indian education, as defined in the *Indian Act*, all future agreements would include Indian bands, local provincial school jurisdictions, and the Federal Government. Such contracts were to recognize the right of Indians to a free education, funded by the Government of Canada. Such aspects of education as programs, teachers, curriculum, language of instruction, facilities, and services were set forth in the proposal in considerable detail. The policy paper emphasized the importance of Indian parents having control of education and the responsibility of setting the goals, that is "to reinforce their Indian identity" and "to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society" (Ibid.:3). This paper goes on to state that Indians "are the best judges of the kind of school programs which can contribute to these goals" (Ibid.). In brief, the whole proposal makes it clear that for the Indians "the time has come for a radical change in Indian education" (Ibid.).

The 1971 Sub-Committee on Indian Education of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs found that all systems of education for Indian children, federal, provincial, and church schools, had failed to adequately educate Indian students. This report followed by the National Indian Brotherhood paper brought about the endorsement of the Minister, Jean Chretien, and laid the foundation for the federal acceptance of the proposal that Indian communities have the responsibility for their children's education.

In an address to the Council of Ministers of Education in 1972, Mr. Chretien made the statement:

> In a country which bases its education system on two principles: parental responsibility and local control, the aspirations of Indian parents in this regard should be readily understood by other parents (Chretien 1972:3).

Mr. Chretien went on to state the main reasons for the school failure of Indian children were to be found in the concept of integration, the school curriculum, and lack of equal opportunity. He summed up his support of the Indian proposal to participate in the decision-making with regard to education in the statement:

> It is generally accepted now, both on the basis of observation and controlled research, that in the case of Native children, the reasons for dropping out of school are cultural and social, rather than intellectual (Ibid.:9).

The Minister concluded with the challenge to explore the best means to promote the "identity, dignity, and potential of each Indian child" (Ibid.:11). The paper, *Indian Education Phase I*, is a statement of policy based on "the stated aspirations of the Indian people" and the "concept of local control, the education management framework and funding" (Canada 1982:16).

As a follow up to the proposal for the control of their own education, the Indians put forth their plan for instigating their community involvement and control, in outline form. In this organization the band council would "spearhead the activities involved in the overall plan for takeover" (Kirkness 1976:5). In effect this process would begin at the band level, and be presented to the Department of Indian Affairs, at which time the band council would negotiate with the Department and enter into an agreement for control of the education of the particular reserve. In the process, emphasis would be placed on the participation of the whole community. Evaluation of the existing system would be carried out, and short and long term plans established. Training for potential school board members and education officials was presented as part of the plan, as well as budget preparation. Band Councils would be empowered to set up the education authority from a number of options:

1. To administer the program themselves.
2. To direct the appointment of a school board.
3. To direct the election of a school board.
4. To delegate the authority to a school committee.
5. To make other arrangements as they deem appropriate. (Ibid.:1).

Whichever authority was set in place would be responsible to the Band Council in all matters pertaining to the program and finances of the education program (Ibid.:8).

According to the Indians' proposal, the policy of the integration of Indian pupils into non-Indian schools has only meant the transferring of Indian children from Indian schools to schools off the reserve without taking into account that neither the Indian community nor the non-Indian school system were prepared for the problems associated with such a change. The concept of integration is a growth process which provides for a mingling of elements of human differences. Such programs, therefore, must respect racial and cultural differences. According to the statement in the proposal: "Integration viewed as a one way process is not integration and will fail" (NIB 1972:25).

In the matter of curriculum, apart from the focus on traditional culture, language is given emphasis in the Indian proposal. The recommendation is put forward that English be treated as a second language, and that Indian children must have the opportunity to learn their Native language, which is the one most often negated or neglected in the school system (Ibid.:28).

Basic language literacy can be acquired more readily in the early years of life. In the matter of language taught within a formal school situation, Indians wish to make the decision as to what language will be given priority. They are faced, however, with the practical aspect of achieving literacy in the language of the dominant society. According to Betty-Ann Lloyd, in a research report in adult literacy, people may be considered literate when they have reading and writing skills to fill their requirements for the rest of their lives (1989:16). For the Indian this skill in the language of the dominant society makes participation outside the reserve possible. Even in a marginal capacity the very act of applying for a job requires the ability to read, understand, and complete an application. That an Indian child should spend ten or more years

in a school system and emerge without having a basic degree of literacy indicates a weakness in the system to which they have been subjected. One of the most revealing situations in this regard was reported by the Manpower offices located near Indian reserves. It was found that Indians applying for employment could not understand or fill in the application forms, and that many of them lacked facility in reading. It was necessary for an employee from Manpower to go over the required documentation with the Indian, and fill in the appropriate information. In some cases, the Indian applicant simply walked away from the situation. If Indian languages are to be preserved and Indians prepared to function in the dominant society, the concept of two languages must be part of their education system.

In the matter of the teacher-pupil relationship within the historic context of Indian experience in the school system, Lane's discussion of the psychological aspects are relevant. He points out that "being concerned with the individual and tolerating difference are not the same thing" (1972:351). He suggests that students who behave as teachers expect them to behave, that is conform to a pattern laid down by the school authorities, receive preferred treatment. On the other hand, those who deviate beyond the grounds set by the teachers may be "subtly or obviously discriminated against" (Ibid.). Such deviations may be background, values, ways of life, beliefs, or even appearance.

The key to the situation is the matter of control. On the side of the teacher is the right and duty to control, and to mould according to certain standards without consideration for the standards of the community of the student. According to Lane, Indian children learn to conform, or they "turn off" the whole school process. The school is in fact a machine for turning out products, and to the teachers "good products are often uniform products" (Ibid.). The intent of the Indian proposal is to have more, and eventually all, Native teachers in their schools, and to increase the motivation of both the Indian child and the parents in achieving the goal of a high standard of education.

Paquette (1986) in his study of aboriginal self-government and education focuses attention on the problem of funding control without some structure of taxation. Aboriginal communities in Canada for the most part, and

particularly the smaller reserves, do not have an income level or real property to provide local taxation for either self-government or school system independence. While an outside level of government provides the necessary funding, this level of authority will retain some control over how such funds are allocated. The history of Indian education has shown that even under the government-church system the final authority was in the hands of the Department of Indian Affairs, with considerable power vested in the Superintendent. Paquette brings out this weakness in his discussion, and the Penner Report (Canada 1983) presents this aspect of Indian control of Indian Education as a possible hindrance. In order to gain considerable control of education, however, complete funding of education programs may not be necessary. Some local commitment must be sustained through some contribution to the financing of Indian education by the reserve level of government. As well, there must be some recognized acceptance of responsibility for the way in which these funds are used.

History has shown that the education of Indian children became embedded in a bureaucratic structure in which the decision-making and the regulations originated outside the control of the people for whom the service was intended. According to Paquette:

> Policy-making is inescapably a matter of bargaining . . .
> between those who are formally responsible for making
> policy and those who are charged with carrying it out,
> the prospects for improved decision-making in
> aboriginal education will depend, among other things,
> upon a much improved process of interaction between
> Native governance bodies and the staffs they employ
> (1986:38,39).

In Paquette's terms, the Indian people will have control of their education when they can influence, or compel, the administrators and teachers in the schools attended by Indian children to comply with the wishes of Indian authority (Ibid:47,48). This definition leaves unanswered what these wishes might be, but the Indians' proposal makes it clear that changes would take place, and the education program would reflect the Indians' perception of educational goals. There is no doubt that, even with the changes, such an education system would contain much that is considered essential in the non-Indian education curriculum. It is unthinkable that in an industrial oriented

society any education program would be built predominately on a minority ethnic culture.

In the matter of the Micmac people, local control may not be feasible in all cases because of the population of the reserves. In order to have any political and economic power, some combinations of communities may be more effective in gaining and retaining this control. Regional variations also may be necessary in order to provide for the variety of perceived needs among various bands. Indian control of education was faced with numerous obstacles, such as administration of a new school system, lack of experience in operating schools or dealing with school boards, need for educational expertise, and financial planning, none of which are adequately dealt with in the National Indian Brotherhood document. In spite of the problems likely to be encountered, the Indian people claimed that their education under their own control could not be any less satisfactory than that provided under the past, and then existing, non-Indian policies.

The evidence of the development of policies since Confederation indicated that Indian education needed to be re-directed. Assimilation or even integration should not be the end product of the education system. The emphasis should be on the ability to merge two cultures and accept the opportunities of the dominant society, yet retain the values of a people and take pride in an ethnic identity. In a sense, the best of both worlds, or as the Indians themselves have phrased it, "citizens plus."

In the late 1960s Indian culture certainly was not the way of life Indians had prior to contact with the Europeans, nor did the Indians envision the return to such patterns of living. Their political and economic aspirations were focused on control of their own lives within the context of modern technological, industrial development, and the social change which they have accepted through diffusion, or which had been imposed upon them through the events of history. Indian culture, like other cultures, is dynamic, and within this changing culture are traits and characteristics out of the aboriginal past, but there are many aspects from other sources. Long before Europeans came to the North American continent, different tribal groups undoubtedly met and exchanged technology, ideas, and customs. Modern Indian culture is a continuation of this process both from Indians and Europeans. It is relevant to

note also that Europeans borrowed from Indians as well, in many cases as means for survival in the New World. Within this sphere of culture, the concept of formal education and teachers are part of the process of culture change. The question became not whether education is necessary, but how it would be provided and by whom it would be controlled. In other words, how would it fit into the culture in order to give the optimum benefit to the Indian people.

The Indian proposal of 1972 may be said to be the culmination of a growing dissatisfaction on the part of the Native people with the way non-Indian versions of education have failed them. This document also marked the beginning of the Indian Affairs Branch officials' change in their approach to Indian education. The proposal for Indian control of their education is a milestone marking the end of a long history of failure; in a sense it marks the end of an era. This same document may be seen as the beginning of the contemporary era, which introduced a major change in the role of Indian education in the life of the Indian people and the policies which govern the aspects of Indian administration.

Native education cannot be separated from the political aspects of Indian-non-Indian relations. The Indians claim that they have to control education, as it is part of doing things for themselves. When non-Indians control education, it is a carry-over of colonialism, and does not encourage learning or the growth of independence. The lingering experience of the education systems prior to the Indians bid for control taught the Indians the importance of their education in the struggle for self-determination. The wisdom and experience of the Native people has a place in shaping their education systems. Under Federal control all aspects of Indian education were based on non-Indian standards and administrative ideology. According to the Indian approach, it should be possible for Native students to take advantage of the dominant societies' opportunities and ideas without giving up their own traditional heritage.

Two decades have passed since the Native Brotherhood put forward their proposal for control of Indian education. In that time major changes have taken place, and Indians have gained some control and input into their children's schooling. These changes, for the most part, still are in experi-

mental stages, and the assessments certainly are not complete. It remains for evaluations to be carried out, and further recommendations to be made before this policy, which placed the future education of the Indian people in their own control, can be assessed in terms of improvement and practical provision of Indian educational needs for the twenty-first century. From the point of view of this study, the proposal put forward in 1972 was a turning point in the whole question of Indian education. This document was the culmination of a long and unsuccessful series of policies aimed at the destruction of one culture by the substitution of an alien one through a process of education. A review of this history brings to light the mistaken philosophy of the decision-makers, in policy and practice, which represented values and attitudes of their era. This perception of Indian-non-Indian relations resulted in a lack of understanding of the strength of a culture and identity of a people. No concessions were made to the fact that the Indians had their own vision of the future and their relationship with a dominant society. It has been a slow process in the matter of policy development, but in the context of history major changes have taken place in less than twenty years. The year 1972 could be taken as the starting off period, and the 1990s might be looked at as another point of assessment. This period in itself could reveal much information on which to build the future development of Indian education systems.

There is no doubt the researcher would find much change in the realm of Indian education. According to financial reports, in the last ten years there has been an increase in the number of schools managed by Indian bands, which offer a curriculum which includes Native history and culture, in most cases taught by Indians. The whole question of language has become an important issue, which has been emphasized by some reserves, such as Afton (Pictou) in Nova Scotia. Eskasoni and Millbrook reserves have functioning school committees, and pre-school programs have become part of the school system on most Micmac reserves. There has been a general improvement in housing and public services on reserves, which has increased the facilities for the student to study.

In spite of the fact that the report of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government recommends that the "First Nation governments exercise control over their own affairs," (Canada 1983:148) the response of the

Government (Canada 1984) would indicate that self-government does not mean sovereign independence.

Such a change in Government-Indian relations, however, would include the responsibility for education and child welfare, as well as other aspects of local Indian administration, but is unlikely to allow aboriginal people to make their own laws. For the Indians, the old question remains: is the Government willing to address self-government for Native people at a time when there is considerable conflict between federal and provincial governments? The delays and uncertainty experienced by the Indians in dealing with the Government and the increased militancy of the Native peoples would indicate an inevitable change in their relationship to the non-Indian society. Perhaps it will be through the control of their education that the Indians will strengthen their situation in the negotiations which are still unresolved. In spite of all the conferences, committee investigations, and reports, many aspects of Indian administration recommended in 1948 still remain the issues of the 1990s.

Since Confederation the Government had focused on one main aim—assimilating the Native people into the non-Indian dominant society. In essence, all policies were directed toward the eventual disappearance of the Indian people as a separate entity in Canadian society. The very aspects of administrative policy which might have worked toward at least a more integrated society were neglected in favour of an all out attempt to destroy the very aspects of Native culture which might have been turned to good advantage in Indian-non-Indian relations. Instead of recognizing and respecting the Indians' values and ability to live in harmony with their environment, the Government decision-makers deliberately passed acts and made regulations to destroy ways of life which, in themselves, could have served the Government. If these aspects of Indian culture had been accepted as valuable assets, they might have brought about a closer relationship between the aboriginal peoples and the Canadian-European settlers and their officials. For one ethnic group to deal on an equal basis with another group, with mutual respect, the members of each group must have some power in the negotiations, and feel secure in their own worth as people, and their ability to have some input into the decision-making.

According to Almond and Powell, all political structures are multi-functional, and must provide for the three principal institutions: the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. Such structures provide the "input," which is a political function, and the "output" which is a governmental function (Almond and Powell 1966:11). At the time of the *White Paper* the input, that is the range of allocation for goods and services, the regulation of behavior, participation in the political system, and the provision of information, to a great extent came from outside the band structure. The "outputs" are the elements which involve not only the internal political system but the social systems and "transactions between the system and its environment" (Ibid.:20). The amount of input which originates within the local system will influence the kind of output which results. The type of local government, therefore, will determine to a great extent the output in terms of efficiency and control.

In the pursuit of self-determination, the Indians faced some difficult decisions, not the least of which was the form reserve government would take. If the reserves became municipalities, there was a likelihood that a form of bureaucracy would develop. Judging from the Indians' reaction to bureaucratic structures in their relationship with the Indian Affairs Branch, such a political solution was not what they envisioned. Within the Band Councils there remained much of the influence of kinship and personal cleavages in the decision-making. The result is not an impersonal approach to questions discussed but, rather, one which takes all implications, personal and general, into consideration. This type of consensus gives each individual some status in community affairs rather than treating members in an impersonal manner. The setting up of a self-government structure would involve a process of changing roles for the Chief and the members of the Band Council. This change would require a transfer of emphasis from the local government to one which would include interaction with the other systems of government. In other words, some functions, limited within the band and handled externally, would involve two or more systems of government.

For the Micmac, traditionally a territorial group, which in all likelihood would have been a kinship group, two elements would have functioned to establish group solidarity. With the weakening of this type of group cohesion, some more deliberate means of organization was necessary to strengthen unity. Although the reserve served as a territorial identity, the Indians were

forced by historic events to turn to associations which incorporated members outside the immediate kinship group. Such associations, which have developed, may be related to social institutions, but they reflect the secular needs of changing societies. In the case of the Indians, such associations arose from the social movements designed to meet threats to the community and the value system of the group. These associations represent social movements in their organized stage. Indian associations are reflections of social change and are instruments of the kind of change which Indians see as beneficial to their people, and are used to try to remedy what the Indians perceive as social injustice.

In the early 1970s, some bands did gain a degree of control over aspects of their own administration. The Eskasoni Band, the largest reserve in Nova Scotia with a population of 1,500, began to handle funds allotted to the band, and to take an active part in the provision of housing and health care. Not all bands, however, approved the idea of a move toward a municipal form of government, but there was agreement within the Union that some change or modification in the existing organization was necessary. The suspicion of agreements with non-Indian government representatives, on any level, always became an issue when negotiations were under way for any change of legal status. It seemed inevitable that some form of local political system would evolve which would be more effective in dealing with the non-Indian Government structures.

During the conferences, it became clear that the Indians wanted more than a new *Indian Act*—they wanted a complete "overhaul" of the relationship between themselves and the dominant society and the way in which any new policy would affect their future. What began to emerge in any action toward increased administrative control was a form which in itself was marginal. The Union, in representing the bands, became a pseudo-political body, and increased the marginal situation in the way it operated in relation to the various levels of government.

The history of the determination of the non-Indian authorities to change the Native way of life, and bring about the assimilation of the Indian people into the dominant society, bears witness to the strength of the resistance to the loss of identity and complete acceptance of the non-Indian culture. That

enough knowledge of vestiges of the traditional culture remained is noteworthy. This survival produced a unique blend of diffused technology and ideas with a strong sense of identity and traditional values with which to adapt to a modern industrial society. If the Native culture and sense of peoplehood had been less strong, it is doubtful whether these people could have maintained the will to seek self-government, and to resist all the political power working against them.

The Indian-non-Indian relationship was built on a concept of separation. The special laws, contained in the *Indian Act*, produced a situation which set the Indians apart from the non-Indian society. No other Canadians were separated from the dominant society by such all-encompassing regulations, which, for the Indians, were designed to control their lives both within and outside the reserve. Along with the special status these laws bestowed was the paternalism of protection and dependence. These aspects of government control tended to place the Indians in a position of subordination which, in turn, made them not only dependent on the Government for survival, but on what was left of their own traditional values to maintain their identity and dignity as a people.

The isolation of the reserve, both politically and socially, reinforced ethnic identity and a sense of security within the tribal group. The dominant society was alien to the Indians both physically and spiritually. The borrowed aspects of that society were not strong enough to obliterate all traces of the Indian way of life. In such a situation the reliance on the individual's awareness of "peoplehood" and kinship ties became a haven to offset the coercion of the policies designed to weaken these relationships. The Indians had no other source of power except that within their communities among their own people.

The reserve, no matter how isolated or lacking in facilities, was the only place that the Indians' roots could be fixed with any sense of stability or belonging, and was important as a base for identity. The determination of the Micmac to retain some vestiges of their traditional culture and group identity has reinforced their separatism, and they did not become acculturated in terms of the dominant society. Gordon's theory of assimilation would support the claim that Indians "preserve their group's corporate identity" (1964:157)

within a sub-society within the national structure, but in a unique way because of the special laws governing them. The separation was not likely to be eliminated through class mobility or the associations of the dominant society, as Indians tended to distrust non-Indian organizations and favoured their own ethnic groups.

As a contradiction to this separateness was the Government's goal of assimilation of the Native people into the dominant society. The pursuit of this goal was carried out through conversion to Christianity, to negate the traditional Indian beliefs, as a means of breaking down that aspect of Native culture and the institutions associated with their own religion. The civilization process was a means of changing behavior patterns and introducing the diffusion of material culture. The aim was the acceptance by the Indians of the value system of the dominant society. Without the opportunities of that society, in the fullest sense, accepting alien values did not lead the Indians into an integrated relationship with the non-Indian society, and certainly did not result in acculturation.

The contradictory nature of the policy, which was in fact based on a dominant-subordinate relationship, brought about a form of ambivalence. Culture conflict was endemic in the relationship. This conflict further was exaggerated by the cultural and racial hybrids which resulted in the instances of contact between the two culture groups. Where the barriers were crossed the outcome was not assimilation but a marginal situation.

As a major tool in this process of acculturation, the Indian school system was designed to eliminate traditional culture, including a determination to negate the Native language. Conversion to Christianity was to replace tribal religious beliefs and the values of the Native society. The aim was to bring about acculturation with the intent that Indian children would embrace the non-Indian way of life. This form of education did not produce individuals oriented toward an alien society. It did, however, leave the Indians with a negative attitude toward the education systems provided for them. It did not bring about assimilation but, rather, left the Indians, who went through these systems, in a marginal state—in a sense, in a conflict situation between two cultures.

The whole concept of assimilation was caught in the contradictory aspects of the forces working against and toward this goal. The Micmac traditional culture, regardless of the displacements it underwent, still retained sufficient vestiges of its role in the culture of the people to become a force opposed to assimilation. This force provided a form of identity strengthened by a need to retain some dignity of race and self-image. The isolation of the reserve and retention of some aspects of traditional economy further bound the Indians to their own group. Shared traditional values contributed to the forces working against the complete loss of a sense of peoplehood. The policies to which the Indian people had been subjected had built a form of resistance based on lack of trust in the aims of these policies.

The forces toward assimilation were strong, and certainly brought about social change and, to a large extent, conversion to an alien religion. Diffusion in the form of material culture and economic activity had disrupted traditional ways and brought about cultural change. The Indians, however, retained their separateness, which had been reinforced through their dependence on the Government and the protection associated with the *Indian Act*. The concept of a nation apart remained in their historic perception of their status. It was only by clinging to this aspect of their marginal situation that any move could be made to overcome the dominant-subordinate status in which the government policies had placed them.

Even with the moves toward changes in the relationship of the government and the Native people, it was evident that there was no simple remedy for the ongoing economic, political, and cultural grievances of the Indians. The *status quo* had become unacceptable, but until some solution or compromise emerged which would be acceptable to both the Indian people and the government, the road of consultation appeared to be a long one. According to Barman, Indian education under the jurisdiction of the Native people is "part of the larger revitalization of the aboriginal societies" (Barman, Hébert and McCaskill 1987:2). The goals of the Indians have replaced the government aim of assimilation with their own concepts of reinforcing Indian identity and preparing the individual to take advantage of the opportunities available to make a living in the dominant society without being absorbed by it. It was on this basis that Indians have made their moves toward some form of self-determination as a reaction to the *White Paper*.

After the acceptance in principle of the Indians' proposal for control of their education, Sections 113 and 123 of the *Indian Act* were still the reference as the authority for operating schools and entering into agreements with provincial governments, territorial commissions, school boards, and religious organizations for the education of registered Indian children. The Government's publication *Indian Education Paper Phase I* (1982) is an assessment of education policy, carried out in response to the National Indian Brotherhood's proposal *Indian Control of Indian Education*. The section on jurisdiction and authority of the Phase I paper makes it clear that the authority still rested with the Minister to provide the educational services outlined in the *Indian Act*.

The Phase I paper lists the education programs which the Federal Government authorities undertook to provide as a response to the changes in the control of this aspect of Indian administration:

1. *Federally-Operated Schools*
   These schools provide education services similar to those provided by provincial schools.

2. *Board-Operated Schools*
   Under departmental contribution arrangements, Indian Band Councils or local education authorities may administer the education program. These school programs are characterized by a greater use of the human resources of the community.

3. *School under Provincial Jurisdiction*
   The majority of Indian children (53%) were enrolled in provincial and private schools.

4. *Post-School Education*
   This program is the post-secondary education assistance designed to encourage Indians and Inuit to acquire university and professional qualifications.

5. *Cultural/Educational Centres*
   This program provides financial assistance to establish and operate cultural/education centres.

These education programs are all funded through the authority of the Minister of Indian Affairs (Canada 1982:9-13).

The guiding principles for this education are stated as follows:

> Indian education strengthens the learner's cultural identity. Indian education equips students with recognized basic learning skills. A fundamental aim of education for Indians is the realization of each individual's potential (Ibid.:17).

These guidelines reflect the "ideal" philosophy expressed in the Indians' own proposal for the education of their children. The reality, as expressed in the analysis of issues and curriculum standards, indicates that the systems provided are subject to difficulties of differing perceptions of the respective rights and obligations of the Department, Indian education authorities, and provincial jurisdictions. There also are problems related to quality of education, the concept of local control, the education management, and funding (Ibid.:16). It is clear from this Phase I paper that the Indians' control of their children's education was not considered as a total situation. According to this report:

> The basic problem with control of Indian education is that the concept has been implemented without the Federal/Indian relationship involved having been defined and without the necessary structures having been developed (Ibid.:31).

At the time of the Indians' proposal for control of their education, formal schooling on the elementary level had become almost universal among the Micmac children. It was at the secondary education level, and in the ages 14 to 18 year group, that enrollments declined. In 1969 to 1970, 60% of this age group were enrolled in secondary schools. By 1973 this number increased to 76%, but in the late 1970s there was a drop to a return to 60% (Ponting and Gibbins 1980:56). This proposal of the Indians to control their education was, in part, put forward as a solution to the drop-out rate. At that time the Indian proposal was being introduced on some reserves, yet complete control and an assessment of this policy had still to be made—that is, whether it had an appreciable affect on secondary school enrollment.

The realm of formal education is a culture based on the ability to read and write in at least one language. In a sense, it is a book-based culture which differs from the reality of the practical day-to-day activity. The young Indian of the future faces a society, both within and outside the reserve, which is preoccupied with the survival not only of people as physical beings but what is desirable as a way of life. In the modern world the more effectively an individual can speak, read, write, and think the better equipped that person will be to deal with the "impact of social change." According to modern educators, the young people facing the coming era need a good education to succeed in taking their place in the global society.

In an article on education on a global scope, Sandra Porteus makes a case for a broader education in order to encourage students to "think globally and act locally" (1990:14). This idea of an international dimension would take Indian children beyond the scope of Canadian society to learn that no country or part of a country, such as a reserve, needs to be isolated. In the same series of articles, Art Marshall made a case for an understanding of "key historical events and relationships" which had taken place since 1945 (1990:18). According to Russ McLean, courses in global studies in the curriculum will develop well informed students who would have "the critical insight necessary to be full participants in a democratic society" (1990:20). Within the recommendations for Indian control of their own education there not only is the concept of pride of identity but an aim that the Indians should have the greatest possible opportunity to function in the broadest sphere of society. According to Thelma Archibald: "A large part of the global education is simply expanding the concept of community to include the world" (1990:21). In developing awareness of world events and foreign communities, students are encouraged to see things in the context of a larger sphere, and associate the idea of minority and majority as a population statistic, and not a matter of superiority or inferiority. In other words, perceive the role and value of their own communities as contributors to the broader community.

In the Indians' control of their own education, this aspect of a global world must have a place if their preparation for living and taking advantage of the opportunities of such a world are to be fulfilled. It is not enough to preserve the past, the dynamic aspect of educational needs must be met. It is relevant that the first steps have been taken in that formal education has been made

more acceptable to the Indian people. They also have recognized the role of the whole community in bringing about their desired goal. This goal is not assimilation through education, but rather a form of integration and equality, which leaves identity and pride of heritage intact. Such an approach makes it possible to join in the dominant society as a contributing ethnic group well qualified to participate. The values brought to this relationship relate to the individual's identity—that is, how one perceives the "self-image." This identity depends upon three basic aspects: one is cultural, and is based on historical roots; the second is, in a geographical sense, based on community and territory; and the third is self-esteem, that is, the worth of the individual as seen in a positive or negative sense. It is this aspect of developing the whole human being that the Indians claimed to incorporate into their education systems.

In summing up respect for Indian heritage, Dr. Art Blue, in a talk delivered in a Social Change Seminar at Memorial University in 1972, made the following comment on Indian culture:

> ... when you seek to change Indian culture, look at the fact that you are approaching these people from a culture that is barely three thousand years old ... to change people with a culture that lies in the history of this area for maybe twenty-five to fifty thousand years (Blue 1972:6).

Dr. Blue went on to point out that non-Indians were attempting to build a way of life from the point of view of a culture "that has not even gained simple stability" as a "model" for a people whose culture has lasted for over ten thousand years (Ibid.).

It was to save some recognition of this culture that the Indians made their move to control their education as a start on the road to self-government. The education aspect of the government administration of Indian Affairs had not produced results satisfactory to either the Indians or the government authorities. It had not served the Indians well in their struggle to maintain their identity and fit into the economy of the dominant society; nor had it brought about the assimilation which remained the goal of the government.

The history of the policy governing Native-non-Native relations in the period from Confederation to the events of the 1970s has been summed up by Cassidy as a "fundamental failure" which has been based on

> ...an assimilative approach which purports to adhere to a goal of bringing aboriginal peoples into the mainstream of Canadian society, while, in actuality, it features the gradual imposition of a bureaucratic welfare state on Indian reserves, a welfare state which Indians are to administer for themselves and which ignores the need for a real land base and significant autonomy (1991:3).

Dr. Cassidy poses the question as to how recognition of the original peoples of Canada can be made "...not on the basis of race but, rather, on the basis of historical, political and legal realities" (Ibid.). The significance of this article to the present study is that after what transpired in 1972, as a reaction to the *White Paper*, and the intervening time, the situation of Indian-non-Indian relations still retains much of the same dominant-subordinate relationships and inequality which were evident in the earlier policies.

Indian-non-Indian relations have gone through a number of contact situations. Initially this contact was peripheral, during the early fur trade period. This relationship developed into a dominant-subordinate one during the non-Indian settlement period, and under a colonial government. Out of this contact the paternalism developed which, in 1972, was cited by the Indians as the source of their loss of independence.

It may be seen from the foregoing discussions that the Indians always found themselves, in their dealings with the dominant society, in a position which was not traditionally Native and not completely non-Indian. In such instances their legal status, and the laws under which they lived, imposed a marginal situation in the relationship with the dominant society. The ideology professed by the dominant society in Canada was that of equality for all groups of people which made up the heterogeneous population. Such an image carried with it a concept of tolerance in inter-group relations. The restrictions placed on the Indian people, by reason of their special status, and the coercion of the government toward assimilation was the basis on which this tolerance was perceived by the Indians. Any emphasis on integration or

assimilation is itself restrictive, as it presupposes superiority of the culture of the dominant society, and negates the Indians' own way of life.

In the struggle for self-government, it is possible that some pattern of relationship may evolve which will leave the Indian people free to choose their course of action in accordance with their needs and wishes as they perceive them. The dilemma for the Indians at the time of the change of administrative policy, as proposed in the *White Paper*, was the fear of losing the advantages of their special status and some form of protection for the lands they occupy while, at the same time, they negotiated for more equality of opportunity in the dominant society. In this respect, the Indians had taken a stand that their Indian heritage and identity must be protected. They did not advocate any form of integration which would deny their rights as the First Nations. In this regard their claim to control the education of their children was a protection for their identity and a preparation for the leadership of the future. The Micmac people were aware that economic opportunity is closely allied with interaction with the dominant society and the acceptance of some of the values of the non-Indian. Through their associations, however, they embarked on the long road of negotiations to merge these aspects of their relationship with the government in such a way that the Indians as a people can resolve the conflicts endemic in their situation. The answer appeared to lie in some compromise between the Indians and the dominant society, which would leave the indigenous people some form of status apart from that of Canadian citizens. There would be a continuation of some Indian values with further diffusion of non-Indian culture. Such a "blend," however, would come about through the decisions and initiative of the Native people themselves.

There are lessons to be learned from the history of the relationship of the government and the Native people. One important fact is that dominant-subordinate interaction does not bring about assimilation or solve racial or ethnic conflict. A second aspect of this type of relationship which has worked against the government's goal is that dependency begets dependency, and is difficult for both parties to terminate in favour of self-government and individual responsibility.

Whether the *Indian Act* ever will be amended to reflect a complete withdrawal of the Indian Affairs Branch from any jurisdiction over Indian

education is problematic, or at least some distance in the future. It seems relevant to say that, in accord with the Penner Report (Canada 1983), the complete control of Indian education by Indians hinges on some form of self-government that will make the *Indian Act* obsolete. It remains, however, for the Indians and the Government to relinquish their dependence on it, and evolve a type of government more suited to the aspirations of the Native people.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Over the period under study it may be seen from the changes in both government policy and education systems that it was not a static relationship. The undercurrent produced by the goal of assimilation, however, hindered the development of a type of independence which would have modified, or even eliminated, much of the paternalism and inequality which was the legacy of the colonial period. Indian-non-Indian relations reflected the major differences in the relationship of the two groups of people, the Native and the dominant society. As Chapter 3 of the study indicates, the relationship to both the Federal and Provincial Governments was based on entirely different concepts. The one operating for status Indians negated Indian initiative and administrative power, while that of the non-Indian society was based on a more active political role on both levels of government. The dominant-subordinate nature of the relationship had many years to become established, and it is taking time to find solutions for the situation which developed.

In looking at the most outstanding changes in Government-Indian relationship since 1972, the conflict which grew out of the earlier policies is much in evidence. To understand what transpired after the *White Paper*, and what has continued in the confrontations of the contemporary scene, a knowledge and an assessment of the earlier periods in the history of the relationship reveals the contradictions contained in the policies and the reality of the situation. It is noted that the Indians have demonstrated that they have long memories. The problems which began in the earlier periods of the relationship did not diminish but, rather, tended to grow in magnitude. To understand the effect of these problems on the contemporary negotiations, it is necessary to look back in history, and see how the various policies operated in the situation which evolved between the Indians and the dominant society. This review of past events is essential in making provision for some form of compensation for the injustices as they are perceived by the Indians.

For the Native people, dependence had bred a culture of its own. The rationale for this aspect of reserve life has been that the services received from the government were, in fact, payment of a debt for loss of land and resources.

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In a dominant-subordinate situation, such dependence actually became part of the lifestyle of the Indians. It was made clear at meetings and conferences that this situation was an accepted part of the Government-Indian relationship. There were no proposals put forward by the Indian delegates for economic development or social changes which did not depend on the Government budget for financial support. Even the whole concept of self-government implies initial, and perhaps even long-range, funding from government sources.

What has come to the fore in the period since 1972 to the contemporary scene is more awareness on the part of the Government officials and the public in general that the Native people are entitled to a voice in their own administration and a place of equality in Canada. The Micmac Indians have expressed, in their writings and their negotiations, their intent to pursue the concept of self-government and a greater input into every aspect of the life of their communities as well as the relationships with other levels of government. The Government, on the other hand, has opened up negotiations for the representation of Native people on the political level.

The turning point in the contemporary changes in the relationship of Indian-non-Indian peoples dates from the positive move on the part of the Indians to control their own education. This proposal is the culmination of the long struggle against education systems, which were more detrimental than advantageous. In the light of Indian traditions, these attempts at educating Indian children for assimilation were destroying one culture while failing to bring about the goal of the government. Since this goal was not that of the Indians, it is evident that a conflict of interest existed throughout the long period of Federal policy with regard to Indian education.

Throughout the documentary information, there is ample evidence that the major concerns of the authorities responsible for the decision-making, with regard to Indian administration, were more concerned with eliminating the special status of Indians and merging them into the mainstream of Canadian society than they were with providing effective education. The ambivalence of the attitudes expressed, however, was obvious in the statements that the

Indians needed guidance and were not capable of entering the dominant society on any but the lowest strata. The paternalism evident in all acts, laws, and regulations negated the very goal the Government authorities had set for the Indians.

Since Native political systems were built on cultures in harmony with the environment, the various tribal groups had evolved what was efficient and adequate for their needs. For the Micmac, as a hunting and gathering society, leadership based on proven capability and kinship ties provided a political system for a nomadic people. Their own culture incorporated the knowledge of how to govern themselves in terms of the reality of the surroundings. The whole concept of the individuality of Western civilization generates competition and conflict and the dominant pattern of power. These arguments in themains indicate that the government's goal of assimilation no longer is relevant in Indian administration.

What is more pertinent in the light of the history of Indian-non-Indian relations is the fostering of intercultural contacts. In the broader sphere of Canadian multiculturalism, the aim should be to emphasize cross-cultural understanding, yet, at the same time, promote Canadian citizenship. This citizenship, however, should not demand negation of a race or heritage which gives an identity, sense of "peoplehood," and pride of being the aboriginal people. In the context of immigration and minority groups, the Native people should retain a special status. The great difference is that the Indians were here before the advent of the Europeans, and no invitations were issued by the aboriginal people to have their cultures disrupted. In the case of more recent immigrants, the members of these groups have elected to leave their home-lands and cultures supposedly to embrace the Canadian mainstream society. The contention, in the light of this study, is that aboriginal people have a long history of living as wards in a dominant-subordinate situation, and must find their way to a position of equality through regaining the prestige of their own identity.

Within the dominant-subordinate-dependency relationship, which was in effect during the period 1867 to 1972, certain aspects were operating for and against assimilation. It may be seen from Figure 3 (p. 162) that the forces toward assimilation were strong influences coming from a dominant society. Although the forces against complete merging into the mainstream of

Canadian society, such as traditional culture, economy, and values, have been changed over time, they have retained enough strength to remain a barrier to assimilation. These forces have been reinforced as a result of the contradictory nature of the relationship of the Indian and the dominant society. The special laws related to the separateness and dependence of the Indians in a dominant-subordinate relationship could only lead to ambivalence and a marginal situation.
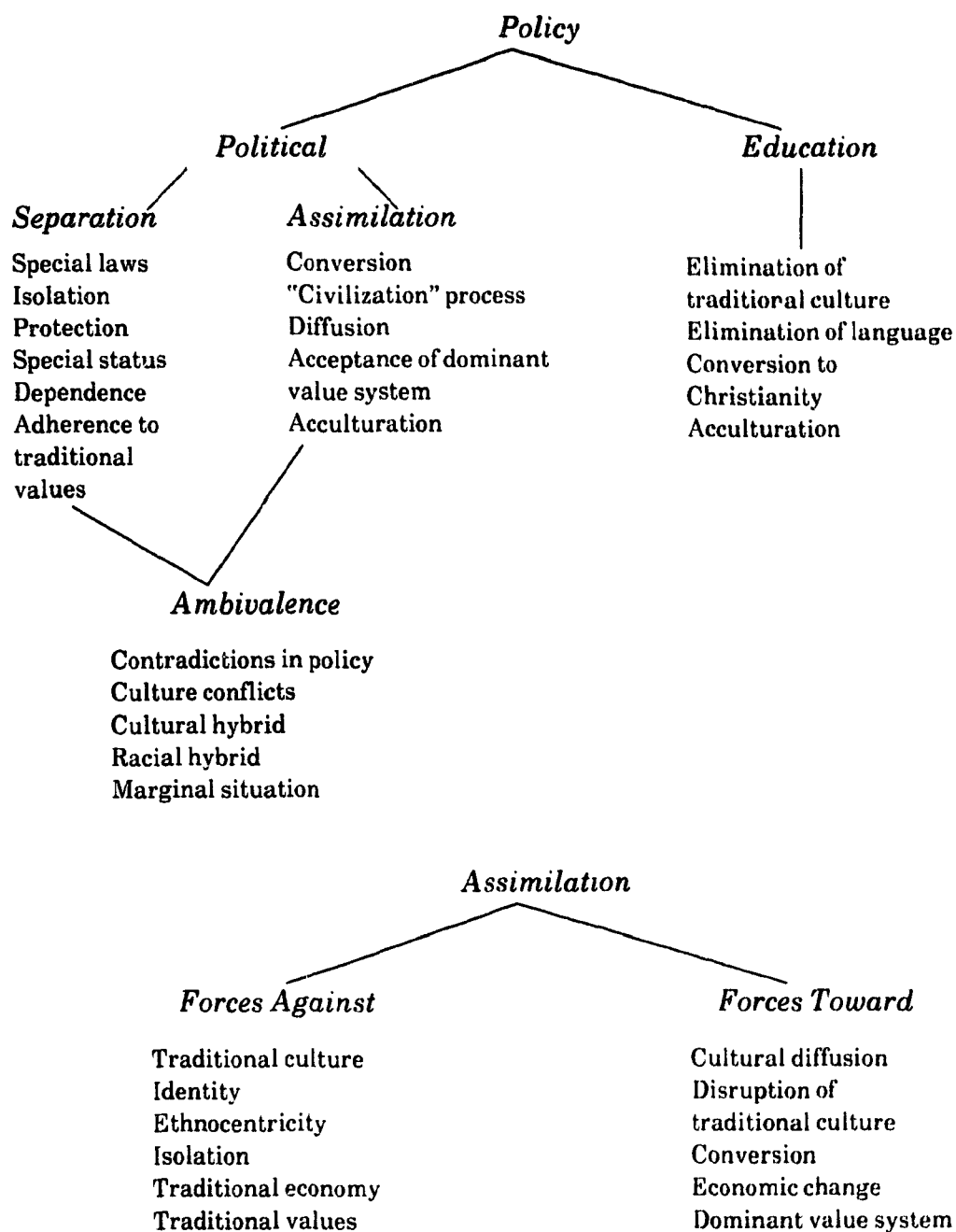
The government saw the education of Indian children as a tool in the elimination of traditional culture, language, and behavior patterns. These aspects of the Indians' way of life were to be replaced by an alien value system and religion to bring about the goal of assimilation. The policies which the Federal Government used in this process by their very nature, that is, isolation of a people and the destruction of a culture, were offset by the strength of ethnic identity and resistance to complete loss of culture. Change did take place and there was disruption of traditional culture, but the vestiges of racial and ethnic identity as well as traditional values were strong enough to defeat the government's goal of assimilation.

Prediction is rather a dangerous and futile aspect of any analysis. The lessons of history are in evidence, however, and need to be heeded in the negotiations of the contemporary scene. There is ample evidence of change in the relationship of the Government to the Indian people in the signs of representation in Constitutional discussions. Whether the "hidden agenda" persists in the negotiations and influences the move toward self-government remains to be seen.

In any case, in the last twenty years the Indians have moved toward control of their own education in terms of choice of systems. They also are participating in the decision-making as to how best to pursue the objectives contained in their 1972 proposal. It no longer is a question as to whether formal education will be acceptable to the Native people. It became a matter of how it would be offered, and by what agency it would be controlled. The control of Indian education by the people most concerned, the Indians, is one step in the whole process toward some form of self-government. This change in the control of education from the Federal Government, or a delegated author-ity, to the Indian band has brought about among the Micmac evidence of awareness of the role of education. This aspect is important in developing the

kind of leadership necessary to negotiate with the various levels of government to finally bring about some form of self-government acceptable to both the Indians and the dominant society.

Figure 3
Policy and Forces Against and Toward Assimilation

Policy

Political

Education

Separation

Assimilation

Special laws
Isolation
Protection
Special status
Dependence
Adherence to
traditional
values

Conversion
"Civilization" process
Diffusion
Acceptance of dominant
value system
Acculturation

Elimination of
traditional culture
Elimination of language
Conversion to
Christianity
Acculturation

Ambivalence

Contradictions in policy
Culture conflicts
Cultural hybrid
Racial hybrid
Marginal situation

Assimilation

Forces Against

Forces Toward

Traditional culture
Identity
Ethnocentricity
Isolation
Traditional economy
Traditional values

Cultural diffusion
Disruption of
traditional culture
Conversion
Economic change
Dominant value system

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