

SELECTED ASPECTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE
AMONG AMERINDIANS: A CASE
STUDY OF SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND

by

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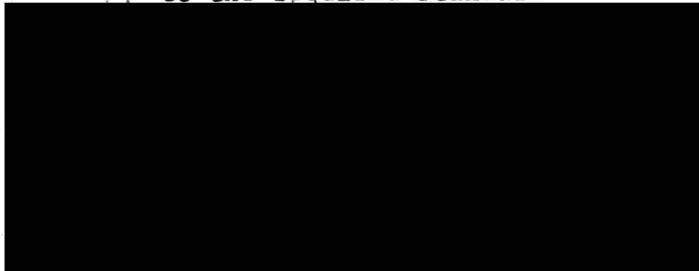
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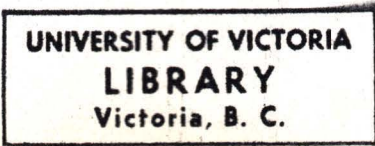
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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to analyse certain changes which have taken place in the economic life of Indian communities in Southeast Vancouver Island. It compares the culture at two points in time, 1880 and 1969, in terms of the following variables.

- (I) Population
- (II) Occupation and Income
- (III) Housing
- (IV) Formal Education

The study follows the historical approach to analyse the change in selected features of Indian culture. The major source of information are, historic documents and records of the Government and a field survey of the eight Indian reserves following a simple random sampling method. The results of the study indicate that there have been highly significant changes among these people of Southeast Vancouver Island. The traditional pattern of social organization has been undoubtedly disrupted. Hunting, fishing and food gathering for subsistence have almost totally disappeared and almost all the Indians have become wage workers. The education level has been raised. In terms of material comforts, white man's amenities are preferred to traditional ones. Population has doubled itself since 1880. The change in traditional living patterns of the Indians has changed the functional meaning of their habitat. The reservations are no more hunting or fishing grounds or even

agriculture land. No Indian band now lives close to the aboriginal level. The trend is towards a more completely westernized material living pattern and a slow rate of change in social organization consequently the Indians will undoubtedly remain a distinct ethnic group, living in separate communities and with somewhat different ways of life but within the framework of Canadian society. The reservations are expected to exist for a long time. The condition of the reservations will be much improved with granting more autonomy to the Indian people to manage their own affairs.

Examiners

(Chairman)

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Finally, the author would like to express particular gratitude to her parents. Without their patience, understanding and encouragement, the study would neither have been begun nor completed.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aims and Purpose of the Study

This study attempts to analyse certain changes which have taken place in the economic life of Indian Reserve communities in Southeast Vancouver Island in terms of selected cultural features. It is a comparison of culture at two points in time, 1880 and 1969 and an analysis of change from the adopted base period.

In Southeast Vancouver Island to the east of a line from Finlayson Arm in Saanich Inlet to Sooke Bay, a considerable amount of land is occupied by Indian Reserves. Eight Indian communities occupy an area of 4860 acres. Approximately 5 percent of the total area. These enclaves of aboriginal culture were established in the area more or less one century ago. With the rapid increase in urban development, Indian reserves are now coming in to more frequent proximity with the non-Indian communities.

The previous isolation of Indian population from the main stream of modern life has decreased markedly in the last few decades. At present the Indian people appear to be in transition from a rural to an urban way of living. Such a situation of change is accompanied by the splitting of old clusters of activities and needs and demands the creation of new clusters to meet the changing needs of a community.

If these changes are misunderstood or unanticipated, severe friction may emerge which can impede and distort the development process. That is why any planning effort should consider the question of linkages and course of changes in order to understand clearly the needs of the community involved and to allow maximum benefits.

Approach and Method

The study follows the historical approach to measure change in selected features of Indian culture in southeast Vancouver Island. This entails a comparison of conditions in 1880 with conditions in 1969 according to certain selected variables. The area of study lies to the east of a line extending from Finlayson Arm in Saanich Inlet to Sooke Bay. This boundary in early times corresponds closely to the division between the Strait Salish in Southeast Vancouver Island and Nootka and Cowichan Salish to the Northwest and Northeast of the Island respectively, and was relatively homogeneous in terms of selected aspects of culture. In order to discuss the extent of change it is helpful to have some base period with which to compare the present. In view of the paucity of documented material for aboriginal culture of the people of the Southeast Vancouver Island, the base period is set around 1880; this is the period when British Columbia Royal Commission on Indian Affairs was set up to finalize the allotment of each reserve.

An analysis of change from the adopted base period to 1969 is then attempted in respect of the eight reserves now in the Region. This is achieved by the examination of selected variables at two points in

time, i.e. 1880 and 1969. The selected variables are (a) population, (b) occupation and income, (c) housing, (d) formal education. There are other equally important features of culture such as language, religion and social organization, but to arrive at a considerably accurate picture of change, this approach ought to include a significant amount of comparable quantitative data. Such data were not available for other than four selected variables, especially for the historical reconstruction. Consequently the study was narrowed down to include only four stated variables.

For the purpose of this study these four variables are defined in terms of:

(i) Population

Includes number, age structure, sex composition as well as rate of natural increase.

(ii) Occupation and Income

Includes the ways of earning livelihood, their distribution, characteristics of labour force and income derived from various activities at various times.

(iii) Housing

Includes style, standard, constructional material and household possessions.

(iv) Formal Education

Is defined as attendance in an institution established by the government or any other organization or the community itself.

Source of Data

The information required for the study was obtained from two main source areas.

- (1) A perusal of historic documents and the available records of the Department of Indian Affairs. Reconstruction of the conditions in terms of selected aspects of culture in 1880 is based on these documentary sources.
- (2) A field survey of the eight inhabited reserves in Southeast Vancouver Island and personal interviews with a sample of population. This is the main source for the present day picture of Indian population of Southeast Vancouver Island.

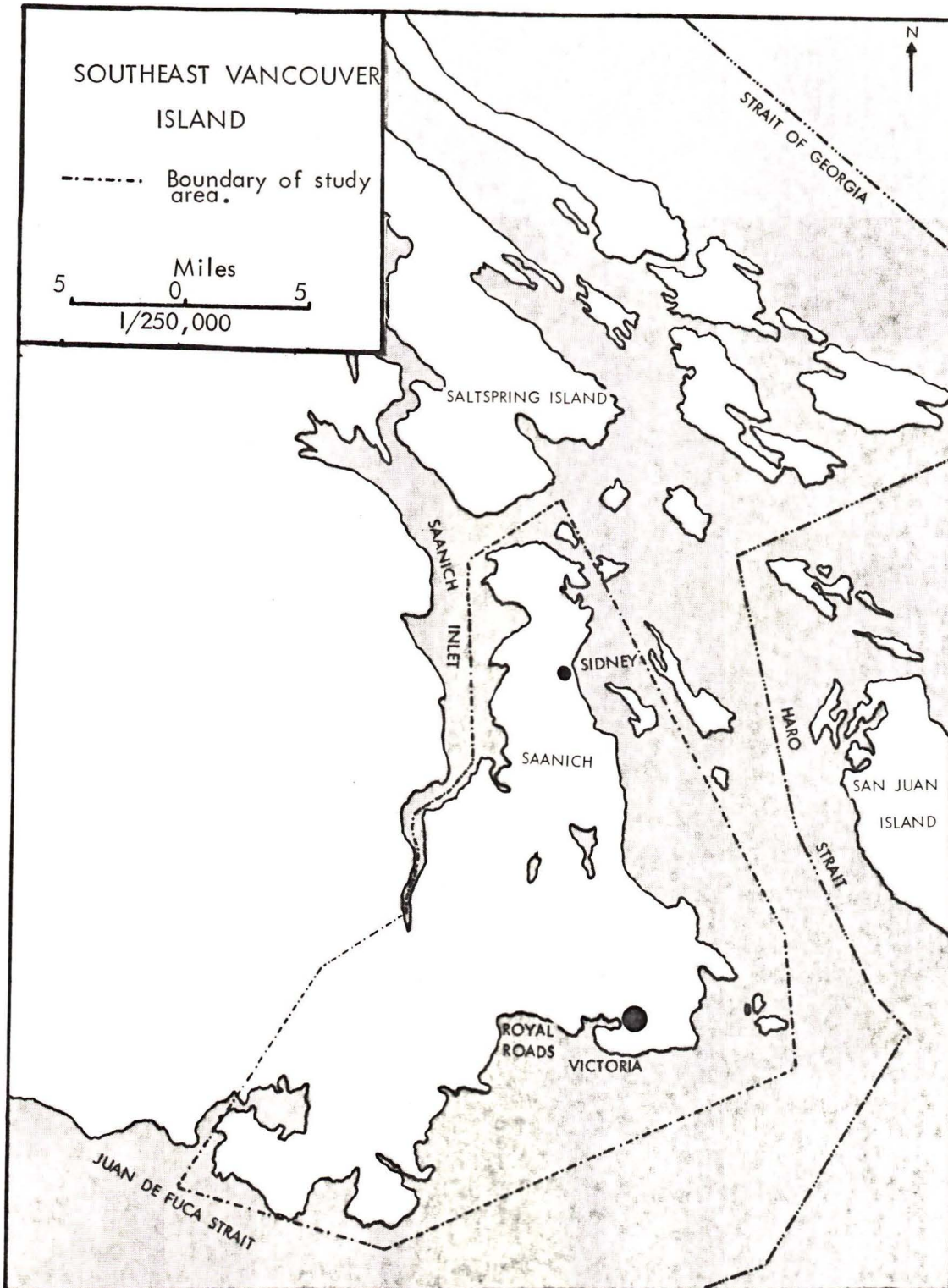
Data Problems

There are inherent weaknesses in both sets of data used. As far as historical records are concerned the information in most of the cases are scattered and sketchy. Comparable statistical information particularly is not enough. This situation can lead to generalizations which may mask the true picture. But as there is no other possible alternative available for reconstruction of the past, keeping in view the limitations, possible care has been taken to avoid all speculative sources. With the aid of available statistical data and comparable records, an attempt is made to portray the most accurate picture.

In order to understand the present condition of the Indians a field survey of eight Indian reserves was conducted. As it was practically impossible to reach each and every person living on the

reserve, a simple random sample was found most suitable. The size of the sample covered sixty percent of the families living on reserves. A questionnaire was prepared (Appendix 1) to cover comprehensively all the aspects relating to the study. It is obvious that because the study is based on sample survey it does involve generalizations, a questionnaire itself is liable to introduce some bias. But keeping in view the fairly large size of the sample and the line on which the questionnaire was prepared the result is expected to be sufficiently accurate for such a cultural historical study. The study is exclusively concerned with the Indians living on reserves and no evaluation of the native living away from the reserves is attempted.

FIG. I



Source: Adapted from Sheet No. 92 B-C. Victoria, British Columbia, Department of Land and Forests, British Columbia, 1961.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Early Exploration

In order to understand the present condition of the Indian people clearly, an appreciation of the historical perspective is helpful. In the latter half of the 18th century when the European first came to the northwest coast, the Salish group was in possession of Southeastern Vancouver Island.¹

The first recorded European contact with any Coast Salish was in 1790, when the Spanish explorer Quimper explored both shores of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and sailed in to the Esquimalt anchorage. In 1791 the Eliza expedition made further contact. The Spanish passed through Paddilar Bay and Bellingham Bay in to the southern end of Georgia Strait. In 1792 the Spanish continued their explorations, while the British expedition under Vancouver completed the task and ultimately took over the area.²

Era of the Fur Traders

In the early 19th century British and American interest in the

¹Duff, W., "The Indian before the Arrival of White Man", The Indian Child and His Education, Department of Education Extension, University of British Columbia (1967), p. 15.

²Suttles, W., "Post Contact Cultural Changes Among the Lummi Indians," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 29-102.

Northwest Pacific Coast was centered around the fur trade and particularly on the sea otters. The Hudson's Bay Company, Northwest Company and Astorians established posts on the Columbia from its mouth to its head waters and the Upper Fraser. As most of the sea otters were found in the northern waters of Vancouver Island, little interest was shown in the southern parts of the Island.³ However the effect of the fur traders was felt by all native groups, even by those who had little or no direct contact with them. The Salish of southern Vancouver Island felt the impact of the European long before they met them, in the form of epidemics. In the early 1780s a smallpox epidemic swept across North America from the east and took a great toll of the native population.

The aim of the fur traders was not to revolutionize the native culture, they sought to bring about a different emphasis in attitudes.

"Primarily they wanted the natives to spend more time hunting fur bearing animals and less time quarrelling among themselves. They also needed the natives to some extent as a source of labour and food - fish, meat and potatoes." (4)

Early Indian Settlements

In hunting and food gathering economies the physical resources of land as well as sea play a most significant role. Man at a primitive

³Suttles, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴Suttles, op. cit., p. 39.

NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND

1842



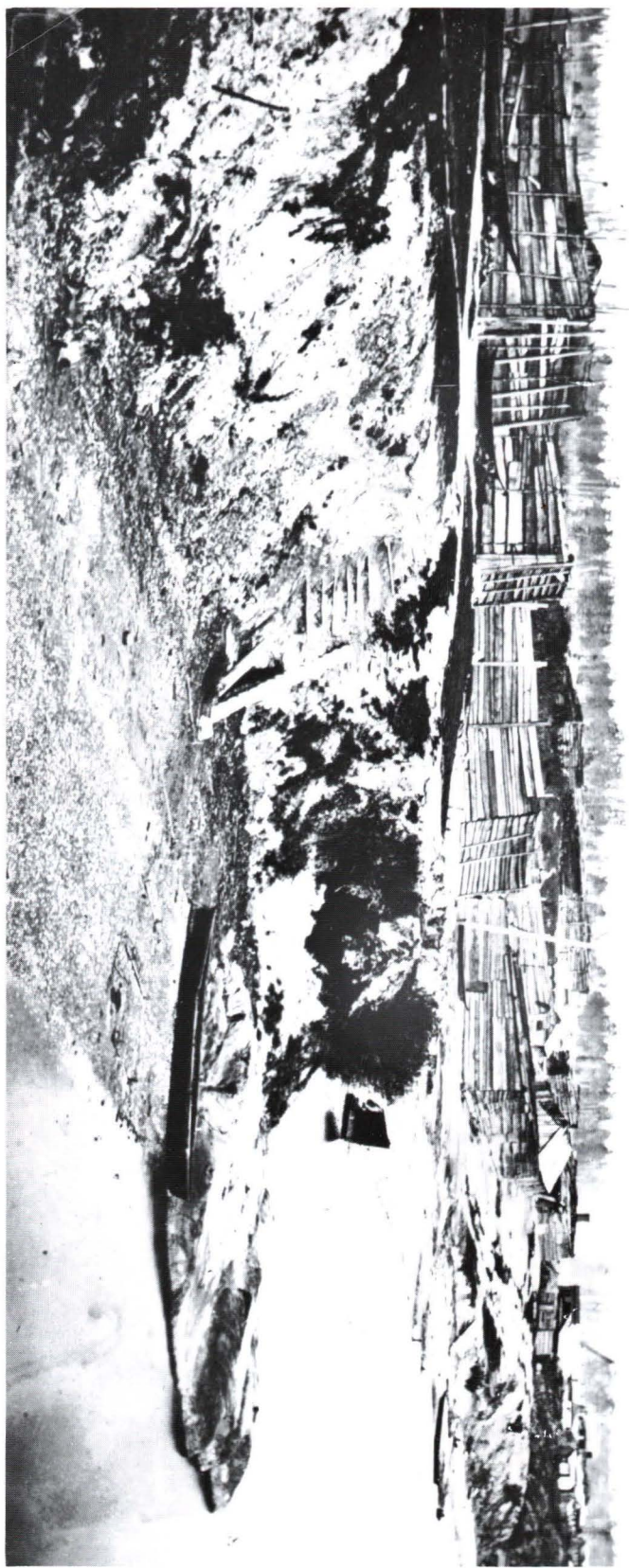
Source: Adapted from Duff, "The Fort Victoria Treaties", B.C. Studies, No.3, 1969, P.9.

stage of technology had undoubtedly to display a greater level of passive adaptation to natural environmental conditions. Like other primitive societies the Indians of southeast Vancouver Island were basically hunters and food gatherers. The natural features and conditions of most concern to them were the presence of useful plant produce, wild life and marine resources. Their seasonal availability, distribution and abundance was fundamental to the way of life.

Furthermore the lay of land and its effect on shelter, communications and defence was of immediate concern in selecting settlement sites. Early settlements of natives in southeast Vancouver Island were found in the immediate vicinity of coastal areas. The sites selected for the villages were those offering natural defensive positions on rocky steep sided islands, or corresponding positions on peninsulas. (Fig. 2). The forested areas served as their hunting, root and berry gathering grounds. Among tree species cedar and spruce played a predominant part in the lives of native people. As the Indians were dependent on stone and bone tools, it was fortunate that the wood of the cedar tree is easily split, bent or moulded by steam and was utilized for canoes, paddles, bailers, fish hooks and for houses. Indeed it has been well said that culture of northwest as a whole rested upon "salmon and cedar".

It is hard to determine the specific locations of the early Indian settlements on the basis of available historical records. In the reports of James Douglas in connection with the construction of

Fig. 3 Songhees Indian Willamette River and the "Exploiter" (1904)



(courtesy of Provincial Archives, B.C., Victoria)

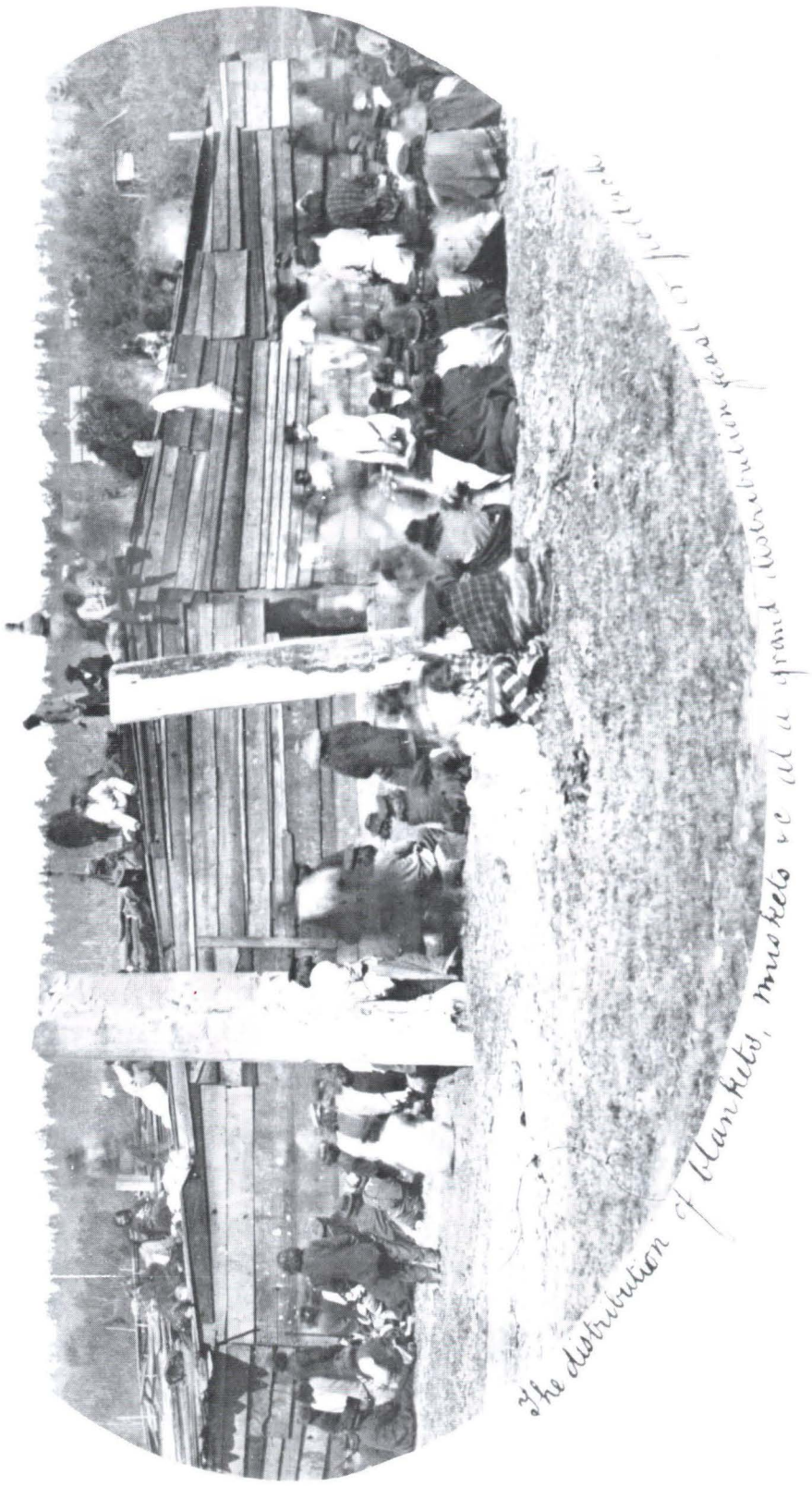
Fort Victoria there are few general references to the native forts and some village sites, particularly in Sooke and Cadboro Bay area.⁵ At the time of Douglas' first visit to Southeastern Vancouver Island, there were three groups of Coast Salish ethnic divisions, speaking Straits Salish dialects. The Esquimalt-Victoria area was occupied by the Songhees, the Saanich peninsula by Saanich speaking peoples and Pedder Bay-Sooke Harbour sector was occupied by Sooke tribes (Fig. 2). This tribal division is based primarily on linguistic differences. Around 1850 some from among the Klallam tribe from across Juan de Fuca Strait in American territory moved in to the Becher Bay area. Linguistically, the Sooke, the Saanich and the Songhees Indians were closely related.

The areas around Sooke and Esquimalt harbour were occupied by the Indians prior to the coming of the first European. For instance, Quimper in 1790 found the area inhabited by the native people.⁶ As has been previously mentioned, the Sooke was mainly concentrated around Sooke and Becher Bay. Eastwards were different tribes of Songhees who occupied general sites from Parry Bay to Cadboro Bay. Douglas in his report has mentioned "Several forts and harbour areas".

⁵Douglas, J. to McLouglin, July 12, 1842, Cited in "Founding of Victoria," The Beaver, March (1943), pp. 4-7. Duff, op. cit., also refers to this: - "there were several villages of Indians between Cordova Bay and Parry Bay," p. 39.

⁶Farley, A.L., Regional Study of Southeastern Vancouver Island, University of British Columbia, Unpublished M.A. thesis (1946), p. 66.

Fig. 4 Songhees Indians Potlatch Ceremony



(courtesy of Provincial Archives of B.C., Victoria)

The only reference to specific sites however is, on his sketch map, which shows the Indian forts on Cadboro Bay and at Esquimalt. Anthropologists have carried out several studies in the area and according to Franz Boas there were twelve village sites at the end of the 19th century from Cadboro Bay to Becher Bay.⁷ Early in the 20th century Hill-Tout carried out field work and listed eleven probable sites in the same area.⁸ In 1969 Duff has also listed eleven sites in the area.⁹

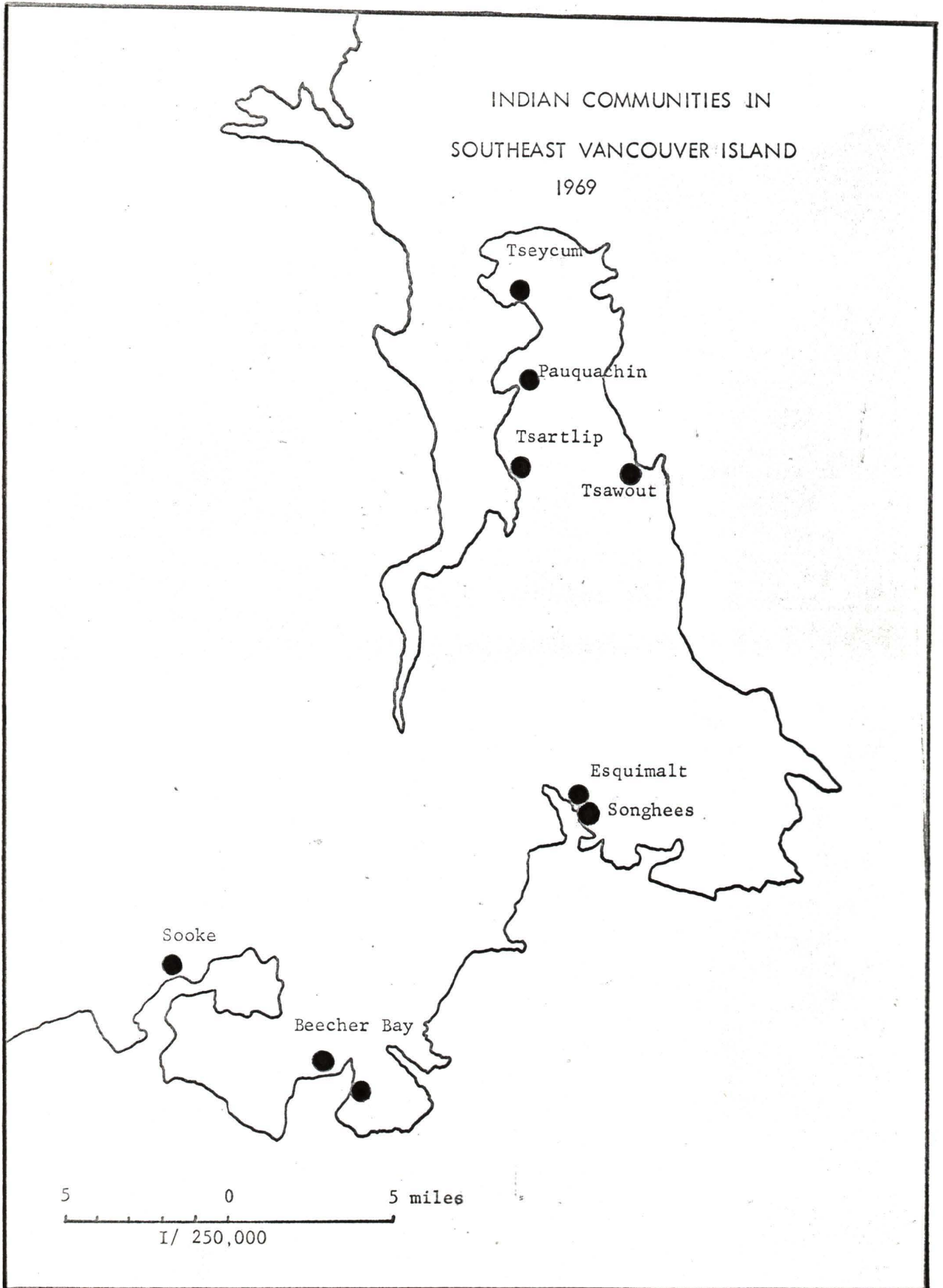
The villages of the Saanich tribes were least disturbed by the construction of Fort Victoria, so they are more easily determined. The four historic villages were Tsartlip, Paqichin, Tsaout and Tsykum. The latter was initially located to the south of its present location. Around 1850 the Saanich probably occupied several sites on the Gulf Islands which used to be their fishing grounds in summer.¹⁰ In general the villages of the Saanich were situated at the heads of the well sheltered bays. (Fig. 2). At first the protection from the weather elements was probably the most important consideration, but later on the protection which the sites afforded from the incursions of the

⁷Boas, F., "The Lukungen", British Association for Advancement of Science, Vol. 60 (1890), p. 17.

⁸Hill-Tout, C., "Report on the Ethnology of the Southeastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, British Columbia," Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 37 (1937), p. 307.

⁹Duff, W., "The Fort Victoria Treatise," B.C. Studies, Vol. ? No. 3 (1969), pp. 3-57.

¹⁰Names of the villages are those given by Duff, op. cit., p. 28.



source:Adapted from sheet No.92.B.C.,Victoria,British Columbia,Department of Land and Forests,British Columbia,1961.

northern groups especially the Cowichan and Yaculta became the most important factors of location. These raids led to a shift in the location of some villages. The establishment, in 1827, of Fort Langley and in 1843 of Fort Victoria on land occupied by Indians led to further relocation of the native villages. In 1850 and 1852 Governor James Douglas negotiated a series of treaties with the Songhees and Saanich tribes by which they ceded all of their lands except their villages, camps and fishing sites. Most of these sites later became reserves.¹¹

Summary

The native Indian population in 1880 was relatively evenly distributed in the villages along the coast. The sites selected for the villages were those offering natural defensive positions on peninsulas and offered access to marine resources. The Indian economy was typically a hunting and fishing economy. Each household used to be relatively politically and economically independent.

In 1871 the Indians of Southeast Vancouver Island came under the direct control of the Federal Government. In the early 20th century in British Columbia Royal Commission on Indian Affairs finalized the allotment of land to each reserve. The Indian population was concentrated on these reserves, so that in effect they became cultural enclaves.

¹¹For details of Indian History in Southeast Vancouver Island see, Boas, op. cit., Duff, op. cit., Hill-Tout, op. cit., Jenness, "The Saanich Indians of Vancouver Island", manuscript, Provincial Museum of British Columbia, Victoria, (1955), Barnett, The Coast Salish of British Columbia. The University of Oregon Press, Eugene, Oregon. (1955).

The effect that these reservations had on Indians, their social and economic conditions, and changes which have taken place in the native culture since 1880 will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

POPULATION

As the key purpose of the study is historical analysis of cultural change among native people of Southeast Vancouver Island, discussion of the size and characteristics of the population involved, at two points in time, i.e. 1880 and 1969 is considered important. Population of the Indian people in the study area has increased considerably since 1880. Age and sex composition has also changed widely. Size and characteristics of population has considerable impact on economic condition of the Indian people, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Total culture within an area develops its unique and distinctive characteristics partly as a result of population number, which suggests intensity of use, but even more it reflects the economic qualities of the occupying group. Population is a major point of reference from which all other elements are observed and from which they all derive significance.¹

Early Estimates of Population 1780-1880

The earliest estimates of the aboriginal population are those made by Mooney. He attempted to establish the population in 1780 of all North American tribes and these estimates are extensively used

¹Trewartha, G., "A Case for Population Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 43, No. 2, (1953), pp. 71-97.

by writers on aboriginal populations. For British Columbia as a whole, the aboriginal population was put at 86,000, with a figure of 8,900 for the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island of which 2,700 were estimated to be in southeastern Vancouver Island.² Various estimates of aboriginal population are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR THE SALISH INDIANS
OF THE LOWER NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA

Tribe	Mooney's estimates (1780)	Taylor's estimates (1780)	Hudson's Bay Co. estimates (1848)
Vancouver Island Salish	8900	15,500	9,414
Salish tribes of southeastern Vancouver Island	2700	- - -	1,934

Note: Krøeber's estimates are similar to Mooney's.

Source: After Taylor, H.C. "Aboriginal population of the lower Northwest Coast," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 54, No. 4, October (1963), p. 159.

²Mooney, J., The Aboriginal Population of America, North of Mexico, Washington, D.C. (1928), Smithsonian Institute Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7, p. 27.

TABLE 2
 CENSUS RETURN OF THE INDIAN POPULATION
 OF SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1881-1891).

Linguistic Groups	Tribe	Population	
		1881	1891
Songish	Esquimalt	77	24
	Songhees	182	136
Sooke	Sooke	39	30
Kalallam	Tche-a-nook (Cheerno)	54	72
Saanich	Tsartlip	104	83
	Tsah-wit-ouk	71	69
	Paw-Kwe-chin	93	31
	Tsi-Klum	41	49
Total		661	523

Source: Census Return of the Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports 1881 and 1891, Queen's Printer, Ottawa (1883 and 1892), pp. 221-222, and 246-250.

Later Estimates - The Censuses of the Department of Indian Affairs

The first detailed census of the Indian population of southeastern Vancouver Island was made in 1881. This was the period of decline in the native population. The Department of Indian Affairs gives the population figures for each reserve, although in some cases the names given for the tribes only vaguely resemble the traditional ones. There is a discrepancy between the figures set out in the Federal Census of Canada and the Census by the Department of Indian Affairs. According to the former source the total Indian population of southeastern

Vancouver Island in 1881 was only 161 persons. This figure is well below the figure of 661 in the Department's report (Table 2).

According to the Department of Indian Affairs the report for 1891 includes the first reliable census for the Indian population for Vancouver Island. Previously there had been errors in assigning people to their proper tribal group and omitting those people who were working away from their reserves. This also probably accounts in part for the variation in numbers as between the tribes on southeastern Vancouver Island between 1881 and 1891.³ (Table 2).

Population Growth (1939-1968)

Since 1939 the Indians of British Columbia in general have been increasing rapidly. In 1963 the total population of the Indians in the province reached 40,800, and for southeastern Vancouver Island the figure was 982 persons (Table 3). The natural increase for the Indian population was 47.2 per thousand. The birth rate for the Indians was 59.2 per thousand as compared to 22.6 for the non-Indian population, and the corresponding death rate figures were 11.6 per thousand and 8.8 per thousand.⁴ If this high rate of increase persists the Indian population is likely to double itself in 15 years. Calculations by the Division of Vital Statistics in 1967 are for persons of Indian racial

³Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports 1881-1891, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, pp. 221-222 and 154-156.

⁴Duff, op. cit., p. 46.

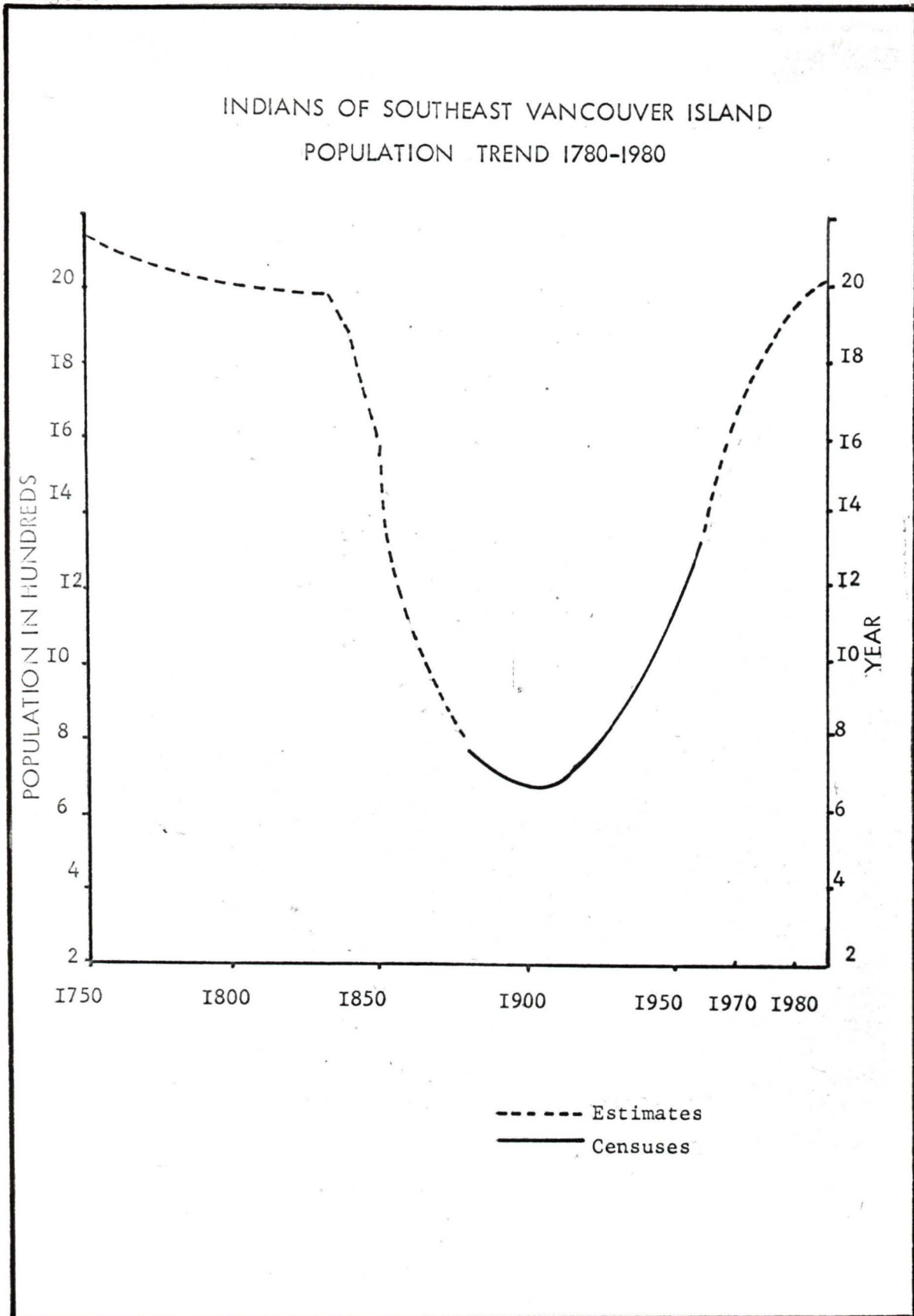
TABLE 3

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION FOR THE EIGHT INDIAN COMMUNITIES OF SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1968)

Band Name	Total Population	Sex Composition			Location of Indians			Age Group Structure							Total Population 1963	Percentage Increase in 1968 over 1963
		Male	Female	Total	On Reserve	Off Reserve	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+			
Beecher Bay	78	37	41	78	57	19	10	14	12	19	10	6	7	73	6.9	
Esquimalt	65	27	38	65	54	12	7	14	14	10	12	6	2	55	18.1	
Pauquachin	129	61	68	129	107	21	13	22	14	34	22	18	6	122	5.7	
Tsartlip	314	155	159	314	263	57	31	58	51	62	76	22	14	299	5.01	
Tsawout	245	110	135	245	220	29	37	41	43	42	54	14	14	211	16.1	
Tseycum	71	32	39	71	47	23	8	8	6	21	16	9	3	61	16.5	
Songhees	181	65	66	131	116	14	18	18	13	27	25	22	8	117	54.3	
Sooke	42	17	25	42	32	9	-	11	6	7	12	3	3	44	-9.4	
Total	1075	504	571	1075	896	184	124	186	159	222	227	100	57	982	8.5	

Source: Unpublished Official Records of the Indian Affairs Department, Cowichan Indian Agency, Duncan, 1969.

Fig. 6.



source: Population estimates are adapted from Duff, W., The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. 1, Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 5 Victoria, 1964.

origin, and not only for those registered as Indians.⁵ The rate of increase for the registered Indians was about 30 per thousand; a rate that, if it were to continue, would result in doubling of numbers in 23 years.

In British Columbia at the present time, approximately 45,000 Indian people live in 191 communities. By 1985 it is expected that 80,000 Indian people will be domiciled in various parts of British Columbia⁶ (Fig. 6). In southeastern Vancouver Island 1,100 Indians are now included within the eight Indian communities and it is expected that by 1981 there would be between 1,400 to 1,700 persons.

The higher proportion of very young persons among the Indians has been a significant feature over the last three decades. In a comparative sense it is an obvious reflection of a greater awareness of the need for family planning among the non-Indians. (Fig. 7 and 8). This is an additional factor contributory to the economic problems of the Indian population. This high number within the unproductive age group among the Indians dissipate the earnings of the Indians; an unduly high proportion of the take-home pay has to be diverted towards striving to maintain patterns of living rather than advancing them.

⁵"Registered Indians" is a legal definition used by the Indian Affairs Branch for the people who come under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act (i.e. those names that are entered on the official Indian Register). "Indian by Racial Origin" is used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Division of Vital Statistics. This category includes all those persons whose racial origin, traced through the father is deemed to be Indian. Not all of them are registered, nor do they all live on reserves.

⁶Duff, op. cit., p. 48.

Fig.7.

NON INDIAN POPULATION OF SOUTHEAST
VANCOUVER ISLAND 1968

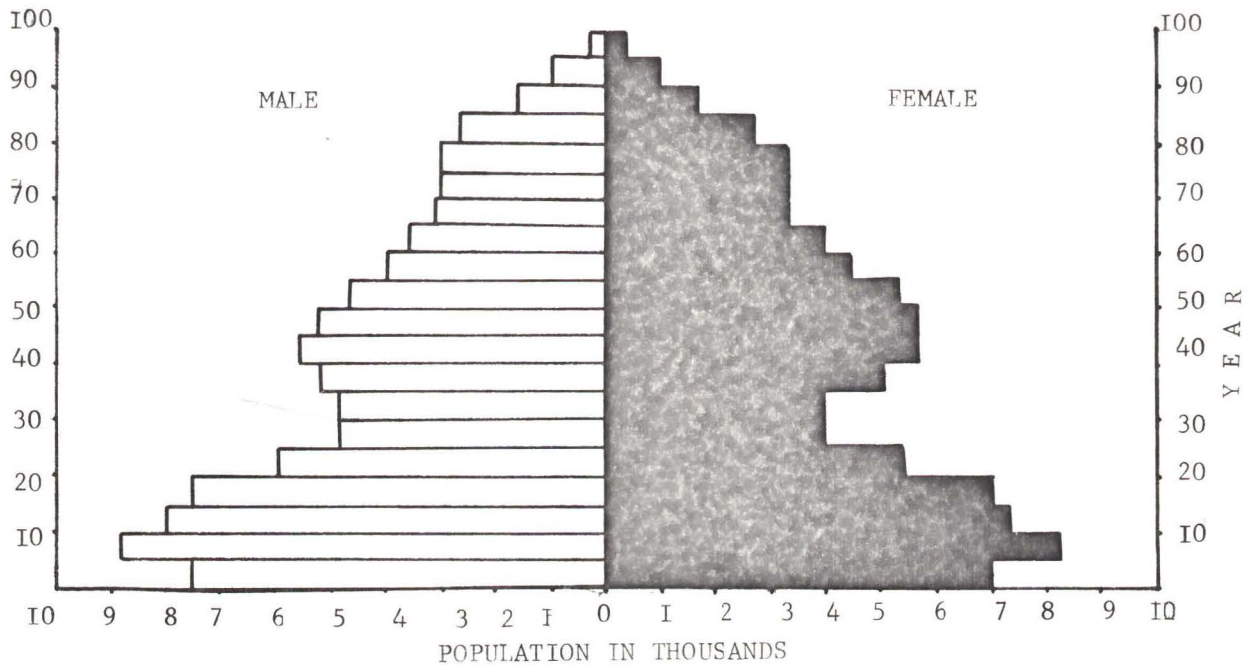
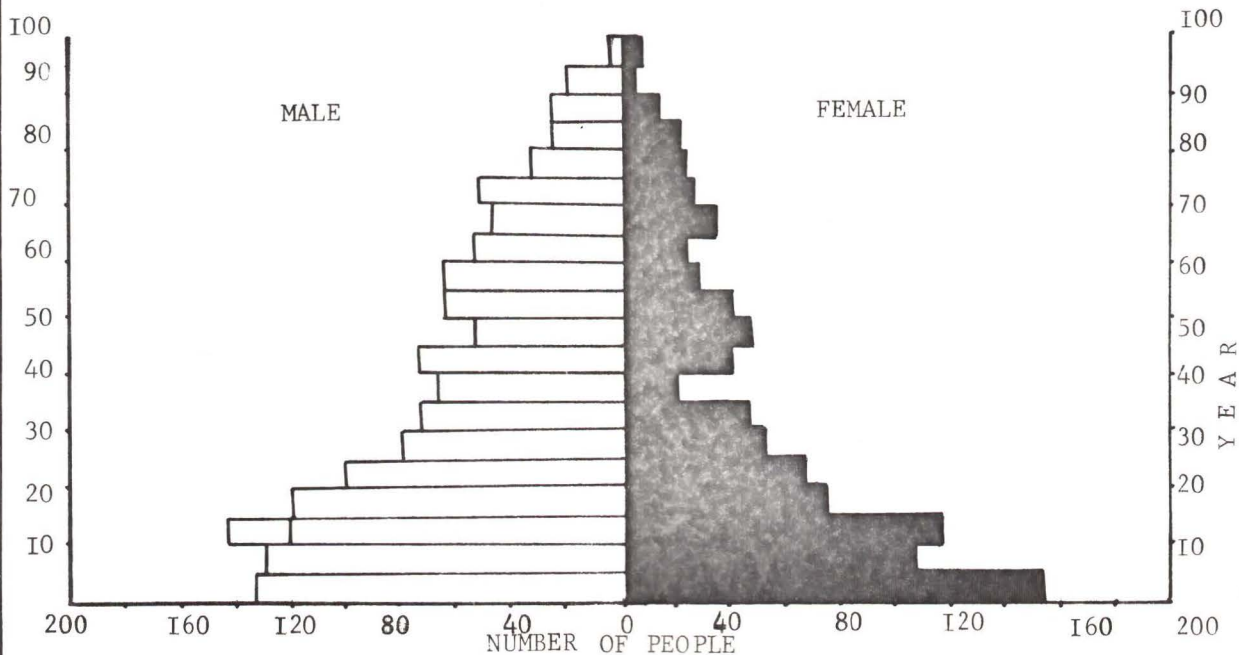


Fig.8.

INDIAN POPULATION OF SOUTHEAST
VANCOUVER ISLAND 1968



source: Based on information supplied by Capital Region Planning Board of B.C. Victoria

"Even if they were the most highly paid wage earners in the province, the relatively small number of the working age would be hard pressed to provide housing, clothing, and education for the large number of children. But they have a relatively low rate of employment, and a relatively low cash income. The age profile is also reflected in medical statistics, especially those showing cause of death. Heart diseases and cancer, the main causes of death in non-Indian population show only a small incidence among Indians. The principal single cause of death among Indians is accidents (from drowning, fire, falls, car mishaps, the taking of and an over-indulgence of alcohol). Among one of every five Indians, the death is by accident, a rate four times higher than the rest of the population. (7)

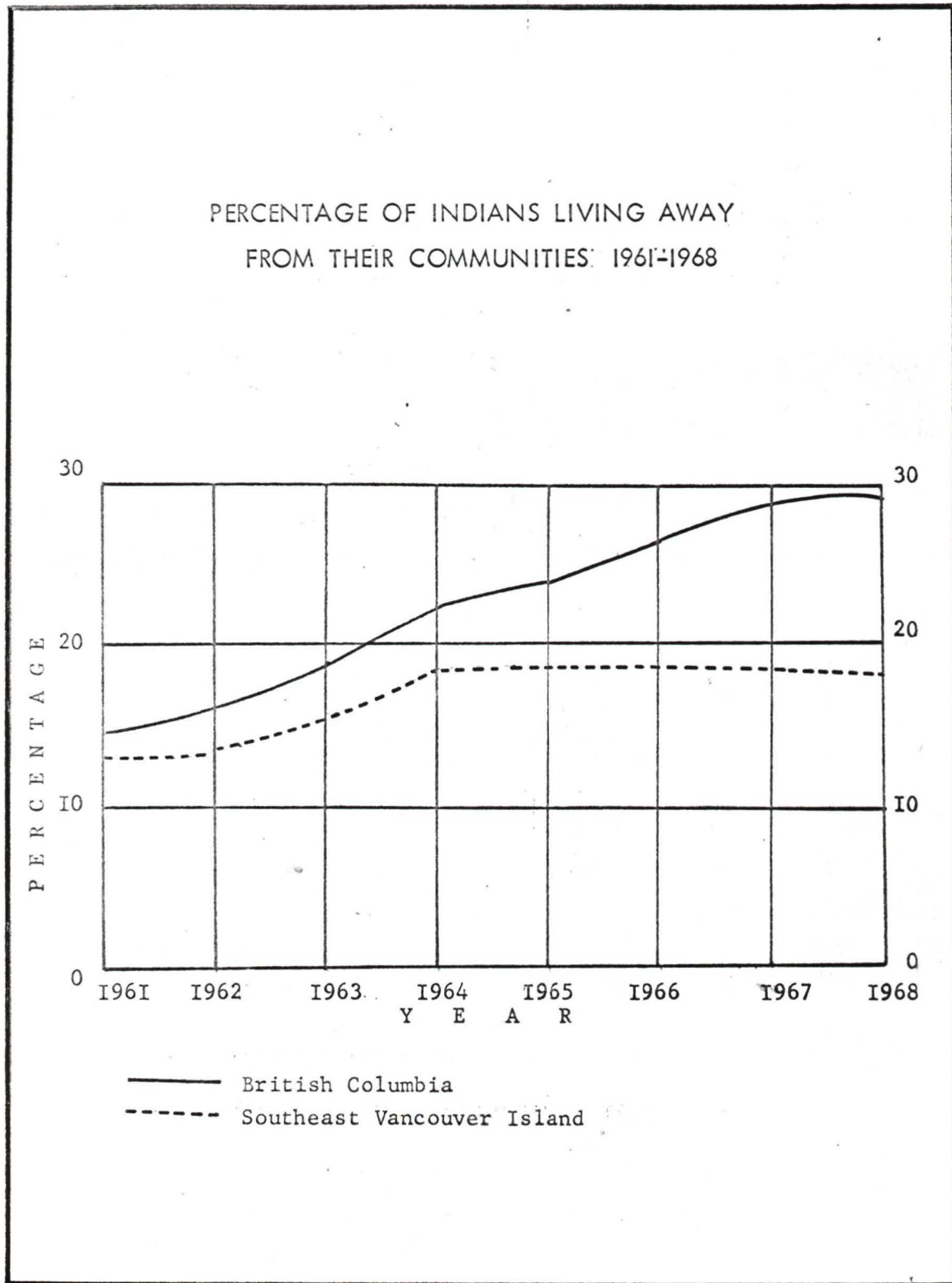
Although the birth rate among the Indians has been checked slightly in the recent years, yet due to a decline in death rate, the natural increase rate does not show a significant change. It is expected that within the present rate of increase the number of Indians in 1985 for the whole of British Columbia will reach a figure of 80,000 and that the eight Indian communities in southeastern Vancouver Island will have 2,000 persons.

The Indian People Off Reserve in Southeast Vancouver Island

The Indian population in British Columbia is generally moving out from the hitherto established Indian communities on reserves. According to the Report of the Indian Affairs Department in 1966, 26 percent of the Indian population in British Columbia and 17.7

⁷Duff, op. cit., p. 48 (Words within brackets have been re-cast by the writer).

Fig.9.



source: Based on table 4.

percent in southeastern Vancouver Island reside permanently outside the reserves. Table 4 and Fig. 9 indicate the situation as between the province of British Columbia and the eight Indian communities in southeastern Vancouver Island. The general reason for this migration given by the people in the sample survey was that living conditions outside the reserve are much more enjoyable.

TABLE 4

INDIAN POPULATION LIVING OFF RESERVE (1961-1967)

Year	British Columbia (percentage)	Southeast Vancouver Island (percentage)
1961	14.2	13.5
1962	15.8	13.5
1963	18.7	14.6
1964	22.4	18.1
1965	23.7	17.9
1966	26.2	17.7
1967	28.0	17.0

Figures based on total Indian population in both instances.

Source: Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Paquachin Indian Community, Victoria, 1968, p. 13.

Summary

The Indian population of Southeast Vancouver Island has doubled itself since 1880. At present 1,100 Indians live on eight reserves in the study area. Although infant mortality rates among the Indian population is higher than the corresponding non-native population,

yet due to high birth rates the actual number of Indian people is increasing. A direct consequence of the rapid natural increase is a high proportion of persons in more youthful categories. Although the trend among the present generation of Indians is a desire to live outside the established reserves and hence diminish its population, due to high birth rates the number of people living on reserves is unlikely to show a significant decline in the near future.

CHAPTER 4

OCCUPATIONS AND INCOME

During the last eighty years, considerable changes have taken place in occupational structure and economic status of the Indian people of southeast Vancouver Island. Shifts in occupational distribution had their impact on the whole economic pattern of the community and has changed the functional meaning of the reservations for the native people. To understand the present economic condition of the Indian people, an analysis of occupational distribution, changes, and income derived from various fields of employment becomes significant.

Indian Economy in 1880

The pre contact Indian economy was typically one of hunting and fishing. The Indians obtained their livelihood mostly from the coastal areas. Salmon used to be the staple food and was commonly taken by reef nets, gaffs and harpoons. Different types of berries, roots and bulbs formed an important part of their food. The tribal economies were relatively simple and self sufficient. This traditional economic pattern was disturbed by the occidental impact over the area. In the post contact Indian economy the gathering of food persisted, especially clam digging and berry picking. The gathering economy of this period, however, had a different emphasis, it became market oriented and initiated at least a partial profit-motive. Wild berries found a

market among whites and cranberries in particular were much favoured. Fishing was still important but with certain changes. Many of the old techniques were dropped and new ones were adopted,¹ and by 1880s with the establishment of canneries (on the Fraser in 1871) the Indian people began working in canneries as wage earners. A report by A. Powell, the agent of the Indian Affairs Department, Cowichan Agency in 1881 states that:

"During the past summers several of the villages in the southern part of the Agency have been almost entirely deserted. Men, women, and children having found paying employment at the salmon canneries on the Fraser. They are now returning to their homes and it is estimated that they will have brought back over \$15,000 in wages from the fisheries. (2)

Another source of income closely related to fishing was provided by the northwest sealing industry which had its headquarters in Victoria during the late 1880s and which employed Indian labourers.

One of the chief aims of Indian Affairs Department was to replace hunting and gathering wholly with agriculture as is indicated by the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs between 1870 and 1900. During 1870-1880 agricultural production increased and some farms began introducing poultry and dairy products.

¹For example, the paddle gave way to the sail and the motor, as the canoe was replaced by the troller, gill-netter, seiner and packer.

²Canada, The Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report (1881), Queen's Printer, Ottawa, p. 181.

"The Indians of this agency as you know lived principally by fishing, cultivating only small patches of their reserves, but now there are a great number of young men on different reserves who are anxious to secure allotments of land which they propose to improve and secure for their children... . The department provided the Indians with garden seeds and implements. The Indians require local agents who will instruct and assist them in utilizing their resources much more than at present It is expected that the commencement of the proposed Island Railway will give employment to all Indians willing to work., (3) near to their homes and that canneries or hopfields and this will diminish the necessity of their living so far away at times when their crops are ready to harvest, but it will be sometime before the wandering habits of the natives will die out entirely." (4)

To sum of the economy of 1880 was basically a hunting and food gathering although their activities tended to be market oriented. Work on ^{a wage} a wage basis in the canneries of Fraser Valley was accepted among the natives. With the efforts of the Department of Indian Affairs some of the Indians became good farmers. Income figures for various occupations, the Indians were engaged in 1880 are not available, for the people in southeast Vancouver Island, making it difficult to compare it with present. But keeping in view that most of the Indians at that time were self employed and ^{work} wage work was limited, non-availability of such details will not mark the picture to any significant extent.

³The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885.

⁴Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of 1882, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, (1884), p. 42.

Indian Economy in 1969

Contemporary industrial society has brought major changes to the economic and social life of the Indians. The most obvious feature in this regard is the extreme concentration of gainfully employed Indians in a few extractive industries such as fishing and forestry and also in farming. Although these fields of employment are similar to traditional ones, the nature of employment is very different from that of the past.

The general employment structure as given in Table 5, covers a sample of 60 percent of the labour force on the reserves. The total earnings of the surveyed population (covering a total of 156 workers), over a twelve month period (through 1968-1969), amounted to \$31,385. The per capita earnings in terms of the total Indian population amounted to approximately \$523 as compared to an average of \$1,400 for all Canadians including Indians and \$2,497 in British Columbia including Indians.⁵ This low level of earnings is due primarily to the concentration of the Indian work force in low paid occupations, and partly to rapid rates of population growth, since World War II, which places a large proportion of the Indian population below working age.⁶ The highest earnings reported per family in the sample survey were \$6,000

⁵Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Indian Communities and Land Use Planning, Victoria, June (1968), p. 23.

⁶For details see Chapter 3.

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN WORKFORCE
ON EIGHT RESERVES IN SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1969)

Band Name	Total Labour Force	Fishing and Forestry Workers										
		Fishing and Cannery Workers	Forestry Workers	Farmers	Craftsmen	Service Trade Employees	Managerial and Professional Personnel	Other Casual Labourers	Transportation and Communication	Miscellaneous Vocations		
Beecher Bay	12	3	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	
Esquimalt	8	2	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	-		
Panquachin	19	4	8	1	-	-	1	3	1	2		
Tsartlip	46	20	10	2	-	-	3	2	1	9		
Tsawout	29	5	5	-	-	-	1	1	-	8		
Tseycum	19	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2		
Songhees	25	7	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6		
Sooke	8	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Total No. of Persons	156	45	41	5	1	-	4	8	3	34		

Source: Gathered by writer in January, 1970.

- 1 Craftsmen: - Carpenters, Woodworkers.
- 2 Service Trade: - Bank Employees, First Aid Men, Electricians, etc.
- 3 Managerial and Professional: - Counsellors, Managers, Teachers.
- 4 Other casual labour: - Longshoremen, quarrymen, shipyard workers.
- 5 Transportation and Communication: - Equipment operators, ferry employees, truck drivers.
- 6 Miscellaneous: - Not specified.

per year, and the lowest was below \$1,000 per year. The major proportion of the population had earnings of \$1,000 to \$3,000 per year. Statistics gathered by the Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia in 1968 puts more than 45 percent of the Indian population in southeastern Vancouver Island below the age of 15 years (Table 6) as compared to the Canadian average of 28 percent. The proportion in the productive age group from 15 to 64 years is roughly 48 percent as compared to the overall Canadian figure of 64 percent.

The total income figure of \$31,385, set out in the previous paragraph, represents the earnings of eighty people from a wide range of jobs of varying duration. The latter are set out in Table 5, under nine categories. Most of these jobs were carried out by the employable males between the age of 15 to 55 years. However only 20 percent of the total labour force employed had regular jobs. The average yearly earnings per worker among the Indians were \$1,361, whereas the general Canadian average per worker was almost \$4,000. The corresponding figure for British Columbia averaged \$5,637.⁷ Because of widespread underemployment and low earnings, Indian households are heavily dependent on welfare.

Table 5 shows that about three-fourths or 70.6 percent of all jobs the Indians performed during 1968-69 were concentrated in fields of employment they are traditionally accustomed to, namely, fishing,

⁷Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., op. cit., p. 24.

forestry, farming and food gathering. More than 60 percent of the total labour force employed was in unskilled and consequently low paid jobs. The average wage for unskilled jobs was from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per hour. Incomes derived from commercial fishing and farming are highly variable. A good season can give up to \$300 per month, but generally neither the fish catch nor the agricultural produce give returns of more than \$200 per month. A minority of the population was self employed and these occupations included both farm and non-farm activities. Each of the major fields of employment is discussed in detail below.

The Fishing and Cannery Employment

The fisheries of the Pacific Coast of Canada form a rich but competitive industry. The salmon fisheries in particular are of vital importance to the economy of the province as a whole. Five major species of salmon (spring, sockeye, pink, coho and chum) "ordinarily account for three quarters or more of the annual dollar value of fish produce in the province. More than three quarters of the Salmon catch of British Columbia is used by canneries and the remainder is sold in fresh, salted or smoked form. Halibut is next in importance to Salmon. Other commercially less important types of fish caught in British Columbia are in order of importance, Herring, Pilchard, Tuna, Cod and Dogfish."⁸

⁸Department of Fisheries, Victoria, Manuscript Records (1968).

TABLE 6

AGE STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN POPULATION ON
EIGHT INDIAN RESERVES IN SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1970)

Age Structure (Years)	Number of Persons	Percentage of Total Population	Non-Indian Population percentage
0 - 14	469	45.7%	27.1%
15 - 64	549	48.7%	56.3%
over 64	57	5.6%	16.6%
All age groups	1075	100%	100%

- 1 The above age structure groupings are in order to emphasize the age group of 15 to 64 years.
- 2 Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin CT-23, Victoria, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1963, p. 3.

Source: Gathered by writer in January, 1970.

Prior to the coming of white men this plentiful food supported the native population. The fishing industry as mentioned earlier has been of great importance for all the Salish tribes in their traditional relatively self-sufficient village economies. Fresh, dried and smoked fish provided staple articles of diet supplemented by other products of the sea, such as clams, herring eggs, etc. With the coming of white settlers the fishing industry gradually became a market oriented as the Hudson's Bay Company (from 1870-1890) furnished a limited market in smoked and cured salmon in the Hawaiian Islands and Asia, and the natives were encouraged to catch fish for

TABLE 7

CHARACTERISTICS OF LABOUR FORCE ON EIGHT INDIAN RESERVES IN SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND

Name of Band	Labour Force ¹	Persons on Reserve	Persons off Reserve ³	Employed	Unemployed	Unemployable ²	Average Grade Completed at School	Full-time Students	Persons with Vocational Training
Beecher Bay	14	11	3	2	8	4	8	1	1
Esquimalt	13	8	5	6	-	2	8	2	-
Panquachin	32	21	11	10	4	2	6	5	-
Tsartlip	67	45	22	25	11	-	8	9	2
Tsawout	47	28	19	18	5	-	8	3	-
Tseycum	19	10	9	2	4	1	5	5	-
Songhees	35	26	9	14	4	2	9	6	1
Sooke	7	7	-	7	-	-	10	-	-
Total	234	156	78	84	36	5	31	31	4

1. Includes Male labour force from 15 to 55 years of age.
2. Unemployable: This category comprises those who are physically unfit.
3. Not included in sample.

Source: Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Indian Communities and Land Use Planning, Victoria (1968), p. 23.

the Company.⁹ But even at that time the fishing activities of the Indians on behalf of the Company were incidental to production for their own use. The supply of fish was sufficiently plentiful so that the production for the market did not interfere with Indians claims of inherent and aboriginal rights. Competition with the white man was limited and no dispute or conflict was recorded.

With the establishment of the canneries (the first cannery was built in 1870 at Anicville on the Fraser River) a new problem faced the native population.

"Practically overnight the Indian had to adjust themselves to drastic economic and cultural changes. In the face of their own changed needs, fishing became a specialized and complex means of economic survival instead of merely one way of obtaining food. Indians had to face growing competition from fishermen who were more experienced in the commercial pursuits. Europeans from various maritime nations, the Americans from the Columbia and Sacramento Rivers and later, the Japanese. They had to cope with rapid technological changes in the industry. They were confronted with a maze of conservation laws and regulations that were difficult to understand, let alone obey. Where as once they had fished with spears and weirs of their own making, Indians now had to make heavy capital investment for fishing equipment to keep up with their white and Asiatic competitors." (10)

In their own tribal culture the Indians were accustomed to a

⁹Gladstone, P. "Indians of the Pacific Coast and Fishing Industry," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 19, No. 1, (1953), p. 35.

¹⁰Gladstone, op. cit., pp. 20-34.

community life directed by heads of the family. This structure broke down when the economic foundation of the tribal economy was transformed. The settlements of almost all coastal tribes and particularly the Songhees of the Southeastern coast of Vancouver Island were located within easy reach of fishing streams or halibut banks. The Indians migratory habits were also geared to seasonal berry picking and other pursuits of food gathering. With the commercialization of fishing industry the Indians found it necessary to make mass movements to the major fishing and canning centres in the Nass, Skeena, Fraser and other river inlet areas.

With the changes brought about by the technological progress the role of the native Indians as fishermen has become less important. They now have to get licences from the Fisheries Department for fishing even though a high proportion of the catch is for home consumption. The fee for a personal commercial fishing licence (including the registration plate of the vessel) is \$15 per season per person. Moreover the Regional Director of Fisheries may, in issuing a permit, delineate the area of waters in which fish may be taken, limit the manner in which fish may be caught and set a time duration for the permit.¹¹ In the early days commercial salmon canning was not a year round occupation. The canneries hired the fishermen to work the boats

¹¹ British Columbia Fisheries Regulations, Fisheries Act, Section 31-E, Queen's Printer, Ottawa (1968), p. 17. (No further changes have taken place in the fishing regulations for Indians).

which the company supplied. Before World War I the wage was \$2 a day.¹² The development of gas engines and other technological changes has resulted in more of the boats and gear being owned by individual fishermen than by the canning and fishing companies. It was comparatively more efficient as well as cheaper to maintain small boats than big vessels which approximately cost \$125,000 at that time. The Indian fishermen who were able to adjust to the new circumstances became more mobile within the industry but lost their flexibility in undertaking other forms of employment. An increasingly heavy capital investment is required of each Indian fisherman to succeed in competition with the others of their own ethnic group as well as other groups. The Indian fishermen are consequently required to devote themselves more and more exclusively to fishing as a permanent and as much as possible a full-time career.¹³

This trend towards a highly capitalized and restricted seasonal nature of fishing, creates difficulty for the Indians. From the earliest days until World War II a great many of the Indian fishermen struggled along as marginal producers. However, when the Japanese were evacuated from the British Columbian coastal areas in 1942, during the Second World War, the native Indians acquired many of the

¹²Based on interview with elderly Indians on Reserves in January, (1970).

¹³Jamison and Gladstone, "Unionism in Fishing Industry," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 16, No. 1, (1950), p. 10.

confiscated fishing boats and partly filled the gap in the industry left by the Japanese.¹⁴ This period was very favourable for the native fishermen. To assist the native fishermen with their dealings with cannery operators the Indian fishermen have their own organization, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. It is a province-wide organization devoted to the interest and welfare of the Indians in every walk of life. Since 1936, however, its main function has been the negotiation of collective bargaining agreements on behalf of native fishermen and the Brotherhood works in co-operation with other fishermen organizations for example the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union.

Among the eight communities in the area under study, 45 people or about 31 percent of the labour force is engaged in fishing and cannery work and it is still the single most important field of employment for the native population. Their incomes are on a wage basis rather than independent profits from catches. The Indian fishermen are subject to the same fishing laws and regulations as the white.

Employment in Forestry

Indians also find employment in forestry, including logging, sawmilling and other allied activities. These occupations are next

¹⁴Thompson, F.W., Employment Problems and Economic Status of The British Columbia Indians. M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia (1951), p. 25. Indians were mostly employed as labourers on the fishing boats which were owned by the fishing and canning companies.

in importance to fishing for the population in the study area. Table 5 shows that 28.6 percent of the total labour force is so employed. Almost every band in the area has some members employed in forestry occupations. Some logging is done on Tsartlip and Beecher Bay reserves. In some cases the Indians perform all phases of the operation themselves, with the help of the Indian Affairs Department. In other instances they sell the timber as it stands and are employed by the purchasing firms to extract it with the use of equipment provided by these firms. On Beecher Bay reserve in 1967, timber on about 41 acres was sold for \$8,000. It is estimated that in 1970, on Pauquachin reserve, that about 43 acres of standing timber could be sold for at least \$10,000.¹⁵

As a rule sawmill work is relatively regular, but needs more skill than logging. Consequently, very few people (only five in the sample survey) were employed in sawmills as compared to twenty in logging. The latter demands a less permanent labour force and this makes it a convenient source of employment for the Indians. The labour force which is off reserve is generally employed in logging or in sawmills, but no reliable data were available for the people off reserve. Very few of the natives are employed in the other phases of the forest industry, for example only 2 persons on Beecher Bay reserve are boommen and only one on Esquimalt Reserve is employed as a woodworker.

¹⁵Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Victoria, Pauquachin Indian Community (1969), p. 17.

Farming and Other Casual Employment

Farming and stock raising were encouraged on the reserves as from the beginning of the 20th century. The Indians were supplied with better equipment and seeds. The Indian Affairs Departments Annual Report of 1904 states the following:

"Better seeds and equipment are supplied to natives ... When grazing lands and hay meadows are available the cattle and horses owned by the Indians are steadily increasing, large sums being paid from time to time for important stock of a superior breed. In many localities local ponies are being sold and cattle purchased instead ... sheep and pigs are also becoming more general among them and on account of their being easily managed and producing good return will be extensively raised in future." (16)

Contrary to the trends predicted above, only ten people in the study area were engaged in farming at the present time, and out of those only five were full time farmers. The others practised it merely as a supplementary source of income. Organized stock raising has almost declined completely. No reliable data were available for the number of cattle on the Indian Reserves but during the visits to the eight reserves cattle and horses were seen only on Beecher Bay reserve. Any agriculture that is practised is entirely of a subsistence type, the most important crops being potatoes, vegetables and in some instances small quantities of corn. Farming is no longer considered to be a

¹⁶ Report of the Superintendent, Department of Indian Affairs, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, (1904), p. 280.

profitable pursuit and the people like to work on a wage basis outside their Reserves in various industries and occupations, due to the more secure return that it offers.

Other forms of casual labour include work as quarriers, longshoremen and shipyard workers. In addition some natives as shown in Table 5 are employed in managerial and professional sectors. These include band managers, councillors (sometimes paid) and teachers, and together they constitute only 4.5 percent of all the employed labour force. The transportation and communications sector is the least important as it includes only 1.9 percent of the total labour force. There is a wide variation in the incomes of persons in the above work categories. A school teacher gets a minimum \$6,000 per year, while a truck driver gets \$6,000 to \$7,000 per year. On the other hand, those holding office as band managers and councillors generally receive no pay. They work in different industries and their earnings depend on the type of work they do, but average is between \$4,000 to \$5,000 per year.

Other Seasonal Employment^①

Seasonal employment in the hop fields and fruit farms which used to be very important in the native economy is now practically extinct. As late as in the 1930s, however, families and in some cases entire bands travelled to the areas where labour was needed. Hawthorn for example, noted that:

^① Seasonal activities include the harvesting of hops, fruits and berries.

"Indian families travel to Washington by trucks or by cars. Usually staying together as a band they count on spending June, or perhaps the entire season from June to September, picking the crop at one farm and moving on to the next when it is done. The farms average perhaps forty acres in this area and workers may stay at them for a month or more before the crops, the first strawberries and later raspberries are picked. Some stay after berry season to pick hops." (17)

Migration to San Juan and Gulf Islands in summer was a common practise.

But at present it has almost ceased due to lowered economic gains from such practises.

Employment in the City

The Indians have experienced difficulty in getting entry into employment avenues in the urban centres.

It is relatively easy for an Indian to obtain employment in lumber or fish processing industry provided he is willing to put in an eight hour day through five days a week. Sawmill work is a little harder to secure without previous experience. Entry into the retail industry in the city, dominated by a white clientele, is very difficult, partly due to prejudices of buyers against being served by Indians and mostly due to long distance and lack of efficient transportation, it is difficult to get in to the city from reserves. Generally there are very few Indians in white collar jobs. Only two persons in the

¹⁷Hawthorn, H.B. and others, Seasonal Labour of British Columbia Indians in Washington, University of British Columbia, Feb. (1950), p. 2. mimeographed, Unfortunately no mention is made of the wages paid to these hands.

sample survey were employed in the retail sector during 1967-1968, but they lost their jobs (because they were employed on a temporary basis) by the time the survey was completed.

Summary

It is apparent that the Indian on reserves in 1969 were concentrated in a few primary occupations, fishing, forestry and farming. The highest proportion of labour force was concentrated in fishing and allied industries and forestry. Only a few people were farmers. The percentage of the Indians employed outside their traditional fields was small. Though it seems that little change has taken place as far as the fields of employment are concerned since 1880, but the major change has taken place in the position occupied by the Indians in their fields. As far as fishing is concerned they have been transformed from independent fishermen to wage earners for the fishing companies. The same is true for their employment in forestry. Farming is no longer considered to be a profitable pursuit. Consequently, it is least popular on reserves. In most of the cases the Indians are concentrated in the jobs categorized as unstable and consequently low paid. The seasonal migration of labour for fruit and hop picking has almost ceased.

CHAPTER 5

HOUSING

The style and standard of housing is an indicator of the economic welfare of a community. As the housing style and household possessions vary considerably among different cultures for different time periods it can be used as an index of cultural change. Keeping this view in mind the houses on eight Indian reserves were surveyed. In order to include maximum types of houses an effort was made to distribute the sample on eight reserves proportionate to the population on each reserve.

Indian Houses of Southeast Vancouver Island: 1880

The native people of Southeast Vancouver Island were never a single tribe. They consisted of large numbers of more or less autonomous household groups. Their plank houses were clustered in number of villages in summer. Typical houses of the Strait Salish Indians of Vancouver Island used to be the shed type log houses (Fig. 10). These were oblong in shape varying from 100 ft. to 300 ft. in length and from 50 to 100 ft. in breadth, and generally containing twenty to thirty families.

"These houses were generally half gable, single slope style and as their front and face were only few feet higher than their back walls, their common great width made the roof very shallow indeed in their pitch. But such disadvantage as this might entail upon them

FIG. 10 Old Indian Board House, Songhees Indian Reservation, Esquimalt



(courtesy of Provincial Archives of B.C., Victoria)

by occasional leak, was more than compensated for by their use as platforms, for which purpose, they were customarily used on all festive and ceremonial occasions." (1)

According to Barnett "the dwellings of Strait Salish exceed five hundred and more feet over all, were unsegmented units with a broad unobstructed avenue running the entire length. Actually, each was composed of a series of individually constructed units - houses in fact - formed by as many cross-wise plank partitions. Each house then averaged a twenty-foot frontage and a fifty-foot depth with family quarters around its four walls, a "long house" in itself with roof sloping from front to back. The partition served as a common wall for two houses and indicates at once the economy which dictated the successive additions and ultimate great length."²

Few photographs of Songish houses in Victoria around the end of the 19th century, and the paintings of the Indian houses by Kare available in the Provincial Archives of B.C. in Victoria also support the presence of low houses in Southeast Vancouver Island around 1880.

These buildings were divided into sections or compartments and these were occupied by various related family groups. Each compartment used to be split into three to five circles, shut off from another

¹Hill-Tout, C., "The Salish Tribes of Coast and Lower Fraser Delta," Annual Archeological Report, Ontario Provincial Museum, Toronto, (1905) p. 237.

²Barnett, H., "Coast Salish of Canada," American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. 1, (1938) p. 127.

by mats made of reeds and swamp grasses. The partitions could be removed at will when occasion required, and all the sections made into one large common room or hall. This was usually done during the dancing season. As far as furniture is concerned in the modern sense of the word the Indians had little. Their only possessions used to be their treasure chests and carved boxes. The sides of the chests were formed from single boards so cut that they could be put into a rectangular shape. The chests were usually three feet long, two feet wide and approximately two and a half feet deep. These were used for storing blankets, ceremonial costumes and other valuables for pot-latch purposes. Common household property consisted in the main of cooking utensils and vessels for holding and serving the food. These included cooking stones and fire tongs, wooden pots, water baskets (made of reeds and proofed with fish fat), wool and fruit baskets, serving plaques and mats.

These huge shed like dwellings of the southeastern Vancouver Island Indians were almost abandoned by the end of the 19th century and the Indians had built houses of more modern form. None of the natives in the sample study remembered these older types of dwellings, though they had heard about them from their forebearers. With the establishment of the Indian Affairs Department and with the Indians coming into increased contact with the white settlers, the type of dwellings underwent much change. The 1917 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs states:-



"Each year shows a vast improvement in the classes of residences as well as farm buildings. The great majority of British Columbia Indians except in the more outlying districts, now have modern, well-built and comfortable houses, either of logs or frame construction. This is an evidence of rapid progress. The numerous cottages are substantial and more or less ornate in their construction, many of them nicely painted and comfortably furnished. It is not being uncommon to find flower gardens tastefully fenced, and where there is no garden potted flowers in the windows. Few years ago nearly all of them lived in wretched little shacks or herded together in barn like unventilated and unsanitary structures." (3)

Indian Houses on Reserves of Southeast Vancouver Island in 1969

Since 1880 great changes have taken place in the form and structure of housing and also the household possessions of the Indians. Table 8 shows the amenities the Indian houses have at present.

The amenities mentioned in the table below are indicators of changes in the houses on reserves as compared to previous types of dwellings and household possessions. Despite the above, if judged from the Canadian standards as a whole, housing conditions can not be considered comparable to that of society in general. Conditions in the houses on Indian Reserves still offer a remarkable contrast to the surroundings of non-Indian settlements (Table 8). The exterior of the houses still give an impression of poverty and poor maintenance.

³Vevel, A.W., (Indian Superintendent), Annual Report, 1917, Department of Indian Affairs, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, (1917), p. 225.

TABLE 8
 AMENITIES IN HOUSES ON EIGHT RESERVES IN
 SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND

Amenities	No. of Houses	Percentage of all Houses	Non-Indian Houses Percentage
Electricity	68	97%	99%
Piped Water	65	92.8%	95%
Heating System	40	57.1%	92%
Indoor Toilet	41	58.2%	93%
Telephone	35	50%	88%
Modern Furniture ²	70	100%	100%

1 Based on a total sample of 70 houses

2 Includes Chairs, beds, mattresses, sofas, tables, etc.

3 In addition to the above amenities, two families had television sets and some twenty had radios.

Source: Data gathered by the writer in January, 1970.

Data for non-Indian houses is taken from Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin, CT-23, Victoria, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, (1963), p. 6. For some of the amenities in this data also include Indian communities.

Often the window panes are broken and most of the houses have not been painted for years. The gardens are rarely looked after. There are however exceptions to this general situation. For example two houses on the Esquimalt Reserve could be classified among the most modern in every respect and approximately ten houses on Tsartlip and Pauquachin reserves are in fairly good condition. The most decrepit houses were observed on Beecher Bay Reserves and many derelict farm houses could still be seen. (Fig. 11).

Fig. 12 View of a Modern House at Esquimalt Reserve

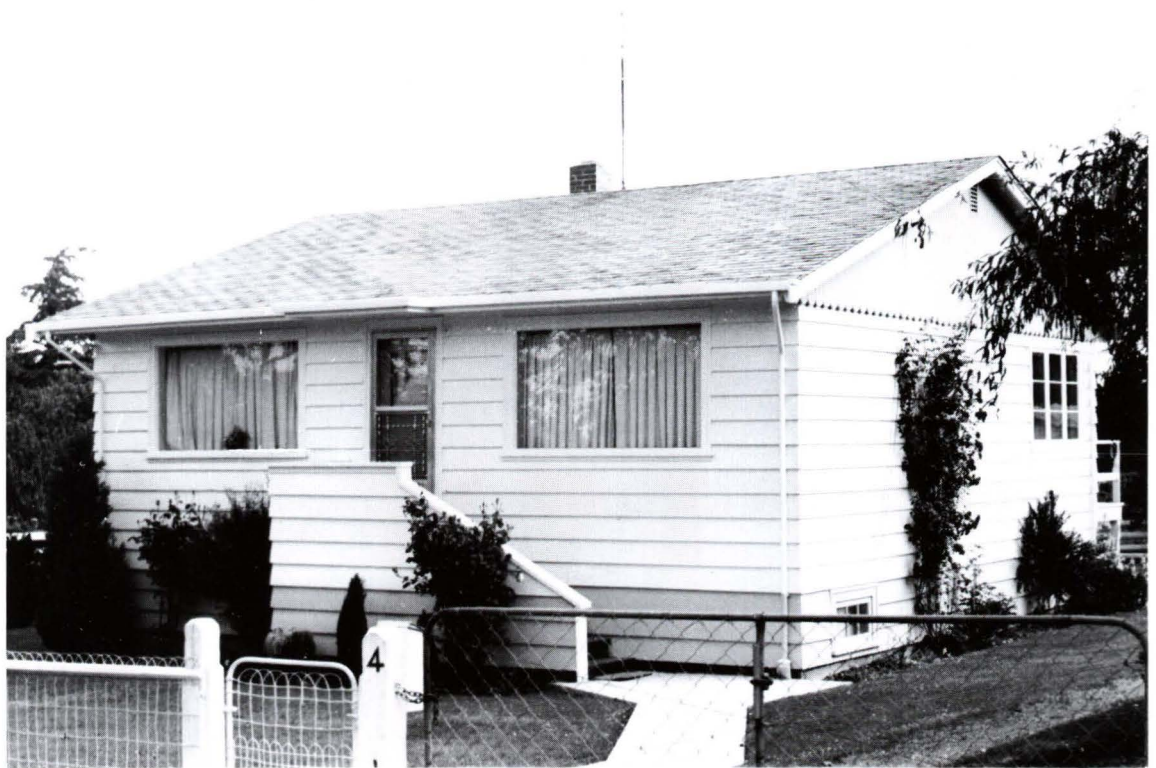


Fig. 13 View of a Modern House at Tsartlip Reserve

The average number of rooms in the houses on the Reserves was 2.5 with an average of 4.7 persons per house as compared to figures of 5.0 and 3.0 respectively for non-Indian population of Southeast Vancouver Island.⁴ One distinctive cultural element which has persisted in the layout of the Indian settlements is the orientation and arrangement of houses. None of the Indian Reserves show any signs of definite overall planning with regard to the layout of houses. The commonest traditional pattern used to be a linear arrangement of the houses along a beach, road or a riverbank. This particular arrangement can yet be seen on almost all the reserves at present. Block development akin to a modern city sub-division is almost lacking.

Most of the Indian houses, in comparison to white standards, have minimum comforts. However, together with furnishings they show strong contrasts to former standards. Much of the bareness and poor construction, and the relative overcrowding of the Indian homes today is a result of limited economic resources.

Summary

Since 1880, the style and structure of housing on reserves of Southeast Vancouver Island has almost completely changed. The aboriginal plank houses are no more in the picture. Single or double family opened compact, conventionally constructed cottages are most

⁴Census of Canada 1961, Bulletin, CT-23, Victoria, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, (1963), p. 6.

common. As far as the furnishing is concerned traditional chests and boxes, which used to be the only furniture in the house, have been abandoned in favour of occidental style of furnishing. Depending on individual economic resources, and assistance from the Department of Indian Affairs, the houses on reserves of Southeast Vancouver Island are being slowly converted to a style and standard comparable to the non-native Canadian population.

CHAPTER 6

FORMAL EDUCATION

The educational level of a community is part of and has a significant impact on social and economic conditions. The complexity of present day industry and commerce has made it necessary to have at least a high school education to compete for all but unskilled jobs. Education also serves as a very important medium of cultural change. Any change in the medium of education obviously brings changes in perception and value judgement of a community, consequently the study of changes in educational field is significant for any study of cultural change.

Educational Level of Indian of Southeast Vancouver Island in 1880

In the traditional Indian society there was no formal education. The "know-how" of Indian art, handicrafts, fishing and trapping for example, was handed down from father to son, and mothers taught the girls the duties within the household. With the coming of the white man, or more precisely with the early missionary contact, schools were set up for the Indian children. All early efforts to educate the Indians were wholly within the field of missionary activity. For more than fifty years the educational system received no financial assistance from the Government.

With the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs,

after British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871, the education and welfare of the Indians became a federal issue. Many secular day schools were established and parochial schools were encouraged. The earliest recorded data for school attendance by Indian children in the area of study is found in the Indian Affairs Department's Annual Report of 1902 (Table 9). In the three day schools for the Indians (Saanich,

TABLE 9

ENROLLMENT AT DAY SCHOOLS IN SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1902)

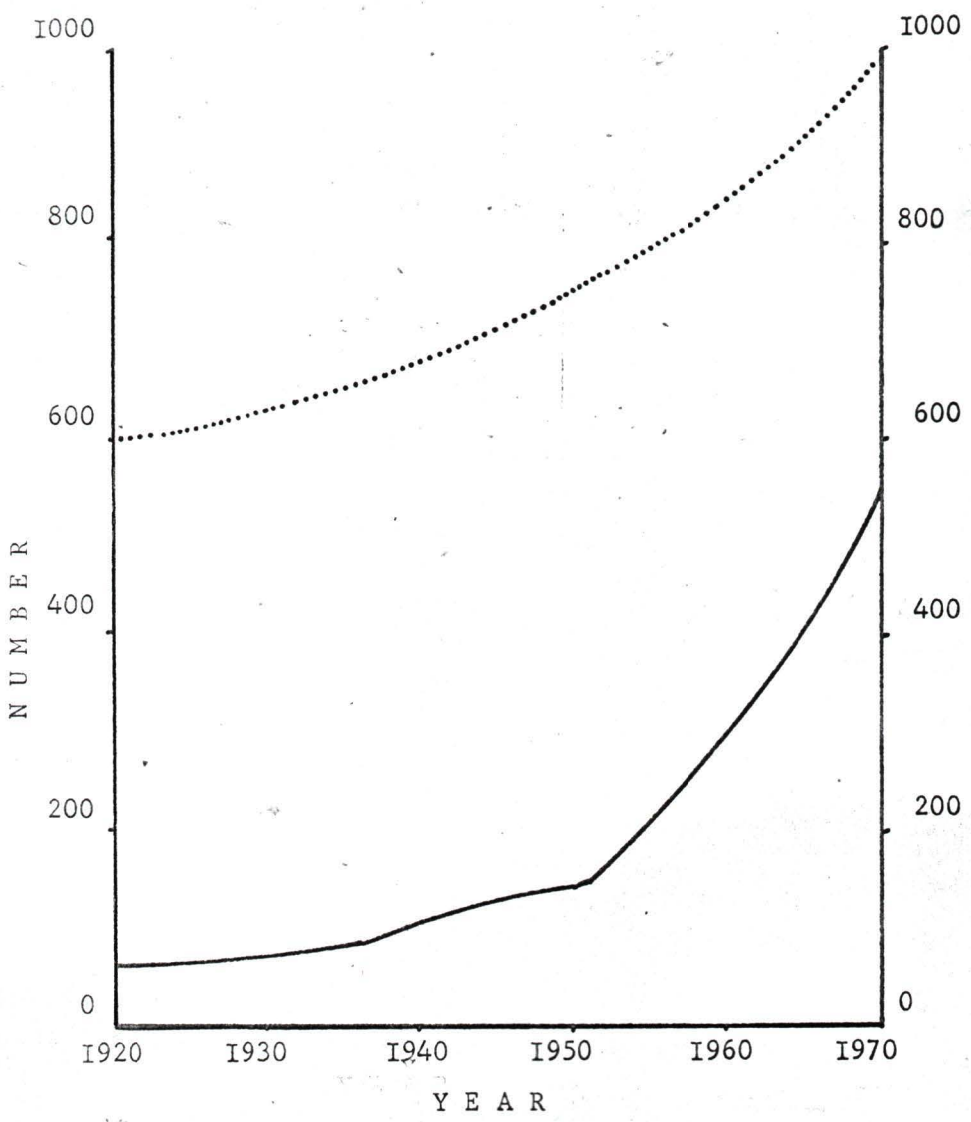
Schools	Number Enrolled			Distribution by Grades						
	Boys	Girls	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Saanich	18	2	20	7	4	4	4	1	-	-
Songhees	5	8	13	3	7	3	-	-	-	-
Tsartlip	15	7	22	7	15	-	-	-	-	-
Total	38	17	55	17	26	7	4	1	-	-

Source: Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, Queen's Printer, Ottawa (1902), p. 143.

Songhees and Tsartlip) the total enrolment of boys and girls was 55 which comes up to 30 percent of the total population and the highest concentration of students was from grade 1 to 3. There was no student beyond grade 5. Even such a situation was highly praised by the Indian Superintendent. This was perhaps more indicative, in a relative sense, of the more deplorable conditions in earlier years, than a statement of achievement.

Fig.14.

ENROLLMENT OF INDIAN CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS
IN SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND
1920-1970



..... Population
—— Student Enrolment

Source: Based on table 10.

"Full and interesting reports from the respective principals, in charge of the industrial and boarding schools subsidized by the department and operated under the auspices of different religious denominations have been forwarded and are well worthy of notice ... Among the native Indians, English is now freely spoken and judging from their action it would seem that their greatest ambition is to become all the same as a white man. When the schools were first started the Indians looked upon them with such suspicion, in an undefined way, fearing they really knew not what. This antagonistic feeling was particularly noticeable in the old, in whose nature was engrained a sort of veneration for and superstitious belief in their old customs and more or less savage mode of life in the checkered course of which they were never separated from their offsprings." (1)

It was not only native suspicions and traditional beliefs but also economic reasons which kept the enrollment in the schools at a low level. The Indian population in their struggle to maintain themselves had periodically to move from place to place in pursuit of work. On these excursions they were obliged to take their families with them. Under such conditions the attendance at schools was irregular. Some of the missionaries and the teachers in charge of the schools, however, followed the Indians to their places of work, for example the canneries, and continued to instruct the children. Apart from socio-economic factors there were psychological factors too. Education in the white operated schools was oriented to satisfy the requirements of western culture, which was certainly alien to the natives. The language of

¹Powell, A.W. (Indian Superintendent), Annual Report, Department of Indian Affairs, Queen's Printer, Ottawa (1902) p. 225.

instruction was English and the courses offered by the various schools included prayers, grammar, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and history. These subjects were new to the native people; they could hardly see any use for them in their homes. Consequently, it was very difficult to get them to attend schools.

Formal Education on Reserves of South East Vancouver Island: Situation in 1969.

With the increasing association between the Indians and the white man's economy, the former realized the importance of the new modes of education, particularly as a means to better job opportunities within the non-native controlled economy. Enrollment in the schools showed a steady increase from the year 1930 onward (Table 10 and Figure 14). The highest concentration of students though was in the elementary and secondary schools. This was an unfortunate situation and one which still persists to some extent. Table 11, shows that a high proportion of students are as yet enrolled in the aforementioned types of schools. The reason for this situation will be discussed in a later section of this study.

Although education in Canada is generally a provincial concern, the responsibility for the education of the Indians is assumed by the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. The Federal Minister of Education may enter into an agreement with a provincial government, public or private School Board, and a religious or charitable organization

in order to provide education for the Indian children.²

TABLE 10
ENROLLMENT OF INDIAN CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOLS
IN SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1920-1960)

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Number	60	73	105	110	205
¹ Percentage of total population	31	31.5	35	37	39

¹ Percentage of total population may slightly mask the true picture as there has been increase in young population. But as the average level of schooling achieved by the Indian people on reserve does show a considerable increase over the past years, percentage of total population enrolled in the schools is taken as indicator of actual increase in literacy among the Indian people.

Source: Based on the Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs (1917-1960), Ottawa, pp. 140 (1920), 120-122 (1930), 221-222 (1942). Data for 1950 and 1960 is based on Unpublished records of the Department of Indian Affairs.

The Education Minister may also establish and operate schools for Indians, such as day schools, residential schools, technical or high schools. The Indian Affairs Branch maintains 72 day schools on reserves in British Columbia, but, of these only one (Tsartlip) is

² Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Indian Communities and Land Use Planning, Victoria (1968), p. 17.

TABLE 11
 SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN THE EIGHT INDIAN COMMUNITIES OF
 SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1968)

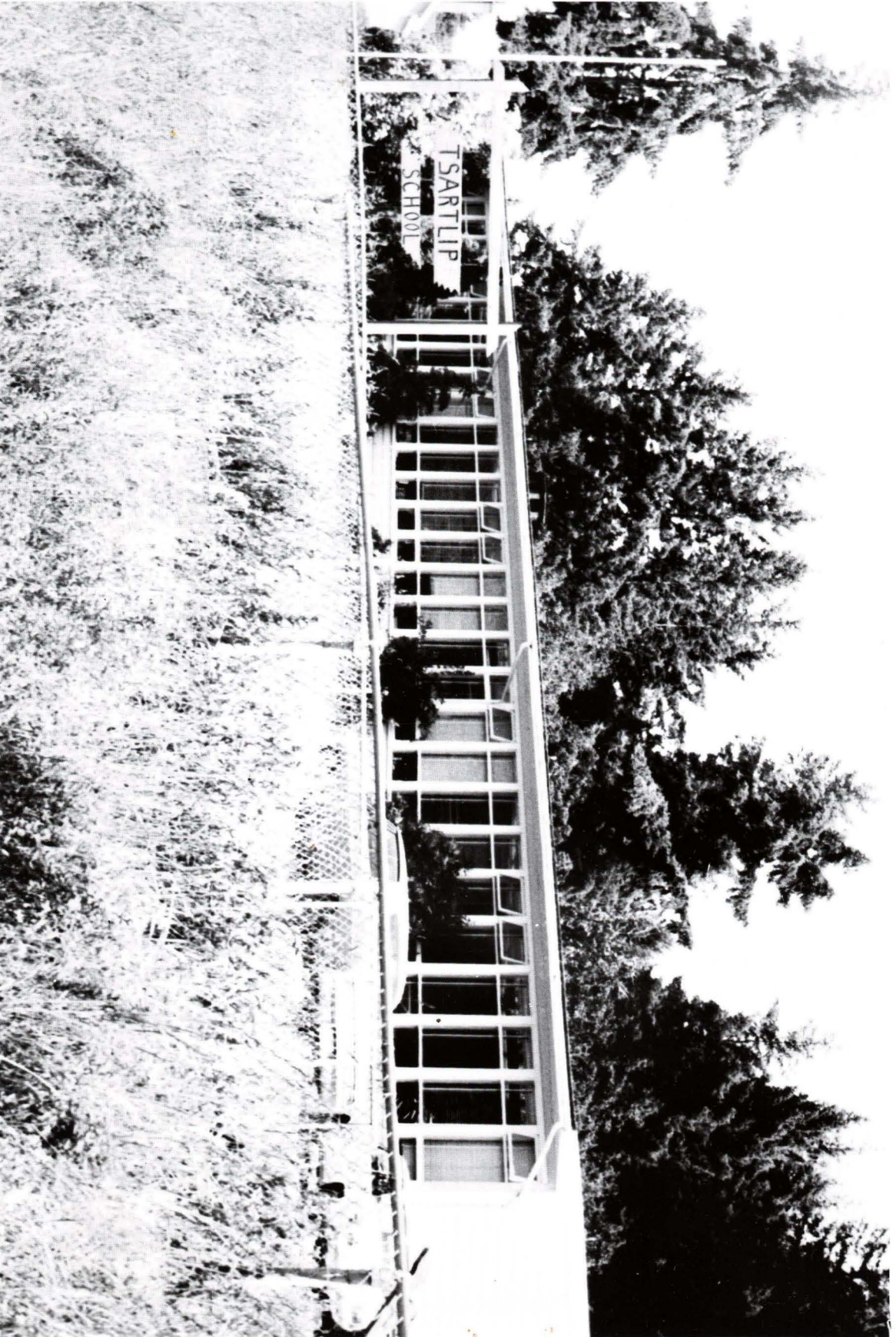
Band Name	Total population (from 5-24 ¹ years)	Number of Children Attending School	Elementary Grades 1 - 7	Secondary Grades 8 - 13
Beecher Bay	45	24	20	4
Esquimalt	38	33	20	13
Panquachin	70	50	39	11
Esartlip	171	99	80	19
Esawout	126	107	93	14
Eseycum	35	20	17	3
Songhees	58	42	35	7
Sooke	24	23	15	8
Total	567	398	319	79

¹ 24 years is considered to be the maximum age for school enrollment.

Source: Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Indian Communities and Land Use Planning,
 Victoria, 1968, p. 24.

in the area of study. The Branch also provides financial and material aid to 12 residential schools which are operated by various religious organizations. All these schools follow the regular provincial curriculum. Of great and growing importance in the recent years has been the development of integrated schools. The Indian Affairs Department enters into agreement with local school boards so that the Indian children may attend the regular provincial schools, with the Department

Fig. 15 An Indian Day School at Tsartlip Reserve



paying the costs of their tuition. In the case of integrated schools, of which one is in South Saanich, the Department pays a share of construction costs as well. The number of Indian children attending provincial and private schools is growing rapidly.³

The aim of the Indian Affairs Branch, in co-operation with the provincial authorities, is to provide education for Indian children in public schools, colleges and Universities. The transfer of federal schools in the reserve communities to the public school boards and the adoption of public school standards is encouraged to raise the standard of Indian day schools. There is a firm policy to encourage all younger Indian children to attend the Kindergarten (Fig. 15).

In the study area at present 152 students attend public, private or parochial schools compared to 122 attending the schools operated by the Indian Affairs Department at Tsartlip reserve and at Kuper Island.⁴ (Table 12). During the past two years 35 Indian children under the age of 6 have been enrolled at integrated Kindergartens within School District No. 63, in the north and south of Saanich peninsula. As is obvious from Table 12 of the Indian children who enter elementary schools only 20 percent enter grade 12, compared with a rate of 75 percent for non-Indian children. Of the population residing on reserves 44 percent are students but not one of them is at a University and only 15 are at Vocational schools. The highest

³ The Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, Queen's Printer, Ottawa (1968), p. 54.

⁴ Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., op. cit., p. 16.

level attained by an individual among the population surveyed was grade 12, and grade 8 was the average completed. This situation, however, is a marked improvement over conditions in earlier years.

TABLE 12
TYPES OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY INDIAN CHILDREN
OF SOUTHEAST VANCOUVER ISLAND (1969)

Band Name	Indian Day Schools	Indian Residential Schools	Parochial Schools	Provincial Schools	Vocational Schools	University	Kindergarten (Under 5 years)
Seecheweyan Bay	2	2	12	8	1	-	4
Squamish	1	1	2	19	1	-	1
Wanquamish	18	6	9	17	1	-	6
Sartlip	51	-	-	-	-	-	13
Sawout	41	14	6	44	4	-	7
Seycum	6	2	6	6	4	-	-
Longhees	3	8	16	15	4	-	4
ooke	-	-	7	16	-	-	-
Total	122	33	68	125	15	0	35

Source: Data supplied by the Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Victoria, 1968.

Grade 5 was the average achieved by the parents of the same population. Though the situation with regard to education has improved, it is still not in keeping with society in general. Two unfortunate trends among the Indian school children are, firstly, the very high

dropout rate and, secondly, the very small percentage who are able to take advantage of higher education and vocational training. The first feature does not involve any economic factor because the Indian Affairs Branch pays for the schooling of the Indian children. The reasons are partly social and partly psychological. The Report of the Capital Region Planning Board summarizes these as follows:

"In teaching Indian children special problems often present themselves. Many Indian children tend to have the handicap for learning that are found among other educationally disadvantaged people. Among these are:

- lack of self confidence
- difficulty with language skill
- not enough education stimulus at home
- insufficient help with homework
- in some cases inadequate physical care and poor nourishment.

These major factors make it very difficult and discouraging for most Indian children to cope with schools."⁵

Usually the children develop their habits and attitudes from their parents. The most significant factor that retards initiative among the Indian children is their home environment. There is great contrast between the conditions in which Indian people have to live and those of the white middle class. Mr. Manuel, an Indian counsellor comments on the situation as follows:

"I do not think there will be much initiative coming from the Indian people until the home conditions are changed. I think our history has shown that the Indian reservations and Indian Act has had a great deal to do with killing the initiative of the Indian people. I think before Indian reservations and Indian Act

⁵ Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Pauquachin Indian Community Planning Study, Victoria (1968), p. 15.

were imposed upon the Indian people, the Indian people were a people who stood on their own feet and made decisions about their own destiny. And while they may have starved they at least had the pride of doing things by their own decision. I think over the past eighty years the Indians have not been in a position to think for themselves because of the implication of the Act and the Indian reservation." (6)

Another important contributory factor, at least in integrated schools, is the behaviour of the non-Indian children. Gardian (1970) carried out a study of integrated schools and concluded:

"One of the very serious deterrents to Indian children getting a complete education in this modern world is the fact that Indian pupils too frequently face various kinds of discriminations during their educational career." (7)

The curriculum in the schools in the most cases fails to meet the needs of the Indian pupils. Interviews with the Indian students revealed they would like to see much more emphasis placed on their own culture and history. The same opinion was held by 70 percent of the parents of these students. Although the policy of the Indian Affairs Department is to modify a school curriculum to meet the special needs of the Indian students in the public schools system, there is no evidence as yet that this is taking place. Furthermore, there is no Indian representative on any of the School Boards in the Southeast Vancouver Island at the present time. There is also no residential

⁶ Mr. Manuel, "Proceedings of The Conference on Indian Child and His Education", Education Extension Department of the University of British Columbia (1968), p. 42.

⁷ Gardian, H., The Victoria Daily Times, March 26 (1970), p. 7.

school within the area, the nearest being located at Kuper Island in the Gulf Islands.⁸

During the last three years an Indian chief has taken on the position of Counsellor for the Indian students at the Institute of Adult Studies in Greater Victoria. Counselling services are provided to Indian students who are completing secondary schooling or those who are in vocational training. Some job placement is also provided. During the past three years the Faculty of Education at the University of Victoria has held a programme each year for teachers at the Indian schools and children from four Indian communities and teenage teachers aides. This programme was sponsored jointly by the Department of Indian Affairs and the University of Victoria. Programmes of Adult Education are receiving increased attention. Leadership courses, home construction work, rehabilitation and placement services and other community projects are sponsored by the Indian Affairs Department. Ninety percent of the population in the sample survey were appreciative of the Educational programme of the Department.

Summary

To sum up the formal education has been accepted by the Indian communities of Southeast Vancouver Island among the most essentials for the community development. There have been rapid advances in

⁸ Capital Region Planning Board of B.C., Victoria, op. cit., p. 16.

school enrollment during the last ten years for Indian children, particularly in the primary grades. In terms of percentage increase of total population, there is 6.5 percent increase over 1960 figures. The Department of Indian Affairs jointly with the provincial government provides education for Indians. Efforts are being made to provide a modified version of a curriculum in the public schools for the Indian children. A programme for vocational training is also encouraged, along with an adult education programme. The Indian population on reserves is very enthusiastic about educational programmes and are ready to participate actively in any such activities. The students are aware that their community needs their services, and in general are very enthusiastic about furthering their education.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

In the area of study extending from the Saanich peninsula to Sooke village, 1075 Indians live in eight Indian communities in an area covering 216 square miles. There have been highly significant changes among these peoples of Southeastern Vancouver Island in terms of population, occupation and income, housing and education. The culture of the Indians of Southeast Vancouver Island in 1880, in relation to the aspects surveyed in the present study can be characterized in the following way.

The Indian economy was primarily one of subsistence, dependent mainly on fishing, hunting and food gathering. Although the profit motive began to enter into the Indian economy with establishment of canneries, yet high level commercialization was a feature alien to the Indian economy. Almost all of the Indian population used to be self-employed. Work on a wage earning basis was of little consequence. Row houses built with cedar planks were common. Each household used to be, relatively speaking, politically and economically independent while the members were bound together by friendship, tradition, and family ties. These small communities used to be relatively self sufficient. Enrollment of the Indian children in schools was almost insignificant. Furnishings within homes used to be typically of Indian style.

By 1969 the following changes have occurred. The traditional pattern of social organization has been undoubtedly disrupted. There has been almost a complete change in economic and social life of the native people. Hunting, fishing and food gathering for subsistence have almost totally disappeared from native patterns of living. Almost all the Indians are wage workers, and the working population are concentrated in few extractive industries such as fishing, and forestry, and also in farming. The complexity of present-day industry and commerce has made the native people conscious of the necessity of a formal education, and consequently the quest for such an opportunity has become very popular. Nevertheless, grade 8 is the average level of scholarly achievement at the time of the survey. As far as material comforts are concerned, the white man's amenities are preferred to traditional ones. Household possessions are almost identical to those of the white population. Due to better medical facilities and a high birth rate the number of people living on reserves is now twice as many as in 1880.

Conclusions

The study reveals that the change in traditional living patterns of the Indian population has changed the functional meaning of their habitat. The reservations no more serve as hunting or fishing grounds or even as agricultural land. The main function of the reservations at present is to provide residential areas for the Indian population.

The study also indicates that in the process of acculturation,

the economy and culture of the local Indians has changed vastly by the introduction of an occidental form of economy. No Indian band now lives close to the aboriginal level in terms of dietary habits, type of clothing and housing. On the other hand, however, native practices connected with family and kinship patterns are more persistent. At present materially speaking, the desires of the Indian are almost identical to those of the white population. It is the lack of opportunity and a lower income rating that prevents them achieving their ends. But it must be borne in mind that just because the Indians on the eight reserves of Southeast Vancouver Island build more modern houses, with piped water and electricity and also invest in radios, television sets and refrigerators and drive automobiles, it does not mean that they have abandoned their traditional kinship obligations or that they have given up their traditional ceremonial activities.

The paradoxical circumstance is the trend towards a more completely westernized material living pattern and the slow rate of change in social organization. For example, though modern education has become increasingly popular, the Indians are increasingly conscious of their individual identity and this in turn has strengthened their attitude towards preserving their own culture and traditions. Again, the Indians are keen to have their language taught in the schools. They also feel the need to have full autonomy in managing their own affairs; in this context, a revision of the Indian Act, which to all intents and purposes makes them second class citizens, is a key issue.

Despite all the pressures from the large alien society around them, which in general have induced change, the Indian social structure and culture patterns are more than likely to persist within a variable range. It would indeed be rash to predict that all the Indian cultural associations will completely disappear in the course of acculturation in the immediate decades to come. The Indians will undoubtedly remain a distinct ethnic group, living in separate communities and with somewhat different ways of life, but within the framework of Canadian society. Although the trend among the Indians of Southeast Vancouver Island is to get off reserve, it does not, however, mean that the native population is totally in favor of deserting the reservations. They would wish to develop their reserves and make them comparable to the non-Indian settlements adjacent to them. But, at present they do not have the authority to spend the funds available to the respective Indian groups in ways they feel are more appropriate. The approval of the Indian Affairs Department is required for any developmental project, and this restriction on utilising funds available to each Indian band is an irksome one partly for psychological reasons - the latter tends in cases to distort appreciation and response based on pure economic considerations or the needs of planning.

This feature is a major hindrance in the advancement of the conditions on reserves. Most of native people leave their reserves in search of jobs as very few opportunities for profitable work on the reserves except perhaps as farm labourers. In any case the earnings from farm work is inadequate to support a family. Most of the people

who lived away from their communities during 1968-1969 were reported to be engaged either in logging companies or other industries either on the mainland or up island. This trend is expected to lead to a decline in the population living on the eight reserves of southeastern Vancouver Island in the long run. Yet in the immediate future because of the lack of opportunity and also the high birth rate the actual number of people living on reserve will not decrease.

The study also reveals that it is not only the response of a community, but the character of the administration that influences the development of cultural landscape. It appears from the case study of Southeast Vancouver Island that if the native population is given the freedom to develop their reserves in the way they want them to be, the functional character of the landscape of the reserves would change to a great extent in the near future. For example, the waterfront property of Beecher Bay reserve is a very attractive area for long term development for recreational purposes. The approximate real estate value alone of the waterfront area for Beecher Bay could be put as high as \$1,600,000. Similarly there are excellent prospects for developing waterfront lots in other reserves of Southeast Vancouver Island. The natives are ready to consider the development of tourist trailer parks, riding schools, and regional parks on their reserves, but only if they are given the authority to spend the revenue derived from such enterprises for the welfare of the natives at their discretion.

The Indians who now remain on the reserves do so not because of any strong sense of ownership, but only because the reserves are still their last bastion. The best that could be done for them is to ensure that they will not come out of the reserves as an underprivileged group. They need protection against discriminatory exploitation. But on the other hand, enforced isolation is perhaps equally disadvantageous, and herein lies the dilemma.

The majority of the Indian people are concentrated in a few primary low paid occupations. The average income per family in Southeast Vancouver Island was between \$2000 and \$3000 per year. There are some socio-cultural factors found to be responsible for this situation to some extent.

Attitude to work

The Indians like people, in other traditional societies were accustomed to a set cycle of economic activity. They were not accustomed to working fixed hours. Working regulations in mills and factories are probably contrary to the more flexible nature of tribal economic activities. The general opinion of employers in modern commercial ventures is that the Indian is not a reliable worker; he tends to quit at will without notice.¹ The impact of modernism and the demands of contemporary occupational fields is as yet apparently superficial in terms of traditional attitudes to work. The reserve system which has segregated the Indians as a group from the general

¹Interview with people from different employment agencies.

population could in one sense be considered a root cause. Lorman observes:

"A characteristic of modern society is its acquisitiveness. We have glorified ownership and in order to possess many things, some of which we can not possibly use, have canonized work believing that Satan finds mischief still for idle hands to do. But work in itself is no virtue in many primitive philosophies. The primitive man will work hard to acquire food and shelter and clothing but to work to own things, once can not use, to have money in the bank as we say is often foreign to him. Work is not a virtue in itself. It is necessary means to an observable and appreciable end. One of our Western complaints about the Indian is that he prefers intermittent work like fishing, harvesting or berry picking to regular day to day labour." (2)

This may hold true for the older people. Among the population surveyed in this study 80 percent were ready to accept a better paid and more stable job. Hawthorn points out that the Indians' view of work has changed. He notes few examples, that:-

"The changes in the Indian culture of British Columbia have already been considerable. The past ceremonial aesthetic emotional and religious setting of the Indian work is not fully replaceable to-day, any more than it is with us. We could not revive the dances, festivities, harvesting and the sowing in our own early cultural history, even if we wanted to. Neither can the Indians revive theirs where they have altered vastly or disappeared. Yet the Indians today still need economic rewards and controls other than merely material

²Lorman, C.T., The North American Indians Today, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1953, p. 7.

ones and other than the dictates of western conscience. Work which has a meaning beyond the purely material, is still demanded by the Indians and along with actual opportunity and material reward. This demand largely determines his economic life." (3)

Levels of Formal Schooling

The complexity of present day industry and commerce has made it necessary to have at least a high school education to enable the Indians to compete for all but unskilled jobs. Table 5 shows that the average school level completed by the Indian worker is the eighth grade. In many instances, and especially within the age group of 20-40 years, the lack of education has been given as the chief reason, by employment personnels, for the Indians finding it difficult to obtain employment in a wider and more rewarding spectrum. The vast majority of the Indian population surveyed have had only partial schooling and only 10 persons had progressed beyond the ninth or tenth grade.

Opportunities for Vocational Training

The lack of vocational training is also a major hindrance in obtaining skilled jobs. Table 3 shows that only 4 out of the 156 members of working age had any kind of vocational training, the reason in the past probably was non accessibility to training institutes. The current policy of the Indian Affairs Branch is to increase the enrollment of Indian students at vocational training schools. The

³Hawthorn, H.B., "Administration and primitive economy," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 15, Feb. (1949), p. 95.

Institute of Adult Studies in Victoria provides such training and at present there are some 70 Indian trainees.

The native people themselves are quite conscious of the need for a better level of education. Those who have had such an advantage are trying hard to get more native people to attend educational institutions.

Indians perception of discrimination

According to Indian people perception, the white population has a lot to do with the inability of the Indians to obtain employment especially in the cities. More than 90 percent of the people interviewed in the Sample Survey said that they feel that society in general has a discriminatory attitude. According to one Indian however, there has been a marked improvement in the attitude of the whites toward the Indians in this province since the latter were given wider civic rights for example voting rights. But the native population in general still feels that they cannot enter in to all types of jobs freely even if they are qualified.⁴

The Role of the Government

Since 1871, when British Columbia entered the Confederation, the

⁴Based on interview with the people on Reserve. Furthermore, a member of the Native Student Society of University of Victoria, but from the mainland, revealed that it was always difficult for him to get a summer job because of general prejudice. A truck driver stated that it is very difficult for a native to secure a responsible job because the people think "we are lazy and most of the time in drunken state."

Indians of the province have been subject to the Indian Act. This Federal Statute, which provides for the protection of the Indians of Canada and for their education and general welfare is one of the oldest pieces of Social legislation in Canada. Besides attempting to safeguard the interest of the Indians, the Act also assumes that they are not qualified to manage their own affairs. They are legally in the position of minors. The Indians at present feel that they should be given more autonomy to manage at least the resources of their own reserves. They maintain that they are the only ones who are involved and that they can understand their own problems and needs better than the white administrators.⁵

The Indian reservations are cultural enclaves in the surrounding occidental society. These pockets of native culture are significantly different from the surrounding society. Exhaustive studies of such cultural islands should be made, although they demand ample time and resources; such studies will definitely prove an asset for future development and planning of these areas.

Obviously the study of selected features of cultural change in a small area cannot be expected to answer definitely all questions relating to a complex subject. It is hoped that this study will provide a partial explanation and bring forth further useful suggestions for those interested in the topic of cultural change among the Indians of Southeast Vancouver Island.

⁵Based on interview with the councillors on the reserves.

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APPENDIX 1

Age _____

Sex _____

1. How many years have you been on this reservation? 5 or less
 5-10
 More than 10
2. Were your parents on this reservation? yes no
3. Were your grandparents on the same reservation? yes no
4. From where did you move? 1. mainland.
 2. upIsland.
 3. other reser. in Victoria.
 4. States.
5. From where did your parents move? 1. mainland.
 2. upIsland.
 3. other reserv. in Victoria.
 4. States.
6. From where did your grandparents move? 1. mainland.
 2. upIsland.
 3. other reser. in Victoria.
 4. States.
7. Did anyone of your family marry a white? yes no
8. Did anyone of your family marry an Indian from another Band? yes no
9. Are you single or married? single married
10. How many members are there in your family? 5 and less.
 5-10
 More than 10.
11. Who is the most influential member of your family?

12. How many in your family are employed?
13. Does everybody bring his earnings to the family head?
14. If not how many do so?
15. What is your occupation?
16. Is your job regular? yes no
17. What is your income per annum?
18. Would you like to go to another city or town for job? yes no
19. Would you like to change your occupation? yes no
20. If so what is your choice?
21. Do you own any property? yes no
22. If so what is the current value?
23. Is there anybody off reserve in your family? yes no
24. Where is he/she?
25. What is he/she doing?
26. Would you like to live off reserve? yes no
27. Do you have a car? yes no
28. Does your father have a car? yes no
29. Did your grandfather have a car? yes no
30. How many times a year do you go off reserve?
31. Where do you shop most frequently? 1. from the nearest store.
 2. Downtown?
32. How many Indian dialects do you know?
33. Did your father know any Indian dialect? yes no
34. Did your grandfather know any Indian dialect? yes no
35. Which language do you speak at home? Indian
 English

Surname: AZIZ Given Names: SALIM AKHTR

Place of Birth: Lyallpur, W. Pakistan Date of Birth: September 25, 1946

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

Government College, Lyallpur, Pakistan 1961 to 1965

University of the Panjab, Lahone, Pakistan 1965 to 1967

University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. 1968 to 1970

_____ to _____

Degrees, Diplomas, etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

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University of the Punjab Scholarship, 1965/1967

University of Victoria Graduate Scholarship, 1968/1970

P.E.O. International Peace Scholarship, 1969/1970

University of the Panjab Gold Medal, 1967

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