EDUCATIONAL RETARDATION

AMONG

NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC INDIANS AT OKA

A THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a description of educational retardation, or academic underachievement, in a stable, rural, Indian community in Quebec. It is a result of the writer's interest in the problem of educational retardation as distinct from mental retardation. The opportunity for first-hand study of this community developed during three and a half years' service as teacher in the one-room Oka Country Indian Day School.

Educational psychologists present conflicting evidence on the subject of the relative intelligence of various racial and cultural groups.[1] We do know that the abilities measured by intelligence tests are affected by children's environment. Where the surroundings are enriched, the I.Q. improves.[2, 3, 4] We do not know to what extent environment is responsible, but in an effort to be fair to the children of other cultures, some account must be taken of their language handicap. In his study of the intelligence of

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[1] Krech and Crutchfield, Theories and Problems of Social Psychology, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1948, p. 465.

[2] Eells, Davis, et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. 3-47.

[3] Stanley, Smith, Benne and Anderson, Social Foundations of Education, New York: Dryden Press, 1956. p. 262.

[4] Brown, Educational Sociology: New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954, pp. 128-141.

Indian children at the Edmonton Residential School, Barnes[5] administered the following tests:

1. Goodenough Intelligence Scale by Drawings.
2. David-Eells Games Test of Problem Solving Ability.
3. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, Performance Section.
4. Raven Progressive Matrices.

He found that the scores for the 163 children at that school were slightly above the norms given for the tests established for urban white American children, but not significantly so. In this study no attempt will be made to pursue the above argument, but simply to support the belief that pupils of North American Indian ancestry are capable of better school achievement than has been accomplished hitherto in most Federal day schools.

The questions to be examined at Oka are:

1. What is the nature and extent of the scholastic under-achievement of Indian Protestant pupils relative to age-norms for regular provincial schools?

2. What are some of the more important of the inter-related causal factors?

3. What programme can be implemented to compensate for or to improve the present situation?

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[5]Findlay Barnes, a Comparative Study of the Mental Ability of Indian Children, Stanford University: M.A. Thesis 1955.

These questions will be answered in three main divisions. Part One will consist of descriptions of the community, Protestant scho ls, and the retardation of the pupils. While this is not a sociological treatise, it will be necessary to devote the whole of the first chapter to a superficial review of the complicated religious and social structure which exists at Oka, and which has played a dominant role in the development of education.

In Part Two a number of the major possible causes will be examined. In many respects the community is similar to the small semi-isolated ethnic settlements across the country, and suffers from much the same educational problems.

Part Three will be devoted to the three major corrective factors, which have been tried in the last three years at Oka and appear to be effective. Suggestions for further improvements are included in the final chapter.

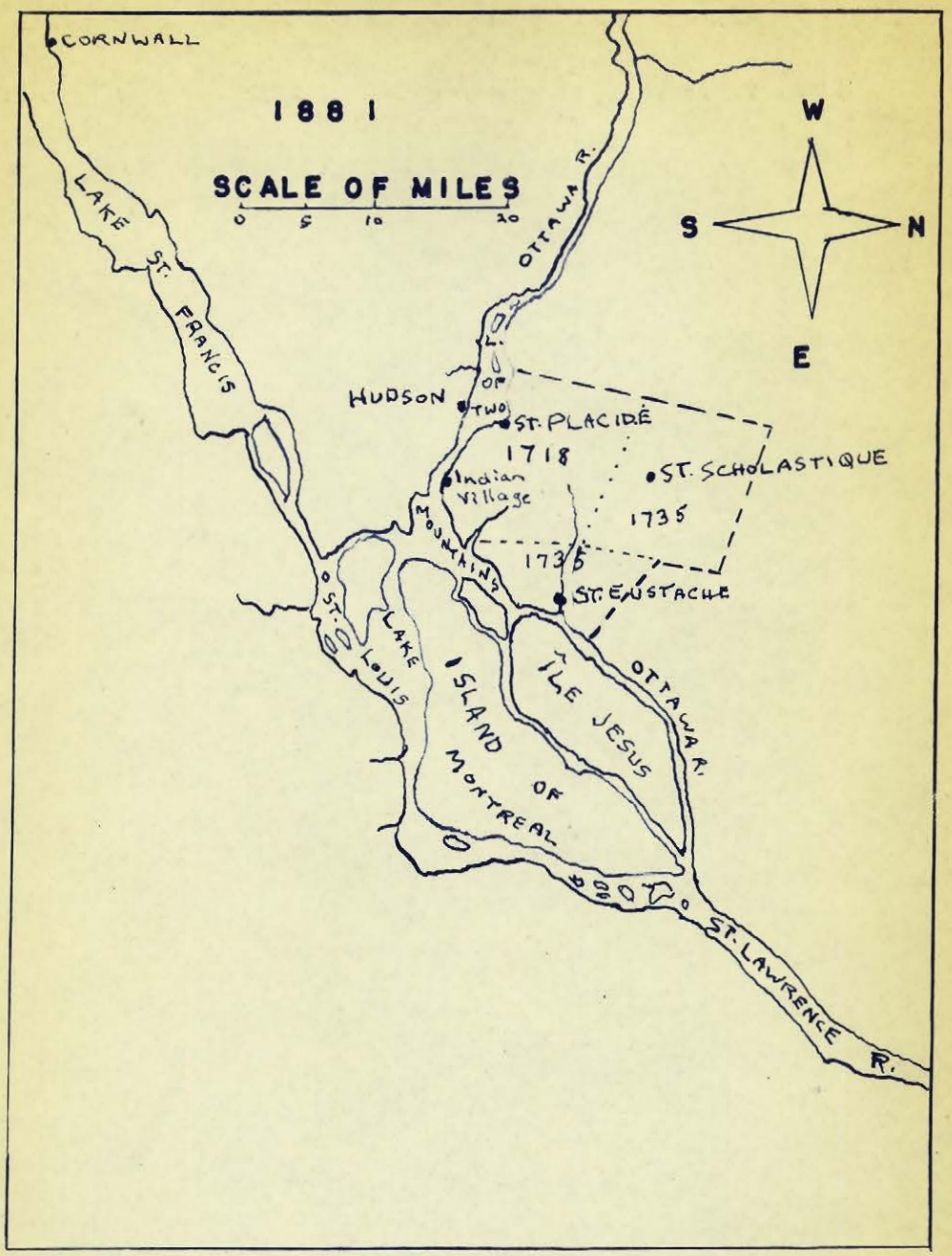
The aims of this study are twofold: firstly, to provide some assistance to workers in communities at a similar stage of development; and secondly, to present to others, for their greater understanding, the problems with which these pupils and teachers are confronted.

The writer wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the officers of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration for having made available historical data regarding these schools.

FIGURE 1

FROM DAWSON'S

COMPLETE MAP OF MONTREAL AND VICINITY



DIVISIONS WITHIN TWO MOUNTAINS COUNTY ARE FROM "TERRAINS DU SEMINAIRE DE ST. SULPICE 1803" REPRODUCED IN MAURAULT, OKA - LES VICISSITUDES D'UNE MISSION SAUVAGE, JUNE 1930.

CHAPTER I

THE OKA COMMUNITY

The village of Oka is located in Two Mountains County, Province of Quebec. It is situated on the north shore of the Lake of Two Mountains, which is an enlargement of the Ottawa River just before it joins the St. Lawrence River at Montreal. On the opposite shore are the communities of Hudson and Como, with which Oka is connected by a car ferry. By highway, the distance to Montreal is about thirty -five miles.

Oka is a village in a district occupied by Indians of Mohawk and Algonquin ancestry. By the Indian Act of 1880*, the term Indian is defined as "any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band." According to the most recent amendment, to have Indian status it is necessary (i) that one's father had Indian status, or (ii) that one's mother had Indian status and that one's father be unknown.

The same Act defines the term "band" as

> any tribe, band or body of Indians who own or are interested in a reserve or in Indian lands in common, of which the legal title is vested in the Crown, or who possess a common fund.

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* 43 Vict.(1880)

The Crown land occupied by Indians approximates 1573 acres on which 110 Indian families totalling 500 persons are located. Indian homes and farms are scattered among those of the two thousand French-Canadians in Oka and the surrounding district. From 1718 the title to the Indian lands was vested in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, but in 1945 it became Crown land. At no time since 1718 could it be legally sold by the holder except to another member of the same band. This has had a strong stabilizing influence upon the population and has facilitated the study of the community's educational development.

The present Indian community is one based on common language and culture, rather than race, as intermarriage with Scottish- and French- Canadians has occurred over the three hundred years of European settlement. The photos on the following page may give some indication of the mixed racial characteristics of these people. A Mohawk* dialect is their mother tongue, and even from 1954 to 1956 over half the children at the age of six entering school spoke neither English nor French.

Examining the annual reports of the government agents in 1858 and again since 1880[1] we find the social constitution of the com-

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*The majority of the Indian population in this area of Mohawk Ancestry, which is one of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy.

[1] Superintendents' Annual Reports - for details see appendices A and B.

SOME OF THE PUPILS ATTENDING THE OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL
SEPTEMBER 1956

munity to have changed very little. The families mentioned therein or their descendants are still resident at Oka, in the same occupations.

ORIGIN OF THE OKA SETTLEMENT

In 1642, when the French settlement of Ville Marie was founded on the Island of Montreal, there already existed, on this same island, the Indian village of Hochelaga, composed mostly of Iroquois and Algonquin Indians. Missionaries from the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris came to minister to the early French settlers and to the nearby Indians. An association for the conversion of the Indians on the Island of Montreal, composed of clergy and leading laymen who were called the "Company of One Hundred Associates", made in 1663 a gift of the whole island to the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris for the purpose of converting the Indians of New France. In 1677 an Indian Mission was established and the Sulpicians became seigneurs or administrators of the Island of Montreal.[2, 3, 4, 5]

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[2]Beta, (pseud) A Contribution to a Proper Understanding of The Oka Question and a help to its equitable and speedy settlement. Montreal, 1879. 92 pp.

[3]Olivier Maurault, Oka - Les Vicissitudes d'une mission sauvage. Montreal, June 1930. pp.

[4]Protestant Defence Alliance of Canada, The Indians of the Lake of Two Mountains and the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1876.

[5]Rev. W. Scott, Report Relating to the Affairs of the Oka Indians. Ottawa: MacLean, Roger and Co., 1883, 74 pp.

SETTLEMENT AT OKA

Perceiving that the Indians were suffering from contact with undesirable elements in the French community, and from the availability of alcohol, the Sulpicians decided on the removal of the Indian mission from the Island of Montreal. Accordingly in 1717 the Sulpicians of Montreal applied to King Louis XIV of France for the seigniory of Two Mountains for the purpose of continuing their work among the Indians.[6]

On April 27, 1718, King Louis XIV confirmed the deed of concession dated October 17, 1717, for a piece of land

> . . . containing three leagues and a half in front, to commence at a brook which runs into the great bay of the Lake of Two Mountains, ascending along the said lake and the River St. Lawrence (now the Ottawa River), by three leagues in depth, . . . in order to transfer there the mission of the said Indians of Sault au Recollet.[7]

On March 1, 1735, the Order received by request the adjoining seigniory, a triangular piece of land two leagues across, including a promontory of land projecting toward the south-west tip of the Island of Montreal.* Any previously ungranted islands were

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[6]Protestant Defence Alliance op. cit.

[7]Beta (pseud) op. cit. p. 78.

*See Figure 1.

included in the second grant as well as an extension of the original seigniory. As a result of the 1735 grant, the original property was approximately doubled in area. It was also said to contain seven parishes, each with its own town or village, previously settled.[8]

The titles were confirmed in 1841 by Queen Victoria*, making the Sulpicians the legal owners of the property, although the Indians were definitely mentioned in every deed and instrument referring to the Oka and Montreal properties as being parties to benefit by the grants.

PROPERTY DISPUTES

From 1841 disputes between the Sulpicians and the Indians over the intent of the property titles, regarding their respective rights grew, reaching violent proportions from about 1860. In an attempt to settle the dispute the Canadian Government proposed to move the Indians again, this time to a property for which they would have undisputed title. In 1857 a 16,000 - acre reserve in Gibson County in the Muskoka district of Ontario was selected. This was soon increased to over 25,000 acres of virgin land.[9] For many reasons this territory was not acceptable to the Indians.

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[8]Beta, (pseud) op. cit. p. 40.

*3, 4 V., c. 30, s. 2.

[9]Scott op. cit. p. 53.

It was remote, not yet cleared, and difficult of access, there being no roads to reach the Gibson reserve.

The Indians were loathe to take their families into pioneer conditions and to leave their farms and burial ground after nearly 150 years of settlement. The Sulpicians paid for the Gibson property, and promised to erect houses,* pay for moving expenses and for improvements already made to Oka properties. The Indians on their part felt that the Sulpicians should be the ones to move out since the grant of land at Oka had been made on the Indians' account.[10]**

Under combined government and church pressure twenty-three families representing about one-third of the Indian population of Oka agreed to move to the Gibson Reserve.

RELIGIOUS DIVISION

In 1868 the Indians who refused to move from Oka decided, on account of the continuing property dispute, to withdraw from the Catholic Church. A group of their leaders, including a chief who had been studying for the priesthood, went to the village priest to

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*This was not fulfilled when it was discovered that squatters at Gibson had left buildings which could be repaired for habitation.

[10]Scott op. cit. p. 53.

**The Sulpicians still retained the seigniorial title to Montreal.

inform him of their decision. Believing that a threat had been made on his life, the priest succeeded in bringing a posse from Montreal which arrested five of the Indian leaders and jailed them at St. Scholastique. When news of this occurrence was made public in Montreal, some Protestant gentlemen became aroused and bailed out the Indians, at the same time hiring a lawyer on their behalf. Out of the continuing interest of these gentlemen the Methodist Mission at Oka developed, and a Methodist minister was appointed in 1869.[11]

METHODIST MISSION

The house originally rented by the Methodists for the holding of public worship, was soon outgrown by the congregation. In 1872 land was purchased from an Indian lady and a church built in the village of Oka. A bell was contributed by interested Protestants at Hudson, across the river.* The Methodist missionaries were completely unaware of the status of property tenure governing the legality of the sale of the land on which the church was built. The Sulpicians obtained a court order of "trespass" and had the Methodist Church levelled on December 7, 1875. There was no

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[11] Beta (pseud.) op. cit. p. 15.

* This bell may still be seen in the Oka United Church.

question of their legal right to do so.[12]

The church was valued at $3,000., and an unsuccessful suit for damages commenced. The Sulpicians gave as their defence that the only mission recognized by law at the Lake of Two Mountains was Roman Catholic which had a church and schools for the use of the whole population, and "were not responsible to provide a place for dissentient worship".[13]

Rev. William Scott, Superintendent of Missions, Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, reported[14] in 1883 that a Methodist schoolhouse had been built in 1881 three and one-half miles from the village of Oka, along the lake, without interference from the seminary. He also reported that a building had been rented in Oka for a school, where on Sundays public worship was being conducted unmolested. Having examined all the documents pertinent to the Seigniory, he stated that the Methodist mission existed by suffrance only. He supported the move to the Gibson reserve, where the Methodists would be free to minister to the Indians. Dr. Scott made great efforts to convince the Oka Indians

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[12]Protestant Defence Alliance, op. cit. p. 6.

[13]Scott, op. cit. p. 43.

[14]Scott, op. cit. p. 42, 43.

of the advisability of this plan, and was hopeful of its success at the time he made his report.

Both Roman Catholic and Methodist, now United Church, missions have continued to the present day, providing religious and educational services to the community. The Roman Catholic Church and schools are open to the whole population. The Protestant schools serve all non-Roman Catholic children, who, apart from the children of the teachers, are all of Indian status.

THE LONGHOUSE RELIGION

Since the 1860's a small group developed, now numbering seven families or under ten per cent of the Indian population claiming to practice the ancient religion of the Iroquois before the European invasion of the continent. This is known as the Long House religion, and is said to have its origin at Oka from the immigration of an Indian of the Saltaux nation who converted some of those dissatisfied with the Roman Catholic Church.[15] In addition to the Great Spirit, they pay special respect to the "Three Sisters", the spirits of corn, squash and bean, their traditional principal crops. Religious festivals are associated with the seasons.[16,17] This group is

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[15] Maurault op. cit.

[16] E.H. Brush, Iroquois Past and Present n. p. n. d. 96 p.

[17] Cadwaller Colden, The History of the Five Nations of Canada: New York: William Bradford, 1755. 18 & 119 p.

hostile toward all forms of Christianity, and toward the Federal Government, which they regard as instruments for the destruction of the Indian culture and for their assimilation into Canadian life. By non-acceptance of old-age pensions or children's allowances, they seek to ignore the existence of the Canadian Government. It is difficult to put any pressure upon them to send their children to school, where their attendance at best is sporadic.

This group lives mainly along several dirt roads north of the village of Oka, but away from the main highway along the bay.

THE PENTECOSTAL MISSION

Early in this century a growing social gulf became apparent between the Indians who lived in the village, with living standards similar to their French-Canadian neighbours, and those living along the bay, ill-housed and in extreme poverty. Among the latter a Pentecostal mission began in 1929 and in 1932 split away from the United Church majority to build a church in the bay district.

Internally, as we have seen, the community is broken up into four hostile groups of different religious affiliations, which are a reflection of socio-economic discontent.[18] There are three

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[18] Rev. J. F. Anderson The Role of Religion in Social Stratification unpublished m.s. 10 p. 1954.

organized Christian groups: a Roman Catholic minority, including many who have married French-Canadians and whose children have been assimilated into French-Canadian society; the United Church majority, whose origin lay in the old property dispute; a Pentecostal minority, whose members lead a precarious economic existence. Among the latter, in the last two years, missionaries of the Jehovah's Witness sect have been active.

RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Even among the Christian Indians at Oka, very few co-operate actively with the Federal Government under the provisions of the Indian Act, and its amendments. Apart from the Long House group, as has already been noted, they generally accept any advantages offered such as free medical and dental care, food allowances for the sick or otherwise unemployable and their dependents, materials for the repair of houses, and Unemployment Insurance when eligible.

However they do not as a whole take much part in band elections. In June 1957 only 75 of the 240 eligible to vote cast their ballot. They shun the elected chief and band council, mostly composed of pro-Government, semi-assimilated Roman Catholic Indians. The majority prefer to accept the leadership of their hereditary but legally unrecognized chiefs. There are three chiefs

of whom two are allied with the United Church and one with the Pentecostal.

GIBSON INDIANS

A further complicating factor is the small group of Indians, twenty-five in number, who are descendants of those Oka Indians who moved to the Gibson reserve at Muskoka and returned in small groups between 1894 and 1900. They are not all yet readmitted to the Oka band, even if they have lived their entire lives at Oka and are married to band members.

Their non-admission is based on the desire of their own relatives to exclude them from sharing in the inheritance of property at Oka.

The Gibson group co-operates with the Federal Government, and seeks prestige through office in the United Church. The tension surrounding congregational elections places a great strain on the denominational loyalties of the persons involved. For example, the defeated candidates at an annual congregational meeting may withdraw their families from church attendance until the following annual meeting when they will again attempt to assemble enough friends to get themselves elected. Out of such situations arises the temptation to form new denominations.

AGRICULTURE

The reserve systems, whereby the boundaries of a community are laid down and legally limited causes a particular economic difficulty. As the population increases, the amount of land owned by one family is no longer sufficient to support its members by farming. As the sons and daughters marry they must (i) live with their parents, (ii) build homes on the same lot as their parents, or (iii) move off the reserve. The photos on the following pages illustrate the second solution.

Now only one Indian country property out of ninety has a herd of cattle and only five are under cultivation. The Indian agriculture at Oka has become more like gardening than farming. In 1858 the land was described as "terrain not favourable to agriculture, being sterile and rocky, and reducing these tribes to a miserable existence derived from hunting."[19] The soil is sandy, and would probably produce such crops as carrots and tobacco if a market were available.

OTHER KINDS OF EMPLOYMENT

Livelihood from the land, then, must be supplemented. Work in ice-houses at Hudson where natural ice is cut and store

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[19] Rapport des Commissaries Speciaux ..... Ottawa; Queen's Printer, 1858.

SEVERAL FAMILIES SHARING EACH ORIGINAL FARM

for sale in summer, is a traditional winter occupation, which ceased in 1957 with the closing of the Wilson Company's ice house, partly as a result of increased water pollution. Every autumn Indians are employed in the apple harvest in orchards owned by French-Canadians. This causes a seasonal drop in school attendance among children over eleven or twelve years of age.

Some men seek employment in the village saw-mill, in carpentry or construction, or in various factories in Montreal. While the distance by road to Montreal is only thirty-five miles, the highway runs through other communities, and the time required, from one and one-half to two hours is sufficient to discourage commuting.

In the early 1900's many worked as lumberjacks in the northern parts of the province. Now more go to the United States, the border constituting no legal barrier to Indians, where they work on railroads, in factories, and are gaining a favourable reputation in structural steel work. However, this affects only ten families or fifty persons all of whom return to Oka at Christmas and for weddings.

Most of the work available in and around Oka such as the apple-picking, ice-cutting and construction is seasonal. Many of the Indians living beyond the village make and sell canes, axe-handles, oars and paddles. However, considering the fact that

CUTTING NATURAL ICE AT HUDSON

they must purchase the wood to produce these articles, and bear the cost of peddling them around the countryside, such handwork is not very remunerative.

Against this complex social, religious and economic background we shall trace the development of Protestant education.

CHAPTER II

THE PROTESTANT SCHOOLS

After the Methodist Church was destroyed in 1875, a house was rented in the Village of Oka to serve both as a church and a school.

The earliest superintendent's report on Protestant Schools was made in 1880.[1] This report indicates that a school was operating in the village with an enrolment of thirty-eight pupils. The following year a log school-house was built by the Methodist mission on the present location of the Country School to serve the children of that area. In its first year this school had an enrolment of sixteen pupils whose average attendance was ten.[2] Thereafter the school populations in both schools appeared about equal, with an average total enrolment during the period of 1880 to 1939 of 48.65 pupils and an average attendance of 26.30 pupils or 54.06 per cent.[3]

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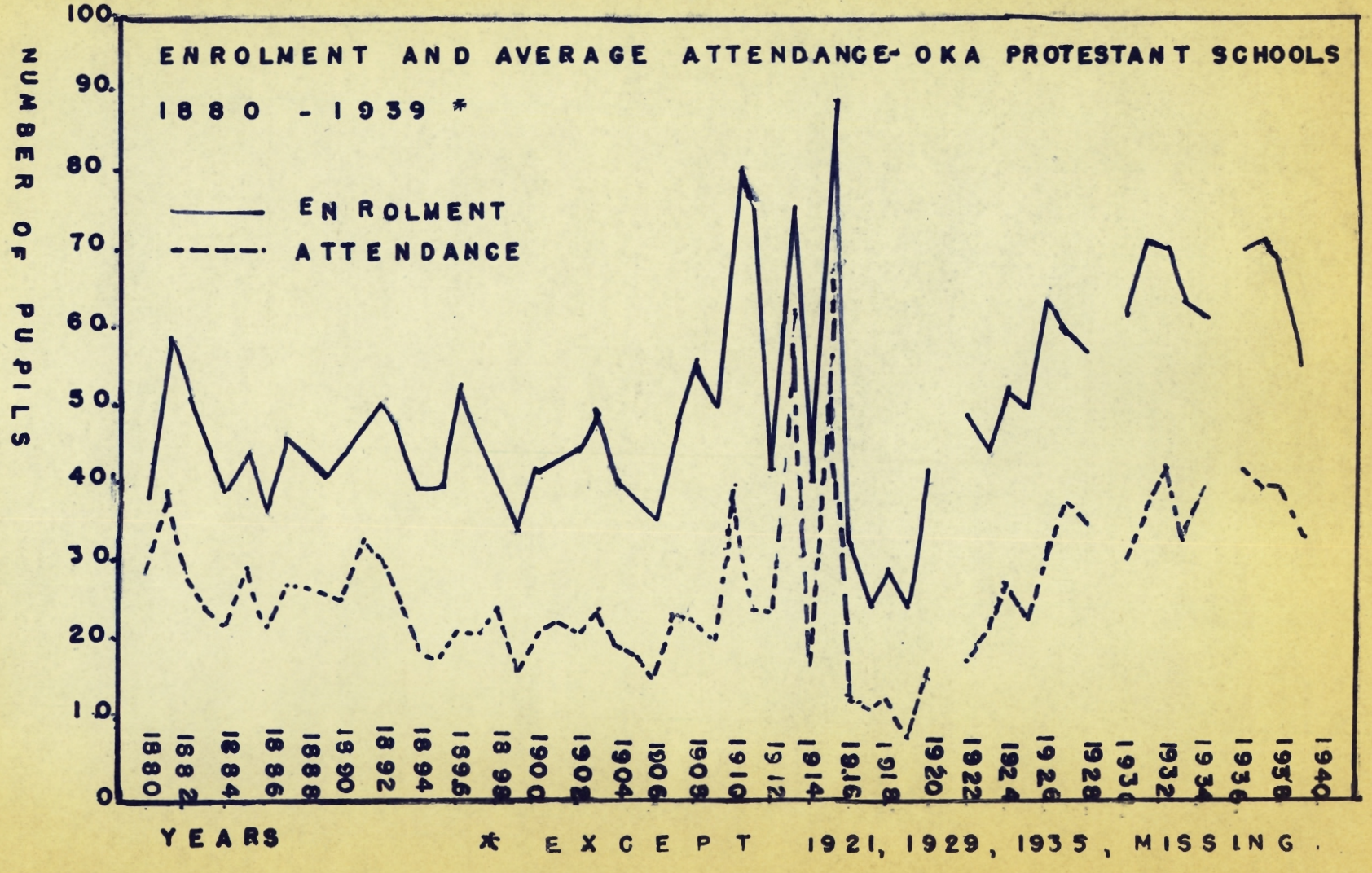
[1] See Appendix A.

[2] Taken from Superintendents' Annual Reports to the Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa. For details see Appendix A.

[3] See Graph I.

GRAPH I



* EXCEPT 1921, 1929, 1935, MISSING.

ADAPTED FROM SUPERINTENDENTS' ANNUAL REPORTS, OTTAWA.

The Village School served the children of two small regional and social groups: the village itself, and the nearby Long House settlement; the Country School served the children of rural families living between two and five miles from the village, along the river road. (See Figure II, local map of Oka inside the back cover.)

PRESENT PROTESTANT SCHOOL FACILITIES

In 1929 the old buildings were replaced by the present school buildings, (see photos on the following page) which were erected by the Federal Government. Each consists of one large school-room, with a 3-room teacherage in Oka, and a 4-room teacherage in the Country Scho l. Heating, lighting and furniture are now modern and text books are supplied in accordance with the provincial course of study.

STAFF

Generally teachers have been missionaries, recruited by the Methodist Church, which paid a small sum to meet their minimum needs. This amount was refunded to the church by the Federal Government. The responsibility for supplying teachers was, upon church union, undertaken by the United Church of Canada; this body still has the right to recommend personnel, trained or otherwise, for these and similar schools. Since the salary offered for the first fifty years was from $150.00 to $200. per

OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL

OKA VILLAGE SCHOOL

year plus free housing teachers have fallen into two categories. With some remarkable exceptions they were either dedicated missionaries with no teaching qualifications, or else persons with teaching certificates but who were otherwise unemployable. The average length of tenure of teachers in both schools has been less than two years.* The effects of this will be discussed in Part Two of this report.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

The fact that Mohawk has been the language spoken in the homes has presented a problem of which the present day implications will be discussed in Chapter Five. However, it is evident from old records of these schools that most teachers met this problem by the simple expedient of retaining all children at least three years in Grade One, labelling them "Pre-primer", "Primer" and "Grade One".

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*The Superintendents' Annual Reports beginning in the year 1880 are located in the library of the Educational Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration at Ottawa. These reports contain the superintendents' general comments, enrolment, attendance and grade division figures, names and salaries of teachers, and occasionally the number of school-age children in the district.

Usually from one-half to two-thirds of the total enrolment could be found in the various divisions of Grade One. One of the worst examples of this occurred in 1931 when of the thirty-three pupils enrolled in the Village School, all but three were in Grade One.

Since some children lived as much as one mile and a half from the school, a distance prohibitive to small children in bad weather, they often enrolled one or two years over-age. The poor attendance figures have already been noted in Graph I. All things considered, the children stood an excellent chance of attaining their sixteenth birthdays, thus ending the period of compulsory education for Indians, before completing Grade Five. Indeed, as late as 1939 there is no record of pupils progressing beyond Grade Five in either school.[2]

Since that time, and until relatively recently, the number of students proceeding to high school and further training has been very small. The young people were self-conscious on two grounds: firstly, on being Indian, and secondly, on being from two to five years older than their non-Indian classmates. The average educational achievement of adults in the community is roughly Grade Three. Although for at least thirty years the Federal Government

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[2]See Table I, Graph II and Table II.

TABLE I

Indian Day Schools: Enrolment by Provinces and by Grades Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1936

From National Government and Education in Federated Democracies: Dominion of Canada

James C. Miller Philadelphia: published by author, 1940, adapted from table 10 p. 288

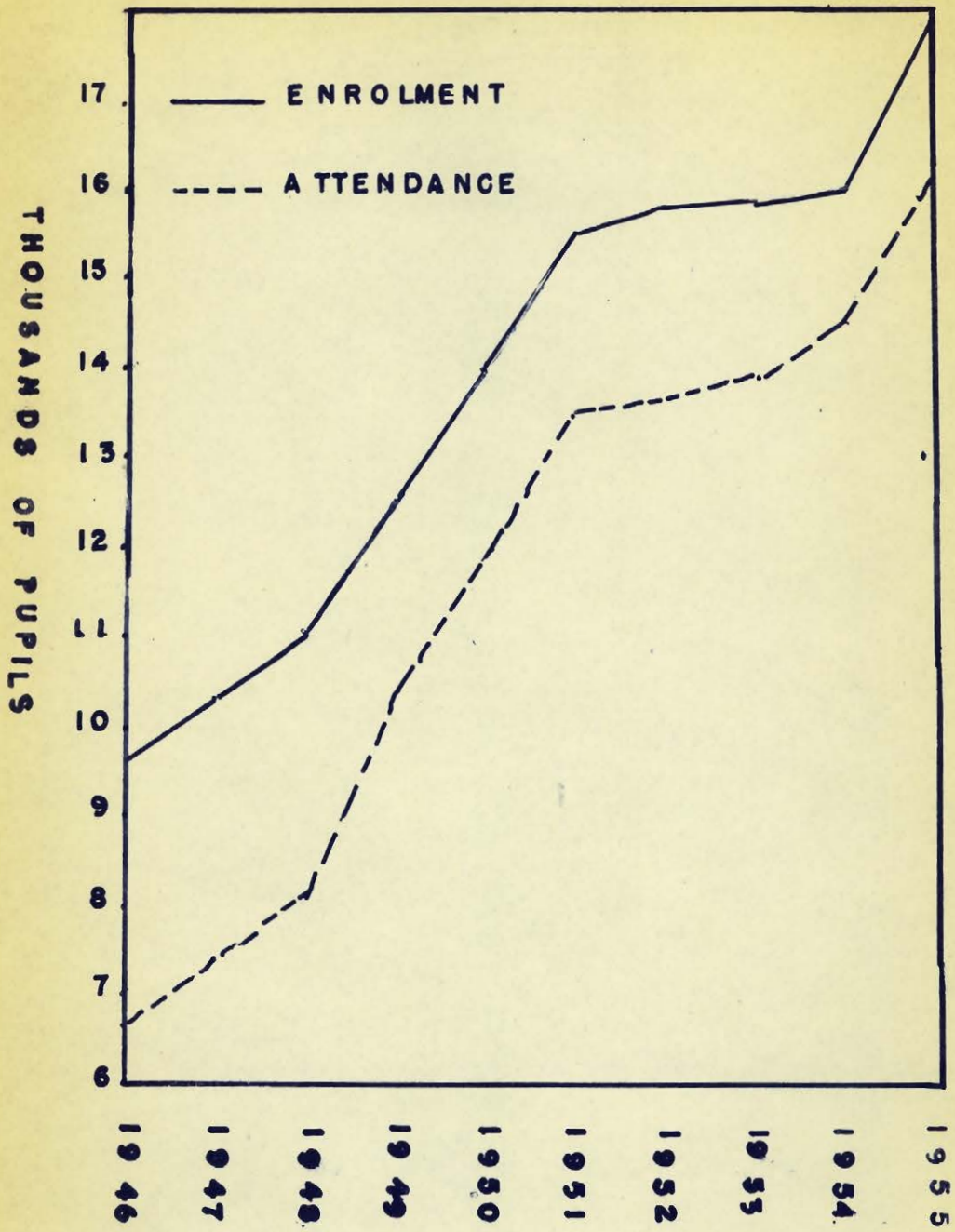
Province	No. of Schools	Total En-rolled	Average Attend-ance	Per Cent Attend-ance	GRADES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
P. E. I.	1	20	12	60.00	10	3	2	--	3	1	1	--	--
N. S.	10	281	180	64.05	131	47	34	29	21	11	7	1	--
N. B.	11	330	255	77.27	91	51	47	43	43	32	19	4	--
Quebec	31	1590	1214	76.35	672	242	216	171	148	77	37	23	4
Ontario	83	2890	1842	63.73	1181	471	287	320	269	164	107	82	9
Manitoba	46	1416	785	55.43	808	258	142	77	85	30	13	3	--
Saskatchewan	24	521	325	62.38	290	77	64	50	21	12	—	7	--
Alberta	2	37	21	56.75	17	2	--	5	6	--	6	--	1
N. W. T.	4	66	22	33.33	50	11	2	2	1	--	--	--	--
B. C.	52	1633	925	56.64	843	255	211	159	94	47	13	11	--
Yukon	6	123	58	47.15	61	30	18	14	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	270	8907	5639	63.31	4154	1447	1023	870	691	374	203	131	14

Tabulation by sex has been eliminated from the table as total number of boys 4455 is almost identical with total number of girls 4452, and differences do not appear to be significant.

GRAPH II

ENROLMENT AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE

INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS *



* ADAPTED FROM CANADA YEAR BOOK, 1956, TABLE 27, PAGE 173.

TABLE II

*DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN DAY SCHOOL PUPILS BY AGE - SEX - GRADE AT JANUARY 1, 1957

Age	Sex	GRADES Kinder-garten	Beginners I	Repeaters	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	Grand Total
5 years and under	B	75	39									114	
	G	82	50									132	246
6 years and under	B	175	435	38	16							664	
	G	117	419	34	22							592	1,256
7 years	B	131	396	218	174	11						930	
	G	129	381	209	210	20						949	1,879
8 years	B	33	160	253	349	142	8					945	
	G	37	133	212	329	169	15	1				896	
9 years	B	10	57	154	323	308	86	6	1			945	
	G	6	51	132	287	326	177	12				991	1,936
10 years	B	1	19	78	187	263	223	78	7	2		858	
	G	3	15	54	148	249	228	109	11	1		818	1,676
11 years	B	1	6	39	89	198	263	162	59	8		825	
	G		8	26	67	162	229	192	90	11	2	787	1,612
12 years	B	1	5	25	55	106	166	178	150	38	5	729	
	G		3	8	42	73	156	200	181	65	13	741	1,470
13 years	B		4	13	31	59	122	141	147	97	41	655	
	G		1	12	16	53	92	144	168	141	57	684	1,339
14 years	B		1	13	13	39	78	103	170	113	75	605	
	G		3	15	23	24	61	99	128	143	101	597	1,202
15 years	B			4	10	27	40	68	77	79	65	370	
	G	1	1	6	3	16	31	43	78	69	84	332	702
16 years	B				3	1	5	11	18	17	43	98	
	G			1	2	4	8	9	17	21	43	105	203
17 years and above	B						2		2	2	3	9	
	G					3		5	5	4	12	24	33
Total by Sex	B	427	1,122	835	1,250	1,154	993	747	631	356	232	7,747	
	G	375	1,065	709	1,149	1,099	997	809	678	455	312	7,648	
Grand Total		802	2,187	1,544	2,399	2,253	1,990	1,556	1,309	811	544	15,395	15,395

*Returns were not received from all schools.

has been willing to pay expenses for further education for Indians, very few in Oka have reached a point where they could take advantage of these opportunities. The few who did achieve higher education were those who were sent away to residential schools, where they received a better education, but lost their own language and became unfitted for life back on the reserve. (See Graph III on the following page.)

RECENT IMPROVEMENTS

Two important departures were made in 1955. Since that year pupils in the senior elementary grades have gradually been transferred to the Lake of Two Mountains High School, in St. Eustache - sur - le - lac, about fifteen miles from Oka. This school with an enrolment of nearly 900 Protestant pupils in 1957-58, has Grades One to Eleven. This has made more effective primary teaching possible at the local level, and has reduced the local enrolment to a point at which it was possible to close the Village School in 1957, and send those pupils to the Country School by local school bus.*

The second improvement, begun in 1955 in the Country School only, was the admission of four- and five-year olds to a

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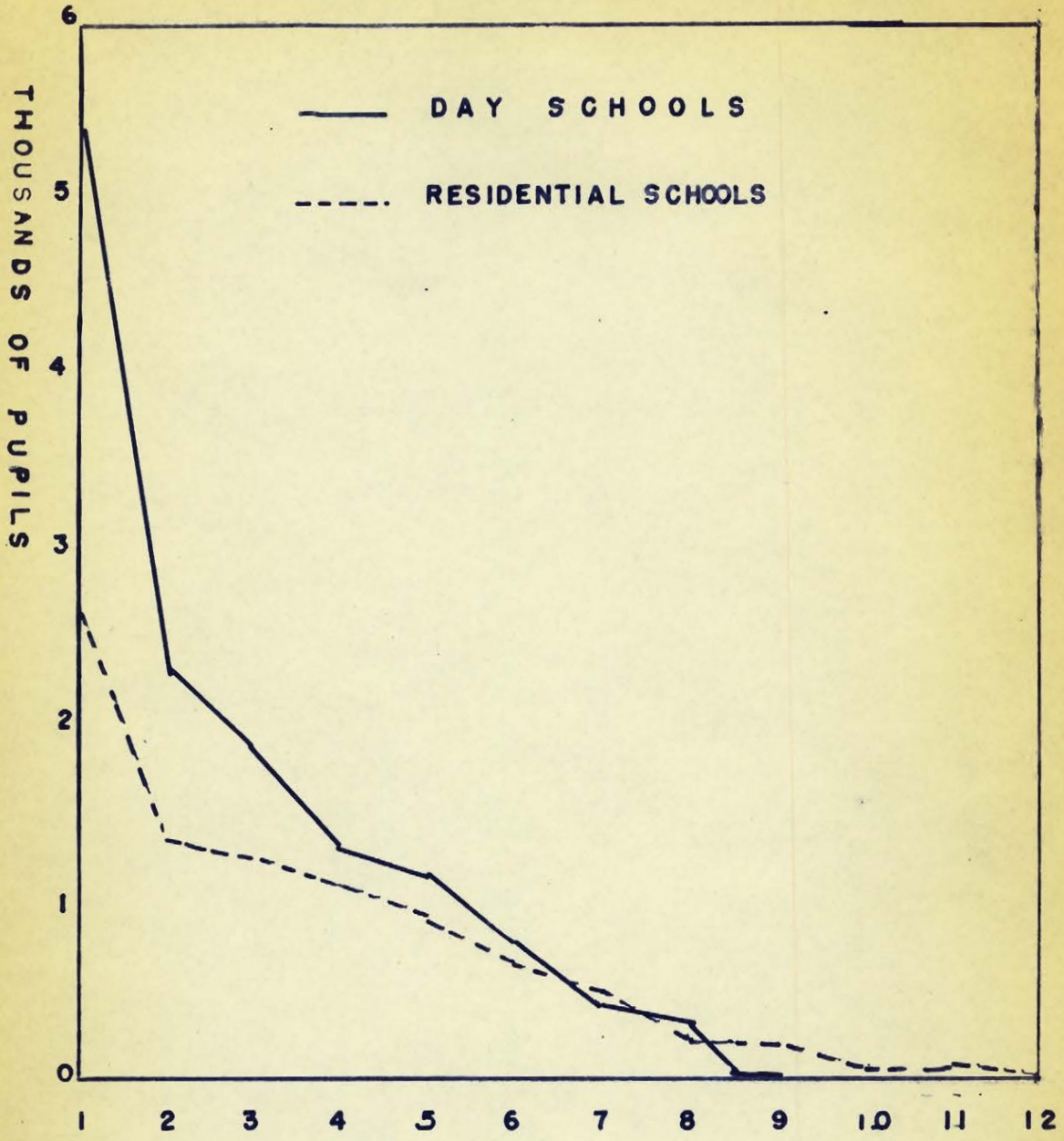
*In September 1957 enrolment was as follows:

Pupils Transferred from Village School	6
Pupils Continuing from Country School	13
New Pupils	6

GRAPH III

TOTAL ENROLMENT BY GRADE

INDIAN SCHOOLS IN CANADA 1949-1950



ADAPTED FROM DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS, BIENNIAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION IN CANADA, OTTAWA: QUEEN'S PRINTER, 1956. P. 109.

kindergarten on a half-day basis. These children were then admitted to Grade One when they had acquired sufficient vocabulary, and developed adequate maturity.

The results of these two radical changes will be discussed in Part Three, where all the corrective factors will be examined.

THE ROLE OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

The Federal Government has always been prepared to assist with any improvements, such as the building of the new schools in 1929, but progress has been hampered by a rural indifference to academic education on the part of the parents, and by inability or lack of concern on the part of the majority of teachers. The quality of teaching staff has been improved since 1949 when a regular salary scale was put into effect by the Federal Government. In 1955 this was revised to approximate the average of Canadian teachers' salaries, with increments based on qualifications and experience.

THE COURSE OF STUDY

> The Indian schools follow the curricula of the province in which they are located, but special emphasis is placed on language, reading, domestic science, manual training, and agriculture. In the lower grades the usual curricula material is adapted to the special needs of Indian children.[3]

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[3] James C. Miller, National Government and Education in Federated Democracies: Dominion of Canada. Philadelphia: published by the author, 1940 p. 284.

The expression "adapted to the special needs of Indian children" has been very liberally interpreted, at least in the two schools under discussion. Since domestic science and manual training are begun only in Grade Six in the Provincial course of study, and so few pupils reached that level, only rarely have these subjects been taught, although the Federal Government has been willing to supply any equipment and materials needed. In Quebec, Agriculture is a high school subject, and has therefore never been taught at these schools. Little has been done in the practical study of natural science at Oka. This may be due to the fact that the majority of the teachers in these schools have been women.*

Two recent examples of the inept or unimaginative way in which the courses were handled will serve as illustrations of the quality of teaching that was generally offered.

In 1948 a new teacher to the Country School prepared to teach a health lesson, and asked the Grades Four and Five pupils to read over a certain selection to be discussed. He noted that the children were not looking at their texts, and asked the reason. They replied that they had been using the same text for the past two

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*70 per cent according to data supplied by Superintendents' Annual Reports.

years, (three years for those who repeated a grade). This was the fault, not of the Government, which is prepared to issue all required materials, but of the previous teacher who could not be bothered to prepare new material.

In 1954-55 in the Village School, an inexperienced, unqualified teacher assigned Grade Two Spelling lessons to the whole school, Grades One to Six, thus preventing her pupils from taking full advantage of the policy, begun the following year, of sending the higher grades to the nearest high school. An attitude held by some teachers, that the least effort on their part was "good enough for Indians" has resulted in the loss of complete years for the pupils.

The educational retardation which existed in the Country School in September 1954 when the writer was first appointed to this school will be examined in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

RETARDATION AT OKA

GRADE PLACEMENT

In September 1954 there were forty-one children enrolled at the Oka Country School, ten of whom were in Grade One. Twelve were not retarded relative to provincial age-grade norms. Sixteen were one or two years over-age and thirteen were three to six years over-age.[1]

These grade placements were based upon the level of reading achievement in the Curriculum Foundation series of readers.[2] The children were tested in oral reading and vocabulary, and their work books rated.

To what may such serious retardation be attributed? It is our purpose in this and the following chapters to examine some of the major causes. Four possible explanations come to mind, the first of which has already been referred to in Chapter Two. Poor teaching, a language handicap, low native ability and socio-cultural influences were considered as possible factors.

The quality of teaching and length of tenure have been noted, and seem to be an important factor.

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[1] See Tables III and IV

[2] Toronto: W. J. Gage & Co. Ltd.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT ACCORDING TO AGE AND GRADE

OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL JANUARY 1, 1955.

Ages	Grades						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 and under	2						
7	5	1					
8	2	1					
9		1	2				
10	1	2					
11			4	1			
12			2	1	2		
13					1		1
14		1		2	2		2
15					2		
16				1			1
17							1
18							
Totals	10	6	8	5	7	0	5

TABLE IV

AMOUNT OF GRADE RETARDATION 1940-1957

OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL

INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM REGISTERS OF DAILY ATTENDANCE

Year	Number of Pupils Years of Retardation			Total Enrolment	Pupils in Grade One
	0	1-2	3-7		
1940	4	6	8	18	9
1941	9	11	7	27	9
1942	11	10	8	29	16
1943	1	6	10	17	7
1944	11	6	7	24	18
1945	21	3	1	25	8
1946	21	3	2	26	8
1947	14	10	7	31	20
1948	9	12	12	33	19
1949	9	17	10	36	24
1950	5	20	13	38	18
1951	9	19	16	44	18
1952	6	20	16	42	15
1953	9	18	10	37	13
1954	7	14	13	34	7
1955	13	15	14	42	10
1956	16	10	3	29	7
1957	20	4	1	25	11

LANGUAGE HANDICAP

The existence of a language handicap was supported by an examination of the pupils' ability in Arithmetic, in which (except for problems) language is presumably not a handicap. Mathematical ability was found to be about two years above their grade placement. This was established by presenting them with more advanced texts of the Living Arithmetic series,[3] in which it was found that the pupils could pass the tests provided at the end of each chapter. Thus, Grade One pupils in the school year 1954-1955 were found to be capable of learning and passing teacher-devised tests in short multiplication and division, normally taught in Grade Three. They were capable of solving the problems in the Grade Three text, when these problems were read aloud to them. A similar difference between mathematical ability and grade-placement was observed throughout the grades, with Grade Five doing the arithmetical work of Grade Seven.

NATIVE INTELLIGENCE

Although the writer was aware of the cultural bias in mental tests a limited testing program was begun in June 1956, with the children who were then in Grades Two, One, and Kindergarten. The fact that it is difficult to determine the true ability of non-English-

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[3]Toronto: Ginn & Company.

speaking children, with the tests now available, will be discussed further in Chapter Five.[4] The first test used was the Pintner-Cunningham Primary Mental Test,[5] supplied by the Indian Affairs Department. The results of this test are given in Table V on the following page. The Intelligence Quotients found in this test average 80.2 for the twelve children in grades one and two. It was felt that these results did not reflect the pupils' true ability, due to the fact that to follow the directions a good knowledge of English was required. As these children had only heard English spoken for from one to three years, some interpretation was necessary, and a Grade Three pupil was asked to translate directions into Mohawk for the benefit of Grade One. On one part of the test, the children were asked to mark everything with feathers; it appeared later that many children understood "wings" instead of "feathers", and included a butterfly and a bee among their responses. Again when asked to mark "everything that goes up in the air", some children thought of "goes" in its active sense and omitted "balloon" and "kite" which are not self-propelled. Great differences in the percentage of correct responses were found between various parts of

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[4]Allison Davis Education for the Conservation of Human Resources, Progressive Education, May 1950, p. 221-224

[5]New York: World Book Company.

TABLE V

PINTNER-CUNNINGHAM PRIMARY MENTAL TEST

GIVEN 5/6/56

Pupil	Chronological Age	Test Parts 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	Mental Age	I.Q.
Grade 2:	Score Possible:	8-1/2	6	6	4	15	11	8	58-1/2		
1F	10-1	7	6	5	3	10-1/2	8	8	47-1/2	8-11	89
3F	8-2	6-1/2	6	6	2	13	4	6	43-1/2	8-6	104
4F	8-10	7	6	3	3	12	2	8	41	8-2	93
5F	9-3	4	6	4	2	8	3	7	34	7-5	80
6M	10-7	8	6	6	3	9	5	7	44	8-6	80
7F	9-1	4	5	0	0	9	3	6	27	6-8	73
8M	12-1	4	5	5	1	2-1/2	1	8	26-1/2	6-8	55
Grade 1											
9F	8-2	3	6	0	1	1/2	2	1	13-1/2	5-0	61
10M	9-2	6	5	5	3	6	5	7	37	7-9	85
11M	7-3	4	4	1	4	1	1	5	20	5-10	80
12M	9-3	7	6	4	0	7-1/2	1	5	30-1/2	7-1	77
13M	7-7	6	6	1	1	4-1/2	3	3	24-1/2	6-5	85
Per Cent of Correct Responses		65.2	93.1	55.6	47.9	46.4	28.8	74.0		Average I.Q.	80.2

the tests. The best scores were made in Part Two: Aesthetic Differences, and Part Seven: Dot Drawing, and the worst scores in Part Six: Picture Completion.

The second test, which in the opinion of the writer, gives the fairest picture of these pupils' mental ability, was the Goodenough Drawing Scale, based on the "draw-a-man" test.[6] The results are presented in Table VI on the following page. On this test the average Intelligence Quotient was 106.9. The one disadvantage in this test is that no norms were established for pupils over ten years of age, for the following reasons, given by the author:

> The effect of self-consciousness, especially upon the work of older children has been mentioned before. Children who have reached a period of development which causes them to be unduly critical of their work, not infrequently fail to do themselves justice in their drawing by very reason of their ability to recognize the difficulties involved. This is a factor which rarely enters into the work of little children for whom the test has been designed, but it is one of the chief reasons for its decreasing usefulness with older children.[7]

Pupil #10, a boy in Grade Two, destroyed his drawing. This pupils has great artistic talent, having won a cash award and an "honourable mention" in the Children's Art Competition of the Canadian National Exhibition

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[6] F. Goodenough, Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings, New York: World Book Company, 1926.

[7] op. cit. p. 56

TABLE VI

GOODENOUGH DRAWING SCALE 10/12/56

Pupil	Chronological Age	Raw Score	Mental Age	I.Q.
Grade 3:				
1F	10 - 7	34	11 - 6	109
2F	8 - 5	32	11 - 0	137
3F	8 - 9	29	10 - 3	117
4F	9 - 5	30	10 - 6	112
5F	9 - 10	31	10 - 9	110
6M	11 - 1	27	9 - 9	88
7F	9 - 8	32	11 - 0	114
8M	12 - 7	16	7 - 0	56
Grade 2:				
9F	8 - 8	25	9 - 3	107
11M	7 - 9	31	10 - 9	138
12M	9 - 10	22	8 - 6	86
13M	8 - 1	18	7 - 6	94
Grade 1:				
14F	7 - 5	31	10 - 9	145
15M	6 - 8	21	8 - 3	124
16F	6 - 6	13	6 - 3	96
17F	7 - 7			
18F	7 - 10	18	7 - 6	96
Kindergarten				
19F	5 - 5	1	3 - 3	60
20M	5 - 10	17	7 - 3	124
21M	6 - 6	16	7 - 0	108
22M	5 - 9	15	6 - 9	117
			Average:	106.9

at Toronto, September 1956. He was not satisfied with his picture of a man, and after several erasures and new beginnings, refused to complete the test.

Of this test, Terman writes:

> The author does not claim that her scale can satisfactorily take the place of individual tests of the type of the Stanford or Herring Binet. It will, however prove extremely useful for general survey and tentative classifications. In the case of many children from foreign homes its results will be found even more valid than those of a Binet test. Rather, surprisingly, it appears that scores earned on the Goodenough Scale are not very easily influenced by the ordinary school instruction in drawing, and that the results of specific coaching are not very persistent.[8]

The Otis Quick - Scoring Mental Ability Alpha Test was the next group test applied to the pupils of the Oka Country School. This test was selected because it has both a verbal and a non-verbal section, and a comparison of the two was thought desirable. In the first testing in December 1956, Form A was used with the same children now in Grades Three and Two who had been given the Pintner-Cunningham Test[9]. Five months later Form B was administered to the same group, while Form A was given to the Grade One class.[10] The average of the Intelligence Quotients derived from Form A was 80.8.

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[8] L. M. Terman, Introduction to Measurement of Intelligence by Drawing, New York: World Book Company, 1926. p. xi

[9] See Table V

[10] See Table VII

TABLE VII

OTIS QUICK - SCORING MENTAL ABILITY ALPHA TEST

	FORM A 11/12/56 Mental Age					FORM B 13/5/57 Mental Age				
Pupil	Chronological Age	Non-Verbal	Verbal	Total	I.Q.	Chronological Age	Non-Verbal	Verbal	Total	I.Q.
Grade 3:										
1F	10-7	9-11	9-6	9-9	95	11-0	8-4	9-8	8-9	88
2F	8-5	9-8	9-6	9-7	112	8-10	over 13	9-11	over 13	125
3F	8-9	8-4	7-11	8-1	91	9-2	9-6	6-5	8-0	84
4F	9-5	8-2	7-11	8-0	86	9-10	7-6	7-1	7-3	77
5F	9-10	8-4	6-10	7-6	80	10-3	8-5	8-6	8-5	87
6M	11-1	7-8	7-2	7-4	75	11-6	8-4	7-7	7-11	79
7F	9-8	6-4	6-6	6-3	69	10-1	8-1	7-7	7-10	82
8M	12-7	6-5	--	--	67	13-0	7-10	6-7	7-2	71
Grade 2:										
9F	8-8	8-1	5-2	6-7	76	9-1	9-4	7-2	8-1	88
10M	9-8	6-5	6-10	6-6	71	10-1	9-2	7-0	7-11	83
11M	7-9	6-9	6-1	6-3	86	8-2	6-6	under 5	5-3	67
12M	9-10	6-5	7-2	6-8	72	10-3	7-7	7-1	7-3	76
13M	8-1	--	under 5	under 5	60	8-6	6-2	5-9	5-10	70
Grade 1:							FORM A 14/5/57			
14F						7-10	7-9	8-3	7-11	101
15M						7-1	6-8	6-6	6-6	94
16F						6-11	6-10	5-0	5-10	89
17F						8-0	5-11	under 5	5-1	67
18F						8-3	6-1	under 5	5-1	64

Comparing the results in the "non-verbal" and "verbal" sections of the Otis Alpha tests given in May 1957 we find the following differences.

TABLE VIII

OTIS ALPHA TESTS MAY 1957

Form B	Average Chronological Ages	Average Mental Ages Non-verbal	Verbal
Grade 3	10 years 0 months	8 years 7 months	7 years 9 months
Grade 2	8 years 10 months	7 years 7 months	6 years 3 months
Form A			
Grade 1	7 years 7 months	6 years 8 months	5 years 9 months

A study has been made of the amount of retardation in Reading among Indian pupils in Western Ontario.[11] In it, Rev. Joblin gives reasons for the retardation as shown in Dominion Achievement and Gates Reading Tests, but does not attempt to assess the pupils' innate ability.

For Barnes' findings in his study of the mental ability of Indian pupils of the Edmonton Indian Residential School,[12] apart from grade-placement see Table IX. In that school Barnes gave the Goodenough Drawing Test, Raven Progressive Matrices Test, Wechsler Intelligence

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[11] E. E. M. Joblin, The Education of The Indians of Western Ontario, Toronto: Ontario College of Education Thesis, 1946.

[12] Findlay Barnes, A Comparative Study of the Mental Ability of Indian Children, Stanford: University Thesis, 1954. 86 p.

TABLE IX

AVERAGE I. Q. SCORES FOR TOTAL INDIAN GROUP
EDMONTON INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL 1953-1954 *

Test	No. of Cases	Range	Mean I. Q.	Standard Deviation
Goodenough	160	62-142	101.6	12.03
Raven Progressive Matrices	24	88-120	99.8	7.93
W. I. S. C.	156	69-122	97.2	9.99
Davis-Eells	131	60-116	87.3	10.50

General Average I. Q. Score - 96.5

Scale for children, and the Davis-Eells Games test, which are in his opinion the most free of cultural bias of any of the tests currently available. From the results of his tests language seems to be a serious problem to Indian pupils. For comparison, a summary of the mental tests given in the Oka Country School, but with a much smaller sample of children in 1956-57 is given in the following table.

TABLE X

AVERAGE I. Q. SCORES FOR OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL 1956-1957

Test	No. of Cases	Range	Mean I. Q.	Standard Deviation
Pintner-Cunningham	12	55-104	80.2	12.65
Goodenough	20	56-137	106.9	19.56
Otis Alphas (Form A	18	64-112	80.8	13.83
(Form B	22	71-125	84.7	7.89

* F. Barnes, A Comparative Study of the Mental Ability of Indian Children, Stanford: University Thesis, 1954. Table III, p. 29

SPELLING DIFFICULTIES

When we examine the written form of the Mohawk dialect in use at Oka, as exemplified in the Mohawk Hymnery, we note the absence of g's, j's, l's, n's and z's from the alphabet. The sound of a hard "g" is represented by K, and there is no equivalent soft "g" or "j". The "l" sound is included in the sound "r", similar to the French "r". It is not surprising, therefore, that Spelling presents a particular difficulty for these Indian pupils. Moreover, most of the words in the prescribed texts,[13] form no part of their everyday vocabulary and must be learned as entirely new facts. An interesting illustration occurred in June 1955, when the five pupils in Grade Seven at the Country School went to St. Eustache-sur-le-lac to write Quebec provincial examinations. Of the two authorized spelling tests, from the two authorized texts, they were accidentally given the wrong one. A few days later, upon the insistence of the teacher, this error was corrected and the change was remarkable. As is shown in Table XI, the scores rose from four failures to one marginal failure, seventy-five being the pass mark for Spelling in Quebec. To English-speaking children, the examiners assured us, the difference would have been negligible.

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[13] My Spelling, Toronto: Ginn & Co. Pupils' Own Vocabulary, Toronto: Macmillan.

TABLE XI

SPELLING RESULTS IN QUEBEC PROVINCIAL EXAMINATIONS, JUNE 1955

Pupil	Test I	Test II
a	87	95
b	74	82
c	69	87
d	69	73
e	28	84

As has already been noted in Chapter Two, grade retardation of pupils in Federal Indian schools is severe,[14] and begins with repeated failures in Grades One and Two. It should be noted however that some Indian communities have achieved desirable levels. In Caugnawaga, where the Indian people are related to the Oka Indians by blood and by marriage, the Caugnawaga United Church School has emerged from the conditions described at Oka and is now producing results comparable to non-Indian Protestant Schools in Quebec.[15]

Table XII shows that the number of children at Caugnawaga not retarded is seventy-four or sixty per cent. Forty-one out of the 124 pupils, or thirty-three percent were one or two years over-age.

[14] See Tables I and II

[15] Compare Table XII and Table XVI in Chapter Four.

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY AGE AND GRADE AT THE CAUGNAWAGA UNITED CHURCH (DAY) SCHOOL JANUARY 1, 1957.

Ages	Grades						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	12						
7	4	4	1				
8	3	10		1			
9		1	8	6	2		
10	1	1	7	5	6		
11				5	4	5	
12				3	3	3	1
13				1	4	6	2
14				1	1	1	4
15					2	1	3
16							2
Totals	20	16	16	22	22	16	12

Only nine pupils, about seven per cent of the total enrolment were severely retarded.

From the statistics published by the Federal Government, and recorded in Tables One and Two, other Indian schools are in a still far, worse condition than were the Protestant Schools at Oka in 1954.

SUMMARY

The general quality of the teachers appointed at Oka was found to be unsatisfactory. It has been shown by means of a comparison

between Reading and Arithmetic achievement, and by the difference in scores obtained on cultural mental tests and those obtained on the Goodenough test, that a language handicap existed. The level of the ability of the pupils attending the Oka Country School was not definitely established but the tests would indicate that the children are not below average in intelligence. There remained socio-cultural factors which required study, and an examination was made of the causes of educational retardation found in other rural, ethnic communities. These studies have been separated into a) rural and b) ethnic, and a chapter will be devoted to each of these areas showing how they apply to the situation at Oka. Following these studies of retardation in similar communities, an experiment was begun in September 1955. This plan will be described in Chapter VI, with the consequent improvements which have been observed.

CHAPTER IV

SOME CAUSES OF RETARDATION IN RURAL SCHOOLS

The pupils who attend rural schools in Canada are frequently at a disadvantage with respect to the quality of the teaching they receive and of the schools in which they are taught. Their percentage of attendance is lower than that of urban pupils, which would seem to reflect not only greater environmental obstacles but also a lower value placed on education in rural areas.

QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS

Table XIII on the following page gives the proportion of Protestant teachers in Quebec without a teaching certificate. They make up 8.2 per cent of Montreal Protestant teachers, while in the rest of the Province, including all other urban areas, some 17.8 per cent of Protestant teachers operated on permits in 1955-1956.

We note in Table XIV that Indian schools, which are mostly rural, reflect this situation.

EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS

In the period 1939 to 1950, the average experience of Canadian

TABLE XIII

QUALIFICATIONS OF PROTESTANT TEACHERS IN QUEBEC 1955-56[1]

Type of Certificate	Montreal		Quebec excluding Montreal	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Elementary or Advanced Elem.	24	498	22	491
Intermediate or Advanced Inter.	42	566	62	389
High School	329	280	166	98
Specialist Certificate	57	85	35	65
Permit	31	137	71	216
	483	1566	356	1259

TABLE XIV

QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS IN FEDERAL INDIAN SCHOOLS 1954-55[2]

Day Schools	Per Cent of Total
Permanent First Class Certificates	65
Second Class Certificates	20
No Certificate	14

Total - - - - - - - - 623 teachers

Residential Schools	Per Cent of Total
Permanent First Class Certificates	60
Second Class Certificates	17
No certificate	23

Total - - - - - - - - - 241 teachers

[1] Received from E. S. Giles, Director of Protestant Education, Quebec.

[2] R. F. Davey, Education of Indians in Canada, Canadian Education Vol. X, #3, June, 1955.

teachers was as follows:

The average number of years of teaching experience for teachers in all schools remained relatively constant at about 8 years. For city schools where tenure was relatively stable, the average total experience was about 16 years. For rural one-room schools where the turnover was much higher, average experience varied from 3.0 to 4.8 years, with the lowest point being reached in 1943-44, each succeeding year showing somewhat higher numbers of years of experience.

Years of teaching is only one measure of experience. Some of these teachers had moved from one school to another a good many times during their careers. The average number of years spent by a teacher in her present school was 2.6 in 1949-50. In the city schools the average teacher had taught 7.7 years in her present school, in towns and villages 2.7 years and in rural schools 1.8, indicating that a large proportion, over 50 per cent, of rural school teachers continue to change positions each year.[3]

Over the entire history of both Indian schools at Oka, the average length of tenure of teachers has been less than two years.

CLASS SIZE

Rural one-room schools are more subject to extremes in class size than other schools, although this is not immediately evident from statistical averages. The total enrolment in the Oka Country School varied from seventeen to forty-four in the years 1943 to 1951.[4] For even greater fluctuations, see Graph I, showing the total enrolment and average attendance for both Oka Protestant

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[3] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Biennial Survey of Education in Canada Part I, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956. p. 19.

[4] See Table IV.

schools from 1880 to 1939. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures for 1952-53, the regular public elementary and secondary schools had an average of 27.07 pupils per teacher. In the same year, private schools average 21.33 pupils per teacher, and Indian schools 30.82. No separate figures are given for urban and rural schools.[5]

According to Ross and McKenna desirable elementary classroom practices tend to be dropped when class size is increased; desirable practices are introduced when class size is reduced. Individuals are more apt to get attention in small classes. The strongest and best-supported argument in favour of small classes is that they are a guarantee against "educational accidents".[6]

ATTENDANCE

Attendance in rural schools is adversely affected by the distractions of country life, including work in the home and on the farm. According to Fulmer this is one cause of retardation.[7] That distance from a school will affect attendance, especially among beginners is

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[5] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada 1957, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

[6] D.H. Ross and B. McKenna, Class Size: The Multi-Million Dollar Question, New York: Columbia University, 1955, p. 20-21.

[7] H.L. Fulmer, An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area, Encyclopedia of Educational Research, p. 1043.

self-evident. Poor attendance is one of the most important factors in causing pupils to repeat Grade One. As recently as 1955-56 the attendance of Grade One pupils in the Oka Country School had only reached 55.1 per cent.

As Graph I illustrates, this is approximately the average percentage of attendance for all grades in both schools from 1880 to 1939, including children up to sixteen years of age. There is no truant officer at Oka, and the teachers must rely on their own personal relations with the pupils and their parents to improve school attendance.

RETENTION IN GRADE ONE

In Canada as a whole, in the year 1949-50 an average of 14.4 per cent of the public school population was enrolled in Grade One.[8]

On January 1, 1956, we find that 10.88 per cent of the pupils in the Protestant schools of Montreal were either in Grade One, or were in Kindergarten at the age of seven years.[9] At the same time 11.82 per cent of the pupils in all Protestant schools in Quebec were in Grade One, or in Kindergarten at the age of seven.[10] A year later, of all the pupils attending Indian Day Schools in Canada 26.53 per cent

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[8] Dominion Bureau of Statistics Biennial Survey of Education in Canada, Part I, 1956, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, p. 36, 37.

[9] See Table XV.

[10] See Table XVI.

TABLE XV

CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS - BOYS AND GIRLS - BY GRADES AND AGES FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1955-56

PROTESTANT SCHOOL BOARD OF GREATER MONTREAL ANNUAL REPORT 1956

Age	Sex	Kinder-garten	GRADE I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Spec.	TOTAL
5	B	518														518
	G	489														489
6	B	1618	1094	35											1	2748
	G	1641	1079	32												2752
7	B	8	1764	1100											1	2873
	G	7	1671	1226	1										1	2906
8	B		170	1656	1059	9									1	2895
	G		119	1593	1226	11									1	2950
9	B		12	268	1719	1035	8								15	3057
	G		7	210	1872	1221	13								4	3127
10	B		3	45	414	1258	656	3							21	2400
	G		1	18	284	1362	858	4							13	2540
11	B		1		20	333	1113	734	14						24	2239
	G			1	49	254	1187	736	23						14	2264
12	B				10	93	376	1015	608	36					16	2154
	G				3	52	277	1077	743	33					15	2200
13	B				1	10	164	431	990	554	24	1			21	2196
	G				1	11	93	291	1049	700	10				21	2176
14	B					2	25	156	441	907	417	14	1		26	1989
	G						13	83	326	1007	505	22			14	1970
15	B					1	7	28	157	511	647	326	23		5	1705
	G						4	14	69	399	738	366	16		6	1612
16	B						1	5	36	148	377	518	234	2	4	1325
	G						1	3	7	70	305	532	258	3	4	1183
17	B								2	24	138	304	350	28		846
	G							1	1	13	54	166	419	24		678
18	B								2	4	9	103	210	28		356
	G										18	26	110	20		174
18 over	B									1		14	81	10		106
	G										1	6	11			18
TOTAL		4281	5921	6184	6459	5652	4796	4581	4468	4407	3243	2398	1713	115	228	54446

TABLE XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY AGE AND GRADE FOR ALL PROTESTANT SCHOOLS IN QUEBEC 1955-56 from EDUCATIONAL RECORD, Dec. 1956, p. 224

			GRADES											
Age	Sex	Kinder-garten	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
5	B	925	559	(499)										
	G	861	616	(535)										
6	B	1639	2971		11									
	G	1653	2740		6									
7	B	9	2126	2638	462	3								
	G	7	1917	2680	537	7								
8	B		247	2172	2564	495	9							
	G		160	1929	2762	537	5							
9	B		38	482	2266	2265	343	9						
	G		19	274	2039	2476	327	8						
10	B		6	106	604	1665	1598	299	12					
	G		13	40	412	1642	1886	326	12					
11	B		9	21	105	546	1574	1594	285	9				
	G			8	96	374	1564	1687	375	10				
12	B			13	38	215	608	1478	1391	267	4			
	G			4	22	121	448	1459	1523	298	6			
13	B			2	12	56	289	683	1424	1162	173	9		
	G				14	28	161	488	1475	1390	215	4		
14	B				4	16	94	307	723	1267	846	140	14	
	G					9	42	149	542	1334	1054	189	6	
15	B					5	25	80	255	782	971	665	117	2
	G					3	17	40	147	562	1014	767	154	
16	B						7	19	72	250	557	729	465	43
	G							6	32	138	410	740	522	14
17	B								6	40	186	412	514	44
	G							4		32	78	228	530	38
18 /	B									12	21	144	350	60
	G									7	25	45	163	24
TOTAL		5058	11421	11349	11954	10463	8997	8636	8274	7560	5560	4072	2835	195

TOTAL ENROLMENT: 96,660

were either enrolled in Grade One, or were in Kindergarten at the age of seven years or more.[11]

RELATION BETWEEN RETARDATION AND EARLY SCHOOL-LEAVING

Dillon found a high positive correlation between grade repetition and early school-leaving.[12] He found that about half the early school leavers among 1300 pupils in 1945-46 in the communities of Jackson and Lansing, Michigan, Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana, had repeated one or more grades. Of these repetitions 70 per cent had occurred in the elementary school. Eighty-eight per cent of the pupils studied came from English-speaking homes, which suggests that a foreign language spoken at home is not a barrier to remaining in school

Two recent studies in the United States, one of Indians and the other of western rural children, indicate a positive correlation between the education achieved by the parents, particularly the mother, and the amount of education anticipated by the children.[13, 14.]

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[11] See Table II in Chapter II.

[12] H. J. Dillon, Early School Leavers, New York: National Child Labour Committee, 1948.

[13] W. H. Dreier and B. S. Kreitlow, The Educational Plans of Minnesota Rural Youth, Journal of Educational Psychology, p. 33.

[14] Anderson, Collister and Ladd, The Educational Achievement of Indian Children, Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute, 1953. p. 18.

In a community such as Oka, where the average adult achievement is about Grade Three, there is very little incentive for the children to succeed. Marshall and Peterson present data suggesting the following conclusions:

> Older people who live on a farm and are closely associated with the old-country culture, whose farms have high labour requirements, and who are relatively secure financially, seem to be negatively disposed toward more than a grade school education. There is some indication that farm people do not think education will help them achieve their objectives as farmers.[15]

Ekstrom concludes that the principal reasons why more farm boys and girls do not go to high school are these:

> a) lack of encouragement on the part of parents and other adults in the community,
> b) inaccessibility to high school because of distance or lack of transportation,
> c) lack of school prestige,
> d) lack of an orientation program in the elementary school.[16]

He believes these factors are more important than academic ability.

At Oka, the second factor does not apply, as a school bus takes each child from his home to the high school. The third and fourth factors have varied with the teachers, and the extent of their efforts

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[15] Marshall and Peterson, Some Aspects of Education in Twenty-Six Communities in Rural Minnesota, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1954.

[16] G. F. Ekstrom, Education of Farm Boys and Girls in Minnesota, The Visitor, 1946, p. 1.

in these directions. The most consistently detrminental factor at Oka has been the first, the lack of encouragement to continue their education given to the young people.

Lambert made a study of all drop-outs in West Virginia during three years beginning in 1947, and found the most important factors to be: (i) lack of variety in the typical small secondary school, (ii) transportation problems, (iii) lack of guidance, and (iv) retardation. The subject-centred curriculum which demands the same accomplishment of all pupils, he concluded, was driving thousands of children out of school.[17]

Among the pupils from Oka now attending high school, we have noted above that the second factor does not apply. They do receive considerable guidance, but up to the present time the Lake of Two Mountains High School is unable to offer other than the strictly academic program, suited to a minority of pupils. The fourth factor is of great importance as pupils from Oka in the high school grades are still from two to five years older than their non-Indian classmates. This was their degree of retardation at the time of their

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[17] S. M. Lambert, Increasing the Nation's Holding Power, National Education Association Journal, 1950.

degree of retardation at the time of their transfer in 1955.

COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The cost of education is an important factor in discouraging further education of rural youth. In spite of the advantages of separating the older pupils from the younger ones, by transferring the upper grades from rural schools to central high schools, there arises the problem of clothing those older pupils on a standard similar to their urban classmates. Where families and friends of the pupils are not able or sufficiently concerned to provide such clothing, the pupils are liable, from embarrassment, to discontinue their education. The few girl pupils who proceeded to high school from Oka between 1940 and 1955, withdrew before completing one year.

The reasons for this withdrawal were threefold: in addition to the self-consciousness of race and age, noted in Chapter Two, they were embarrassed about their old, worn clothing, in some cases jeans and ragged sweaters for girls as well as boys.

The importance of dress is shown by the fact that out of over twenty girls who were provided with high school uniforms since 1955 only three have discontinued, two at the age of sixteen and the third at twenty-one.

Archer, as well as Dreier and Kreitlow, found an inverse

variation between the years of education anticipated by the student and a) the size of his family, and b) the number of years the student was over-age for his grade.[18, 19]

According to Hohol, the per capita costs of education in the various states and provinces show that there exists no equality of opportunity. The average intelligence of the "drop-outs" in his study, he states, showed them capable of completing high school.[20]

The degree of wastage of the human resources enrolled in Indian schools therefore presents a great challenge.

SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

Where employment occurs only at certain times of the year, such as the harvesting and ice-cutting seasons at Oka, and fishing and lumbering seasons in other communities, there is a sharp drop in school attendance among children of eleven and twelve years of age and older. An examination of the old registers of daily attendance at the Oka Country School, gives evidence that many older pupils enrolled only from October to November and from February to May, remaining absent during the peaks of employment. After over three years of

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[18] Clifford Archer, Studies in Rural Education, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1953, p.7.

[19] W.H. Dreier and B.S. Kreitlow, The Educational Plans of Minnesota Rural Youth, Journal of Educational Psychology,

[20] Albert Hohol, A Review of the Evidence on the Problem of Why Youth Leave School, Edmonton: University of Alberta thesis, 1954.

persistence on the part of the writer, in making visits to the homes, and in discussions with the pupils, it has proved useless to point out the economic advantages of higher academic achievement, such as were tabulated by the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education.[21] In many cases the families actually cannot forego their teen-age children's earnings. One third of the families studied by Hand, could not afford the cost of a high school education. This figure was suppored by the United States Bureau of Statistics revealing in 1950 that 32 per cent of all American families could not meet their living costs out of current income.[22]

We may thus conclude that a rise in the standard of living of a rural community would stimulate further education for its youth.

In periods of unemployment, Indians are at a double disadvantage. After some ten years as teacher and minister to Indian communities in Western Ontario, the Rev. E. E. M. Joblin makes this statement:

> Unfortunately, the Indians will be "let out" of employment first, not so much because of race prejudice as because employers reason that the Dominion Government will provide for its "wards".

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[21] Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education, Your Child Leaves School, Toronto: 1950, 127 p.

[22] H. C. Hand, Do School Costs Drive Out the Youth of the Poor?, Progressive Education, 1951, p. 104.

This misguided policy denies to the Indian the right to provide for his own family by his own labour. The devastating effects upon all men of unemployment, idleness, and dependence on relief are well known in Canada. If the great impetus given the advancement of our Indians by these years of employment during the war is not to be lost, "an adequate economic foundation for Indian life" is of vital importance.[23]

The second handicap is due to the fact that in times of low employment it is those with the least education or training who are first dismissed.

In districts such as Oka, the children's educational pattern is one of poor attendance, leading to grade repetition, which in turn leads to early school-leaving. This pattern applies to the sons of Canadian farmers, and to both the sons and daughters of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Table XVII shows the relation between the occupation of the parent and early school-leaving by the children.

TABLE XVII

DROP-OUTS AS PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION OF PARENT. CANADA 1958

Occupations	Male Per cent	Female Per cent
Professional	23	16
Proprietors and Managers	41	33
Proprietors and Managers of Farms	63	38
Clerical	48	40
Skilled Labor and Foremen	61	53
Semi-Skilled Labor	73	63
Unskilled Labor	80	74

from Saskatchewan Royal Commission Report on Agriculture and Rural Life, 1956. Table 87, p. 235

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[23] E. E. M. Joblin, The Education of Indians of Western Ontario, Toronto: Ontario College of Education, M. A. Thesis, p. 37, 38.

FACILITIES

There are about 17,000 one-room rural schools in Canada. In general these classrooms are dark, dingy, and poorly-equipped, and the sanitary conditions primitive in the extreme. Each year, however, as centralization of schools increases, more and more of these one-teacher units are being closed and their pupil population transported in comfortable, modern buses to large schools where the facilities enable teachers to provide programs consistent with the needs of children living at the half-way mark of the Twentieth Century.[24]

For a distribution of one-room schools across Canada see Table XVIII below.

TABLE XVIII
SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN CANADA
1952 - 1953

Province	Number of Buildings	Number of Classrooms	One-Room Schools
Newfoundland	1,146	2,623	619
Prince Edward Island	456	746	367
Nova Scotia	1,651	4,683	1,087
New Brunswick	1,536	3,736	772
Quebec	9,039	26,144	6,552
Ontario	7,237	28,011	4,345
Manitoba	2,184	5,022	1,470
Saskatchewan	4,019	7,393	3,162
Alberta	2,036	6,552	1,248
British Columbia	1,033	6,102	375
	30,337	91,012	19,997

M. E. Lazerte, School Finance in Canada.

[24] W. D. McDougall, Canadian Education Today, ed. Joseph Katz, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956, p. 106.

Fortunately since 1954 the Indian schools at Oka have not fitted McDougall's description of one-room schools. At that time they were repainted outside and in, furnished with new individual desk-chairs, and had new out-houses built. In 1956 new heating systems were installed in both schools: electric wall heaters in the Village School, and an automatic oil-heating and air-conditioning system in the slightly larger Country School.

INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT ON READING ACHIEVEMENT

The difference in the cultural experience of urban and rural children is recognized by the designers of several achievement tests, such as the Dominion Achievement Tests in Silent Reading, who provide two sets of norms for urban and rural schools. The difference between the achievement found in urban and rural schools in Ontario, in June 1941 is shown in Table XIX on the following page.

The norms given in Table XIX refer to the achievement of pupils at the end of the school year (June, 1941), as it is difficult to measure achievement at earlier stages in Grade I. Three sets of norms were prepared, for urban, rural, and combined urban and rural schools, respectively. There appears to be a great difference between urban and rural school pupils in Grade I in achievement in silent reading. The norms are to be interpreted as follows: Ninety per cent (P_{90}) of urban pupils get scores of 46 or less on Type I, and 90 per cent of rural pupils get scores of 41 or less. Eighty per cent (P_{80}) of urban pupils get scores of 43 or less on Type I, and 80 per cent of rural pupils get scores of 35 or less, etc. P_{50} marks the middle points of the distributions. Half

TABLE XIX

PERCENTILE NORMS, DOMINION READING ACHIEVEMENT TESTS. PRIMARY, GRADE 1 (ONTARIO, JUNE, 1941)

	Type I, Word Recognition			TYPE II Phrase and Sentence Reading		
Percentile	Urban	Rural	Combined	Urban	Rural	Combined
P_{90}	'46	'41	'44	'45	'37	'42
P_{80}	43	35	40	39	30	35
P_{70}	39	30	34	34	25	29
P_{60}	34	25	30	29	20	25
P_{50}	30	22	26	25	17	20
P_{40}	26	18	21	20	14	16
P_{30}	21	14	17	16	12	14
P_{20}	16	10	13	13	9	11
P_{10}	11	6	8	9	6	7
[2]N	1680	400		1701	398	
[3]M	28.92	22.46		25.50	19.38	
[4]S	12.80	12.52		13.09	11.67	

[1] = Score obtained
[2] = Number of Pupils
[3] = Average Score
[4]S = Standard deviation of distribution of scores taken from Manual of Directions, Table 1A, p. 10.

the pupils get higher scores than those noted in the P_{50} now, and half get lower scores.[25]

THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOL

Even with perfect attendance, qualified and experienced teachers, and the best of modern equipment, there remains one disadvantage inherent in the one-room school. The conscientious teacher attempts throughout the school day to be several persons at once, a teacher to each Grade level.

For the teacher, in a one-room school, the task of preparing lessons for several grades, and the evening time required for the correction of classroom work are a heavy burden. Where there is one grade per room, it is sometimes possible to make some corrections while the class is engaged in an independent activity. This is virtually impossible in a one-room rural school. As a consequence, the free time available to the teacher for taking part in community affairs and improving the school's public relations is severely limited. Normal family life is also restricted, and even the size of most rural teacherages indicates that they were designed for single persons. This discourages married teachers

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[25] Manual of Directions and Keys, Dominion Achievement Tests in Silent Reading, Ontario College of Education, Toronto, p. 10.

from accepting positions in locations where they could make the greatest contribution and offer the most stability.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have seen that, as recently as 1953, nearly two-thirds of all school buildings in Canada were one-room schools.[26]

We have examined the relatively lower qualifications and greater difficulties of teachers in rural schools, poorer attendance of rural pupils and fluctuating class size as factors causing retardation. We have also noted the relation between retardation, economic problems, and early school-leaving.

All of these factors which may cause retardation in typical Canadian one-room schools, have been identified as possible causes of the retardation observed in the Protestant schools at Oka.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

Having examined the common problems confronting rural schools, we will now examine some of the problems peculiar to semi-isolated ethnic communities.

Voget describes four socio-cultural groups which may be found in whole or in part when a native culture comes into contact and conflict with a more dominant culture.[1] These are:

a) Native: unchanged.

b) Native-modified: those who maintain and develop the old culture, making some adjustments to the European or American.

c) American- or European- modified: those who maintain a limited participation in the native group, but whose basic cultural integration is in terms of the dominant society.

d) American- or European- marginal: those who are fully identified with the dominant society and cut themselves off from the other three groups. They are distinguished from the regular American or European society only to the extent to which they keep to themselves and to what extent they are discriminated against by the majority.

Of these four groups, Voget identifies the last three at Caugnawaga. The same three groups are also found at Oka; no Oka

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[1] Fred Voget, Acculturation at Caugnawaga: A Note on the Native-Modified Group, American Anthropologist, Vol. 53, April-June, 1951, pp. 220-231.

Indian is sufficiently isolated to retain, completely unmodified, the Indian culture.

The Native- modified group is exemplified by the adherents of the Long-House religion, who nonetheless own cars and purchase ready-made clothes and packaged food.

The Canadian- modified group is composed of most of the Protestant Indians.

The last, the Canadian- marginal group, consists of the children of French- Indian marriages, of the Roman Catholic religion, and the few Protestants who were brought up in residential schools. These are very rough groupings, as the cultural attitudes range from the second stage through the third to the fourth stage.

Card illustrates diagrammatically what may be happening to the Canadian Indian as shown in Figure Three[2] on the following page.

Dr. Card asks, "Is the culture of the Indian integrated and stable? Does it really help him solve his and his group's basic pro-

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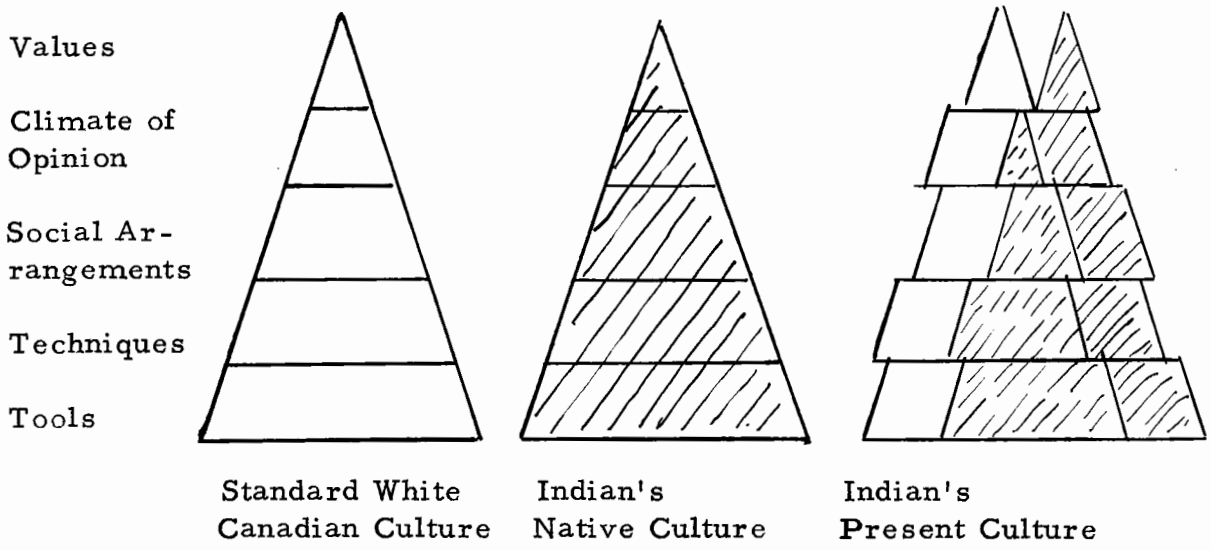
[2] B. Y. Card, Three Ways of Considering the Social Development of the Indian, Edmonton: University of Alberta, folder, 1957, p. 1.

blems?" He says that the most important of the social techniques is language, and the most valuable cultural tools are words.

FIGURE THREE

INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN INTO CANADIAN CULTURE.



The difficulties encountered by Federal Governments in planning, too often from a distance, for the education of their native populations are great.

Groves says:

The tendency has been to set up schools without regard for the nature of the community in which they are to work; to proceed upon what are more or less conventional European lines, without any consideration of the will or scientifically assessed knowledge of the con-

ditions of life, social organisations and needs of the natives themselves.[3]

Collier compares the education of Indians in the United States and Mexico in the 1920's in this way:

> The United States cloisters the Indian child in ponderous boarding schools, and produces split souls, unequipped minds, and homeless social natures. Mexico has reversed each of the trends of the United States and is obtaining startling results. The school in Mexico exists only incidentally as a school; it is rather the promotion centre of a multitude of community activities and the teacher is ....essentially a 'cultural missionary', a community leader succeeding or failing in the measure of the community action which he is able to engender and partake in.[4]

The fact that different socio-cultural groups with distinct educational needs exist among Indians in Canada, means that no single academic programme will suit all groups or all schools. The importance at Oka of this fact will be discussed in the following chapter.

MAIN CAUSES OF RETARDATION

Studies, such as those made by Sisson,[5] England,[6,7] and Bercuson[8] of ethnic settlements in Western Canada, suggest that there

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[3]W. C. Groves, Native Education and Culture - Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, p. 75.

[4]John Collier, Mexico, a Challenge, Progressive Education, February 1932, quoted in Groves, op. cit. p. 78.

[5]C. G. Sisson, Bilingual Schools in Canada, Toronto: Dent and Sons, 1916.

[6]R. England, Central European Immigrants in Canada, Toronto: MacMillan, 1929.

[7]R. England, The Colonization of Western Canada, London: P.S. King

[8]L. Bercuson, Education in the Block Settlements of Western Canada, Montreal: McGill University thesis, 1941.

are three basic common factors contributing to educational retardation. They are: (i) the difference between the cultural attitudes held by the community and those assumed by the school; (ii) the reserve system, under which most of these communities were founded; and (iii) the denominational origin of their schools.

The first of these factors common to semi-isolated ethnic communities is exemplified in the difference between the attitude toward education held by the members of the ethnic communities and that held by the surrounding typical "Old Canadians".

In a Ukrainian district of rural Saskatchewan at the beginning of the century, one teacher found:

> ...the general attitude of trustees and ratepayers of the district is that the school is a burden of expense and an institution which robs the farm of the valuable help of the children up to fifteen. As one mother expressed it, "You take Mary until she is fifteen, then she marry, - no work for old man or woman - no good."[9]

This hostility on the part of parents was experienced by the writer during her years at Oka. In the first year, especially, it seemed as if the older children attended school only when there was nothing else for them to do.

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[9] R. England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Toronto: MacMillan, 1929, p. 111.

In communities where the conflict is not between equally-endowed cultures, such as the French- and English- Canadian groups in Quebec, but rather between a culture possessing a store of literature and advanced implements, and one with limited culture and simple tools, the hostility and suspicion of parents toward the school is heightened. They recognize in education a divisive influence on the family. Indians have already had experience with residential schools, where a child may stay for ten years, lose his native language, and become incompatible with his home community. Indian residential schools have come increasingly to accommodate the children from very isolated settlements, from broken homes, or those with severe emotional problems.[10]

Another source of conflict arises from the relative importance placed on time. While the teachers reflect the North American emphasis on punctuality, the children come from cultures where time is unimportant.

In Indian communities, arriving late for an appointment is referred to as coming on "Indian time". In Japanese communities there is a similar expression. As it is possible that some families at Oka may still own no clock, the children may arrive at school at any time

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[10] Canada Year Book, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1956, p. 172.

between eight and ten in the morning for nine o'clock classes. This causes anger and frustration to the teacher, and bewilderment and amusement to the children. If the teacher is aware of this possibility, he can plan the most interesting activities for the beginning of the day, and hope to achieve some improvement.

The same disregard of time has a bearing on test results.[11] One of the most difficult concepts to instil into these children is that if they find one question too hard, they must leave it and go on to the next. Otherwise, they tend to spend the whole examination period working on one problem. This has been carried to such extremes, as observed at the Oka Country School, that on a weekly Spelling test, a pupil who cannot spell the first word may just sit there and think about it, while the balance of the test is being given.

This disregard of time results in a failure on the part of the Indian child to grasp the idea that a school year corresponds to a unit of work, or to understand the concept of completing a given piece of work in a specified time.

In September 1954, when the writer began the year's work,

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[11] K. Eells, Davis, Havighurst et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 58.

there were many students who, in all seriousness, expected to continue from the same page in the same texts which they had been using the previous term. Due to the irregularity of attendance, it was found that there were no two pupils at the same page in the same book.

Neither pupils nor parents understood the teacher's adherence to lesson plans, barring storms severe enough to close the roads, or epidemics of whooping cough and measles. Few took advantage of the invitation to use two evenings per week and Saturday mornings at the school, for the making up of missed work.

The difficulty which arose in the administration of intelligence and achievement tests, where time is an important factor, can be readily understood. If a child did not feel like writing an intelligence test, he simply stared out of the window. This was the cause of two gaps in Table VII in Chapter III, for the first Otis Alpha tests, where pupils No. 8 and No. 13 both failed to complete one of their papers.

THE RESERVE SYSTEM

A second important factor influencing education is found in the manner in which ethnic communities were established in Western Canada. By the reserve system, Canadian Indians have much in common with the Mennonites, Doukhobors, and German Catholics of the bloc

settlements, and with the Ukrainians who gathered voluntarily in homogeneous settlements in the three Prairie Provinces. For all of these people assimilation has been slow because of barriers of distance, language, prejudice and often of religion. Park and Miller, in their study of assimilation, concluded that ease of transition from one culture to another is dependent on two factors:

> (1) the degree of similarity between the attitudes and values of the immigrant and those of the native citizen, giving the former a certain preadaptation to the new scheme of life and an ability to aid in his own assimilation,
>
> (2) the manner in which he is treated by the native citizen, i.e., the attitude toward his heritages.[12]

Prejudice against members of these groups has in some places been so strong that those who achieve success often change their names and attempt to conceal their ancestry. They are thus lost as potential leaders in their own communities.[13]

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

The third common factor which must be considered is the fact that most of the schools in Indian and other ethnic communities were established by religious denominations. In these schools the teaching of

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[12] R. E. Park, and Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.

[13] L. Bercuson, Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada, Montreal: McGill University thesis, 1941, pp. 138, 149.

religion and the perpetuation of the community culture occupied the major part of the school programme. In 1929 Robert England described Old Colony Mennonite communities where English was not spoken, and the schools were of the following type:

> ... the curriculum is limited to reading and Godliness. The text books are the German Feibel (primer), Catechism, and the Bible. Much time is given to prayer and hymn-singing, and no time is devoted to geography, history, civics or hygiene. The history taught is that of the Mennonite Church. The child lives in Canada, but knows nothing of its history, geography, social or economic life.[14]

This lack of a sense of being Canadian is evident at Oka. In Quebec, Geography is not taught below Grade Four, and Canadian Geography is assigned for Grade Five. In this grade History is introduced, and the subject matter is Canadian History. Since such a small number of pupils in the past has reached this level at Oka, the outlook of the community is very narrow.

The older pupils often ask "Why do we have to study Geography?" and, "What is the use of learning History?"

If asked whether they are Canadian, most Indian children at Oka will reply, "No, I'm Indian."

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14 Robert England, Central European Immigrants in Canada, Toronto: Macmillan, 1929, p. 51.

Teachers, in other ethnic communities as well as in Indian settlements, were often hired because of their piety and were required to conduct religious services on Sundays.

The conditions in the ethnic communities of Western Canada were greatly improved by insistence on minimum standards of teacher qualifications and correct curriculum on the part of the western provincial governments. Another helpful trend has been the enlargement of school districts, to include parts of ethnic colonies in larger units of administration.[15] This has affected Indian pupils also, insofar as they now may attend high schools outside the reserves or combined Indian and non-Indian schools.

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

There is no more unhappy picture of family life than one in which parents and children are unable to communicate beyond the level of, "Pass the bread, please." Too rapid assimilation is accompanied by the dangers of the destruction of the ethical standards of the old culture, before they can be replaced by those of the new.[16]

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[15] L. Bercuson, Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada, Montreal: McGill University thesis, 1941, p. 219.

[16] Bercuson, op. cit., p. 140.

Education in the mother-tongue therefore ought to be a part of the curriculum in districts such as these, even if it is not used as a medium of instructions for other subjects, so long as there is a need for these languages to bridge the cultural gulf. Bilingualism enables the second and third generation to evolve a combination of the best elements of both cultures.[17]

When we speak of the culture of an ethnic settlement, however, we must be careful to recognize that most immigrant groups are not usually the transmittors of 'culture'. Just as in the case of the original French and English settlers to this country, they are often the unemployed, oppressed social classes. Hence we find an emphasis on practical or technical training, once they have become convinced of the value of education.

While these courageous, hard-working pinneers deserve our respect, we must refer with caution to their 'culture'.

Although the Indian cannot be considered an immigrant, having been the earliest settler on this continent, still his culture and literature had not reached a stage of great complexity when the Europeans came. The amount of the ancient Indian culture which has descended

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17 Loc. cit. p. 140.

to the present generation is insufficient to allow the Indian to make a very significant contribution to the Canadian culture at large.

CULTURAL BIAS IN MENTAL TESTS

A common problem shared by teachers in ethnic communities exists in the difficulty of estimating the ability of children from non-English non-French- speaking homes.

Allison Davis describes an experiment in which test items on the ten group-tests of intelligence most commonly used in American public schools were changed, not in the type of thinking involved, but in the wording.[18]

Here is an example of the kind of change he and his co-workers made. They took

A symphony is to a composer as a book is to

( )paper ( )sculptor ( )author ( )musician ( ) man

and made it read

A baker goes with bread as a carpenter goes with

( )a saw ( )a house ( )a spoon ( )a nail ( )a man

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[18] Allison Davis, Education for the Conservation of Human Resources, Progressive Education, May, 1950, p. 221-224.

On the original question eighty-one per cent of the upper socio-economic group answered correctly, compared with fifty-two per cent of the lower socio-economic group. On the revised version there was no significant difference in the proportion of correct responses from each group. Davis concluded:

> We found this same kind of improvement in the lower socio-economic group, whether we experimented with young children, or with those of high school age; whether we tested white slum children, coloured slum children or foreign-background groups. The cultural bias in the present tests works in the same way for all colors, nationality-groups, and ages. . . . . Thus the present tests measure the cultural and economic opportunities which the child or adult has had; they do not measure his real intelligence.[19]

The above findings show the reasons why educators have, up to the present time, tended to under-estimate the ability of both the foreign-language groups, and those who are economically under-privileged, who have been discussed in the previous chapter. The child of North American Indian ancestry unfortunately often falls into both categories.

Not only do the teachers in the communities discussed in this chapter have difficulty in estimating their pupils' ability by means of

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[19] Davis, loc. cit.

standardized tests, but also in evaluating their classroom work. The cultural factors noted have an influence on the children's attention span, on their motivation to succeed in school, and on the degree of cooperation between parents and teachers.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have looked at some of the problems affecting education in semi-isolated ethnic communities. Various writers have shown that there are three basic common factors contributing to educational retardation: the difference between the cultural attitudes held by the community and those assumed by the school; the reserve system of community establishment; and the denominational basis of the schools.

Our examination of the Oka Community reveals that all these factors have been present and have influenced education given in the Oka Schools.

CHAPTER VI

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE REDUCTION OF RETARDATION

The stated aim of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration is the preparation of the Indian for complete assimilation.[1] Education is the chief means by which this objective can be accomplished. An educational system in which the average product has achieved the level of about Grade Four, as shown in Table II, on page 28, and Graph III, on page 30, is not serving the needs of Indians in the mid-twentieth century.

The one-room elementary school provides, as we have seen in Chapter Four, an inefficient educational system for both teachers and pupils, even in districts where the pupils speak English or French. In communities such as Oka, the inadequacy of the one-room rural school is even more apparent.

Our study of the problems of schools in rural and ethnic communities led us first to consider the possibility of segregating the upper and lower grades.

The two Protestant schools at Oka, at a distance of three and a half miles from each other, had for nearly seventy-five years,

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[1] Canada Year Book, 1957, p. 36.

each attempted to provide an education from Grades One to Seven. This appeared to the two teachers to be wasteful duplication of effort.

Accordingly, with the cooperation and encouragement of the Federal Government, an attempt was made in September 1954 to combine the pupils of both schools into one unit of administration, by sending all pupils in Grades One to Three to the Village School, and all pupils in Grades Four to Seven to the Country School. It was hoped, thereby, that the teachers could devote twice the time and effort to each grade level that had previously been possible.

Unfortunately it proved impossible to secure the cooperation of the parents for this plan. The chief explanation given by the parents for their opposition, was their unwillingness to send the younger pupils away for the entire day, although the Government was prepared to supply transportation by hiring a school bus and to provide hot noon meals.

Since the parents refused to allow the younger children to spend the whole day away from home, we next turned our attention to finding alternate accommodation for the older children. Following our discussions with the Eastern Regional Inspector for the Indian Affairs Branch, who talked with each parent, a solution was suggested

to the Superintendent of Indian Education. As a result of our representations to Ottawa, the Federal Government agreed to pay the tuition and transportation expenses involved in sending pupils in the senior elementary grades from both of the Oka Protestant (Indian) schools to the Lake of Two Mountains High School. This school, serving some nine hundred pupils from Grade One to Grade Eleven, is located in St. Eustache - sur - le - lac, a small non-Indian city about twelve miles east of the Village of Oka. It was to this school that such pupils from the Oka Schools who had previously reached Grade Eight were sent.

In September 1955, all Oka Protestant pupils over Grade Four were transferred to the Lake of Two Mountains High School. A school bus, belonging to the Lake of Two Mountains School Board now collects each child at his home and takes him to the high school. This practice practically eliminates the poor attendance which formerly occurred in times of bad weather.

The transfer of the senior elementary grades proved so successful in terms of greater achievement by both upper and lower grades that, when accommodation became available in the autumn of 1956, Grade Four pupils were also included in the group commuting to

St. Eustache - sur - le - lac. When it was discovered that there would remain only one Grade Three pupil in each Oka school for the school year 1957-58, these two children also joined the older group.

By September 1957 the school population of the Village School was reduced to such an extent that it was possible to close that school and transfer the six remaining pupils to the Country School. The closing of the Village School also relieved the Government of the continuing problem of securing qualified teachers for this school.

From the observations of the principal and teachers at the Lake of Two Mountains High School, it seems that the pupils who changed schools in 1955 had some difficulties in adjusting to the high school. Many had to repeat their first year, often being too shy to reply to their teachers' questions even when they knew the correct answers. This difficulty also obtained to some extent, however, upon every change of teacher in the local schools.

The pupils who transferred in 1956 and 1957 were younger and had been better prepared academically than their elder brothers and sisters. They have made a more satisfactory adjustment. All children now claim to be pleased at having made the change.

As we have already seen, the retardation which has been described at Oka began with repeated failures in Grades One and Two.

With the removal of the pupils in the higher grades, the teachers were able to concentrate on the needs of the beginners, and as a result the rate of failure has been reduced.[2]

The retention in school of the older pupils has at the same time greatly improved. Among the thirty-four former pupils of the Oka Country School, who have transferred to the Lake of Two Mountains High School since September 1955, there have been in the three year period only three drop-outs, all at age sixteen or over, compared with five drop-outs, aged fourteen to seventeen, from the Country School, during the one school year 1954-55.

It must be remembered throughout this chapter that the number of children involved is very small, and that the length of the experiment has been extremely brief. Consequently any improvements recorded are not statistically significant; they may, however, indicate areas of promise, worthy of further investigation.

INTRODUCTION OF KINDERGARTEN

Bearing in mind Selma Herr's findings,[3] that Kindergarten experience is a valuable factor in successfully learning to read English,

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[2] Compare Table III, p. 35, with Tables XX and XXI on the following page.

[3] Selma E. Herr, Effect of Pre-First-Grade Training upon Reading Readiness among Spanish-American Children, Journal of Educational Psychology, No. 37, February, 1946. p. 87-102.

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY AGE AND GRADE
OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL DISTRICT AT JAN. 1/58.

Age	Grade One	Grade Two
6 and under	3	
7	2	1
8	2	2
9		1
10		2
TOTALS	7	6

TABLE XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY AGE AND GRADE AT JAN. 1/58
FORMER PUPILS OF OKA VILLAGE SCHOOL

Age	Grade One	Grade Two
6 and under		
7	1	1
8		1
9	1	
10	1	
11		1
12		
TOTALS	3	3

for children who come from Spanish-speaking homes, the writer launched an attack on the language handicap imposed by the exclusive use of the Mohawk language in the homes at Oka. Commencing in September 1955, a kindergarten for four- and five-year-olds was held in the Country School on Saturday mornings throughout the school year. The 'Reading Readiness' programme of The Curriculum Foundation Series[4] was used. This consisted of three work-books entitled We Read Pictures, We Read More Pictures, and Before We Read.

In the limited time of thirty-five half-days, most of the ten pupils had acquired a vocabulary of English names for common classroom objects. All ten were admitted into the regular day school the following September (1956) when the six six-year-olds went directly into the Grade One Course and the four five-year-olds continued their kindergarten programme.

Table XX shows the distribution of the thirteen pupils continuing in the Oka Country School in the school year 1957-58. Of the ten who had taken part in the kindergarten programme, and are now six, seven, and eight years of age, eight were not retarded according to provincial age-grade norms. The other two were one year over-age.

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[4] W. J. Gage and Company, Toronto.

Meanwhile the six children who transferred from the Village School in September 1957, had benefited from the separation of higher and lower grades and from a total enrolment about half as large as that of the Country School, but had not had any special kindergarten programme. There were only three in the right grade for their age; one was two years retarded, and the other two were three years over-age.

That kindergarten attendance of only thirty-five half-days the previous year had caused an improvement in the performance of the six-year olds who began Grade One in September 1956 is shown in Table XXII on the following page. In May 1957, in their eighth month in Grade One, they averaged Grade One, fifth month, on the Dominion Reading Achievement Tests of word and sentence recognition, or three months behind the norms for English- speaking children. To the Grade Two pupils, who had not attended kindergarten and who had been allowed into Grade Two without repeating Grade One, the same tests had been given the previous November. At the second month of Grade Two, they also averaged Grade One, fifth month, in the Dominion Reading Achievement tests in word, sentence and paragraph comprehension. These pupils were, therefore, seven months behind the norms for English- speaking children, and it was found necessary to retain them for a second term in that Grade.

TABLE XXII

DOMINION READING ACHIEVEMENT PRIMARY, GRADE ONE, TEST

GRADE DISTRIBUTION AS AT SEPT. 1, 1956.	FORM A 7/11/56			FORM B 18/5/57			DATE OF BIRTH
	GRADE LEVELS						
Pupils Grade Three	I words	II sentences	III paragraphs	I words	II sentences	III paragraphs	
1F	2.5	2.0	2.8 test)	--	3.0	--	2/5/46
2F	3.2	3.7	3.5(maximum on	--	--	--	23/7/48
3F	1.8	1.6	1.5	2.1	2.0	1.7	25/3/48
4F	3.1	3.3	2.4	--	--	--	22/7/47
5F	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.9	2.0	2.3	24/2/47
6M	1.2	1.8	1.9	--	1.9	1.9	15/11/45
7F	2.1	1.7	1.4	2.7	3.1	2.5	19/4/47
8M	1.4	1.5	1.4	--	1.7	--	6/5/44
Grade Two							
9F	1.3	1.6	1.5	--	--	--	8/4/48
10M	1.3	1.6	1.6	--	--	--	5/4/47
11M	1.3	1.6	1.7	--	--	--	18/3/49
12M	1.2	1.7	1.5	--	--	--	23/2/47
13M	1.3	1.6	1.6	--	--	--	7/11/48
Grade One							
14F	--	--	--	1.7	1.7	--	29/7/50
15M	--	--	--	1.4	1.5	--	22/4/50
16F	--	--	--	1.4	1.6	--	14/5/49
17F	--	--	--	1.4	1.6	--	15/6/50
18F	--	--	--	0	1.6	--	18/2/49

This experiment seems to show that the practice of holding a kindergarten for four- and five-year-olds coming from homes where Mohawk is spoken will go a long way towards reducing retardation.

THE INFLUENCE OF NUTRITION

The short attention span and fatigue, which were particularly evident in the afternoons, among the Country School pupils, led the writer to suspect malnutrition as another causal factor in retardation. Repeated visits in the homes during the period 1954 to 1957 revealed the fact that, in every home but one, the children drank only water, while the parents used canned milk in their tea and coffee. A typical meal consisted of peeled, boiled potatoes with melted fat, referred to as 'gravy', and occasionally some salted pork.

The importance of diet as an influence on school performance has been reported by Seay,[5] in the Second Progress Report of the Sloan Experiment in Kentucky, made in rural one-room schools where retardation was severe. In the schools where an improvement in diet was stressed during three school years, although no diet supplements were actually given in school, the experimental group gained an average

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[5] M. T. Seay, The Sloan Experiment in Kentucky, Encyclopedia of Educational Research, New York: Macmillan Company, 1950. p. 1046.

of thirty months in mental age, compared with 15.5 months in the control group. Gains in Reading achievement accounted for nine of the 14.5 months extra gain in the experimental group. The least difference between the two groups was noted in Arithmetical skills.

With the Kentucky experiment in mind, the writer went to the Federal Government requesting some dietary supplements which could be given in school. In October 1956, skim milk powder and vitaminized biscuits, of the kind which form the Eskimos' winter rations, were accordingly supplied. Since that time, milk and biscuits, in unrestricted quantities, have been served daily to the children of both Village and Country Schools.

The improvement in vitality was so marked as to draw comments from the school nurse, doctor, inspector, and the dentist, who also remarked on the decrease in dental caries. Unfortunately it was not possible to secure conclusive statistical evidence to support these observations.

Table XXIII, on the following page, gives the results of the most recent Otis Alpha Tests for twenty-two pupils. The first nine pupils who have been for less than one year, at the Lake of Two Mountains High School, had an average increase in I.Q. from 86.8 to 89.8 in

TABLE XXIII

OTIS ALPHA TESTS FORM B 1957-58

GRADE DISTRIBUTION
AS AT SEPT. 1957.

Pupil	Chronological Age 26/3/58	Mental Ages Non-Verbal	Verbal	I.Q.
Grade Four:				
1F	10-10	12-11	10-11	107
2F	9-8	9-2	11-3	101
3F	10-0	8-10	9-9	95
4F	10-8	11-5	9-0	97
5F	11-1	8-10	7-1	80
6M	12-4	7-8	8-3	77
7F	10-11	9-11	7-7	86
8M	13-10	9-10	7-10	82
Grade Three				
9F	9-10	8-2	7-7	83
Grade Two	18/11/57			
R 10M	10-7	10-9	8-0	90
R 11M	8-8	7-5	7-6	84
R 12M	10-9	7-3	7-6	75
R 13M	9-0	7-9	6-2	77
14F	8-4	7-3	6-7	81
15M	7-7	7-5	7-8	99
Grade One				
R 16F	7-5	7-0	5-6	86
R 17F	8-6	6-3	5-10	71
R 18F	8-9	7-9	5-4	74
19F	6-4	5-6	--	91
20M	6-9	6-1	--	94
21M	7-5	5-4	--	80
22M	6-8	under 5	--	80

R = repeating Grade.

under eleven months. The next nine pupils, who are still at the Country School, improved from an average of 79.0 to 84.1 in six months. It is impossible, however, to determine to what extent each of the three major changes has been responsible for the improvement in tests results and daily work.

THE RURAL SCHOOL IN THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

In general, the one-room rural school has been condemned as being wasteful of the energies and talents of both the teacher and pupils. Wherever possible in Canada such schools are being eliminated.

It is our belief, however, that the one-room rural school in an ethnic community has a valuable assimilative function to perform. Apart from its strictly academic service, it is useful as a community centre, for such activities as young people's clubs, and the showing of National Film Board programmes. There is also the possibility of holding evening classes for adults. At the Oka Country School, for example, most of the Grade Eight course was given during two winters to a small group of young adults. Subsequent expressions of interest indicated that non-credit courses in French, elementary Reading and Current Events would have drawn a large attendance.

The school may serve as a model of sanitation and as a first aid station. At Oka it was hoped that by the example set at the Country School of, for example, sterilizing dishes, the spread of contagious diseases might decrease in some of the homes.

The role of the teacher in ethnic communities in interpreting the majority culture to the minority and vice versa is important. Herein lies a value lacking in other rural areas. At Oka the native-modified (Longhouse) socio-cultural group and the Canadian- modified (United Church and Pentecostal) groups have need of such cultural contact.

Many arguments have arisen as to whether the teacher ought to be a member of the majority or minority group. He must, on the one hand, be accomplished in the majority language and have a wide understanding of Canada's history and customs. On the other hand, he must be sympathetic to the minority, and ought to have some understanding of their language and its grammatical constructions. The policy in Canada and the United States has been to entrust the responsibility for education in such colonies to their own members.[6]

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[6]Leonard Bercuson, Education in the Bloc Settlements of of Western Canada, McGill University, Master's thesis, 1941. p. 168-171.

CONCLUSIONS

Provided that qualified, sympathetic teachers can be obtained and retained, the writer believes that the one-room rural school should continue to serve such semi-isolated ethnic communities as the Indian settlement at Oka.

The Indian Affairs Department should endeavour to recruit teachers specifically trained in pre-school and primary work, where the greatest contributions can be made. We have shown that kindergarten classes can reduce retardation in an Indian community. Where possible, the rural school in an ethnic community should provide both a junior and senior kindergarten, in the mornings only, with the first two or three elementary grades in attendance all day. As early as possible Indian and other non-English non-French - speaking children should be mixed with other children in larger schools. By such early combination, the minority-group pupils receive and give the maximum cultural contributions. At Oka, specifically, now that all grades above the second are accommodated at the Lake of Two Mountains High School, it is desirable that a kindergarten should remain incorporated in the school's regular programme.

In the opinion of the writer, the most effective teacher in an Indian School would be a certified, experienced primary teacher preferably of Indian ancestry, but not a native of the same community where

he or she is teaching. In this way the teacher would serve as evidence of the possibility for professional achievement on the part of Indians, and yet be relatively free from the domination of local pressure-groups.

With a continuance of the sympathetic understanding with which the children from Oka are being received upon changing schools, the problems of adjustment ought steadily to decrease. The stated policy of the Indian Affairs Department, viz., to affect the total integration of Indians with other Canadians, depends in a great measure for its success upon the use that is made of Indian Schools.

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APPENDIX A

EXTRACTS FROM RAPPORT DES COMMISSAIRES SPECIAUX NOMMES LE 8 DE SEPTEMBRE, 1856, POUR S"ENQUERIR DES AFFAIRES DES SAUVAGES EN CANADA, OTTAWA, QUEEN"S PRINTER, 1858.

(Translated from the French)

An Indian population of 884 is reported as follows for the year 1856 at Oka:

Age:	21 &		14-21		14-	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Nipissings	50	42	15	9	32	28
Algonquins	92	108	23	20	54	41
Iroquois	59	89	27	22	86	92

	Heads of families	births	deaths	marriages
Nipissings	41	7	0	2
Algonquins	85	2	2	4
Iroquois	68	15	1	10

It is stated that 899 acres were being cultivated by Indians: 664 by Iroquois and 148 by Algonquins. The terrain is described as not favourable to agriculture being sterile and rocky, and reducing these tribes to a miserable existence derived from hunting. The Iroquois are farmers, and a few Algonquins are also. The others are migrant hunters. There were two public schools operating in the village, one for girls and one for boys, each of which report an annual enrolment of 40 to 60 Indian pupils. The report is submitted by N. Dufresne, Indian agent, who stated that all Indians at Oka were Roman Catholic, and that none were pagan. He claimed that the use of strong drink was the greatest obstacle to their advancement.

APPENDIX B

ANNUAL REPORT, 1899.

"Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith my report on the Lake of Two Mountains Band for the year ended June 30, last; also statistical statement for the same period.

Reserve.--The land occupied by the Indians of Oka is very scattered: it is impossible to give the exact area; however, most of it is under cultivation.

Population.--The population of this band is about four hundred and thirty, consisting of one hundred and six men, ninety-six women and two hundred and twenty-eight children; out of this number, eighty are of an age to attend school. There has not been any great increase in the band.

Health.--There has not been any epidemic on the reserve during the year.

Resources and Occupation.--The resources of the Indians consist of agriculture, making bead-work, and employment in the shanties; and the Indians engage in all these occupations. There is no industry carried on in any remarkable degree.

Buildings and Agricultural Implements.--Most of their buildings are very mediocre, and they have very few agricultural implements.

Education.--The children attend school very regularly.

Religion.--Most of the Indians are Methodists; the rest are Roman Catholics. They are all much attached to their religion.

General Remarks.--The affairs of the band in general appeared to me to be fairly satisfactory. A. Brosseau, Indian Agent."

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

ANNUAL REPORT 1913

"Sir, --I have the honour to submit my annual report for the year ended March 31, 1913.

Reserve. --The piece of land occupied by the Indians is situated in the Lake of Two Mountains, on the Ottawa river, in the province of Quebec; the title is not vested in the Crown, but belongs to the seminary of St. Sulpice.

Tribe and Population. --The population of the band is 473, composed of Iroquois and Algonquins.

Health and Sanitation. --The health of many of the Indians was not good; an epidemic of measles prevailed in the band this winter and spring, but no deaths occurred. One woman died of paralysis, and one of an ordinary disease for her age; both died during the winter. Some young children died during the year. Sanitation in many places is medium.

Occupations. --A good many of them work the land and make progress; others are making money by working at ice-houses at Hudson, or in shanties and at stream-driving; others make axe handles, lacrosse sticks or baskets and moccasins. The women help the men in these occupations.

Buildings. --Some are in good order; but in general they are in need of repairs. Quite a number of barns and stables are in bad order. Some Indians are obliged to keep their grain and hay outside during the winter.

Stock. --In general the stock is well kept.

Farm Implements. --Their implements are fairly well kept, but some of the Indians have no sheds or barns and have to keep everything outside.

Characteristics and Progress. --These Indians can do rough work and are skilful. If these people were more industrious and provident, they would make a comfortable living.

(Continued....)

APPENDIX B continued

Temperance and Morality. --Like other Indians, they are addicted to the use of intoxicants; but, I am happy to be able to say that progress has been made in this respect; this is due no doubt to the fact that last winter a few of them were convicted and punished for offences.

Morality is fairly well observed. C. F. Bertrand, Indian Agent."

FIGURE 2

LOCAL MAP OF OKA, INCLUDING MOST OF THE ORIGINAL SULPICIAN LAND GRANT OF 1718, SHOWING 1957 AREAS SERVED BY THE OKA COUNTRY AND VILLAGE SCHOOLS

PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC, CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES MINES

L'honorable W. M. COTTINGHAM, ministre — A. O. DUFRESNE, sous-ministre

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF MINES

Honourable W. M. COTTINGHAM, Minister — A. O. DUFRESNE, Deputy Minister

74°10' — 74°00' — 45°30' — 14°30'

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY

ROUTE ST-ÉTIENNE ROAD — RIVIÈRE DU CHÊNE — ST-BENOÎT ST-EUSTACHE — ROUTE ST-JEAN ROAD — ST-EUSTACHE ST-JOSEPH

ST. BENOÎT — CÔTE ST-ÉTIENNE — CÔTE ROUGE — MT. ST-ALEXIS — MT. ST-HILAIRE — PTE. AUX ANGLAIS — PTE. DU LAC — OKA — PTE. D'OKA — PTE. AUX BLEUETS — LA TRAPPE — ST-JOSEPH-DU-LAC — LA GRANDE BAIE

ST-BENOÎT ST-PLACIDE — ST-PLACIDE L'ANNONCIATION — ST-BENOÎT L'ANNONCIATION — ST-JOSEPH L'ANNONCIATION

ROUTE STE-SOPHIE ROAD — ROUTE STE-GERMAINE ROAD — ROUTE DE L'ANNONCIATION ROAD — ROUTE PETIT ST-GERMAIN ROAD — ROUTE 29 HIGHWAY

NEW ROYRAN COPPER MINES LTD.

OKA RARE METALS MINING COMPANY LIMITED

TWIN MOUNTAIN URANIUM MINES LTD.

CONSOLIDATED MORRISON EXPLORATIONS LIMITED

CONSOLIDATED BELLECHASSE MINES LIMITED

DELMICO MINES LIMITED

ADVANCE RED LAKE GOLD MINES LTD.

BOUSCADILLAC GOLD MINES LTD.

MONTROSE SECURITIES LTD.

OKA-BATHURST MINING CORPORATION LIMITED

QUEBEC COLUMBIUM LIMITED

DAINS MINING CORPORATION LIMITED

GAITWIN EXPLORATIONS LIMITED

MAIN OKA MINING CORPORATION

QUEBEC COLUMBIUM LIMITED

ST-LAWRENCE RIVER MINES LIMITED

QUEBEC METALLURGICAL INDUSTRIES LTD.

COLUMBIUM MINING PRODUCTS LTD.

CONSOLIDATED PERSHCOURT MINING LTD.

GULF LEAD MINES LIMITED

OKA URANIUM METALS LTD

STEELOY MINING CORPORATION LTD.

GRAVEL PIT / GRAVIÈRE

BRÈCHE / BRECCIA

LAC DES DEUX-MONTAGNES

LEGEND-*LÉGENDE*

RECENT AND PLEISTOCENE
RÉCENT ET PLÉISTOCÈNE

- Undifferentiated sediments — *Sédiments non différenciés*
- Gravel, sand and clay — *Gravier, sable et argile*

PALAEOZOIC
PALÉOZOÏQUE

MONTEREGIAN INTRUSIVES
ROCHES INTRUSIVES MONTÉRÉGIENNES

- 7 Okaite — *Okaite*
- 6 Other intrusives: ijolite, lamprophyres, etc. — *Autres roches intrusives: ijolite, lamprophyres, etc.*

CAMBRIAN SEDIMENTS
ROCHES SÉDIMENTAIRES DU CAMBRIEN

- 5 Potsdam sandstone — *Grès de Potsdam*

PRECAMBRIAN
PRÉCAMBRIEN

- 4 Diabase — *Diabase*

MORIN SERIES
SÉRIES DE MORIN

- 3 Quartz monzonite, quartz diorite, pegmatites and aplites — *Monzonite quartzifère, diorite quartzifère, pegmatites et aplites*
- 2 Anorthosite, gabbro and diorite — *Anorthosite, gabbro et diorite*

GRENVILLE SERIES
SÉRIES DE GRENVILLE

- 1 Limestone — *Calcaire*

OKA COUNTRY SCHOOL AREA SERVED

OKA VILLAGE SCHOOL AREA SERVED

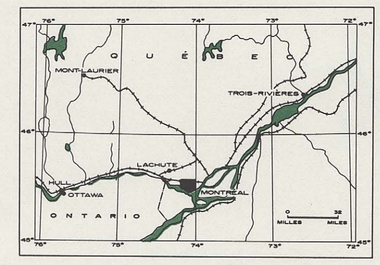
SYMBOLS-*SYMBOLES*

- Approximate geological contact — *Contact géologique approximatif*
- Observed outcrop — *Affleurement visité*
- Strike and dip of foliation: (a) inclined, (b) vertical — *Direction et pendage du rubanement: (a) incliné, (b) vertical*
- Swamp — *Marécage*
- 260' Thickness of overburden — *Épaisseur du mort-terrain*
- 200 Topographical contour — *Contour topographique*
- Mine shaft — *Puits de mine*
- Trenches — *Tranchées*

GEOLOGY BY: O. D. MAURICE, 1955
GÉOLOGIE PAR: O. D. MAURICE, 1955

MINING PROPERTIES TO DATE
PROPRIÉTÉS MINIÈRES A JOUR

2000 1000 0 2000 4000 6000 8000
PIEDS FEET



Carte préparée pour publication par le SERVICE DE DESSIN ET DE CARTOGRAPHIE pour accompagner le Rapport Préliminaire no 351

Map prepared for publication by the DRAUGHTING AND CARTOGRAPHY BRANCH to accompany Preliminary Report no. 351

RÉGION D'OKA

DISTRICT ÉLECTORAL DES DEUX-MONTAGNES

CARTE PRÉLIMINAIRE No 1179 PRELIMINARY MAP

OKA AREA

DEUX-MONTAGNES ELECTORAL DISTRICT