AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A TYPICAL METIS COMMUNITY IN MANITOBA

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by

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the community of St. Louis in the light of present day conditions. A brief history of the Metis people including their rise to nationhood is given as a historical backdrop for the community under study. The development of St. Louis as a community setting is discussed and then further studied in four areas. The present day economics of St. Louis are discussed and analyzed. Following this, power structures are examined along with their ultimate results. Some of the more notable social problems of the community are exposed in the following chapter. The second last chapter is devoted to socialization practices and education in St. Louis, and problems which arise in areas of conflict. In the conclusions, a brief summary of the research is given and possible methods of dealing with some of the problems are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express his gratitude to Dr. Keith Wilson and Professor James Belford for their constructive criticism, and to Professor D. Bruce Sealey for his advice and encouragement throughout the stages of this work. For extreme patience, understanding, advice and encouragement, the author wishes to thank Lynne, his dear friend and wife.

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Preface

Every year in Manitoba well over one hundred new teachers are recruited to teach in native communities. Some of these communities are Indian and others are Metis. The majority of teachers hired have no experience of either cultural group, and many are teachers with no field experience. Of the teachers hired, many have preconceived and often romanticized notions about native groups. They cannot obtain beforehand, clear, accurate and factual information pertaining to the two groups other than of a general nature. The only information that is readily available to them is that found in the recruitment brochures of the Department of Indian Affairs, the Frontier School Division, and various local school districts of northern Manitoba. These are often too short, incomplete, inaccurate, and outdated. It is also difficult in this type of format to delineate the multitudinous aspects of the present day cultures of these peoples.

The past five years have seen the development of many new learning materials geared towards native students. These materials have been termed by some as "culturally relevant", and as such have often been approached by teachers as a panacea for their cross-cultural teaching problems.

From observation, it is this author's opinion that little improvement has taken place in this area since the introduction of some of these materials. This writer attributes at least part of the failure of these new materials to a lack of understanding on the part of the teachers using them.

This is not to say that the teachers are "ill-intentioned". Rather, they are "undirected" in the sense that they have never been made aware of some of the cultural intricacies within which they must work. The development of culturally "relevant" materials is of little benefit without first the development of teachers who are culturally aware and culturally sensitive.

Awarenes is a necessary prerequisite to sensitivity, for it is impossible to be sensitive to needs of which one is unaware. However, awareness comes only when a conscious effort is made to gather information.

It is the purpose of this thesis to provide information to teachers about a specific Metis community that is typical of many such communities in Manitoba. It is hoped that this will contribute to their awareness, and ultimately their sensitivity and understanding. The author believes that if this is accomplished, it will enhance teaching in cross-cultural situations, and be a useful contribution to at least the cross-culturally inexperienced teacher.

The information presented concerns an actual Metis community in Manitoba. The pseudonym St. Louis is used throughout the work when referring to the community. As well, psuedonyms are used for all other names of towns, landmarks, and people who could be connected with the community under observation, in order to ensure the anonymity of the residents of the community.

The author has lived in St. Louis for three years and has functioned in the capacity of school principal during this period. The information gathered in this work is derived chiefly from government agencies connected with the community, businesses in St. Louis, interviews with residents, and from personal observations of the author.

The first chapter of this study traces the development of the Metis people in Canada, and it serves as a historical backdrop for the community of St. Louis. This chapter relies heavily on historical sources.

The second chapter deals with St. Louis' development from the time of the earliest settlements until the present, but limits itself to the historical developments of the community. Topics such as land grants, influencing events, and economic changes are discussed in this section. This chapter relies largely on personal interviews with elder members of the community.

Chapter three discusses the economy of St. Louis

with reference to the population, employment, and spending habits. The sources of information for this chapter are largely government agencies and business records.

The fourth chapter deals with power structures and their influence in St. Louis. The sources for this chapter are personal interviews with community members and the author's observations and their analyses.

The fifth chapter concerning social problems deals with the author's perceptions of the major problem areas in St. Louis. In this chapter, statistics and information from social and government agencies is used and subjected to interpretation by the writer.

Chapter six examines the process of socialization and education within St. Louis. The major source for this chapter is the author's observations coupled with parent and teacher interviews. Once again the information has been subjectively interpreted by the writer.

The purpose of the research was not to produce highly specific information about St. Louis, but rather to expose a general framework within which the community operates. It is for this reason that the author does not always include highly specific information pertaining to St. Louis. It is unimportant for the purpose of this work whether or not there are thirty seven houses or forty-four houses in the new development in St. Louis. It is sufficient to know that there are about forty houses there, as other

similar communities might well have thirty-nine or forty-six, or similar numbers. Such highly specific information has been purposely left out and the author has concentrated on supplying information which would be useful in applying to different but basically similar communities.

As in most studies, there are a number of limitations to this work. The major ones are that:

a) this study is limited to one community and cannot take into account specific factors which may or may not affect other similar communities,

b) the interview sources for various aspects of this study are not without their biases and consequently not all the material is totally objective,

c) at those points where the author makes interpretations, he is not without his own biases,

d) where statistics are used in such things as employment figures, birth rate and the like, the author recognizes the possibility of inaccurate figures due to faulty investigative techniques used by some government agencies.

Chapter 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METIS NATION IN CANADA

A history of the Metis people in Canada is almost synonymous with the history of the development of Canada, and especially of Western Canada. Much has been written about Canada's past, but most of that written has not placed emphasis on the role of the Metis people in Canadian history. In textbooks such as Canada in North America to 1800 and Canada - Colony to Centennial, the people referred to most often as the "natives" of Canada are the various Indian tribes. Kavanagh[1] in his book on the Assiniboine Basin states that:

> The first human arrival was the Indian. Possibly six thousand years ago the noble redman had crossed over Bering Sea from Asia.

It is this "redman" that the early explorers encountered from Jacques Cartier on. As the first contact the Europeans had in North America, the Indian has historically come to be treated as the native of this continent. In actual fact, the true native of this continent must be considered the Metis. It is the Metis whose origins find root

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[1]Martin Kavanagh, The Assiniboine Basin (Surrey, England: Unwin Brothers Limited, 1966), p. 2.

in the Canadian soil, and whose fatherland can be disputed by none. A product of the union of two immigrant peoples in a new land, the Metis rose from a few scattered individuals into a nation, always keeping close links with its cultural past. This chapter will outline in general terms the development of the Metis people to nationhood and the subsequent demise of the Metis people as a nation.

The earliest beginnings of the Metis can be traced to the days of the first explorers and traders. The explorers who discovered Canada returned to Europe with tales of a land of great wealth, and especially rich in furs. These tales raised the interest of traders who later decided to explore this new land with the hopes of finding these stories to be true. By so doing, they hoped to return home far wealthier than before.

It was undoubtedly one of these early traders or explorers who fathered the first half-breed child in this country. Alliances with Indian women probably began taking place soon after the white man's first arrival. It must be remembered that a passage from Europe was a long and arduous affair lasting several months. No women accompanied the men on these voyages as exploring was not deemed a fitting work in which to involve females.

Once having arrived in the new land, the preparation for winter and survival in the unknown country was made. To collect a quantity of furs worth the expense of the expedi-

tion, it was necessary for the traders to spend lengthy periods in this foreign land.

Although Jacques Cartier discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534 and returned in 1535, little attention was paid to the new land. Even after his unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in 1541, France did all but ignore Canada. Except for the occasional fishing expedition or trading mission, Canada was undisturbed.

The trade that was carried on was with the Indians for furs. It is likely that during this trading period some half-breed children were born. However, the number of these children would have been insignificant as no permanent colony of Europeans had yet established itself in Canada. In 1604 under the leadership of Champlain, the colony of St. Croix River was established. In 1608 it was removed to the site of present day Quebec City where it became the first permanent settlement in Canada.

From this meagre start, fur trading in Canada began to expand. The French began exploring the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Eventually fur trading companies such as the XY Company and the North West Company were formed. With the formation of these companies came the establishment of small settlements.

In the meantime the English had not been idle. Hearing of the fortunes of the French, Charles II was persuaded to engage two French explorers, Radisson and Gros-

seilliers, to look into the fur trading possibilities for England. As a result of their explorations, the Hudson's Bay Company was founded in 1668. By 1670, it had been granted a royal charter in the name of "The Merchant Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay".[2] Its charter gave it the trapping and trading rights over all the lands drained by the Hudson Bay. (See map Fig. 1.)

What this meant in terms of the development of the Metis people was that another permanent colony was established which resulted in racially mixed mating and half-breed children. From this then it is possible to see that the Metis people originated from two basic areas in Canada. The first was the St. Lawrence River area in which the resultant mixed breed children were the French half-breed. The second was the Hudson Bay area where the English half-breeds evolved.

The fur trade in Canada was not only intricately involved with the beginnings of the Metis people, but for a considerable number of years, it was the single most influencial factor in determining the culture of this new race. It continued to be such up until the Selkirk Land Grant and the establishment of the Red River Settlement.

During the years from the beginning of the fur trading companies up until 1812, the Metis people grew in

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[2]Arthur S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870 - 71 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 55.

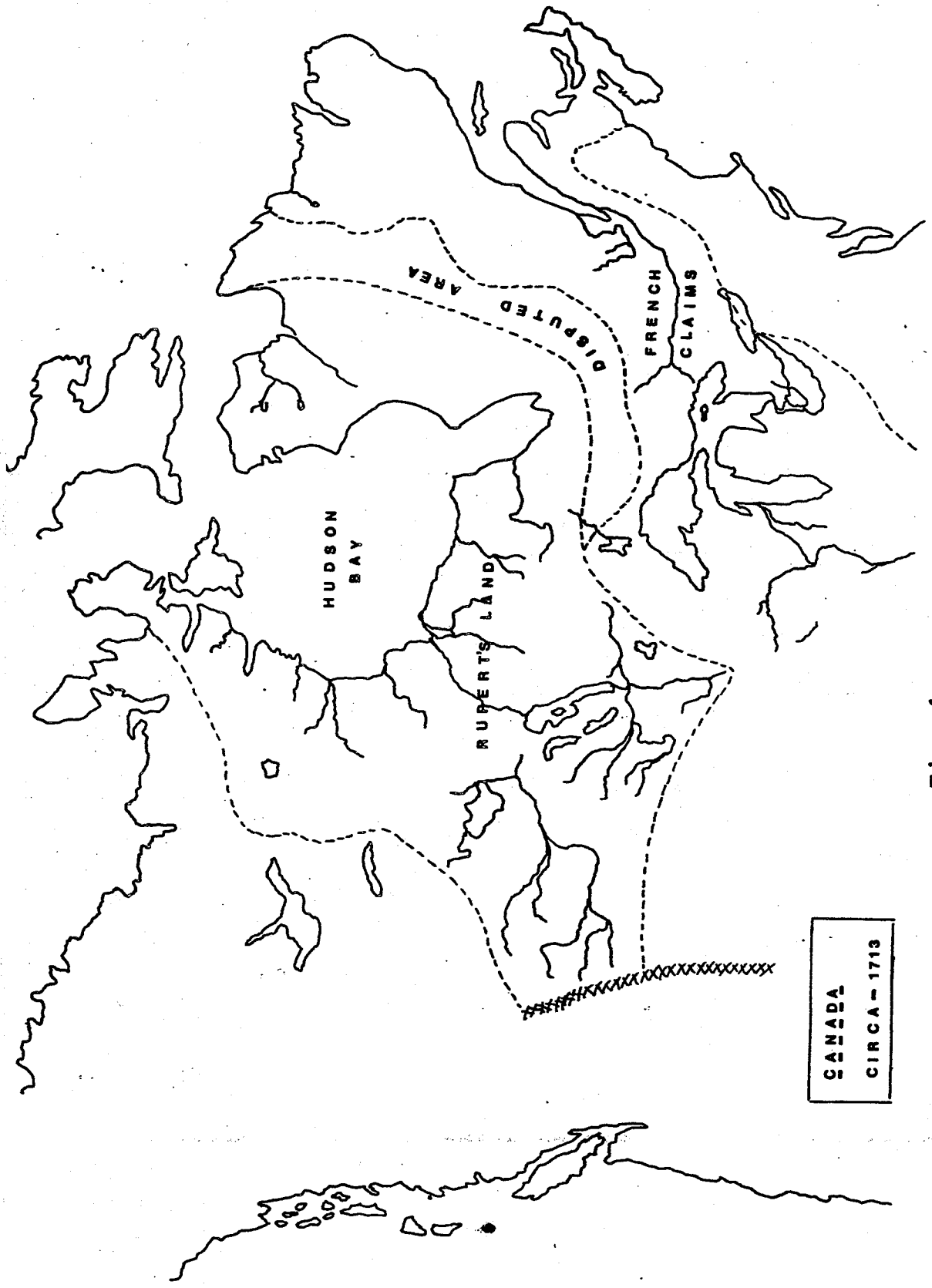

Fig. 1.

Copy of map taken from World Book Encyclopedia, 1972 edition, Vol. 3., p. 116 g. published by Field Educational Enterprises Corporation, Toronto.

numbers and developed a lifestyle around the fur industry. Despite the Hudson's Bay Company's reluctance, alliances between white and Indian partners became more and more commonplace. The need for mates, as well as the benefits of having a wife who spoke the native language, understood the culture, and who often had extremely valuable survival skills, served as incentive for these marriages. The Hudson's Bay Company felt a responsibility towards the women and children of such unions. As a result, wherever possible the first generation and succeeding generations of Metis children were hired by the Company. Some worked as interpreters, canoemen, fur packers, and manual workmen around the fort.[3] A few were taught either at home or at distant boarding schools, how to read, write, and compute. These often took up employment later as clerks with the trading companies. One such man, Moses Norton, went on to become governor of Fort Churchill in 1759.

The development of the French half-breeds in Eastern Canada followed along similar lines. Although the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were different, the lifeblood was still the same. Furs were sought on an ever increasing basis. The children of French and Indian unions were employed by the North West Company, but for reasons of economics rather than concern. The fur companies of Eastern

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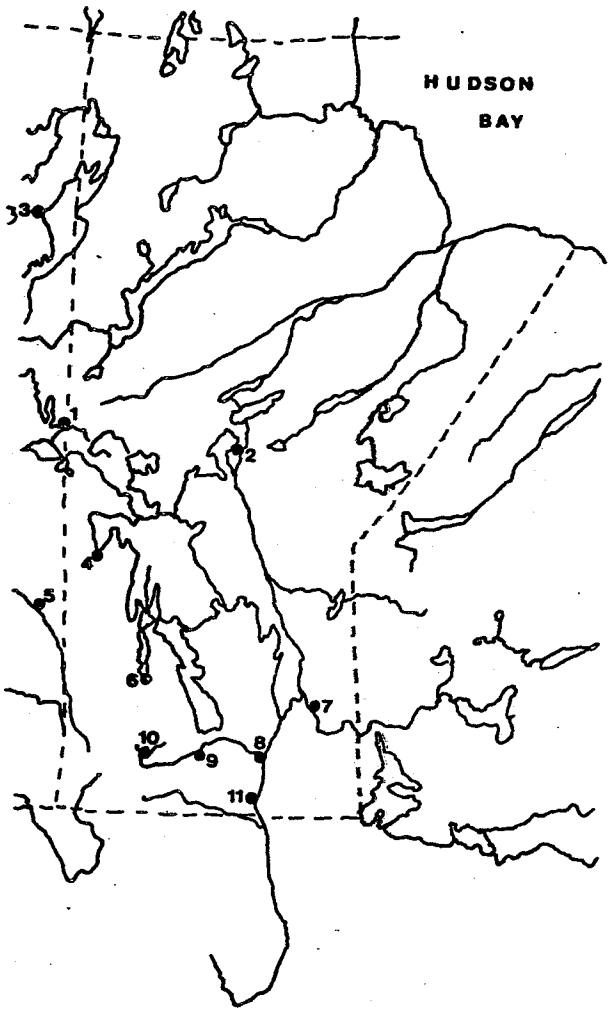
[3]D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, The Metis Canada's Forgotten People (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1975), p. 5.

Canada needed the Metis to survive, and it was here that the "coureurs de bois" originated.

As the furs became scarce in the immediate vicinity of the St. Lawrence, it became necessary to move further and further inland. To do so meant to go through Indian territory, and some of the tribes involved were somewhat hostile. What better people to involve in this task could one find than the Metis. Again, they knew the language, the customs, and possessed many of the life skills necessary to survive such journeys. As well, many were directly descended from, or related to, the inhabitants of the lands through which they travelled.

As time passed, the fur bearing animals diminished in numbers and it became necessary to move further and further away from the companies in order to trap profitably. At the same time, the numbers of the Metis increased significantly. In their expansion, the Hudson's Bay Company went further and further south, aided by the explorations of Henry Kelsey from 1690 to 1692. The French meanwhile, were sending their "coureurs de bois" further and further west. It was inevitable that both groups should meet, and in 1738 La Verendrye reached what is presently Winnipeg. The French established forts from Lake Superior to the Saskatchewan River. (See map fig. 2.) The English forts were meanwhile established around the Hudson and James Bay areas. (See map fig. 3.)

Map of the North West Company Forts circa 1812

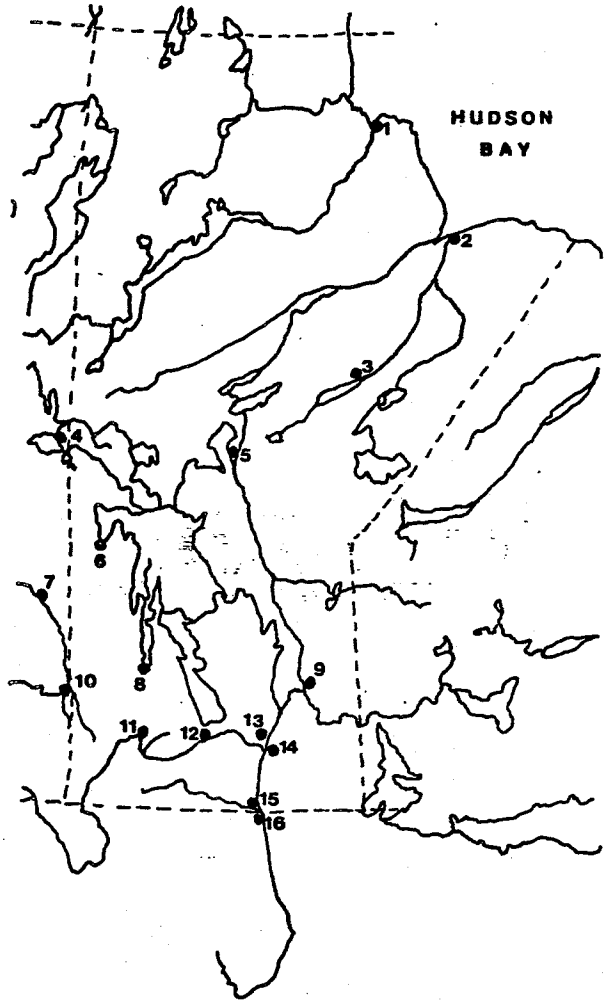


1. Cumberland House
2. Norway House
3. Bedford House
4. Swan River Post
5. Fort Alexandria
6. Fort Dauphin
7. Bas de la Riviere
8. Fort Gibraltar
9. Fort La Reine
10. Fort Assiniboine
11. Fort Pembina

Fig. 2.

Copy of map taken from Canada - Colony to Centennial, by Derald G. Willows and Stewart Richmond. Published by McGraw - Hill Company of Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1970. p. 188.

Map of the Hudson's Bay Company Forts circa 1812



1. Fort Churchill
2. York Factory
3. Oxford House
4. Cumberland House
5. Norway House
6. Swan River Post
7. Carlton House
8. Fort Dauphin
9. Fort Alexander
10. Qu'Appelle Post
11. Brandon House
12. Portage La Prairie
13. Fort Douglas
14. Fort Garry
15. Fort Pembina
16. Fort Daer

Fig. 3.

Copy of map taken from Canada - Colony to Centennial, by Derald G. Willows and Stewart Richmond. Published by McGraw - Hill Company of Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1970. p. 188.

In the area where the two companies met there was some rivalry as the lands were part of the Hudson's Bay Company charter. Yet:

> The French produced original titles and acts in due form proving that as early as the year 1540 Sieur de Roberval took possession of them.[4]

However, it would seem that little more than fierce competition between the two companies took place during this time. It was to be later when the Selkirk Settlers arrived that the trouble would erupt.

The settlement of the Red River area was the result of efforts by Thomas Douglas, the Earl of Selkirk. Selkirk became concerned over conditions of farmers as they existed in the British Isles during the early 1800's. On a visit to Montreal he became friends with directors of the North West Company. On this voyage the idea came to him that the Red River area might provide an ideal setting for farmers away from the economic strife of Great Britain. The only question was whether or not it would be possible to procure land from the Hudson's Bay Company who held title to the area.[5] In 1807 he married the daughter of one of the Hudson's Bay Company's prominent shareholders, Andrew Colville, and it seems likely that he received some encouragement from this this quarter.

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[4]James H. Marsh, The Fur Trade (Toronto: Collier McMillan Company, 1971), p. 21.

[5]Martin Kavanagh, op. cit., p. 36.

Douglas proceeded to buy shares in the company until he held sufficient to have a large number of votes on the board of directors. In 1811 he received the Selkirk Land Grant which covered an area of 116,000 square miles in an area surrounding the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. (See map fig. 4.)

By 1812 the first of the Selkirk Settlers numbering seventy arrived at Hudson Bay and proceeded to Assiniboia, the name given to the Selkirk Land Grant. The Metis who had developed into a sizeable group over the preceeding generations had come to be settled in this area as well. They had in fact been living for a number of generations along the banks of the rivers. Their lifestyle had changed to a certain degree, but the mainstay of the economy was as always, the fur trade. The Metis who had settled the area had done so by the waterways which were still the main thoroughfares for the transporting of furs. (See map fig. 5.) The lifestyle was less transient than before as many families now had permanent homes and the men would go away in search of furs. These could be stockpiled at home and shipped later. Buffalo hunting during the summer months provided the necessary ingredients for making pemmican, the winter mainstay of those involved in the fur trade. Pemmican was non-perishable, and as trappers and traders went further and further from the trading posts in search of furs, it became a vital commodity. At the same time it became a trade item for the

Selkirk Land Grant

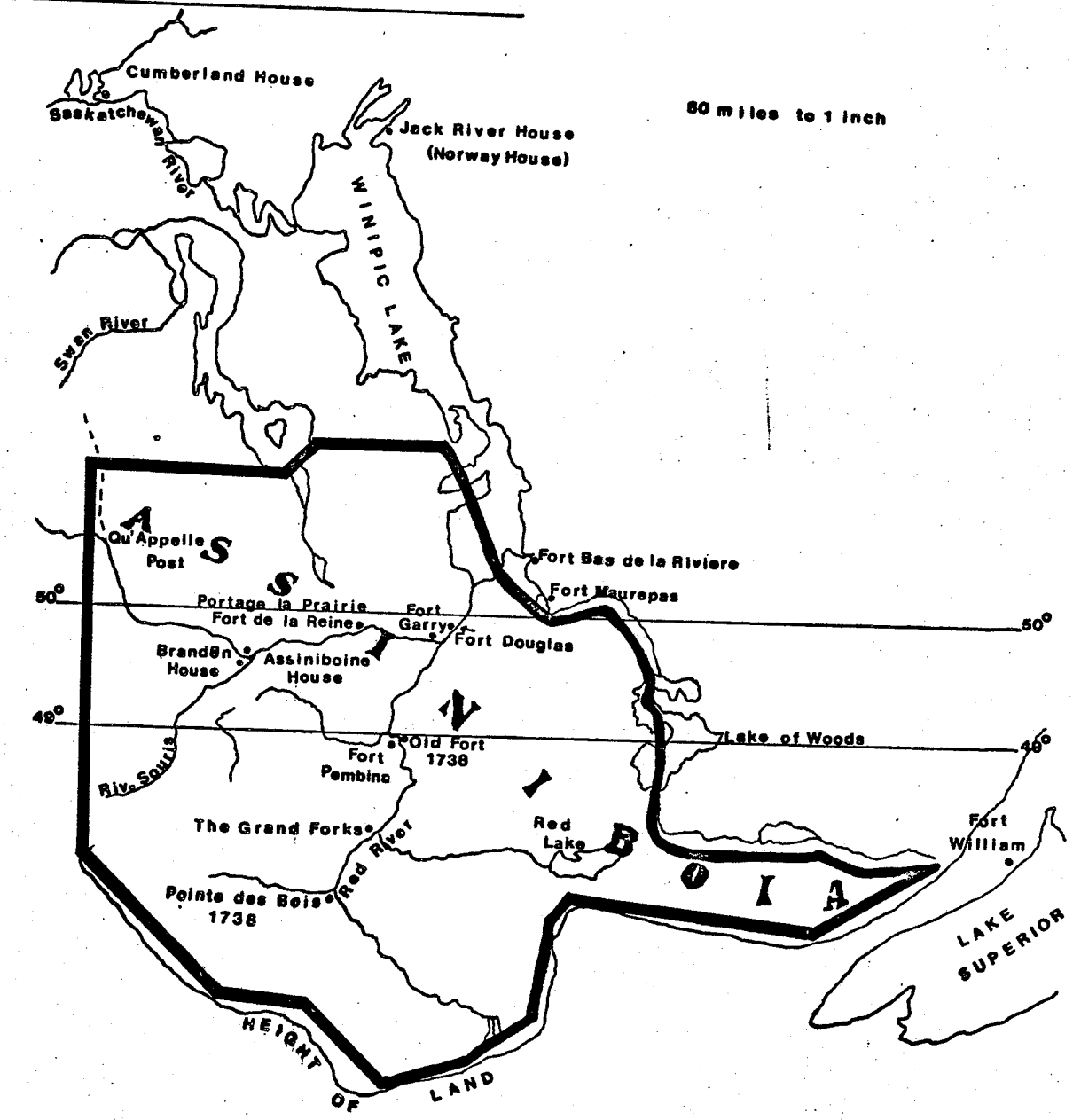

Fig. 4.

Copy taken from the original map of Assiniboia held by the Manitoba Archives.

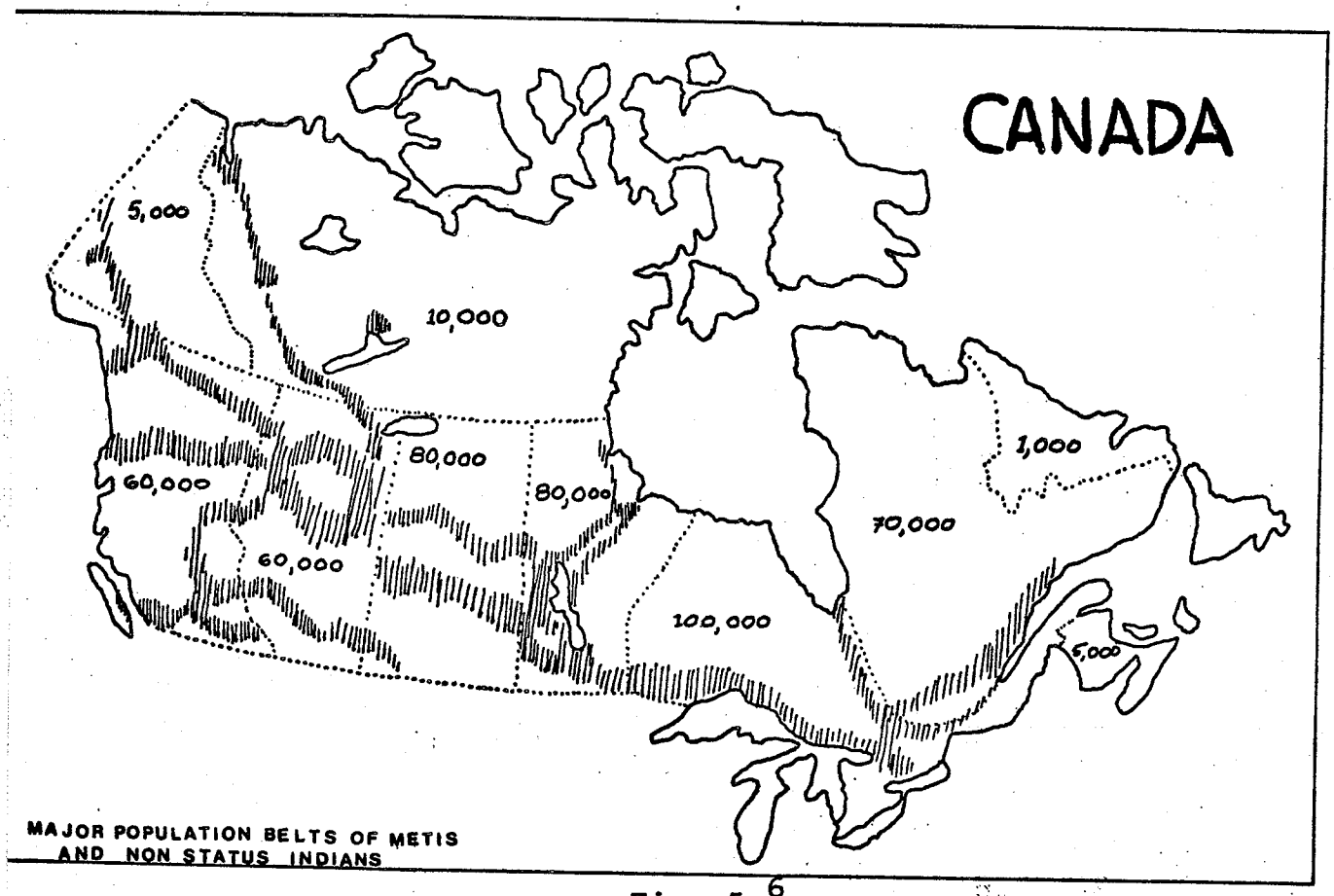

Fig. 5.[6]

Metis with both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company.

It was the tampering with this trade item that caused the Metis to band together and act as one people for probably the first time in their history. After two particularly harsh winters in 1812 and 1813, when the Selkirk Settlers had to winter in Pembina in order to procure enough food, Miles Macdonell the governor of Assiniboia issued a

[6]Map taken from p. 193 of The Metis Canada's Forgotten People, op. cit.

proclamation. The proclamation forbade the exporting of pemmican from Assiniboia without a license from the governor of Assiniboia. The implications were clear. All the pemmican was needed for the settlers of the Red River. If there were any excess, it would likely be exported to the Hudson's Bay Company rather than to the North West Company. Yet the North West Company had a great number of outlying posts very much dependent upon the pemmican supply, and the new settlement lay right in the middle of the line of forts extending to the Saskatchewan River. Those forts west of Assiniboia would be literally starved out.

These same forts employed a great number of Metis people. At the same time many Metis were involved in the exportation of pemmican. Those who depended on the supply for food resented the possibility of being starved out of work. Those involved in the trade of pemmican resented being told by newcomers and intruders with whom they could carry on trade. However, the Metis were not all of one mind, for while many worked for the North West Company and had their allegiance there, many also were loyal to the Hudson's Bay Company whose land they had settled on and for which company they had worked over succeeding generations.

In 1814, Macdonell issued another proclamation. This time "running the buffalo"[7] was forbidden on the grounds

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[7] D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, op. cit., p. 37.

that it was driving the herds of buffalo out of Assiniboia. This edict united the Metis in their resentment of the Red River Settlers. It also increased the fear they had of the settlers who seemed to not recognize any of the rights the Metis felt were theirs by virtue of the length of time they had inhabited the area, and the contributions they had made to the economy of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company.

The harassment of the Red River Settlers by the Metis under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant illustrated the resentment felt. Buildings were burnt, settlers shot at, and generally life was made unpleasant. It was to the North West Company's advantage to have them united against the Red River Settlers. If the settlers were occupied with the Metis they would not have time to control the flow of pemmican to the forts of the North West Company. In order to insure this, the North West Company appointed Cuthbert Grant as the Captain of all the half-breeds in the district. Grant accepted this position and placed himself assiduously to the task of definitely establishing a Metis nation.

As the harassment of the Red River Settlers continued, the North West Company kept trying to keep the riverways open for the transportation of pemmican out of Assiniboia to their forts which had been cut off since the proclamation by Macdonell. Hoping to put an end to the trouble in Assiniboia, Macdonell surrendered himself to the

North West Company and was taken to Canada for trial. Peter Fidler was placed in temporary command of the fort. During his stay as acting-governor, threats and violence continued until he finally on June 25, 1815 signed a treaty with the Metis which had as one of its agreements the dispersal of the colony.[8]

The Red River Settlers moved to present day Norway House and peace seemed to have arrived for the Metis. However, the displaced settlers met Colin Robertson on his way to the Red River Settlement with more colonists and this seemed to give them new heart for they returned with the reinforcements.

In 1815 the new governor, Robert Semple, arrived. He immediately demanded of Grant the surrender of the North West Company's fort at Qu'Appelle. A year later he seized Fort Gibraltar. The supplies of pemmican that had been taken at Fort Qu'Appelle were seized by Grant and his men while it was being transported to the Red River Settlement. After capturing Brandon House and relieving it of its supply of pemmican as well, Grant started towards a destination north of the Red River Settlement. The convoy carrying the pemmican was spotted and Semple went out with twenty-four men to seize the provisions. The two groups met at Seven Oaks and a bloody battle ensued in which twenty settlers and one

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[8]D. Bruce Sealey, Statutory Land Rights of the Manitoba Metis, (Winnipeg : Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1975) p. 24.

Metis were killed.[9]

After the bloodbath at Seven Oaks, the colony began dispersing. Lord Selkirk, however, was at that time, along with two hundred de Meurons soldiers, en route to fortify the settlement. By 1818 the soldiers had reached the settlement and recaptured Fort Douglas. The colony began to flourish again and the North West Company looked for new ways of overcoming the Hudson's Bay Company.

After a number of siezures of furs and supplies, the companies negotiated an amalgamation and in 1821 the two companies became one under the Hudson's Bay Company name. The effect that this amalgamation had on the Metis was a settling one. Now that peace existed and the questions of company land ownership and control no longer existed, the Metis began settling around various trading forts throughout the area. From these forts emerged new and viable settlements. According to Alexander Ross, the Hudson's Bay Company provided for the establishment of schools and churches, gave land grants, and generally aided in the establishment of settlements. The company also relocated numerous Metis families to the Red River Settlement and attempted to employ them "in every possible way they could be made useful".[10]

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[9] W.L. Morton, Manitoba - A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 54.

[10] D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, op. cit., p. 44.

As has been mentioned, the period comprising the declarations of Miles Macdonell, the appointment of Cuthbert Grant by the North West Company as captain of the half-breeds, and culminating with the Seven Oaks massacre, was a period which united the Metis as a people. Immediately after the amalgamation of the two companies, the Metis people became more settled, intermarried, and increased their numbers. During this time, their lifestyle altered somewhat in that they became a little more agrarian than before, and somewhat less transient. One of the major contributing factors to this stability was the use of the Red River Cart for the buffalo hunt. It was no longer necessary to be gone from home as long as before in order to take part in the hunt. This is not however, to belittle the importance of the hunt, for as the years progressed so did the numbers of hunters until in 1851, no less than "1100 carts and several thousand horses"[11] took part in the rendez-vous at Pembina. This was also the year in which the Metis, after a gruelling battle with the Sioux Indians, established themselves as the masters of the plains.

The age from the battle of Seven Oaks in 1816 up until just prior to Manitoba's entry into Confederation proved to be a relatively peaceful one. The settlements began to thrive and grow, especially through the migration

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[11]D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, op. cit., p. 53.

of Metis from the northern United States where they were suffering oppression from the Sioux. The missionaries arrived during this period and with them came Christianity and education, as well as a certain amount of acculturation to some European traditions. During this period, the fierce nationalism that had arisen amongst Metis people in the early 1800's dissipated somewhat as there was no enemy against which to unite. Agriculture became more and more prominent and the Metis began little by little to take part in it. The time, in essence, was one of quiet, productive growth, colored by sporadic moments of activity such as the Sioux battle of 1851.

A number of events occurred during the 1850's and 1860's which culminated in a resurgence of nationalistic feelings among the Metis, and eventually led to the Riel Rebellion. As in the massacre at Seven Oaks, the Metis found another enemy that required united action. This time the enemy was the Government of Canada.

As the Red River Settlement grew, so did the rest of Canada. The colony was however, so isolated that it never did develop very close links with Canada. Since the amalgamation of the fur companies, the Hudson's Bay Comapany held the allegiance of the people. Being a company formed by English charter and founded by the British, it had formed certain links with Great Britain. At the same time, the settlement being a southerly one, amicable relations

and close ties developed between the colony and the United States. Throughout this whole process, very little interplay occurred between Assiniboia and Canada.

The Canadian government at the time held a dream of a nation from sea to sea. This dream however, was threatened by the American politicians who held expansionist ideas. The Government of Canada sensing this, hastily entered into negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company for the cessation of the Northwest Territory which was its land by charter. It must be immediately obvious that just as the intrusion of the Selkirk Settlers did not meet with the approval of the Metis, neither did this intrusion by Canada. Once again old fears of having nothing to say in their own affairs reoccurred in the minds of many Metis people. According to Stanley:[12]

> The Selkirk Settlers, the French metis and the Scotch half-breeds were forgotten or rather simply ignored. Canada went ahead with its plans for the transfer without attempting to ascertain the climate of opinion in Red River, or even informing, officially, the Governor and Council of Assiniboia of what was being planned in Ottawa for the little colony on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

It was this lack of consultation which once again created a feeling of uneasiness throughout the Metis people. The time was ill-chosen for this kind of action as the previous few years had been ones of hardship due to drought and shortages of food. The annexation plans came at a time when

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[12]G.F.G. Stanley, Louis Riel (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963), p. 44.

patience was short and frustrations were high.

Had Canada merely concluded an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company and let everyone know what was happening, events might have gone no further. A consultative approach and an explanation of the urgency of annexation might have been sufficient to placate and set at ease the half-breeds who were upset at the move. However, Canada chose to continue further. It is not odd that such a course was taken, for communications and links between the Northwest and Canada were so poor, that it was almost impossible for Canada to be aware of the resentment and fear which pervaded the colony.

Canada's next move was to send in surveyors to the about to be acquired territory in order that the land could be legally surveyed. This would be required now as "legal titles to the land became necessary".[13] Of course no warning was given of the arrival of the surveyors. Nor was there any consultation when the surveying began. What followed was a blunder by the surveyors.

The Metis families had mainly settled on the river banks of the area. (See map fig. 6.) As the families grew and adopted agrarian ways of life, the lots increased in size according to their river lot system. (See map fig. 7.) This made a great deal of sense to the Metis as the water-

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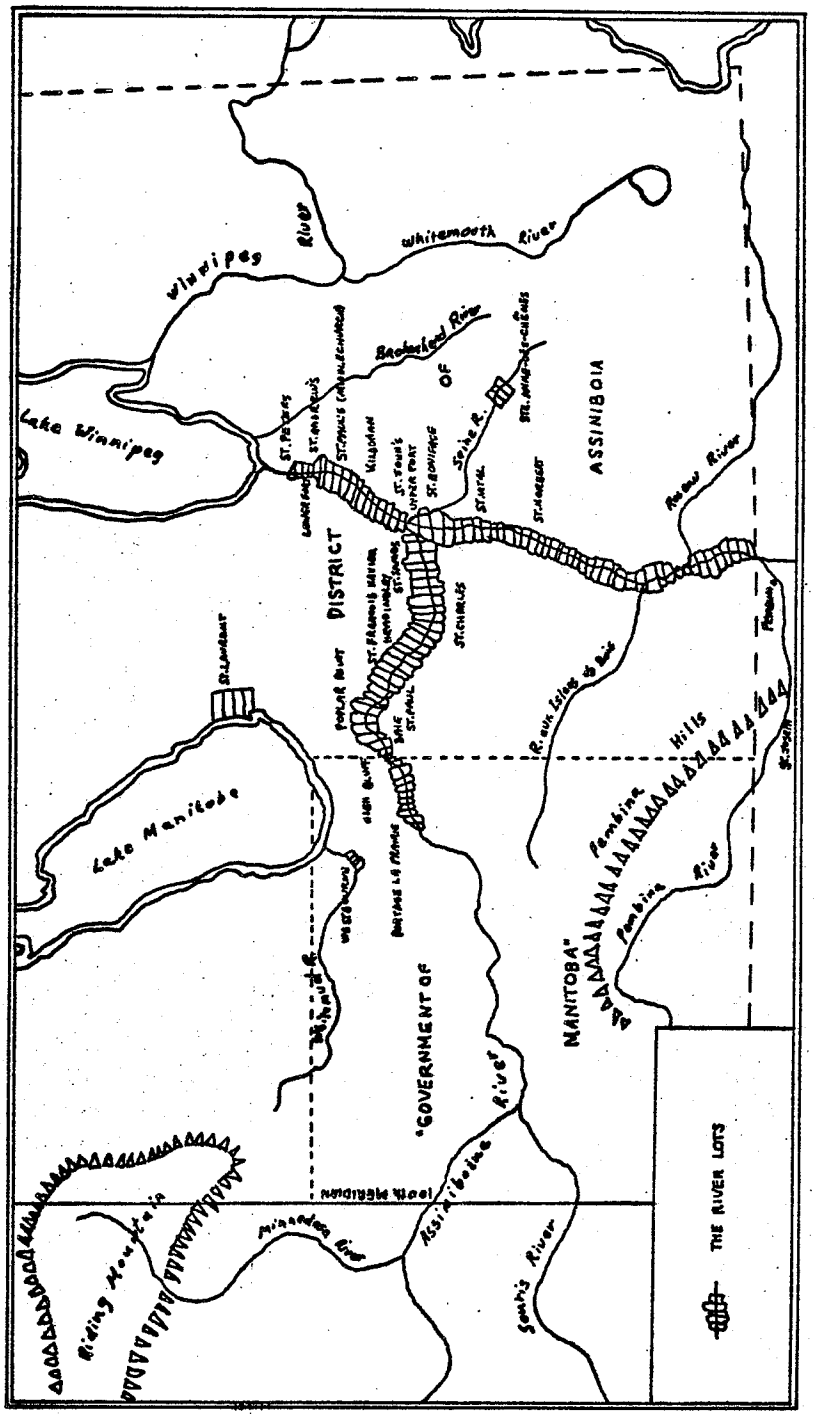
[13] D. Bruce Sealey, op. cit., p. 50.



Map of Metis Settlements Showing the Pattern as Developed along the River Banks

Fig. 6.

Copy of map taken from p. 89 of W.L. Morton's Manitoba - A History, op. cit.

Metis River Lot System

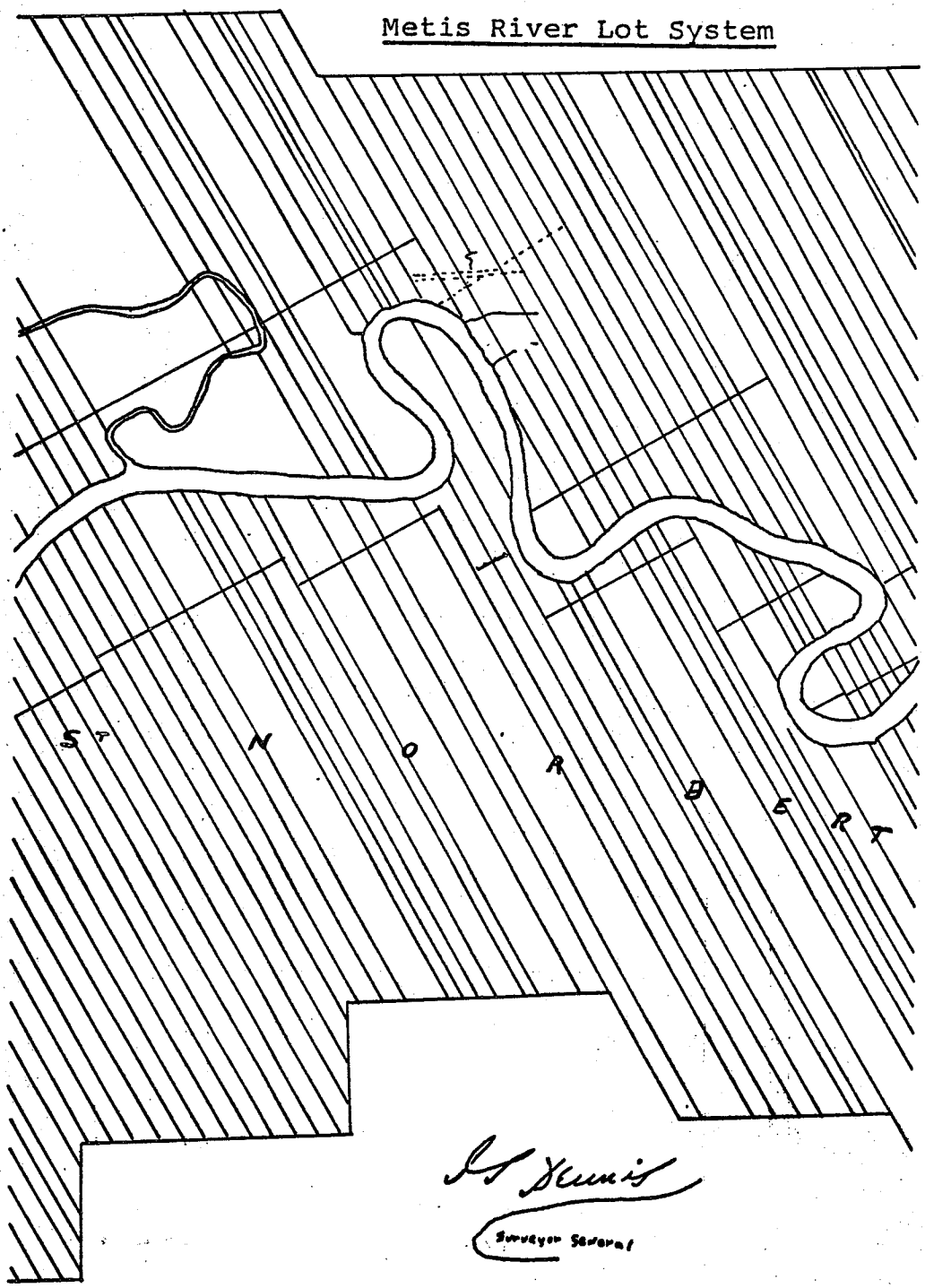


Fig. 7.

Copy of map taken from p. 64 of D. Bruce Sealey's Statutory Land Rights of the Manitoba Metis, op. cit.

ways served as both transportation and communication routes. It did not however, enter into the thinking of the surveyors. They proceeded to divide the lots according to a grid system. This inevitably meant that traditional homestead boundaries were often cut. They also came into the area and began surveying the settlement with only a word of mouth agreement with the governor. Although they engaged Metis labor for building roads and surveying the roads, "The Metis were paid in provisions at a rate that suggested parsimony rather than bounty".[14] All of these mistakes at a time when the Metis were fearful and suspicious proved to be intolerable. The greatest fear the half-breeds had was that of losing the land they had lived on for generations, but for which they had no legal titles. Jackson points out in his book that:

> Most of the Metis did not bother about formal or "legal" titles. They were squatters, but were blissfully unaware of the fact. As far as they were concerned, the land was theirs by inherited right. Many were even unaware of their lot limits, or other such legalistic matters....When the transfer to Canada became imminent, this lack of title to land became a matter of great concern.[15]

The fear and discontent grew until finally a group of eighteen Metis, led by Louis Riel, halted the progress of a surveying team telling them that the Canadian government

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[14]Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 19, (Edinbugh: Publishers Association of Canada, 1914), p. 69.

[15]James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970), p. 70.

"had no right to make surveys on the territory without the express permission of the people of the Settlement".[16] With this initial action the Red River Rebellion had started although it was not yet in full swing. There can be little doubt that the rebellion was basically one fought over land ownership.

After the initial confrontation events moved quickly. The Metis banded together and a National Committee was formed in 1869 with John Bruce as president and Louis Riel as secretary. It is however, the opinion of most authors that the real leadership behind the committee was Louis Riel. The first action taken by this committee was that of preventing the Lieutenant-Governor elect of Red River, William McDougall, entry into the settlement. McDougall attempted to contravene the order but was halted by armed half-breeds and escorted back to Pembina. At the same time Riel had been gathering loyal followers and had taken over Fort Garry. This was basically a stalling tactic through which the Metis hoped to procure a chance to negotiate and be guaranteed what they considered to be their rights.

Riel called for a council to be established and attempted to get the French half-breeds and the English settlers together as this was the only means by which they could succeed. The English had many of the same fears as

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[16] D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, op. cit., p. 78.

the Metis and by the second meeting of the council, Riel established a Provisional Government which united the French with the English. A minor attempt at opposition by the Canadians in Red River ended with the imprisonment of the principal Canadian leaders. McDougall who had refused to leave Pembina finally returned to Ottawa in desperation. John Bruce resigned and Louis Riel became President of the Provisional Government.

Peace almost returned to Red River with the arrival of Donald Smith, later Lord Strathcona, and Colonel de Salaberry. They were instructed to negotiate with the Provisional Government. After presenting their case to the general convention, good feelings seemed to abound and both sides seemed willing to listen.[17] The Metis presented a modest list of rights they wished to have guaranteed, the Provisional Government held elections to represent everyone, and the newly elected government with Riel once more at its head, released the prisoners taken earlier.

Much speculation centres around Riel's actions immediately following this seemingly successful negotiation. Perhaps Riel felt that he had lost face and was losing his control over the English half-breeds and the Red River

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[17] Margaret MacLoed in her book Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), p. 3., points out that Smith was a cousin to Cuthbert Grant and questions the influence this had on the government's decision to send him to the area.

Settlers. In any event, an escaped prisoner by the name of Thomas Scott was recaptured along with others while passing near Fort Garry. During his stay in prison he proved to be an unruly inmate by being disrespectful and threatening. As a result, Riel had him court-martialled in what critics have called a "mock trial". The sentence imposed upon him was execution, and though many pleas for amnesty and pardon were directed to Riel, they were refused. To the Rev. George Young, a Methodist minister interceding on behalf of Scott, he said:

> He is a very bad man, and has insulted my guards and has hindered some from making peace; so I must make an example to impress others and lead them to respect my government, and will take him first, and then, if necessary, others will follow.[18]

After this incident, the Scots and the English half-breeds lost some of their faith in Riel. The feeling was that he had misused his power. While peace remained in the area, there was uneasiness in the air.

Delegates were at this time sent to Ottawa by the Provisional Government to negotiate terms for the colony's inclusion in Canada. In spite of what people termed Riel's "high-handed" actions, the negotiations were successful in gaining most of the terms desired by the people of Red River. The government however, was incensed at Scott's death and Riel was expelled from Canada for a period of

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[18] G.F.G. Stanley, Louis Riel, op. cit., p. 114.

five years. A Lieutenant-Governor, A.G. Archibald, was officially appointed and a military detachment under Wolseley was sent out to Red River to ensure peace when the new government was formed. The Red River Rebellion, or the Riel Rebellion as it is sometimes called, was over.

The end of the Red River Rebellion marked the beginning of a number of changes for the Metis people of the area. For many, the changes proved too great to be acceptable and an exodus of half-breeds from the settlement took place. There is discussion amongst authors as to the major cause of this exodus. However, all seem to be agreed that it was a combination of factors rather than any single one which instigated the move.

One of the most obvious changes that took place was in the attitude of the latest immigrants to the Red River. The Canadians were still highly incensed at the execution of Scott and they seemed to be dissatisfied with Riel's sentence. Wolseley's soldiers who had anticipated battle when travelling to the settlement were denied one when they arrived, and they contributed a good deal to the persecution of the Metis. A number of those who had been involved in the Provisional Government and in the court-martial of Thomas Scott were sought after. A few were killed while others were persecuted. The general ill-feeling held towards the Metis and particularly the French half-breeds contributed significantly to the desire of these people to move.

The unsettled question pertaining to land and land-ownership was doubtless one of the major factors contributing to the exodus. But, there were still other problems. The settlement was expanding and more and more, the personal freedom of the Metis was encroached upon by newcomers. The buffalo herds were no longer coming close to the settlement and so it was harder and harder to maintain small agrarian holdings for part of the year while hunting during the rest. There was also a great technological thrust at this time, and the traditional ways were being taken over by mechanized methods. One example of this was the gradual disappearance of the Red River Cart as the major means of transportation, and its replacement with steam driven boats on the waterways.

All of these factors contributed to the dissatisfaction felt by the Metis of the Red River. They could have attempted another "rebellion", but such a move would have likely worsened their plight. It would also have been a move to which Riel and the other leaders would not have agreed. Consequently only one choice remained, and that was migration.

The Metis of the period were too large in number to move as a single group, and the migration took various paths. Some went and settled in the United States where they would not be persecuted by the Canadians. Others joined families in communities that had arisen at old aban-

doned trading posts which were the result of the amalgamation of the two fur trading companies. Here they hoped to settle down peacefully and follow a life similar to that of the Red River Settlement without the persecution they had encountered. To a large number however, this move was one too close to the old colony and one which could result in a return to the conditions they sought to escape. Their migration thus carried them further west into the unorganized territory presently known as Saskatchewan and Alberta. (See map fig. 8.) This move allowed them to establish themselves over 1870 to 1880, in a lifestyle very similar to the one they had led in Red River prior to 1869. They were once again situated close enough to the buffalo herds to be able to harvest them in the summer and be able to maintain small agrarian holdings at the same time. This move to the old lifestyle was to be a short lived one as the Canadian West was at that time developing towards the Pacific. In 1871 British Columbia entered the Confederation and Canada was at last a nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. The government, due largely to economic factors, undertook to develop the entire country. Migration to the West was encouraged and aided. The Canadian Pacific Railway was as Pierre Berton has pointed out, a "National Dream" and Ottawa wished to make it a reality. As western expansion continued, the Metis slowly came to find themselves in a situation that paralleled the

Map Showing the Dispersion of the Metis After the Red River Rebellion of 1869

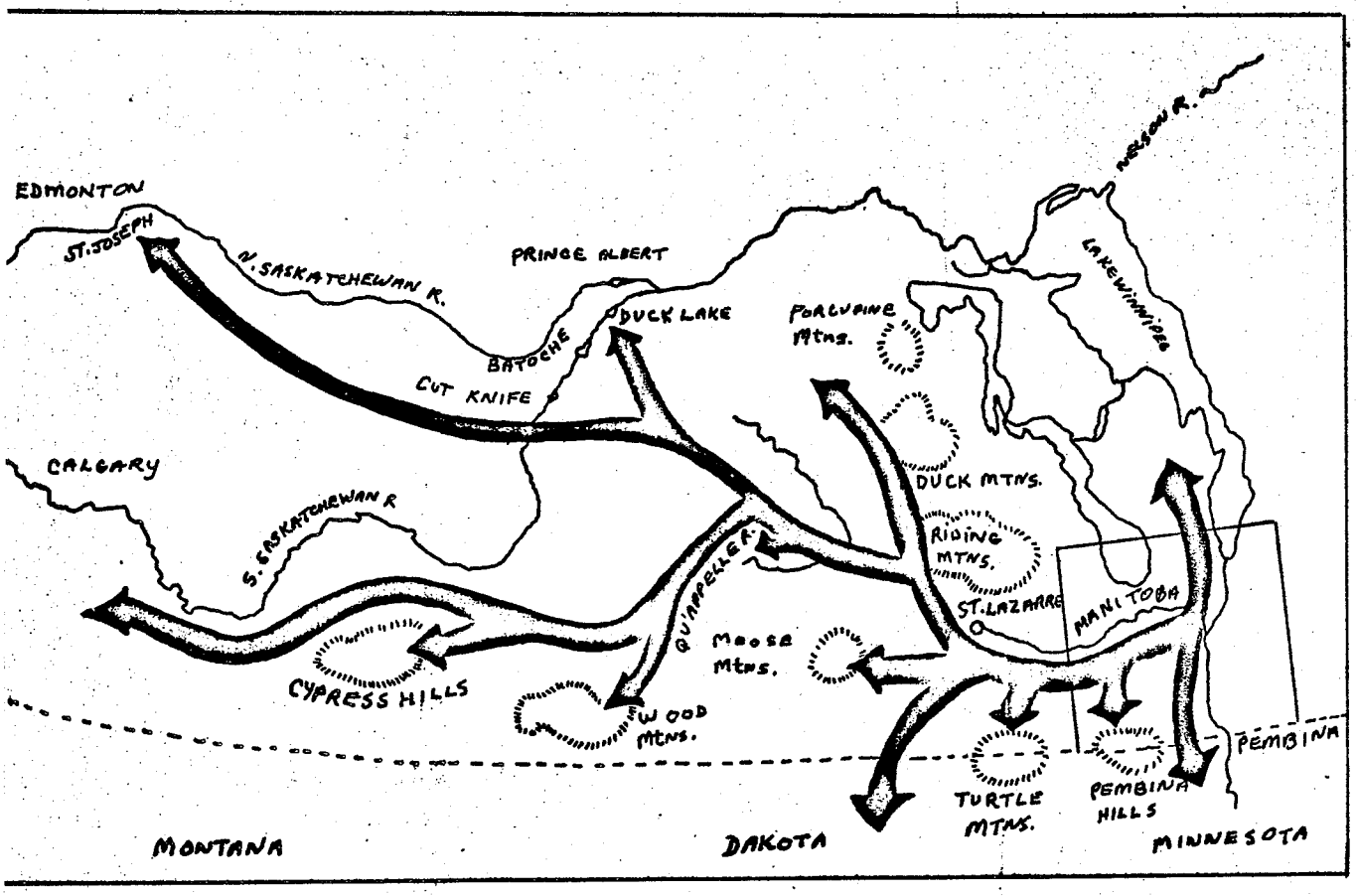

Fig. 8.

Copy of map taken from p. 94 of The Metis Canada's Forgotten People by Sealey and Lussier, op. cit.

events in the Red River Settlement only a few years earlier.

Once again, the item of contention was that of Metis land rights. As construction of the railroad progressed, the Metis became acutely aware of the influx of settlers that would follow. As a result they feared that their lands might be taken away, and once more they wanted their claims guaranteed. To this end they appealed to Ottawa upon numerous occasions and were ignored. (See Appendix A). At the same time, the Indian bands of the area were in a similar predicament. The Edmonton Bulletin of June 14, 1884 gave an indication of the situation:

> From all parts of the North-West, but especially from the southern and eastern portions, come rumors of dissatisfaction among the different Indian bands. With such a people and under such circumstances all that is required is the occasion and the leader to land the North-West in the middle of a first-class Indian war.[19]

While the Metis were not mentioned in the article, there can be no doubt that their mood was the same. The difference was that the Metis had a leader in the figure of Louis Riel, and they summoned him from Montana in the early summer of 1884. According to Sealey and Lussier, the Riel who arrived in Saskatchewan was a man greatly changed if not mentally unstable due to the pressures he had faced since the Red River Rebellion.

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[19] Shortt and Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces, op. cit. p. 209.

Whether or not he was of sound mind, it is obvious that he still held the respect of the Metis people. He set about sending petitions (Appendix A) to Ottawa in the hope of settling the question of Metis rights peacefully. By 1885 all that Riel had secured from Ottawa was a vague promise to establish a commission of enquiry into Metis claims. By this time the Metis were becoming impatient and Riel sensed this. On March 19, 1885 he established another Provisional Government. Once again Riel was not the President, but he was the undisputed leader. With the events of Red River still fresh in their minds, this must have been viewed as a threatening move by some Canadians.

The Canadian government was not about to put up with another Provisional Government. It sent out troops of North-West Mounted Police to arrest Riel. These were met at Duck Lake and the fighting broke out. The Metis were led in battle by a very able tactitioner, Gabriel Dumont, and soon forced the police to retreat. With the news of the victory, the Metis were soon joined by the Indians who were also dissatisfied with the treatment they had been receiving at the hands of the government. Several battles ensued at various locations. The most significant of these took place at Batoche where Riel was finally captured after the Canadian government had transported troops to the area by train. After a brief incarceration Riel was tried for treason and found guilty on September 18, 1885. On November

16 of the same year, Riel was executed by hanging.

With the end of Riel came the end of the Metis nation in an active sense. Their leader gone, their spirit and nationalistic feeling broke down. Again they encountered resentment and hostility. They had lost twice, but the second loss was no doubt the more bitter defeat. After the first defeat they had been able to relocate in a relatively secluded area. Although this area was later subjected to heavy migration, they at least initially retired to an acceptable location. After Batoche, few places remained untouched by settlers developing the West. The great herds of buffalo were all gone and technology was racing ever onwards with incredible speed. The Metis wanted to retreat but few places were left.

Many did leave, but the migration pattern was not one as clear cut as the first one. Some went to the United States, others to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and still others went to the far north. As time proceeded and expansion continued, the small groups of the once proud nation were all but assimilated by the immigrant settlers to the areas.

This is the situation of the Metis today. No longer a united group with common goals and aspirations, they are often forgotten as an important minority group. They are now more commonly viewed as isolated communities with only a few things common to all. They all share the same

cultural heritage. Often times they share the same problems. This is due in part to that heritage, in part to their history, and in part to other factors. This is the position in which St. Louis finds itself today.

Chapter 2

THE EVOLUTION OF ST. LOUIS AS A METIS COMMUNITY

After the Red River Rebellion was quelled, the Metis began migrating out of the Assiniboia area. (The reasons for this migration have already been outlined in Chapter 1.) The areas which attracted these people were those that could provide security in terms of economics and politics. The present day St. Louis area held such an appeal.

In the early nineteenth century, all that presented itself in the St. Louis area was a land rich in game and wildlife, overgrown with timber stands, and blessed with rivers and a lake abundant in fish. There were no people settled in the area with which to have political disputes, and yet there were sufficient resources to establish homesteads dependent on a fishing and hunting economy, after the more traditional fashion of the Metis. It presented, if not an ideal situation, one which was at least far more palatable than continued existence in the Red River settlements during the early 1870's.

It would be false to claim that no people whatsoever existed near the St. Louis area at this time. There were Indian bands spread throughout the central and northern parts of present day Manitoba. Some of the Indians in-

habiting the area were Ojibway who had migrated northwards. In the woodland areas north of Lake Grant, other Indian people lived and had their own lifestyles. These were the Cree, and more specifically, the "muskegos" or Swampy Crees. These people also saw economic advantages in gravitating southwards to the St. Louis area. As a result, the location became a migratory centre for both Indian and later, Metis people.

St. Louis is located on the shore of Lake Grant in the central area of Manitoba. (See map fig. 9.) The earliest settlement of Metis and Indian people in the area:

> can be traced back to families who at one time lived in Red River and the more western districts such as St. Francois Xavier (then known as la Prairie du Cheval Blanc or White Horse Plain), St. Ambroise and St. Laurent. These people in quest of work and adventure became employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, and gradually found places in small settlements along Lake "Grant" and throughout the interlake district of Manitoba.[20]

The starting point of St. Louis itself seems to find root in a man from Eastern Canada by the name of Father Boiteau. When the Indian people began to congregate in the area, the land was of course undeveloped. The Roman Catholic Church looked upon all undeveloped areas in which resided substantial numbers of people, as possible "missions". Father Boiteau was no exception. At one point after his ordination, his mother became critically ill. He vowed to dedicate his

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[20] G. Palmer, "_____," Manitoba Pageant, Vol. XVIII (Winter, 1973), p. 14.

Map Depicting General Location of St. Louis

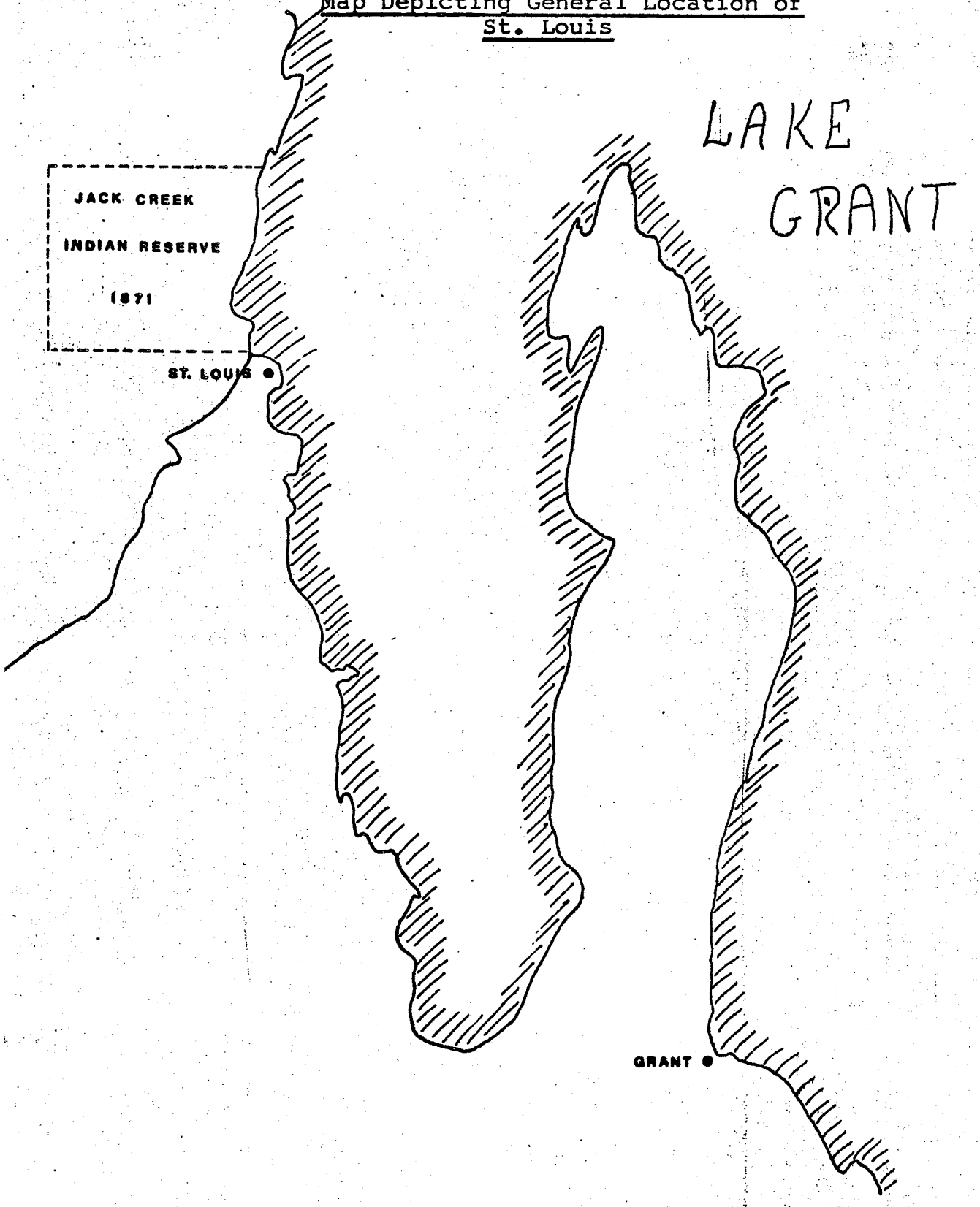

Fig. 9.

life to the missions should the Blessed Virgin intercede and restore his mother's health. His mother rallied and Father Boiteau left almost immediately for his mission. It is unclear how he chose the Lake Grant area for his work, but it seems likely that Mgr. Provencher assigned the area out of his growing concern for the number of people living there without the word of God. In any event, 1840 saw the arrival of Father Boiteau to the St. Louis area.

As part of his duties, Father Boiteau was to look after the missions north of St. Louis, as well as the local community. This of course meant carrying the Word to the settlements on the northern shores of Lake Grant to the people more or less settled there. On one of these expeditions in 1844, Father Boiteau was killed. He was allegedly shot by a Swampy Cree person who desired his rifle. The story is that the Swampy Cree people had been told that the priest was spreading disease. Another story has it that the priest had been running guns to the area.[21] Who spread the stories, if they are stories, or why, are all questions which have never been answered. Father Boiteau's guide, a young Swampy Cree boy named Pierre Fleury, was supposedly taken captive and never seen again.[22]

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[21]These three accounts of the events surrounding Father Boiteau's death were related to the author by a priest who has been a resident of St. Louis since 1912.

[22]Rev. A.G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 1, (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1910), pp. 175 - 180.

Other residents of the area give this account:

> It would seem that Father "Boiteau" with a Metis guide named "Pierre Fleury" and a small boy, probably a son or a relative of the guide, were travelling from the Pas to Lake Grant. Their bodies and canoe were found washed ashore on a bay seven and a half miles northwest of Beaver Lodge. News of the tragedy spread quickly, as the bodies were found near a camp of Metis.[23]

Apparently the Metis people of the area notified Mgr. Provencher and the body was removed to the St. Boniface Cathedral where it was interred.

This incident left the people in the area once more without a priest. Although it has never been said out loud, it would appear that the Roman Catholic Church was reluctant to send anyone else in for fear of a similar incident reoccurring. Some say that this also left a bitter taste in the mouth of the Saulteaux and Metis people who lived on the south shore of Lake Grant, and for a number of years there was no love lost between the two groups. Today however, none of this rivalry remains. There is a monument marking the spot where Father Boiteau was killed and one at the church in St. Louis, but these are now historical landmarks and not cause for dissention.

The area was without the services of even a visiting priest for the next sixteen years. It wasn't until 1860 when the Oblate Fathers began residing in St. Laurent, that another priest began visiting the Boiteau area.[24] One of

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[23] G. Palmer, op. cit., p. 16.

[24] After the slaying, St. Louis was called Boiteau.

the priests of the St. Laurent mission would travel up Lake Bruce and Lake Grant by canoe in the summer and by dog-sled in the winter, bringing God's message to the people scattered along the shores. It would seem that things went without incident, for finally in 1886, Father Dupas, an Oblate priest, began to reside in the Boiteau area once again. One of the undoubted reasons for the Church's decision to allow a resident priest once again was the fact that law and order had to a certain degree arrived in the area. It was not in the form of the police or militia, but rather under the guise of the Indian Affairs Branch, for on August 28, 1871, the Jack Creek Reserve was created with the signing of Treaty #2 at Manitoba House.[25] It can only be assumed that with the emergence of a formal reserve, bureaucracy, forms, rules, red tape and a sense of order also emerged. And all this it is presumed, had a settling effect on the people involved.

With the advent of religion in the form of a resident priest, and the arrival of Metis families after the Red River exodus, came education as well. In 1887 a day school was built of logs. It would appear to have been unsatisfactory. The families in the area were well scattered and no village as such had yet sprung up, Inevitably

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[25] G. Palmer, op. cit., p. 14.

this meant great distances for students to travel, and often they were absent.[26] Add to this the fact that the industry around Boiteau centred on fishing, hunting, and trapping, and one realizes that family mobility was not only a very real facet of early life in the area, but one of absolute necessity for survival. The end result of this was of course, a great dissatisfaction with the attendance of the students. This dissatisfaction started the priests worrying until Father Gabriel Closson thought of building a residential school.

School and education seem to have been a priority with the Church, for in 1898 Father Closson began construction of a massive residential school. The lay brothers organized the help and Father himself secured permission from the chief to haul stones from the reserve land. Obviously the explanation of education was not completely clear, for at one point about halfway through the construction, the chief disallowed the quarrying of any more stones for the building. Apparently:

> ... so many stones were gathered during these years of construction that Chief Flatfoot expressed his opinion that they should stop or there would be none left.[27]

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[26]Related to the author in an interview with the parish priest, of St. Louis.

[27]G. Palmer, op. cit., p. 14.

Father Closson is alleged to have confronted the chief and to have asked him whether or not he wanted a school to which he could send his children.[28] In the final analysis, the chief capitulated, the stones were quarried, and the school was completed.

The construction of the school must be viewed as the single most contributing factor in the development of the community of St. Louis. It is the construction of the school which began the family movements that would culminate in a village community setting.

The completion of the school in 1897,[29] was supposed to alleviate the problem of poor attendance. In so far as the Indian students were concerned, it was successful. The problem however, arose with respect to the Metis students. Only treaty Indian students were allowed to avail themselves of the residential aspects of the school. Metis students were allowed to attend as day students, but not as boarders and so the complexion of their problem remained unchanged. They still had the terrible distances to travel and the seasonal work problems to contend with. The Metis - Indian ruling, though not a very logical one, seems to have been based on two ideas. The first one was that the Oblate Fathers were missionaries to "les sauvages" and not to the

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[28] Interview with parish priest, op. cit.

[29] G. Palmer, op. cit., p. 14.

Metis. The second one was that the Metis were not interested in attending school. Unfortunately that opinion was reached by studying the previous years' attendance records and without taking into account the actual causes of the problem.

The new school acted as such a magnetic force because it was a "real" school. It was no longer the little log cabin, cramped, overcrowded, and either boiling hot or freezing cold. It was an enormous stone edifice, two stories high, with windows and tables and chairs, and classrooms and several teachers. At last real education seemed to have come to the Boiteau area, and all these trappings were testimonial to the fact.

Whether or not real education had arrived, one thing was certain. The people, and especially the Metis people, thought that it had, and they wanted to be in on it. Yet there was only one way in which they could take advantage of it, and that meant moving closer to the school.

It was this desire to move closer to the school that culminated in people living in such close proximity to each other that a village community was established. It should not be assumed, however, that the community sprang up immediately following the construction of the school. This migration from points distant to within reasonable distance of the school was one that took place over approximately ten years. However, after ten or eleven years, the

move must have been quite noticeable, for a government survey of the land was carried out in 1909. It would seem to be more than coincidental that the government surveyed in 1909 and the Roman Catholic Church built its huge church the following year, after ascertaining the priests' property. Conjecture has it that the priests instigated the survey by the government. It would seem that the population at the time was sufficiently small to warrant only nine lots being surveyed. However, it must be realized that these lots were exceedingly large ones measuring approximately two and a half miles long by one sixth of a mile wide, resulting in twenty-eight hundred acres of land being surveyed.

Apart from the Church being interested in having its land defined, the larger stores such as the Hudson's Bay Store were also concerned about the people moving into the area. Their land had been staked out but never surveyed and legally registered. Hence, as people moved in, it seemed to be a protective measure to have the government come in once and for all and define the limits of each concern's respective territory.

The initial nine lots are shown on the following map. (See map fig. 10.) The original owners of lots eight and nine did not hold the land for very long. Ownership changed hands several times and the Roman Catholic Church took both lots over for back taxes prior to 1949. Local

Original Survey of St. Louis - 12th July, 1909.

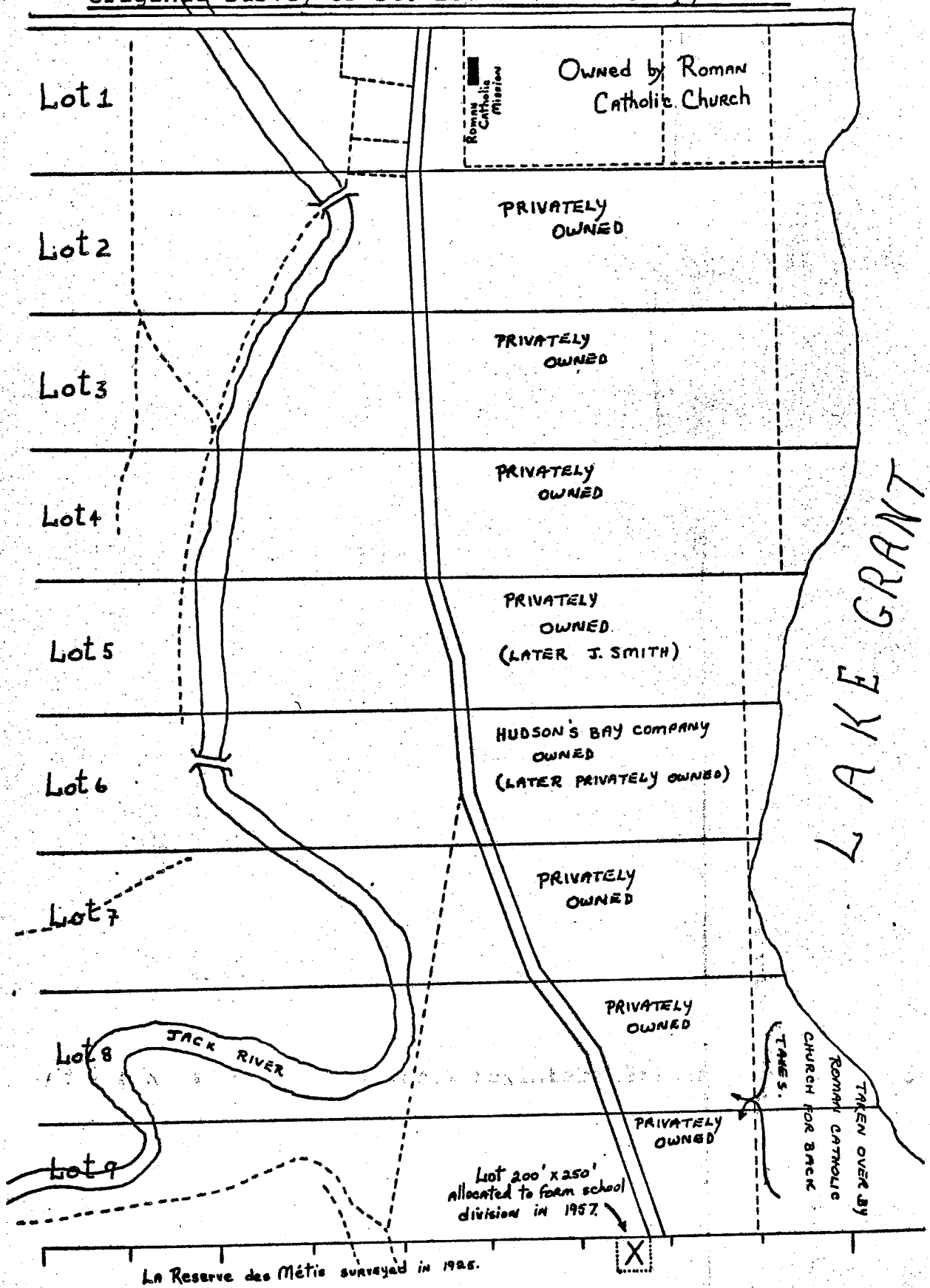

Fig. 10.

Copy of map # 528 - Department of Surveys, Land Titles Office, 405 Broadway, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

speculation is that as more and more people settled the area, more and more new ideas accompanied them. Among these ideas was one particularly odious to the Church; namely that there was perhaps room for another church or churches in the community. As a move to prevent this from occurring and to maintain influence over the community, the Catholic Church paid the tax arrears on lots eight and nine and made them part of the Church Lands. By so doing they could then control how that land was to be used.

However, before gaining a complete perspective of the land situation in the Jack Creek Settlement, (for such was it now called by the government due to its proximity to the Jack Creek Reserve), it is necessary to return to 1910, the year following the initial survey. In that year, the Roman Catholic Church was built. Its architectural style resembled that of the St. Boniface Cathedral and reflected contemporary thrusts in the Catholic Church in Western Canada at the turn of the twentieth century. Its acceptance into the community was without question and the priest received permission to take all the stone necessary for its construction from the quarry of the Jack Creek Reserve, and this time with no interruptions.

Shortly after this, the Indian Affairs Branch began taking a look at the land question for the Jack Creek Reserve. Because all the land which was relatively close to the school and church was by now surveyed and assigned,

Metis people began impinging on reserve lands in order to be closer to the amenities offered by the Church. This of course could not be tolerated by the Indian Affairs Branch and so negotiations began with the Federal Government, the Provincial Government, and the local people, concerning the question of land and who should be allotted what. The agreement finally reached in 1915 called for enlargement of the Jack Creek Reserve on its northern boundary by four miles. In return for this, the settlement of Beaver Lodge, twelve miles to the north of the church and school was to be for the specific use of the Metis. As well, the area south of the boundary of lot nine was designated as "La Reserve des Metis" or the "Half-breed Reserve". This meant that the lots fould not be subdivided and sold, unless it was to Metis families.[30]

It wasn't however, until ten years later, in 1925, that the government surveyed the "Half-breed Reserve" into lots running perpendicular to lot nine. (See map fig. 10.) Unfortunately, once the land was surveyed and the lots finalized, no-one was informed of what had taken place.[31] Consequently no-one laid claim to any of these lots. This is attested to by the fact that all residents who live on that land presently have no titles to the lots and none is available. In 1956, the local government district of

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[30]Recounted by Father B., resident of the community and member of the community's negotiating team in 1915.

[31]Ibid.

Pelican Lake relinquished these lots and with them, the entire "Half-breed Reserve" back to the crown. Consequently, any and all families living there now are only squatters and entitled only to squatter's rights.[32]

Although two groups of people, the Indians and the Metis, lived in the area for over one hundred years, the communities that had evolved were not discernably separate. After the settlement of the land issues, two separate and distinct community groups were established; the Jack Creek Reservation and the Jack Creek Settlement. The Metis people settled together to the south of the church and school. The Indians on the other hand inhabited the newly enlarged reservation to the north and west of them. This settlement of Metis people received a visit from Mgr. Langevin in 1914 and he suggested that as a village had more or less formed, a new name would be appropriate. His suggestion was St. Louis, after Father St. Louis who had been quite revered by the people of the community when he visited and delivered his eloquent, if not short, sermons. The name remained with the town from that day forward. It must be noted what extreme influence the Church possessed over the people to be able to dictate the name of their new town. The assumption is that Mgr. Langevin was concerned with obliterating

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[32]The term "squatter's rights" refers to an American concept in which a person residing on public land and having no title to the land is given first option for purchase of the land should it go up for sale. Squatters generally have no land rights other than this consideration.

the martyrdom of Father Boiteau, and it was for this reason that he renamed the town. One reason the townspeople accepted the proposition of a new name was probably due to the similarity of the names of both communities. This could have led to much needless confusion, not to mention the lack of a strong community identity.

The period which has just been discussed is one which saw a boom in the economy of the community. Palmer points out that:

> Salt deposits were found eight miles north of the present day town of "Grant" and also across the lake at Salt Point, and here some adventurers remained to prepare salt by an evaporation process for the Hudson's Bay Company. This area was given the name La Saline, and some present residents remember evidence of the "cribs" at Flett's Point in the 1920's. Early permanent settlement resulted from this enterprise, as many of these Metis married Cree and Saulteaux wives and remained there.[33]

A different author says the following about the salt industry around St. Louis:

> The earliest mineral industry of which there is any authentic record was the extraction of salt from brine springs on the west side of Lakes "Bruce" and "Grant". From this source, freemen from the HBC service manufactured salt in large iron kettles during the period 1800-1876, and probably even earlier. In the years prior to 1874 more than 1,000 bushels of salt were made annually at Monkman's Springs to meet the needs of the posts and settlements on the Assiniboine, Red and Saskatchewan Rivers, until the Railways brought in salt from Ontario.[34]

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[33] G. Palmer, op. cit., p. 14.

[34] George E. Cole, "Mining in Manitoba," Papers Read Before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 5. (Winnipeg: Advocate Printers, 1950), p. 63.

As well as the salt industry, other businesses prospered as much. In 1908, Joe Smith had opened up a store and dealt in general merchandise. By 1915, the competition of local merchants made the Hudson's Bay Company store established in 1888, an unviable proposition. It sold out to Alan Wright. In 1917, J. Comeau started a store as well. By 1918, businesses seemed to be booming. In that year, Brian Lebrun opened up a barber shop, Bob Jackson started in the pool room business, while even the priests started a sawmill.

It is one thing to realize that the businesses existed, but it is another to understand the scope of these businesses. The J. Smith enterprise was not only a general merchandise store. Smith was also a fishing outfitter. He supplied living provisions as well as nets and all the necessary paraphanalia for fishing. The cost per fisherman to be completely outfitted was between two and three thousand dollars, which was an impressive sum in those days.[35] As well as the store and outfitting aspects of the business, he operated a net factory in which he hired women to make the nets with which to outfit the fishermen. No doubt this person was an enterprising individual, but it would appear that the other business people around were of

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[35]The information on the J. Smith establishment was supplied by one of his surviving daughters who claims that there are unfortunately no remaining records of the business.

the same type.

Different industries developed and will be mentioned as they come up. However, some of the most notable were the spring fur trapping industry and the seneca root digging. The women would usually dig the root on the islands while the men would trap the furs. Furriers and buyers from pharmaceutical companies would not hesitate to come out and buy the materials these people produced. The same was true of the blueberry picking industry of the fall. Buyers would come and haul away all that was produced. In the fishing industry, the biggest buyers were Boat Fisheries of Grant, and independent companies in Winnipeg and New York City.

Another interesting facet of the St. Louis economy at this time was that industries sprang up, designed specifically to support other industries. The most obvious example of this can be seen in the development of the sawmills. The main product of such mills were boxes for shipping fish, and berries out of St. Louis.

Economically, things moved along smoothly for St. Louis at this time. People worked long hours, but a general air of prosperity seems to have existed around the community. People peeling logs were being paid three dollars a cord, while those cutting wood were making seventy-five cents a cord. It must be remembered however, that butter could in those days be bought for ten cents a pound

and that the entire cost of living was scaled down accordingly.[36] This prosperous period was unfortunately to be a short lived one.

The year 1930 seemed to strike the beginning of the decline of what might be called St. Louis' "Golden Age". Almost as an omen, the church burnt to the ground in that year. The cause was never ascertained, but there are two popular beliefs surrounding this incident.[37] One is that some of the sanctuary candles were never extinguished and they burnt down, causing the holocaust. The other is that a boy from the residential school, unhappy about his treatment there, set fire to the church by way of retaliation.[38] Whatever the cause, the fire was a great blow to the religious and social sides of the community.

The religious and social aspects of St. Louis were not the only ones to suffer hardships at this time. The economy of the entire community began to fall apart. Besides entering the period known as the Depression, St. Louis began suffering a collapse in its fishing economy. Not only could the fish produced not be sold through the country due to economic reasons, but now it was becoming exceedingly difficult to produce fish. The types of fish used for export

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[36] Interview with seventy year old resident of St, Louis.

[37] Interview with priest, resident of St. Louis since 1912.

[38] G. Palmer, op. cit., p. 15.

were predominantly white fish, pickerel, and trout. Now however, the lake was yielding more and more rough fish such as suckers and carp which were of no commercial value. The very real danger of being unable to support its own members threatened the community.

In 1932, a sure sign of hard times presented itself. The Church sold its residential school to the Department of Indian Affairs. This was of course no great improvement for the Metis students. In fact, it appears to have been worse for them. Whereas the odd exception had been made when the Church ran the school, the Federal Government had no intention of supporting any Metis students during a period of hard times and budget cuts. Fortunately the people of the community had for some time been attempting to get more satisfactory educational arrangements for their children. These came through in the same year with the help of Inspector Peach. A school was built six miles south of the community. No-one seems to know what logic, or lack of it, prompted the authorities to build a school so far from the town. The end result of this was that the school was never used to full advantage because of the distance.[39]

From that time on until the early 1960's, St. Louis lived in a state of suspended animation. Nothing much seemed

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[39]Interview with priest, resident of St. Louis since 1912. Father B. acted as advisor to the Metis people during the period of school change.

to happen in any area. A few feeble attempts at various types of industry were made, but these were mainly industries of a local nature, geared to supply a few local needs. An example of this is the lime kiln built in 1932 and which remained in operation for two or three years. The stones were brought in and fired until the limestone broke down. The lime was used to make whitewash and disinfectant.

Another industry was Poulin's sawmill. This met with a fair amount of success, but once again it was basically local and nothing comparable to the great fishing industry of earlier years. Times indeed were hard as can be witnessed by Joe Smith's sale of two hundred cattle at seven dollars per head.[40] Very little was to change for the next ten years.

What did happen ten years later was no big boom of business. It was merely the first inklings of an economy stirring very slowly after having been knocked senseless by a depression. It started with the introduction of new, but extremely small businesses. No longer were the business ventures of the town geared towards the whole community, but rather, they were enterprises designed specifically to support family units. For this reason, businesses such as the Fork Taxi Company presented themselves around 1944, and

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[40]Interview with Joe Smith's daughter.

continued to crop up even to the present day. The necessity of such small businesses is witnessed by the burning of the sawmill in 1946. The burning was not looked upon as any great tragedy, for the mill had already been closed due to the lack of timber in the immediate area. Later lumber mills opened, run by people from St. Louis, but these were located at fair distances in locations such as Wood River and Jack Creek.

According to residents of the community, life in St. Louis from the early 1930's to the mid 1950's was one of "hand to mouth survival".[41] There was no organization and political leadership in the community at this time. People were too occupied with eking out a subsistence to become involved in anything other than survival.[42] It appears that as a consequence of this, the community stagnated in that there was no appreciable development in the lifestyle of the people. The rest of the province however, did not stand still during this time. When St. Louis finally began to stir economically in the early 1950's, it was roughly two decades behind the progress of other areas in the province. This lag seems to have been bridged somewhat since, but the village is still developmentally behind.

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[41]Comment by sixty-nine year old, lifelong resident of St. Louis.

[42]Comment by present parish priest who first came to St. Louis during the period of the depression.

As has been pointed out, very little of a social or economic nature developed in St. Louis from 1930 to 1950. The improvement over the years 1946 to 1960 was slight. The most noteable achievment during those years was the construction of the town Gymnasium (under the auspices of the Church) in 1949. This allowed the community a recreational site in which it was possible to view films, hold bingos and other events of a social nature. In 1952, St. Louis suffered a flood which did not seem to change a great deal of the community's way of life. Of course, there was very little going on which could have been dampened by this event. In 1957, the year the "Half-breed Reserve" was relinquished to the crown, a part of that same land measuring two hundred and fifty feet by two hundred feet was surveyed and sold to form the Local School District of St. Louis.[43] A school was built, as well as accomodations for the nuns who were engaged to teach there, and these facilities were used up until 1971. The Goose Hills School Division who had since taken over the school, sold the land to Francis Fleming along with the buildings. Mr. Fleming converted these into a restaurant, pool hall, and apartment units. The school division purchased a piece of lot six upon which to build the school.

Up until 1960, St. Louis was considered to be

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[43]Records of the Goose Hills School Division.

unorganized territory by the government. It fell under the jurisdiction of the Pelican Lake Government District. In the early 1960's however, a provincial thrust was made towards local government committees, and St. Louis organized on a similar basis. This state of affairs continued until 1968 when the first mayor and council were elected. The catalyst for this change came about through the inception of the Northern Affairs Department of the Provincial Government in 1967. This body took over most of the policy and administrative matters pertaining to unorganized territories such as St. Louis, and in 1969 the Local Government District of Pelican Lake transferred the responsibility for St. Louis to the Northern Affairs Department.[44] The effects of this change were felt and are still being felt today.

It was through this change in administrative power that the minister of the newly created department was convinced of the value of the Manitoba Work Activity Project (MANWAP) presently in existence. This program allows people from the community to learn various trades while doing the work within the community. The participants earn a salary, the members of the community get services otherwise unavailable and yet at reasonable costs, and in the end, more human resources become locally available. (See appendix B.)

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[44]Records of the Local Government District of Pelican Lake.

It was also through the Provincial Government that the local building project run by Michael Hammer was started. This project, sponsored by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, is designed to supply houses for people with low incomes. Some of these houses are placed in St. Louis while others are shipped to various remote communities. The project provides employment for several people and improves the housing conditions within the community.

During the past ten years, many projects have been started. The Student Temporary Employment Program enabled a day care centre to be run in the community. Through a Local Initiatives Program grant, the Metis Educational School Services were formed. This program gave an opportunity for local input into the school. By means of a Provincial Employment Program grant, the community has been able to construct a skating rink and conduct a clean-up of the town's beach area. The one drawback to these programs is that they have all been temporary. When they have expired it has been necessary to renegotiate new programs. The result has been that St. Louis has had to constantly struggle to progress.

The year 1974 saw the advent of the Indian and Metis Project for Careers Through Teacher Education (IMPACTE) in St. Louis. This program was designed to produce fully qualified teachers from the local community. (See appendix C).

In viewing the history of St. Louis it is notice-

able that it is presently far different from twenty-five years ago. Some of the amenities enjoyed in the community are television, radio, newspapers, a pool hall, three stores, a Liquor Commission, hydroelectric power, and telephones. Some of the drawbacks of the community are a lack of running water and sewage, poor unpaved roads, and no industry or employment opportunities.

The following chapters will examine in detail many of the aspects of the community which have been mentioned just briefly in this chapter.

Chapter 3

ST. LOUIS' ECONOMY

In 1969, St. Louis, which was under the Local Government District of Pelican Lake, was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Provincial Department of Northern Affairs. The last statistical records used by the Local Government District of Pelican Lake dated back to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics survey of 1966. The figures were accurate for the time, but, with the transfer to the Provincial Government, the Department of Northern Affairs began conducting its own surveys. The latest census conducted by this body was in February of 1976, and the figures derived from it are the most recent ones available. Consequently, they will be referred to throughout this chapter.

After conducting the census, Northern Affairs decided to construct a community profile of St. Louis. In order to do this, they decided to analyze the data they had gathered during their survey of February, 1976. Because St. Louis is an unincorporated village and lies within provincial "unorganized territory", few detailed analyses of census figures had ever been made. The detailed breakdown of figures that the Northern Affairs Department came up with are also the most recent and hence accurate ones for

present day St. Louis. Because of this then, these figures will be referred to often in this chapter.

According to the 1976 census, St. Louis has a total population of 636 people. Of these 636 people, there are 332 males and 304 females. There are a total of 146 family groups and these groups have 584 family persons attached to them. There are 110 children of preschool age in the community. The remaining people are adults with no school age children. There are approximately thirty transient people in the community at any given time. For a detailed breakdown of the population by age and sex, see table 1.

The area in which these people live "lies within the Paleozoic region of Manitoba. The region has a limestone, shale, and sandstone base."[45] The area is on a lakeshore and is sparsely wooded although the immediate area is more heavily wooded. There is still some wildlife in the immediate vicinity but it is scarce and becomes increasingly so with every year.

For the above reasons, the area is one which does not lend itself well to supporting a large population. The natural resources are few and unable to provide employment for very many. Although commercial fishing was at one time extensive, there are presently only fourteen men in the community who undertake this form of work. Their houses are

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[45]Community Profile of St. Louis as constructed by the Department of Northern Affairs.

Table 1

Population of St. Louis
by Age and Sex

Age Range	Male	Female	Total	% of Community
0 - 4	48	46	94	14.78 %
5 - 9	41	54	95	14.94 %
10 - 14	56	40	96	15.10 %
15 - 19	44	31	75	11.79 %
20 - 24	21	24	45	7.07 %
25 - 29	24	19	43	6.76 %
30 - 34	13	16	29	4.56 %
35 - 39	12	11	23	3.62 %
40 - 44	12	14	26	4.09 %
45 - 49	13	13	26	4.08 %
50 - 54	11	5	16	2.52 %
55 - 59	8	7	15	2.36 %
60 - 64	13	8	21	3.30 %
65 - 69	11	6	17	2.67 %
70 - 74	---	3	3	0.47 %
75 - 79	2	2	4	0.62 %
80+	3	5	8	1.10 %
Total	332	304	636	

Table taken from Community Profile of St. Louis constructed by the Department of Northern Affairs.

Settled Areas In and Around St. Louis

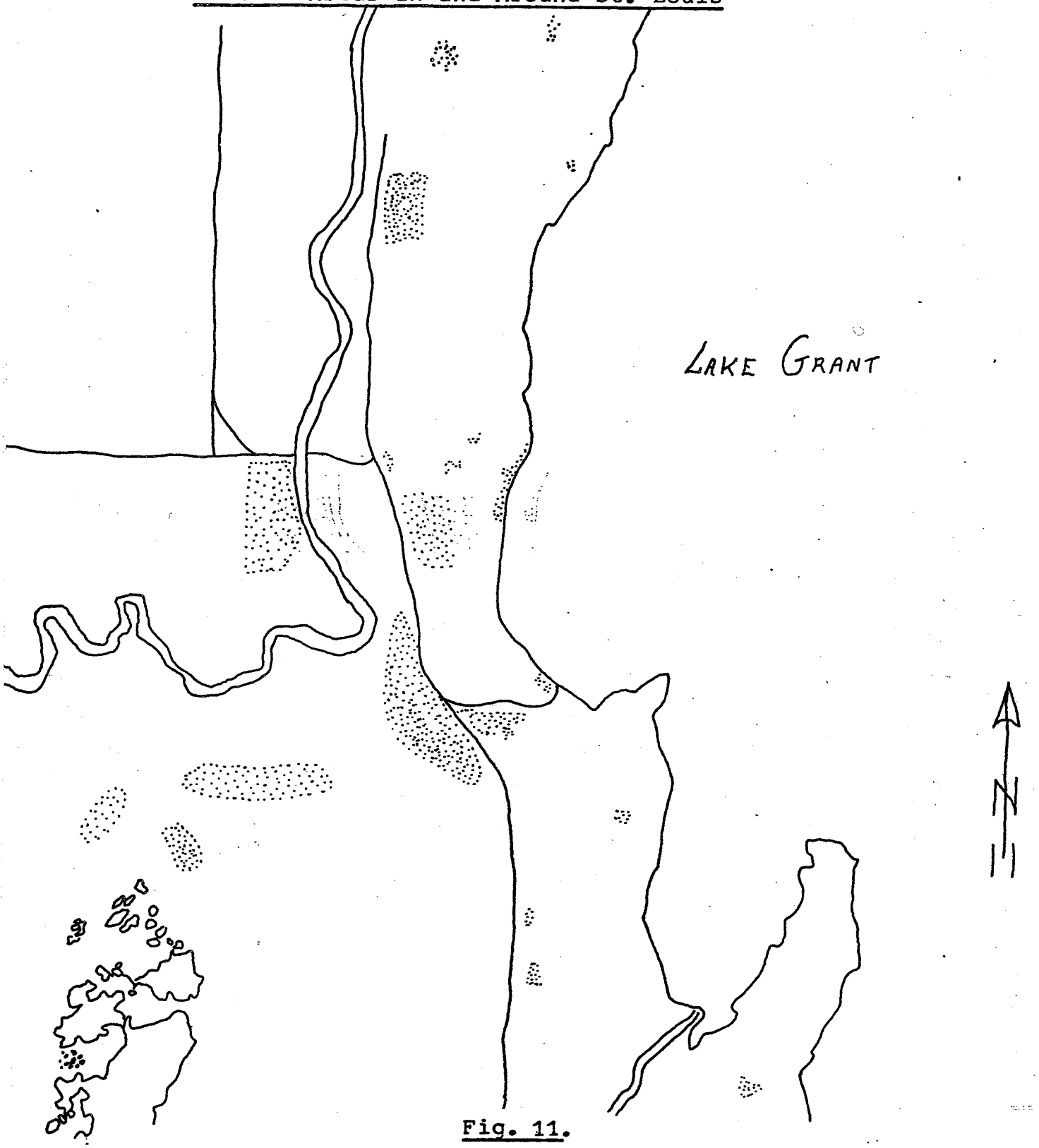

Fig. 11.

Copy of map take from Community Profile of St. Louis prepared by the Department of Northern Affairs.

situated on the lakeshore and this undoubtedly contributes to the reasons why they are involved in this work. (See map fig. 8.) They sell their produce in Grant or at a fish processing plant in Beaver Lodge. The incomes received from this work are not sufficient to support their families. Most are subsidized by welfare payments, although one runs a part time tire business and performs odd jobs around the community.

Within St. Louis itself, no-one is involved with cutting wood as there are no facilities within the town for this industry. Two brothers and their father travel to Jack River and operate a log peeling operation there. They make sufficient money to support their families without assistance and in a manner they consider comfortable. These two examples are among the few which make an attempt at livlihood from the natural resources of the community. Looking at the moderate success of the individuals involved, it is hard to imagine that many more members of the community might be sustained by these industries.

There are a number of service industries in St. Louis which create a certain amount of employment. Among these are two training programs which, although not technically employers, do provide an allowance which seeks to offset financial burdens for the trainees. In the case of both these programs, the majority of the trainees have taken part in the programs due mainly to the attraction of

the allowances.

The first program, presently in its fourth year, is the Manitoba Work Activity Project, otherwise known as MANWAP. (Refer to appendix B.) The men who take part in this program are given basic carpentry training and are paid the standard Canada Manpower training rates. (See appendix D.) The second program is the Indian and Metis Project for Careers Through Teacher Education (IMPACTE). Designed to train native teachers, this program pays Canada Manpower training rates as well, plus additional bonuses for children, babysitting costs, travel, tuition, books, and other expenses. This program presently in its third year can and does provide sufficient money for the trainees to live well. In fact, several of those taking training in this project are doing so at a rate of allowance in excess of the wage they will make when they are qualified teachers. In one instance a student in the program is actually making more than the co-ordinator of the program.[46]

There are other programs which generate employment as well. The most obvious of these is the Remote Housing Construction Program which operates under the auspices of the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation. (See appendix E.) This program employs men as carpenter-laborers, and under the direction of a manager they build houses to be

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[46]Interview with instructor for the IMPACTE program.

transported to isolated communities or to be placed in St. Louis. These men receive a wage of $3.25 per hour. In some cases this does not seem to be adequate because many of the men also receive partial assistance for their families. Although not all that many receive actual welfare allowances, three of the men have wives receiving allowances through IMPACTE.

Besides the opportunities for employment that exist in government programs such as those just mentioned, there are a few full time positions available in the community. One such position is that of Community Constable. The salary for this position is $7,000.00 per annum with an added operations and maintenance allowance of $4,000.00 per annum.[47] This seems to be a satisfactory salary as the constable is single and has no dependents to support.

Another full time position in the community is that of Town Council Clerk. This position pays $8,660.00 a year.[48] This position comes under the auspices of the Department of Northern Affairs. Other positions which are also funded by government agencies include those of Community Education Counsellor, Home Advisor, Probation Worker, Metis Student Counsellor, Court Communicator, Community Education Worker for the Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba, and Family Life Education Co-ordinator. The positions just mentioned have

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[47] Official Town Council Budget - 1976-1977.

[48] Ibid.

attached to them salaries varying in range from the minimum wage requirements of the Province of Manitoba to $16,000.00 per annum plus travelling expenses. The Community Council members receive a stipend but it is negligible as a source of income.

Besides the full time positions sponsored by government agencies, there are also positions available for seven teachers, three bus drivers, one caretaker, one secretary, one paraprofessional, and one School Board Trustee. The renumeration for these positions vary from $1,500.00 per annum to, in excess of, $15,000.00 per year.

The only other employment opportunities present in St. Louis are the result of private enterprises established by various individuals. These enterprises are invariably geared towards providing services. Among these are water delivery service at which two men of the community work but not on a full time basis; taxi-driving which employs three community members; storekeeping which employs nine; and one pool hall operation which employs its owner.

These figures are very fluid in that they fluctuate freely and often. As a result, employment statistics vary from survey to survey and seldom coincide with each other unless the studies are conducted at approximately the same time. The Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs performed a study of the occupational structure of St. Louis in February of 1976. A detailed breakdown of St. Louis' em-

ployment situation can be found in appendix F. The overall number of unemployed males in the community is fifty-eight. The total number of unemployed females is forty-five. Housewives who are unemployed number fifty-one, while the number of skilled people who hold no employment is four. Old-age pensioners number twenty-seven, while 215 members of the community are students. The number of children six years of age and younger 110. This yields a total of five hundred unemployed with 136 gainfully employed. Expressed as a percentage, 27.2 % of St. Louis' total population is employed. When looking at adult population only, the employment situation looks less critical. By removing the pre-school children, students and pensioners from the list of able bodied workers, there are a total of 148 unemployed and 136 gainfully employed. These figures expressed as percentages yield a 52.1 % unemployment rate in St. Louis.

When studying the work situation in St. Louis, it is interesting to note the type of work which is involved in the employment of the 49.7 % of the communities adults. There are four employment opportunities which can be classed as primary industries. These are fishing, bush work, wood cutting, and trapping. These are considered primary because they make use of the natural resources and are geared towards production of raw materials. In all, twenty-five people are employed in these industries. This amounts to 18.3 % of the employed involved in primary industries. This

also means that only 8.8 % of those employable in the community are involved in the production of raw materials.

Only two occupations fall into the category of secondary industries which are those of processing materials into goods. The two are farming and working for the Churchill Forest Industries which together employ two people. Expressed as a percentage of the total employed work force, this is 1.5 %. Of the employable force, this is 0.7 %.

The bulk of those who work, do so in tertiary industries which are essentially service enterprises. There are in all, twenty-nine such enterprises in St. Louis and these can be found listed in table 2. These businesses employ 109 people which breaks down to 80.2 % of the total employed work force, and 38.4 % of the total employable work force. In all, only 47.9 % of the employable members of the community have work. (See table 2.)

Due to the confidentiality of information dealing with welfare assistance, it is impossible to determine with any accuracy the amount of financial aid which is channelled into the community. Later in the analysis of one of the stores of the community, it will become obvious that welfare disbursements are given out to the vast majority of adult citizens in St. Louis.

Another good indication of the necessity of welfare can be seen by studying the income statistics found in the

Table 2

Breakdown of employment opportunities in St. Louis according to category and percentages.

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Fishing Bush Work Pulp Work Trapping	Farming Churchill Forest Industries	Storekeeping Carpentry Odd jobs Priest Nun IMPACTE MANWAP Waterman M.H.R.C. N.A.C.C. Teacher Probation worker Caretaker Machine operator Baby sitting Home advisor Contractor Taxi Constable Truck Driver Mayor Bus Driver Court Communicator Council Clerk Community worker Public relations

Industry Type	% of labor force	% of poss. labor
Primary	18.3 %	8.8 %
Secondary	1.5 %	0.7 %
Tertiary	80.2 %	38.4 %
TOTALS	100.0 %	49.7 %

1971 census of Canada figures.[49]

At least 52.1 % have no earned income at all and must rely totally on welfare and other subsidies. From interviews with members who are employed, it has been ascertained that those in the primary industries cannot make a living at their work. One of the reasons they attempt it is for their own personal pride. The attempt makes it easier for them to accept the necessity of government aid.

It is possible for members of the community to go and find employment out of the community. Those who do leave, do so only for short periods of time, as they leave their families behind and are anxious to return. The common practice is to be gone for a length of time sufficient to comply with the Unemployment Insurance Commission requirements for receipt of Unemployment Insurance payments. The laborer then returns home and remains there until such time as he is no longer eligible for benefits. At that point he once more leaves the area to find work. The most common type of employment found away from St. Louis is mine laboring and wood cutting.

A number of inferences can be drawn from this sketch of St. Louis' economy. The most important concerns the eco-

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[49]For a detailed breakdown of the income figures of St. Louis, see appendix G. The author recognizes that these figures are outdated but presents them here because they are the latest figures of this type available. It is felt that the figures though not current are at least indicative.

nomic feasibility of the community. It is apparent from the lack of economic independence experienced by the few involved in primary industries, that St. Louis cannot support any sizeable numbers of people in these kinds of occupations. In secondary industries larger numbers might be expected to do well. Unfortunately very few such industries exist in this area. The primary and secondary industries are essentially those directed at production in modern society. The tertiary group is essentially one of consumer oriented occupations. In the analysis of St. Louis statistics, only 19.8 % of all labor is directed towards production, while 80.2 % is aimed at consumption. It is difficult then, on economic grounds alone, to justify the existence of this community whose consumption oriented services outweigh its productive contribution by slightly more than four times.

A measure of the town's propensity towards consuming can be seen in the financial analysis of the major general store in the community. The figures which will be referred to are accurate for the financial year ending April 30, 1976. This store deals in groceries, dry goods, gasoline and liquor. Unfortunately not all business carried on is with people from St. Louis as this outlet also services the Metis community of Beaver Lodge, and the Indian Reserve of Jack Creek. As a result, only estimated figures can be given for the amounts spent by St. Louis residents, but these at least reflect the major trends in the community.

The store turns over a total of $322,399.00 in groceries, dry goods, and gasoline during a one year period. The total sales of liquor for the same period amount to $258,000.00 . The gross yearly turnover of all merchandise in this particular store is $580,399.00 .[50] However, as three communities are serviced by this store, the figure just presented does not indicate how much is spent by St. Louis. In an interview with the storekeeper, he attributed 60 % of his monthly grocery sales to St. Louis residents, along with 60 % of his dry goods' sales and 40 % of his gasoline sales. In the total of the liquor sales, he attributed 30 % to St. Louis. As his outlet is the only outlet for a considerable distance, the total liquor sales to St. Louis residents is a fairly accurate figure of habitual spending in this area. It does not however take into account special circumstance purchases of liquor at other outlets.

When the percentages just mentioned are converted into dollar values and projected for a twelve month period, the St. Louis Groceteria turns over $324,000.00 in groceries, dry goods and gasoline. This, when compared with the $322,399.00 figure taken from the Annual Financial Statement for the year ending April 30, 1976, indicates that spending is on the increase slightly. It is however, impossible to determine if this is a result of current national economic conditions, or if the residents are simply buying more goods.

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[50]Annual Financial Statement - St. Louis Groceteria.

The average monthly figures of the groceteria indicate that it sells $18,000.00 of groceries, $5,000.00 of dry goods, $4,000.00 of gasoline and $21,500.00 of liquor. If one attributes 60 % of the grocery sales, 60 % of the dry goods sales, 40 % of the gasoline sales and 30 % of the liquor sales to St. Louis residents, it is possible to compute the amount of money which is spent monthly by St. Louis residents on these commodities at the St. Louis groceteria.[51] The amounts spent on the various commodities are $10,800.00 for groceries, $3,000.00 for dry goods, $1,600 for gasoline, and $6,450.00 for liquor. (See table 3.)

Knowing the amounts spent monthly at the groceteria, and also knowing the percentage of St. Louis' population this accounts for, it is possible to compute roughly what the entire community spends monthly in St. Louis. $18,000.00 is spent monthly for groceries, $8,333.00 for dry goods, and $10,000.00 for gasoline. As there is only one outlet in town, the liquor sale total remains constant at $6,450.00 . The total monthly cash flow of the community within St. Louis is estimated at $42,783.00 . With 146 families in the village, $293.03 is estimated to be spent on an average per month per family. (For a more detailed breakdown see table 4.)

As has been pointed out, these figures account only for spending which takes place in St. Louis. No attempt is

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[51]The percentage figures are those quoted by the owner of the groceteria and are here accepted as relatively accurate.

Table 3

An analysis of the spending habits of the population of St. Louis.

Sales Category	Monthly Average	% of sales attributed to St. Louis	Monthly Average purchases for St. Louis residents
Groceries	$18,000.00	60%	$10,800.00
Dry Goods	$ 5,000.00	60%	$ 3,000.00
Gasoline	$ 4,000.00	40%	$ 1,600.00
Liquor	$21,500.00	30%	$ 6,450.00
Total Monthly	$ 48,500.00	------	$ 21,850.00
Total Yearly	$582,000.00	------	$262,200.00

Extrapolation for the total population of St. Louis.

Monthly Sales and category	% of sales in St. Louis	Total Monthly Sales for 100% of the population	Total Yearly Sales for 100% of the population
Groceries			
$ 10,800.00	60%	$ 18,000.00	$216,000.00
Dry Goods			
$ 5,000.00	60%	$ 8,333.00	$ 99,996.00
Gasoline			
$ 4,000.00	40%	$ 10,000.00	$120,000.00
Liquor			
$ 21,500.00	30%	$ 6,450.00	$ 77,400.00

Table 4

Breakdown of family spending habits in St. Louis.

Sales Category	Monthly Total	Annual Total	No. of fam.	Family Monthly Average	Family Yearly Average
Groceries	$ 18,000.00	$216,000.00	146	$ 123.28	$ 1479.36
Dry Goods	$ 8,333.00	$ 99,996.00	146	$ 57.08	$ 684.96
Gasoline	$ 10,000.00	$120,000.00	146	$ 68.49	$ 821.88
Liquor	$ 6,450.00	$ 77,400.00	146	$ 44.18	$ 530.16
TOTALS	$ 42,783.00 (monthly cash flow)	$513,396.00 (annual cash flow)	146	$ 293.03 (average monthly family cash flow)	$ 3516.36 (average yearly fam. cash flow)

made here to indicate the spending patterns and habits outside of the immediate community. It is for this reason that the average monthly expenditure figure of $293.03 arrived at is a low one. This figure would doubtless rise substantially were consideration given tothe amounts spent in other communities by St. Louis families.

The relative accuracy of the family figure of $293.03 is reflected in the following specific example. One man, the father of four children, is married and living in St. Louis. His wife is involved in a training program which provides her with an allowance. He is employed sporadically and when he is without work, he draws Unemployment Insurance benefits. This assistance is the only direct payment assistance received other than family allowance which is paid to all parents in Canada. However, this family also lives in a house which was made available through a government sponsored program, and the monthly mortgage payment is dependent strictly on the monthly income of the family. During the month of September 1976, this family spent a total of $279.00 for groceries dry goods and gas. A total of $90.00 was spent strictly on beer. This information was provided by the storekeeper who agreed to observe and record the spending habits of one typical Metis family in his store.[52] This family

[52]The author acknowledges the subjectivity of this approach. It is however, the only investigative procedure available which can maintain the confidentiality of the observed subjects.

spent a total of $369.00 at this particular store. Unfortunately it is impossible to estimate the amount spent in other locations during the month. This figure is not too far removed from the overall average of $292.03 previously arrived at.

When talking earlier of welfare allowances and the unfeasibility of St. Louis economically, it was pointed out that even those who were employed often received at least partial assistance. One can consider the training programs in progress in the community as government sponsored assistance programs. This is especially true when economic opportunities are examined in the light of these programs. IMPACTE proposes to graduate twelve teachers from the community within the next year. However, there are only seven teaching positions available in St. Louis and these would all have to be vacated if seven of those presently in training were to be hired. It is this writer's contention that programs which prepare trainees for positions that do not exist are basically another form of welfare assistance.[53]

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[53]The argument has been presented that the training programs are designed to prepare the participants to work, not necessarily in the area in which they were trained. While nothing really prevents those in training from moving, this does not usually happen. In the case of those in IMPACTE, it must be noted that all are married women with families. Some have up to seven children. Some of their husbands have employment and most are reluctant to relocate. The trainees invariably have their own homes, and all of them have numerous family ties within the community. All these factors minimize the possibility of the trainees relocating to take up employment, and very few ever do.

It was previously pointed out that 52.1 % of all employable citizens of St. Louis are without work and have to depend totally on government assistance (p. 69.). It is logical that the percentage of government assistance cheques used for purchases at the store should correspond fairly closely to this figure. However, after an analysis of the deposits made by the store, it was found that only 7 % of those deposits were cash. Personal cheques are as a rule not accepted, but every month about $400.00 worth are cashed. These account for 2.4 % of the total cash deposits of the store. The remaining 90.6 % of the deposits are all in the form of government cheques turned over to the store. It is obvious then, that assistance of one form or another is the mainstay of St. Louis' economy.

In order to better substantiate this claim, it is useful to look at the operation of another business in St. Louis, that of the Community Council.

The Department of Northern Affairs allots to a community council such as St. Louis', an outright grant of $13.66 per person living in the community.[54] Using the population figure of 650,[55] this totals $8,879.00 for the year 1976 - 1977. As well as this grant, there is a "Special Grant" of $2.00 per capita which amounts to $1,300.00 per

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[54]The formula and hence amount varies from year to year, but the authority for this grant is found in Clause 12, Section 1 of the Northern Affairs Act of 1974.

[55]St. Louis' Official Budget 1976 - 1977.

annum. Three other grants are available from the Department of Northern Affairs and these are to cover the service costs of a community constable, a town clerk, and the membership fees of the Northern Association of Community Councils (NACC). These grants combined, total $20,260.00 . The overall amount of money granted by the Department of Northern Affairs is $30,439.00 which represents 67.8 % of the total estimated revenue for 1976 - 1977. (See table 5.) Other forms of council revenue are rental of office and building space and the income from these sources is $5,850.00 which represents 13 % of the total. This money comes from government agencies such as the Department of Health and Social Development which office space to pay disbursements twice a month. The other renting agency is the Department of Public Health which conducts baby clinics, venereal disease clinics, immunization programs and the like on a weekly basis using council owned buildings. What this in effect means is that this 13 % of the total revenue comes from other government agencies who are involved in service industries. Once again these are geared towards consumption rather than production.

One other form of revenue which the town council makes use of is that from Community Health Services and which totals $800.00 yearly. This is income generated from government agencies such as the Fire Commissioner's Office, who pay rental for such items as projectors, vehicles and the like. This sum accounts for 1.8 % of the total council

Table 5

Estimated revenue of the St. Louis Community Council for 1976 - 1977.

REVENUE:			
GRANTS			
Unconditional	650 x 13.66	$ 8,879.00	
Special	650 x 2.00	$ 1,300.00	
Other		$	
Constable		$11,000.00	
Clerk		$ 8,660.00	
N.A.C.C.		$ 600.00	
		$	
TOTAL GRANT REVENUE			$ 30,439.00
TAXES 1975 Actual			
Taxes (Community, School, Other)			$ 7,812.00
RENTALS			
Office Space		$ 1,500.00	
Council Buildings		$ 4,350.00	
Council Vehicles and Equipment		$	
Council Tools		$	
TOTAL RENTAL REVENUE			$ 5,850.00
LOCALLY GENERATED REVENUE			
Bingo's, Movies, Festivals		$	
Gifts or Donations		$	
Licenses, Permits, Fines, Penalties		$	
Community Health Services		$ 800.00	
Council Businesses		$	
Other		$	
TOTAL LOCALLY GENERATED REVENUE			$ 800.00
TOTAL ESTIMATED REVENUE			$ 44,901.70

Copy of the official budget estimate of St. Louis for the year 1976 - 1977.

revenue. It can be seen from these figures that 82.6 % of the Community Council's income is obtained from government sources. The remaining 17.4 % is raised through taxation and totals $7,812.70 .

If one looks at table 6, one notices that the Community Council estimates deficit spending by $6,869.63 which then brings the total budget figure to $51,771.33 for the year. If one computes the $7,812.70 raised by taxes against this figure, then the community is only producing 15.1 % of the total revenue. The remaining 84.9 % comes from various government sources. Once again St. Louis can be seen as consuming 5.6 times the amount it produces.

The amount of revenue St. Louis could generate might actually be slightly higher than the amount allowed for in the budget. It will be noticed in table 5 that virtually none of the "Locally Generated Revenues" possible have been tapped. However, it should be kept in mind that it would be necessary for the council to raise $18,072.97 in order to cover 50 % of its budget. In a community of 636 people, one would have to show many movies and hold many bingo games in order to collect that kind of money. A study of table 6 will reveal that the total expenditure of the budget is aimed at tertiary industries which are again, highly consumptive in nature. By looking at just the employment statistics, then the financial operation of one store, and finally the revenues and expenditures of the Community

Table 6

Summary of expenditure for the St. Louis Community Council for the year 1976 - 1977.[56]

EXPENDITURES:-		
1.	TOTAL ADMINISTRATION COSTS	$ 26,421.33
2.	TOTAL PROTECTIVE COSTS	$ 11,400.00
3.	TOTAL PUBLIC WORKS COSTS	$ 2,950.00
4.	TOTAL HEALTH SERVICES COSTS	$ 6,700.00
5.	TOTAL RECREATION COSTS	$ 4,300.00
6.	TOTAL COMMUNITY PLANNING COSTS	$
7 7.	TOTAL COUNCIL BUSINESS COSTS	$
	TOTAL ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES	$ 51,771.33
	NET SURPLUS -deficit-	$ 6,869.63

Council, it can be shown that the only reason St.Louis exists today is that the government allows it to exist. Were the government to cease supplying funds to it for the various programs, there would be almost total unemployment, the store observed would turn over approximately $4,700.00 per month, and the town council revenues would approximate $780.00 per year. This would be an unviable economic community and the population would be forced to move to a more feasible location.

[56]Copy from the official budget estimate of St. Louis for the year 1976 - 1977.

However, St. Louis does exist and the government is aware of the economic problems of the area. Rather than attempt to make the town more economically feasible, the energies of the various departments are chanelled into alleviating some of the difficulties. One such group, the Northern Association of Community Councils (NACC), operates three relief programs in the area of housing. Table 7 points out that there are 146 families in St. Louis and only 131 homes. Of these homes, many are in a state of drastic dis-repair.

Table 7

Summary of community data for St. Louis.[57]

Number of Houses	131
Number of Families	146
Number of Family Persons	584
Number of Non-Family Persons	18
AVERAGE family Size	4
AVERAGE Household Size	4.78
Number Living Alone	24
Exceptions (Church)	10
Total Number of Persons	636

[57]Taken from Community Profile of St. Louis as drawn up by the Department of Northern Affairs.

The first of NACC's programs is the Emergency Repair Program (ERP). (See appendix H for guidelines of this program.) Under this program, anyone needing housing repairs essential for comfortable living through the winter, is allowed a grant of up to $1,200.00 for materials and labor. Those interested in doing their own labor can use the entire sum for materials. The number who are accepted in any one year is determined by NACC and the Community Council approves or rejects applications.

The second program is the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP). This program is designed to help homeowners to upgrade their present dwellings. The improvements are designed to last for fifteen years. (Complete details of this plan can be found in appendix I.)

The third program sponsored by NACC is the Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP). (See appendix J.) Under this program an individual receives a new house and purchases it through NACC. The individual is required to pay 25 % of his monthly salary with a minimum payment of $18.00 per month. The houses vary in size depending on the needs of the individual. The smallest is two-bedroom and the largest is six-bedroom in a split level style. The prices range from $18,900.00 to 32,400.00 . The homes are delivered and set up on foundations. The participants are allowed to choose their own floor plans, panelling, paint, trim, exterior siding and the like. The only option which is not theirs is

the color of the floor tiles. This is because only one type is used throughout.[58] In 1976 - 1977, twenty-five such units will be made available to residents of St. Louis. The selection of applicants will be controlled in the same manner as the previous programs.

These programs, as well as the method of selection of the candidates provide a "Russian Roulette" attitude in many of the residents of the community. While a large number freely talk of the futility of living in St. Louis, the same people are often heard to say such things as "I think I'm getting a new house", or "I'm gonna get money to fix my place". What this does, is add hope to otherwise hopeless lives. To those who manage to be funded under one of these programs, it provides them with one more material link to the community and makes the possibility of moving out of the area to better economic conditions, just that much more difficult.

Table 8 lists the amenities enjoyed by the community at present, and some of the amenities they seek to obtain. In view of the economic picture just presented, it is unlikely that any of these hoped for amenities will come about for a great period of time. Considering the economic base of the community, any new amenities such as paved roads or sewage will have to be funded totally by the government. At

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[58]The preceding information was given by a spokesmar for NACC at a public meeting in St. Louis on September 17, 1976.

present the sums of money needed for these projects are prohibitive, but should they ever materialize, the new amenities will only serve to further chain the residents of St. Louis to a dependent lifestyle, extremely difficult to break away from.

Chapter 4

POWER STRUCTURES IN ST. LOUIS

In order to discuss power structures as they exist in present day St. Louis, it is useful to define the term power and to distinguish it from authority. Rohner and Rohner state that:

> We define power as the ability to influence the opinion or behavior of others; the more an individual is able to do this, the more power he has.
>
> Authority includes one type of power; it is the institutionalized right over group or individual action and includes the legitimate richt to apply coercive sanctions in threat or fact. Authority is associated with a status or an institutionally defined social position that is identified independently of its occupant. Whereas an individual acquires authority solely by occupying a particular position or status in the social system, power is acquired through an individuals ability to reward others in specified ways. It is not necessarily associated with any formal status.[59]

Using this definition, it is possible to identify two types of power that exist in present day St. Louis. The first is institutionalized power as found in the Community Council. The power of this body comes from legislation enacted in 1974 and referred to as the Northern Affairs Act. (See appendix K for details of the powers assigned to community councils as outlined in the Northern Affairs Act.) This type of power is the most easily defined as it is invariably

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[59] Ronald P. and Evelyn C. Rohner; The Kwakiutl - Indians of B.C. (Toronto: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 59.

with one or more formal positions.

The second type of power is far less clearly defined, and it centres around sociological influences. An example of this type of power can be seen when studying the influence of candidates in local elections. Clearly the candidates themselves have no formal positions, yet, they can and obviously do exert a considerable influence on the voting public. In a case such as this, one must consider why and how the candidates are able to influence the population. Obviously the promise of a candidate some day being in a position of assigned power and influence does to some degree sway voters. However, there seem to be other factors influencing the public as well.

In St. Louis, the three major influencing factors appear to be kinship groups, the Roman Catholic Church and affiliation to it, and socio-political organizations. There are undoubtedly many other influencing factors, but the ones mentioned are taken to be the most significant ones and the ones which are most widespread.[60] A closer look will reveal the extent to which each of these is an influence.

Of all the institutions in St. Louis; the Community Council has by far the most assigned power. Within the council itself, the mayor and the deputy mayor are legis-

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[60]The choice of these three factors, as with choices made throughout this chapter, are the author's and made on the basis of observations as a three year resident of St. Louis.

lated greater powers and responsibility than the councillors. However, they seldom can use these powers unless they do so in conjunction with a majority of councillors. An example of this is the "tie-splitting vote" cast by the mayor. This power, when used, is done so in conjunction with one half of the councillors. The mayor has no power of veto and is basically just another councillor in terms of voting power.

As the Community Council is the administrative body for the village, it has discretionary powers assigned to it. (See appendix K for details of Community Council powers.) It has also over the years come to regulate aspects of life in St. Louis over which it has no legislated authority. It appears that the council took over some elements of community life without protest from the residents. One explanation for this lack of protest is public ignorance of the limitations of the council's authority.[61] Since the creation of this body in 1967, many in the community felt that it had powers far in excess of those outlined in the Northern Affairs Act. Knowing that the council was legislated some authority, people felt threatened and apprehensive about questioning the council. Gradually, the areas over which it exerted control widened and came to be accepted as normal. An example of this type of accepted but non-legislated control can be seen in attempts by individuals to either lease

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[61] When questioned by the author, very few people in the community knew where the council received its authority or if and how it was limited.

land from the crown, or squat on land within the village limits of St. Louis. There seems to be little that one can do to convince the council to allow someone to settle if it personally does not want that individual there. Although it is supposed to forward requests for land and the like to the Department of Northern Affairs for approval, it has been known in the past to withhold applications, and this has caused problems for individuals. It has even gone so far as to tell individuals of its inability to promise anything and that any agreement reached could not be guaranteed for any specific period of time.[62] This would appear to have been a ploy to allow the council to evict the would-be resident should it feel either the necessity or the desirability of such action. Although it is not given this kind of power through the Northern Affairs Act, it is obvious that it has usurped this power and it has gone unchecked.

The greatest responsibility the council has is to represent the people of the community. This means transmitting the community's needs and desires to the provincial government, and ensuring just and equal treatment to all members of the town. This does not always happen. In chapter three the housing programs of the Northern Association of Community Councils (NACC) were explained in detail. It will be remembered that the selection committee for applicants

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[62]Personal experience of the author.

wishing to receive assistance was the Community Council. This power was assigned to the council by NACC. The criterion to be used when selecting applicants is that of need. There have been cases however, where this has not been the criterion used. In these cases, assistance seems to have been given along kinship lines instead.

Although the Community Council has powers assigned to it by statute, it has broadened its power base by means of manipulation, graft, and nepotism. An example which includes all three of these is found in the development of water works in St. Louis. Presently no houses in the community are serviced with water. However, there is water service to the school by means of a mainline running from the town reservoir to the school building and which cuts across the centre of a relatively new housing development which has in it approximately forty houses. In 1975, an undisclosed amount of money was given to the Community Council by the Department of Northern Affairs for continuation of the water works program previously started. Most members of the community expected that the money would be used to install running water from the mainline to the houses in the development through which the line already passed. (See figure 9.) As the council had disintegrated as a decision making body by this time,[62] the mayor had no opposition and contracted a new line to be laid from the

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[62]The breakdown of the council is outlined on p. 97.

reservoir to a different development in which he and his family lived. (See figure 9.)

It is clear from this behavior that the mayor ordered the contractor to put a line where one should logically not have gone. It is clear also that the move was one designed to give special consideration to the mayor's kinship group and to the mayor himself, at the expense of other members of the community. When talking in terms of power, it is interesting to note that this occurrence took place just prior to the November 1976 elections for a new mayor and councillors. When the water was being put in, it was already clear that public opinion favored having another leader. As it seemed unlikely that John Brown, the incumbent, would be re-elected, he apparently chose to follow the course of action he did in order to assure himself of some reward for his term as mayor.

Although this type of behavior is not uncommon in any powerful organization, it is out of proportion in St. Louis. The basis for this opinion lies in this writer's personal observations and in the fact that people in St. Louis refer to the mayor, the Community Council, or individual councillors with statements such as "John Brown's gonna get money for me to fix up my house me", or "Don't get them mad or they'll shoot all our dogs or somethin".[63]

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[63]Personal interviews with voting members of the community of St. Louis.

Map Depicting the Water System of St. Louis and the 1976 Extension as Opposed to the Anticipated Extension to the Homes.

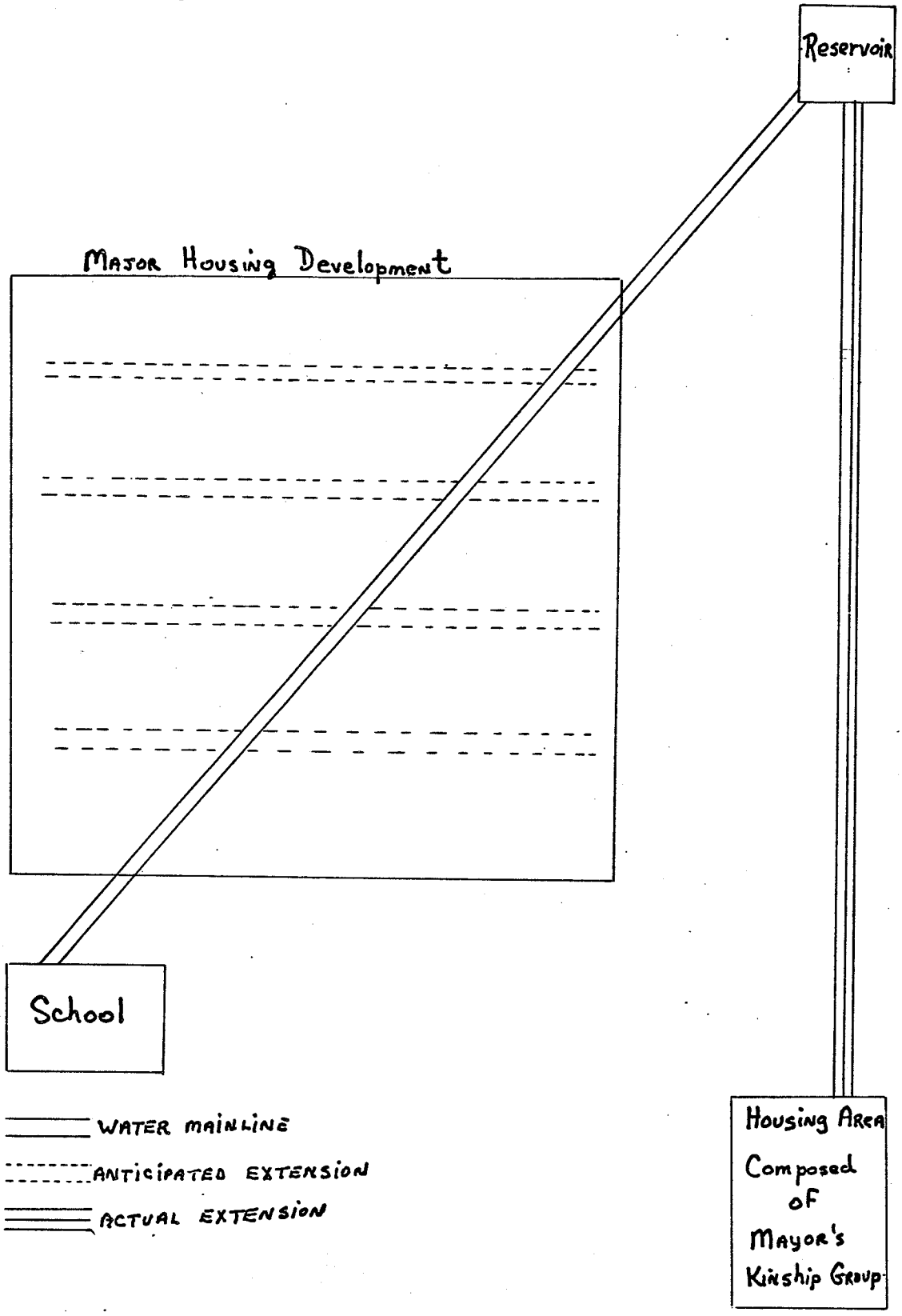

Fig. 12.

These seem to be fairly normal reactions on the part of the voting public. Community members perceive that John Brown is a particular councillor who will do something for Mr. X but will not think of helping Mr. Y whose situation is identical. The grounds for these kinds of decisions also usually find root in kinship ties of one sort or another.

Unfortunately, the Community Council today is not normally thought of by the rest of the community as a governing body representing the common community good. While everyone will admit that the council does indeed govern, it is often viewed as a group of individuals who are frequently opposed to each other and each working for the benefit of his kinship group. Evidence of this can be seen in the behavior of the last council oc St. Louis.[64]

Figure 10 shows a list of the "last-term" councillors of St. Louis and the relationship between these members. As the loyalties between each were extremely few, it is not surprising that after one year of the two year term had elapsed, Lucy Church, John Lucifer and Margaret Lindsay had all resigned their positions as councillors to take up employment outside of the council. When talking to Margaret Lindsay about these events, she stated that she felt that nothing could be accomplished through the council because everyone was pulling in different directions and there were

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[64]A new council was elected in November of 1976.

Last-Term Councillors and the Relationships Between These.

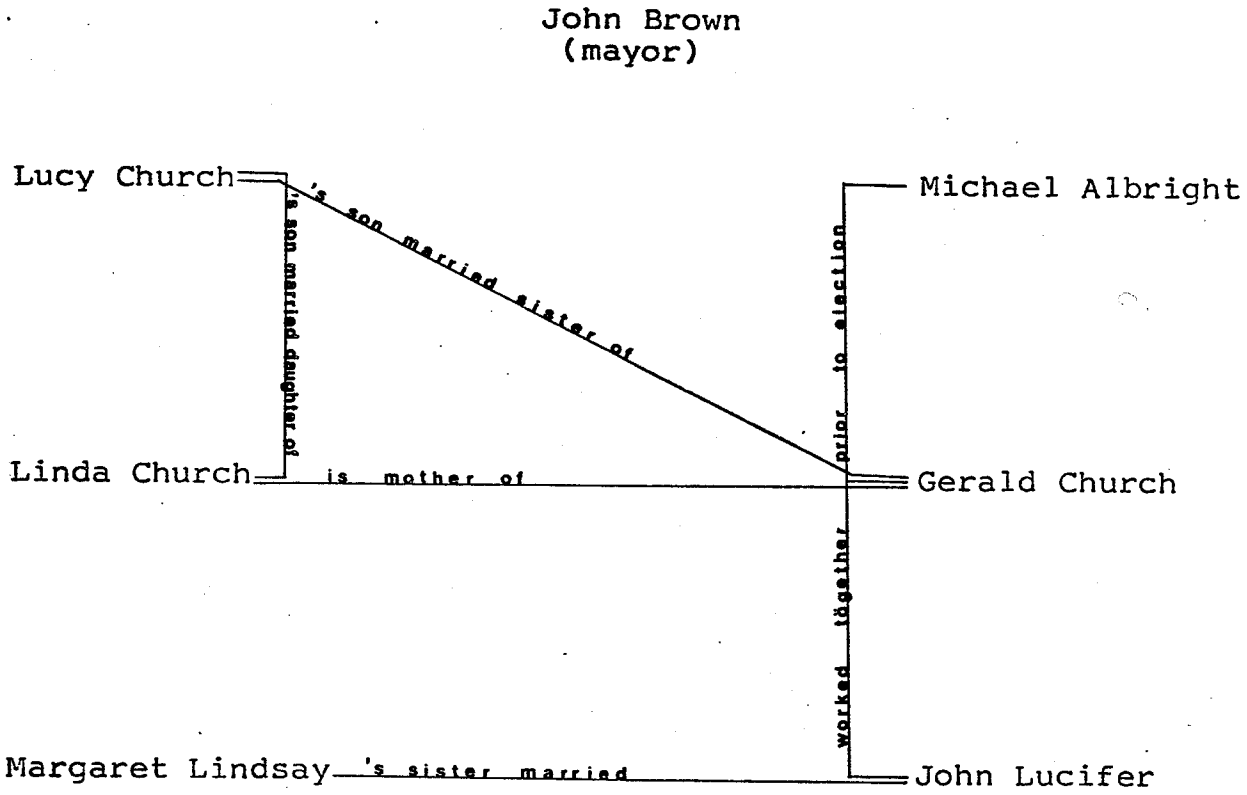

Fig. 13.

too many conflicts of interest. Of the remaining councillors Michael Albright and Gerald Church absented themselves from most meetings, and this was especially noticeable at public meetings where discussions were held and decisions had to be made publicly.[65] As a result of all of this, the

[65] Personal observation of the author.

Community Council, even though it had powers legislated to it by provincial statute, was greatly crippled and often ineffective in that it could not muster a quorum necessary for the passing of by-laws and other routine business. It, in fact, had all but crumbled when the November 1976 elections were held.

It is this author's opinion that the past council, although it had assigned power, lacked in the truly effective source of power in St. Louis, namely kinship ties. Close kinship ties might have been the only thing able to keep the council together, for the ties were not very great in the past council and it certainly did not act in a cohesive manner. It would seem that the electorate felt the same way, for the kinship patterns are remarkably noticeable when one examines the structure of the present council. (See figure 11.) Time will bear out the validity of this assumption one way or another.

How kinship power structures developed over the years in St. Louis is unclear. Studies of kinship groupings have never been conducted here, but it is safe to state that in a community of 636 people, which developed over the past one hundred years, almost everyone is related in some manner or another to most other members of the population. The close relationships between certain families in St. Louis is obvious if one looks at the telephone directory. There are only twenty-three different surnames in

Present Councillors and the Relationships Between These.

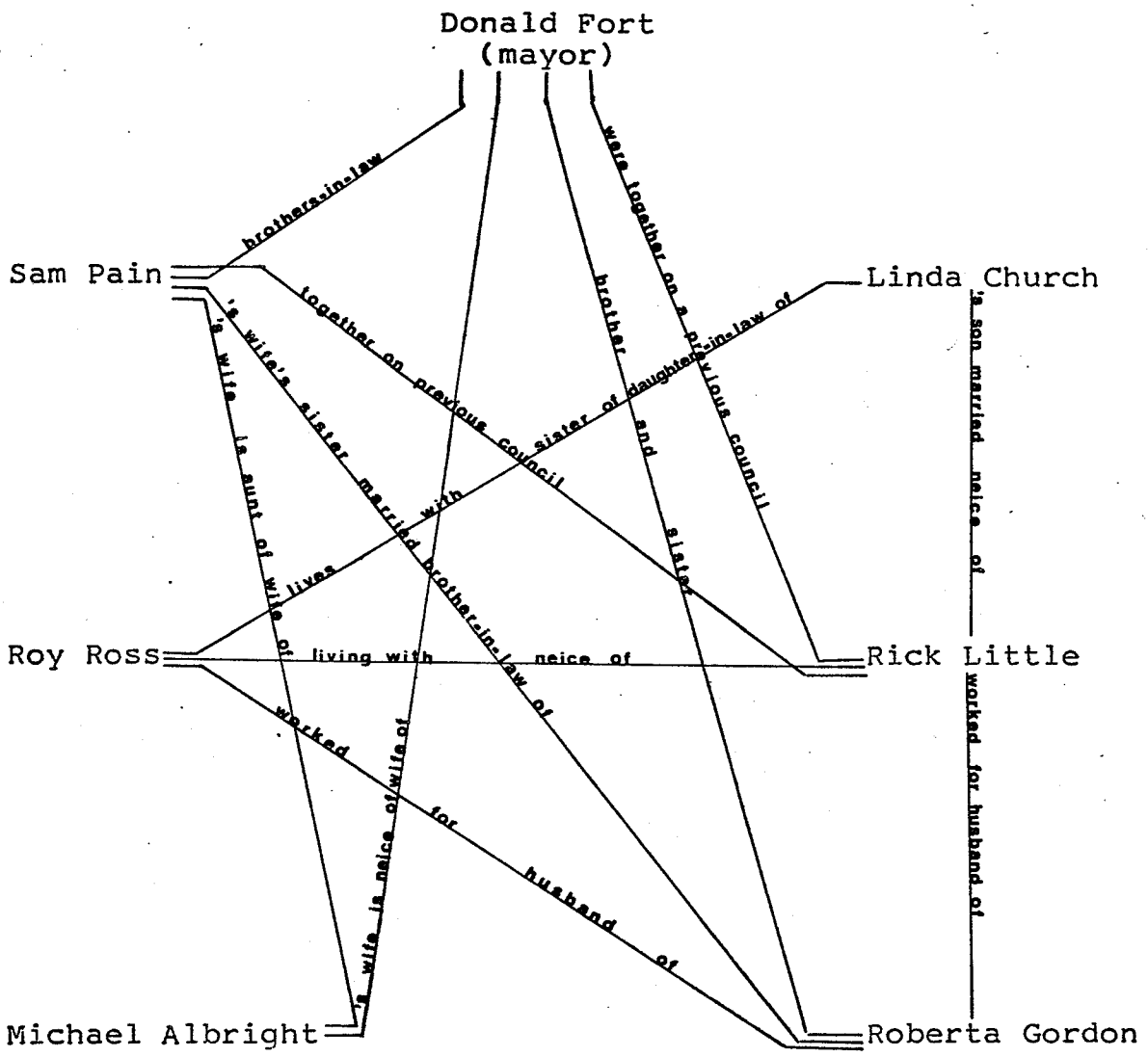

Fig. 14.

The information on this chart was derived from interviews with members of the community. Some of the relationships deal with business liaisons as well as kinship.

the directory, and nine of these names have only one family attached to them. This of course means that fourteen surnames make up the bulk of the families serviced with telephones in St. Louis. In a community where there are 141 families and where most of these make use of the telephone system, it is obvious that many families carry the same name. As relatively little migration to the community has taken place over the past fifty years, it becomes obvious that the families with the same surnames are almost invariably related in one fashion or another.

As has been mentioned, the newly elected town council has many kinship ties within it. Although the legislation bestows official power on the elected council, there appears to have been a power structure present prior to the election. The election reflected not a group of individuals attaining public office, but rather the movement of a family unit to positions of authority. In order to have all these related members elected, it was necessary to influence the community into voting for these candidates. It is interesting to note that the Chief Returning Officer and her two assistants were closely related to several of the candidates who won, and to none of those who lost. This author, upon entering the balloting area and receiving a blank ballot, was accosted by one of the returning assistants who said, "I suppose you're gonna vote for that fuckin John Brown, eh?" Although said in a half-jesting manner, it is

this writer's contention that such statements would most certainly intimidate many of the local residents and could significantly influence the outcome of the election. This is especially true as the returning officer and her assistants, as well as the candidates they were supporting, all belong to a large family, and all the residents of the community would be aware of this. The belief seems to prevail in St. Louis that there is might in numbers and this fact also could have served to influence the vote.

Although kinship power patterns are most obvious in the Community Council and voting patterns in St. Louis, other examples exist. This writer has noted that there are three active socio-political groups in the community. If one looks at a list of the directors of each, one finds, with the exception of the Ladies Church Auxilliary, very few kinship links. (See figure 12.) If however, one looks at all three groups simultaneously one finds that numerous kinship ties exist. (See figure 13.)

Whether or not these indicate a power structure is a debatable point. Without doubt, a certain amount of assigned power rests with each of these groups. It is also apparent that almost all the assigned power of these organizations rests with one or two family groups. Again it would seem that the family groups have some power of their own which allows them to obtain almost exclusively, all the positions of authority within the various organizations.

Kinship Ties Within Socio-political Groups Of St. Louis.

Fig. 15.

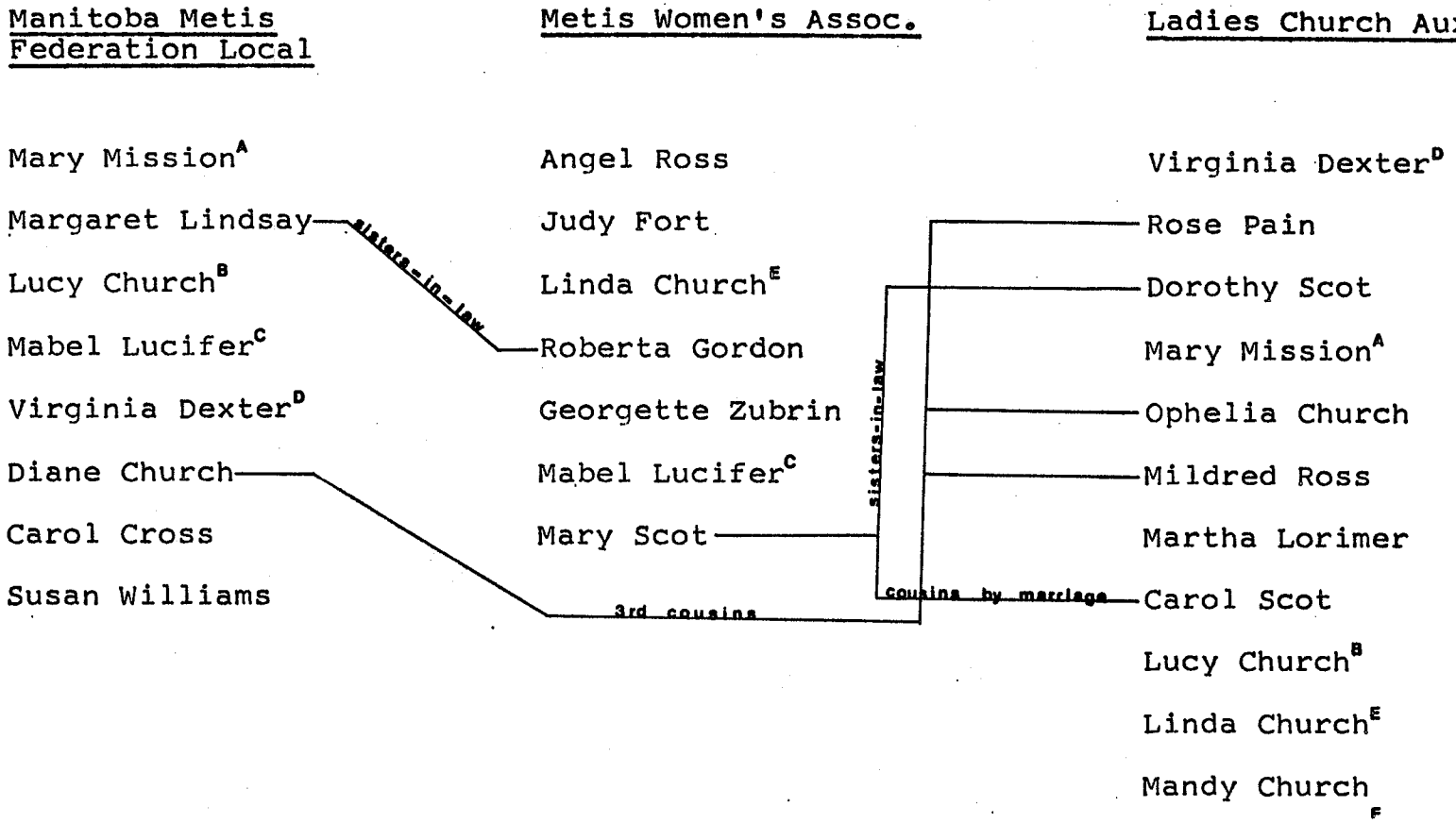

Fig. 16. Kinship Ties Between Socio-political Groups in St. Louis.

Note: Capital letters point out individuals involved in more than one socio-political organization.

When studying kinship patterns and socio-political organizations in St. Louis, it is possible to point out ostensible power structures. It is however, impossible to outline the historical development of these structures due to a lack of evidence, and to the subjectivity of the topic. There is though, one area of power in St. Louis which can be traced back to earlier years, and this is the Roman Catholic Church.[66]

When looking at the lists of directors for the various organizations in St. Louis, (see figure 13), it is obvious that the group with the largest number is the Ladies Church Auxilliary with approximately thirty percent greater membership than either of the two other groups. From inquiry it was found that this group also has the most members belonging to it. Some power structure must therefore exist which influences individuals to join the organization. What this structure is remains unclear, but it is this author's opinion that many join to be in the good graces of the priests. If this is true, then even though no formal power is legislated to the Church, it does exert this influence, and as such must be viewed as a structure of power.

The root of this influence lies in the historical relationship that the church and the community have had over the past sixty years. Initially the priests, and later the nuns, felt bound to protect the residents of St. Louis from

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[66]The resident priest of St. Louis has been in the community since the early 1900's and has a good historical knowledge of the community. The information which follows is largely derived from interviews with him and his assistants.

abuses by unscrupulous merchants, traders, and profiteers. This was only natural as the people had little or no formal education while the clergy were well educated and well informed. This protection was accomplished by counselling on a one to one basis. The priests would write letters for individuals, give advice on business ventures, and assist some in legal matters. Little unity and organization existed among the people of the community and the resident priest attributes this to the population's preoccupation with making a daily living. In the years of the Depression, the Church would hire people even when there was no work to be done. In 1936, the church of St. Louis had four hundred cords of wood stockpiled because it kept hiring people to cut wood.[67] In effect, the priests ran their own "employment creation" program.

The resident priest in an interview stated that the influence the Church developed over the years by the type of assistance it gave individuals, was such that people soon ceased questioning any of the Church's recommendations. Consequently the priests could influence the outcome of most events merely by expressing approval or dissatisfaction. Much of this type of power remains today.

One of the most obvious signs of the power held by the Roman Catholic Church in St. Louis today is the number

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[67]Recollections of the resident priest.

of people it has baptised.[68] In 1972 there were 606 baptized residents.[69] It is useful to remember that the present population of St. Louis is 636. This means that approximately 95% of the residents belong to the Church. This suggests that the Church does have power in that it influences the majority of people into having their children baptized.

Of those baptized however, only 15 % attend church regularly on Sunday, and only 50 % attend on special occasions such as Christmas and Easter.[70] This suggests that while the Church does exert a certain influence, perhaps this influence is diminishing in that only the major demands of the religion are adhered to. One cannot help but wonder if the people are not questioning the validity of the Church and its teachings. It would seem by the way in which they adhere to the demands of the religion, that they approach baptism and attendance at major liturgical events as a type of insurance should the Church ever prove to be more powerful than it presently is. In the 15 % who attend regularly, the power of the clergy is undisputed as it influences these individuals into compliance with the Church's demands.

One example of the extent of the Church's influence can be seen in table 8 which is a copy of the 1972 financial report of L'Eglise de Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs in St.

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[68]The figures used are taken from the 1972 reports which are the latest available. Reports are made every four years.

[69]Annual Report - Diocese of Winnipeg - 1972.

[70]Ibid.

Table 8

Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs
Archdiocese of Winnipeg
Financial Report
1972

Collections	$1849.25
Revenues	$ 747.41
Ladies Auxilliary	$1220.00
Candles	$ 193.47
Masses, Funerals, Marriages and Baptisms	$ 569.20
Total Local Revenue	$4579.33
Diocese share	$1800.00
Diocese donation	$ 439.06
Interest	$ 37.18
Donations from outside	$ 517.17
Total	$7372.74
TOTAL COSTS	$7585.42
DEFICIT	$ 212.68

Louis. According to this report, $4,579.30 was raised by the residents in support of the Church. If one looks at this figure and compares it with the $7,812.00 raised in taxes raised by the community in 1976, one is struck by the influence of the Church. It certainly must have substantial

Table 8 is a copy of the original report kept in the church records of St. Louis' rectory.

power as it influences the population into parting with a fairly large sum of money every year. The only other body with the same type of power is the government, and this influences payment only by coercion. The payments of money to the Church by the population are strictly voluntary and show that indeed the Church does have significant power as defined in the beginning of this chapter.

It has been shown that St. Louis has one power structure which has legislated authority, and that is the Community Council. Socio-political organizations which have been formed in the community also have some authoritative powers, but these are assumed and not legislated. By events which have happened in the community it is obvious that kinship groups play an important role in the daily life of St. Louis. Although kinship power structures are difficult to delineate, all evidence points to the existence and functioning of such structures. The Roman Catholic Church in St. Louis exerts a great deal of influence and as such, is another important power structure.

Because these structures are often nebulous in their composition, and because it is often impossible to separate areas of overlap, no attempt has been made here to rank order the structures in terms of effectiveness or importance. It is this author's opinion from personal observation that the most influential structures in the community are first kinship groups, second the Roman Catholic Church, and third

the Community Council. Beals has said that:

> Every defined social setting has its own hierarchy of authority, and in all societies, the role of boss or chief tends to shift subtly, again depending upon circumstances.[71]

In St. Louis, this proposition seems to be a fairly accurate summation of how power structures are formed and changed.

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[71]Alan R. Beals, Culture in Process (Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 91.

Chapter 5

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN ST. LOUIS

Social patterns which can be classed as problems, vary according to the groups classifying them. Some patterns are termed problems in one social setting, while in another, they are deemed normal patterns of behavior or interaction. The basis upon which these kinds of assessments are made, is, at least in part value orientation of the group or groups making the assessment. Whereas in Yanomamo society, female infanticide is acceptable, it is clear that such action would not be condoned by North-American society.[72] What allows these two modes of life to exist simultaneously is a difference in value systems. Yanomamo society on the one hand values male infants and has little value for female infants.[73] North-American society values all infants and does not differentiate between the sexes. The value system of each society is reflected in the laws of that society. In other words, societies, when making laws, institutionalize their values.

It is possible for subcultures to develop within

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[72] Napoleon A. Chagnon, Yanomamo - The Fierce People (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) p. 81.

[73] Ibid.

societies, and the values held by these groups do not of necessity correspond with those of the majority. Many cultural conflicts are the result of opposing value systems. A prime example of this is the unrest in the Province of Quebec during the late 1960's to the present. When viewed in conjunction with the rest of Canada, certain of the values held by the people of Quebec conflict with those maintained throughout the rest of Canada. An obvious example is that of the Air Traffic Controllers in Quebec who value French language usage in Air Traffic Control Zones in Quebec.

The political unrest in Quebec has been at various times termed a social problem. Infanticide practised by the Yanomamo has also been considered as a social problem. This is one of the reasons that so much has been written about Quebec in newspapers, and why anthropologists have felt a desire to study the Yanomamo. It is obvious however, that those who make such claims are members of societies that subscribe to different values.

It will be useful to remember this in the following treatment of social problems in St. Louis. The community is composed of a culture different from the Canadian mainstream. As a result, values and attitudes in St. Louis sometimes conflict with the mainstream values. This author has internalized most of the mainstream values of Canadian society and thus when choosing and describing social problems in St. Louis, personal bias will be involved. Although the

writer may consider certain behavior patterns as social problems, this does not mean that the community itself views these in the same light.

There are a number of lifestyle patterns in St. Louis which can be described as social problems. Some of these include unemployment and welfare assistance, lack of recreational facilities, lack of amenities such as running water, lack of adult education, alcohol abuse, high school drop out rate, vandalism, general apathy, prejudice, venereal disease, illegitimate children, broken homes, neglected children, and a high crime rate. This is by no means a comprehensive list of all the social problems found in St. Louis, but it represents some of the most significant ones as viewed by the author. Each will be treated seperately in the following pages, but it should be realized that many of the problems are not isolated in that they occur in conjunction with other problems. An example of this is the high school drop-out who, due to a lack of recreational facilities becomes bored and begins drinking. Unable to find employment, his drinking develops into a habit and finally a problem. While under the influence of alcohol he steals a car and is involved in an accident. Clearly several social problems are at play in this incident. It will be impossible to outline every interplay of problems in St. Louis and so it is hoped that readers will realize the possibility of several factors contributing to some of the social problems.

The first widespread problem, and one which has been previously mentioned in chapter three is that of unemployment. The original causes of this problem were a depletion of natural resources and an economic depression coupled with a lack of industry. Although these were the initial causes of unemployment in St. Louis, there are presently several more causes which now exist.

Unemployment began in St. Louis as an economic problem reflecting current national economic conditions. Over the years it has become a social problem as well. Unemployment when coupled with welfare subsidies has removed much personal initiative, reduced motivation, and taken away the necessity for an individual to fend for himself. While necessity is not usually considered as a positive condition, the old adage concerning necessity as the mother of invention should not be forgotten. Because necessity has been greatly reduced, residents of St. Louis have not had to be inventive, nor have they had to take the initiative and the responsibility for their survival.

What has happened in St. Louis is that welfare payments have been made in fairly generous quantities. (See chapter three.) As a result, it can be safely said that the residents of St. Louis have most, if not all, the necessities of life such as food, clothing and shelter. In fact, visitors to the area have pointed out that they have never seen "so many new cars, boats and motors, and colored televisions at one

time."[74] This would indicate that the basic needs in St. Louis are not only met, but often are surpassed. The author has noted that in a class of sixteen students, eleven of these had colored televisions in their homes.

The fulfillment of basic needs has had several detrimental effects upon the community. Although there is nothing wrong with having basic needs taken care of, this has been done with no demands or requirements made of the recipient. Although this might be acceptable if only the three necessities of food, clothing and shelter were provided for, it is most certainly detrimental when what might be considered as "luxury needs" are also taken care of.

Before outlining some of the detrimental effects this type of assistance program has had, it should be pointed out that one type of "demand" is made by the government agencies which provide welfare assistance. Although the term "demand" seems to be a poor one, it is most certainly a prerequisite to receiving assistance. Receipt of welfare disbursements is contingent upon unemployment. Unless one has no income, or at least very little, one cannot get "relief".[75] In fact, individuals earning small sums of money to supplement their livlihood are penalized for their efforts. Such individuals suffer a reduction in

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[74]Statement made to the writer by some non-resident visitors to the community.

[75]Local term used synonymously for welfare payments.

the welfare disbursement that they receive, equal to the sum of money they have earned.[76]

The implications of these actions are clear. Working for money is assigned a negative value by the government agencies involved in supplementing incomes. Recipients soon realize that the total money they receive for a month is the same whether they work half of the time, or whether they are completely idle in terms of employment. This can certainly not be called an incentive plan.

Another side effect of this aspect of the program is the development of dishonesty in terms of welfare claims. In St. Louis there is a particular family composed of a mother, two sons of adult age and one son of school age. Although none of the family is employed (on record), they drive a new car and a new truck. Both were purchased within a month of each other and the total retail value of these vehicles was approximately $15,000.00 . Upon investigation it was found that the mother claims welfare payments for the entire family as they all live under her roof. However, the sons are frequently away working in various locations and their income is never reported to the officer who makes the disbursements.[77] This allows the family to make a very good living although a somewhat dishonest one.

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[76]Interviews with local welfare recipients.

[77]Interviews with neighbors of the family concerned.

Unemployment and welfare payments have other deleterious effects as well. The most obvious of these is the stifling of motivation to search out or create economic opportunities in St. Louis. While it is admitted that originally events such as the Depression, the collapse of the fishing industry and the depletion of natural resources in St. Louis led to unemployment, it is this writer's opinion that there could be more employment in the community than there presently is. Certainly when one considers the business services which are lacking in the community, it becomes obvious that such facilities as a barber shop, laundromat, and an entertainment venture such as a cinema and arcade could be supported by the community. These examples are used because they are frequently mentioned by members of the community who complain of their absence in the village. To start these kinds of businesses entails much work. It appears that the community finds itself economically comfortable to the point where individuals feel that the effort would not be worth the benefits they would derive from the businesses. In other words, they feel comfortable enough not to have to make the effort.

The second most obvious negative side effect of unemployment is the creation of excessive amounts of leisure time. This amount of leisure time creates several problems. Of these, boredom is the most critical as there is very little the community can offer to change this. What results

is that two distinct patterns emerge. The first is a pattern of travelling to other larger communities on a daily basis and to make use of the amenities therein. This is extremely expensive in terms of travelling costs and the and the costs of purchasing services in the other communities. In this way, money which could be circulated within St. Louis is lost. What often happens is that those members of St. Louis who do travel out find that they have no friends or relations in the other communities and so they end up in the local beverage rooms drinking alcoholic beverages.

The second pattern which evident due to excessive amounts of leisure time and boredom, closely parallels the first in that the final outcome is the same. People go from house to house visiting and drinking. Some eventually do away with the visiting aspects and merely go to the liquor store at opening time and then home, or to the home of a friend, to drink.

Other problems exist, due largely to unemployment, but they are so interlaced with other social problems that they will be treated seperately as they come up.

The second most prevalent social problem found in St. Louis is that of alcohol abuse. Exact figures for the amount of alcohol consumed in St. Louis are impossible to obtain as there is a certain amount purchased in locations out of St. Louis. However, it has been determined that $6,450.00 is spent monthly in the community by St. Louis

residents on liquor. (See chapter three.)

Many examples of alcohol abuse can be cited in St. Louis, and the following extract from a letter written by the commanding officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment located at Grant and responsible for the St. Louis area, supports this claim:

> The crime rate in both 'St. Louis' and 'Beaver Lodge' is considered rather high and it is here where the police are most often required due to various types of crimes and offenses. Some of the most frequent crimes are those of assault, attending family quarrels, drinking parties which get out of control, driving offences, liquor infractions, breaking and entering, etc. A good number of these offenses, we feel are a result of over indulgence with the use of alcohol, which they have access to locally.[78]

Several problems seem to occur due to the misuse of alcohol, but the most obvious one is that of youth and alcohol. In the past three years, at every social event such as dances, films, or sports events, there have always been at least three or four youths who have become inebriated or who arrived at the events already intoxicated.[79] In fact, it is almost impossible to discuss leisure time activities or plan recreational events with fourteen to eighteen year old members of the community without alcohol and its consumption being mentioned by the youths. When it is brought up, it is always as a desirable event. Such comments as "Hey, we better stock up on beer", or "Let's all get pissed after the game", are frequently heard."[80]

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[78] R.C.M.P. file # 72-500-2 dated 20 February, 1973.

[79] Personal observations.

[80] Statements made by youths of the community.

The drunkenness exhibited by the fourteen to eighteen year age group usually manifests itself in one of two ways. The first is fighting which occurs usually during the event taking place. The skirmishes are usually short lived as other members of the community unofficially police these events and invariably break up fights by evicting one of the individuals involved. Although it is not uncommon to see black eyes and bloody noses, this author has never noted broken bones or multiple injuries as the result of a liquor induced fight amongst members of this age group.

The second way in which liquor overindulgence manifests itself in this age group is by vandalism. This is probably the more serious of the two in that the results are far reaching and long lasting. Since September 1974, the public school in St. Louis has been broken into and vandalized no less than twenty-six times.[81] The amount of vandalism has varied from relatively little, (defacing blackboards and tearing up registers) to in excess of $2,000.00 . The public beach in town has suffered similar vandalism in that the change houses have all but been destroyed and the entire sand beach has been covered with broken beer, whiskey, and wine bottles. For all intents and purposes the beach has been rendered useless as parents no longer permit their children to go there as a result of several small children receiving serious cuts from glass buried in the sand.

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[81] St. Louis Elementary School records.

Other examples of vandalism exist, but one cannot be sure that these are the result of alcohol abuse.

It should not be presumed that the fourteen to eighteen year age group comprises the bulk of those with alcohol problems. Although the number of those who are problem drinkers in this group is significant, they are certainly not alone. The reasons for abuse among the older members of the community are many. Unemployment is a major contributing factor as is the lack of recreational facilities in St. Louis.

While teenage drinking seems to limit itself to excesses in the evenings and on weekends for the most part, the adult group is prone to overindulgence at almost any time. One sees examples of adult drunkenness at 8:30 in the morning, in the middle of the morning, at noon, in the evening, and at night. As well, the drunkenness seems to take place in all types of social situations. It is not confined to parties or dances, but can be found in individuals who are working, in individuals who are unemployed, in men, in women, at funerals, at weddings, at public meetings,at home in front of television sets, or at bingo games. In short, adult drinking seems to be a much more generalized problem than the highly specific overindulgence habits of the fourteen to eighteen year age group.

In as much as the habits of adult drinking are different, so are the manifestations of the problem. Although

some fighting takes place, especially among the younger adults, the older members usually become very bitter against whoever or whatever happens to bother them. Perhaps it is more appropriate to say that they lose their inhibitions and become very vocal against the people or institutions that upset them. Whatever the case, it seldom passes the vocalization stage and develops into something physical. It does upon occasion happen, but this is the exception rather than the rule.

What usually happens among the older adults of the community is that often they become depressed when indulging in alcohol.[82] This is of course a cyclical process. Their depression, although it for the most part dissipates with their intoxication, remains in part with them and they later find it easier to overindulge once more. The author has questioned some individuals about their drinking habits and has been told by all of them that getting drunk lets them forget the way things are for a while. It does not seem that they either recall or attribute any depression to the use of alcohol. Yet, in two of these individuals, the author has observed weeping in the latter stages of their intoxication. When conversing with these same individuals, they have bemoaned their plight and the inequities to which they felt they were subject, all the while crying.

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[82]Personal observation.

The result of this depression leads to one of two types of action. Either extreme violence which approximates mental instability takes place, or extreme depression ensues. Both of these reactions are far reaching in their effect.

An example of extreme violence can be cited in the case of an individual who after drinking excessively with his cousin, asked that cousin to do him a small favor. The cousin lightheartedly refused and the individual left. He returned about five minutes later, walked up to his cousin, pointed a .303 calibre rifle at his stomach and discharged the firearm. This incident took place outside in the open, in broad daylight, in mid-afternoon. Bystanders claim to have heard the individual yelling at his cousin for not listening to him, just prior to discharging the firearm. The dire consequences of this action do not have to be outlined, even though the intended victim did live.

An equally horrifying example of the result of deep depression can also be cited. One individual, after a drinking bout of several days disappeared from home. He was found later in the bush near his home. He had shot himself in the head and the person to discover the body was his twelve year old son. Less than six months later his son hung himself. Presently some others of his children attend the school in St. Louis, and at least one of them has obvious emotional problems probably due to these two incidents.

Two shootings, and two needless deaths, not to

mention the trauma undergone by the children and families involved, are all the direct result of alcohol abuse. Although these examples are probably the extremes of the problems engendered by alcohol abuse, they serve to point out the seriousness of the problem and what can develop if it goes unchecked. There are efforts being made now by the Native Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba to start a community alcoholism education program. To date, nothing has been decided. However, there is an Alcoholics Anonymous chapter, as well as one of Al-Anon which operates in the community. Unfortunately these organizations do not have as large a membership as there should be. Those who do attend regularly are however, total abstainers and the organization has helped several people in the community who now hold responsible and well paying positions, and who now do not have an alcohol problem.

Although unemployment and alcohol abuse are probably the two most prevalent and serious social problems that exist in St. Louis, there are several other problems that are related to these. However, one problem that exists in St. Louis and which is basically unrelated to the two previously mentioned is that of prejudice and to a lesser degree, discrimination. As discrimination is a by-product of prejudice, this section will deal primarily with prejudice as a social problem in St. Louis, although at times examples of discrimination will be given as proof of the existence of prejudices.

Prejudice, unlike other social problems, seems to be a double edged sword in that it is not specific to one group and in that the group holding prejudices can also be a group prejudiced against by another group. This is the case in St. Louis.

One definition has it that:

> A prejudice is a preconceived opinion or attitude which is formed without due consideration of the facts. It differs from an attitude founded on science and knowledge, for in the case of prejudice we make a judgement without the help of science or a rational process of thought.[83]

One can see by this definition then, that a prejudice is an attitude held by one or more persons. As this thesis concerns itself with St. Louis, the interest is in the attitudes held by St. Louis residents. However, it would be impossible to do justice to St. Louis by merely presenting the prejudices which exist there, without first giving some background as to the types of prejudices St. Louis and its residents have encountered, as this largely contributes to the prejudices to be found in St. Louis today.

Koulack and Perlman suggest four possible causes of prejudice:

> (1) men are innately suspicious of the unfamiliar and hence are likely to be prejudiced against members of groups which are different from their own, (2) prejudice results from the insecurities and pathologies of specific individuals who are in some sense psychological deviants, (3) prejudice results from unhappy

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[83]David Koulack and Daniel Perlman, Readings in Social Psychology - Focus on Canada, (Toronto: Wiley Publishers of Canada Limited, 1973) p. 125.

> contacts or incidents occurring between individual members of different groups, and (4) prejudice originates as a result of some sort of political, social,or economic conflict between different groups.[84]

It will be seen that these are to a certain extent accurate as causes for some of the prejudice against St. Louis, as well as for some of the prejudices exhibited by St. Louis residents.

Members of the community speak quite often of the prejudice they have encountered. Almost invariably they refer to the town of Grant when citing examples, and this makes sense as the previous definitions indicate that prejudice takes place between different groups. Consequently it is necessary to go out of the community into areas where residents of St. Louis come into contact with different groups in order to see attitudes of prejudice. Grant is the most obvious location as every day, around eighty children of the Metis community of St. Louis travel to school there. Also, being the closest community to St. Louis geographically, it is the one to which community members travel most frequently to take advantage of amenities available there.

The complaints of prejudice which are most frequently voiced are an unwillingness on the part of Grant's merchants to extend credit, stricter enforcement of beverage room laws on St. Louis residents, more difficulty

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[84]Labour Canada Fair Employment Practices, Toward Understanding, (Ottawa: Canada Department of Labor, ____), p. 11.

cashing cheques for St. Louis residents than for Grant residents, and a basic mistrust of St. Louis shoppers.[85] Although it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which these accusations are just, it is obvious that the residents of St. Louis have had unpleasant experiences with the townspeople of Grant. At this point it should be pointed out that Grant is a community composed of a majority of non-native people. This is important as it will become obvious that one of the groups against which St. Louis residents are themselves prejudiced, is white people. This seems due to a simplistic generalization derived from bad experiences with communities such as Grant.

Although the author cannot with any certainty validate the claims made by St. Louis residents with respect to the treatment received from members of the Grant community, he has had the experience of hearing comments made by teachers in Grant. These were directed at St. Louis students and phrases such as "He's from 'St. Louis' so what can you expect?", and "They'll never amount to anything anyhow." are typical. Indeed, the Superintendent of the Goose Hills School Division was heard to say "You must realize that the homes in 'St. Louis' are likely to have more bottles in them than books." It would seem from statements such as these, that the claims of the St. Louis residents have at

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[85] St. Louis shoppers in Grant claim to be constantly watched by shopkeepers as potential shoplifters.

least some basis in truth.

Regardless of the validity of their claims, one thing is obvious, St. Louis presently maintains its own prejudices. If one walks into the Community Council offices today, the first thing one notices on the wall of the waiting room is a large poster which boldly boasts "AN INDIAN SCALPS HIS ENEMIES, BUT A WHITE MAN SKINS HIS FRIENDS". Underneath this someone has pencilled in the words "RIGHT ON". In this author's opinion, this is indicative of a pervasive attitude in St. Louis.

The Community Council which has the bulk of legislated authority in St. Louis, exhibits one of the best examples of this attitude. In April of 1975, a white resident of the community who owns one of the three stores in the community, approached the council with the proposition of opening up a business complex which would provide some of the needed amenities in St. Louis. The proposal called for the building of a laundromat, a car wash, and four apartment units for rental. The council refused to accept the proposal on the basis that the land was already alloted for residential subdivisions. Later, one of the councillors admitted in confidence that the majority of the councillors had clearly stated that they did not want "to let the white men control anything else."

A further example of prejudice against white men can be seen in the last council elections. The present mayor

canvassed on a platform of "giving back to the Metis what should be theirs."[86] However, it must not be assumed that only the whites are prejudiced against. The prejudice extends to Indian people of the Jack Creek Reserve as well.

One of the dearest desires of St. Louis is to have its own high school. The offer has been made in the past to have a high school here in conjunction with the Jack Creek Reserve and possibly the Metis community of Beaver Lodge. When talking to parents about this possibility, the author was often confronted with the statement "I'm not gonna let my kids go to school with them Indians." The exact cause of this prejudicial attitude is unclear, but it obviously exists.

If one looks at the possible causes of prejudice as outlined by Perlman and Koulack earlier, one can see that perhaps innate suspicions of different groups contributes in part to the prejudices against both Indians and whites. Unhappy contacts have certainly contributed to a great extent towards prejudices against whites. It is however this author's opinion that the major root of prejudice towards both Indians and whites lies in economic conflict. The Indians of Jack Creek receive many benefits by virtue of their treaty that the Metis do not. The whites control most

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[86]When saying this he was talking of local businesses which are mostly owned by white people. This was said on at least two occasions when the candidate was intoxicated at private homes.

of the business enterprises in St. Louis, and the balance have good paying jobs. The Metis community see this and the prejudice exhibited seems to be a form of jealousy.

Whatever the causes, the results are clear. Although common prejudices may act as a cohesive force for the residents of St. Louis, it also acts as a barrier to progress within the community. The amenities which could have been introduced some time ago with the business proposition presented to the council are still not present. Metis members of the community have not attempted to introduce these. Many of those on progressive programs such as IMPACTE have admitted that they are prejudiced against, by other members of the community. Lack of initiative on the part of Metis residents seems to be in part due to a fear of being ostracized and prejudiced against. Indeed, members of the IMPACTE program have contemplated quitting because they have been accused of trying to be like white men.[87] It is only natural then that Metis members of the community are reluctant to approximate the activities of white men. They do not want to be subject to the same prejudicial attitudes and to discrimination that the white people are subject to within the community. This most certainly hinders personal initiative and economic progress by the residents of St. Louis.

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[87] Interviews with IMPACTE students.

Progress in St. Louis is hindered by other factors as well. One of the most noticeable hindrances to advancement lies in the general apathy which engulfs the community. This apathy, which seems to be a lack of interest and motivation, can be considered as one of the four major social problems of St. Louis and is exhibited in several ways. The following examples will serve to illustrate the general lack of interest which pervades the community.

Since September of 1974, there have been seven parent-teacher days held at the elementary school in St, Louis. The average attendance of parents on these days has been between seven and nine. There are 148 children presently in attendance at the school and this figure is within five of the 1974 attendance.[88] This certainly would indicate a lack of interest by the parents in the school.

Interest in the affairs of the community is certainly not indicated by attendance at town council meetings. Seldom does anyone ever sit in on the meetings. Everyone however, knows that the meetings are open to the public.

It is in fact so difficult to motivate the residents of St. Louis to do anything that most public meetings of any sort have only a handful of people at them. Groups who want to hold meetings and find out what the public opinion is regarding a certain topic, have taken to using the community recreation hall. In order to assure themselves of a crowd, the meetings are held approximately a half hour

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[88]St. Louis Elementary School records.

before the start of a Bingo game. Although there seems to be apathy for most things in the community,Bingo which is held five nights a week, draws crowds of over two hundred people.

One can best understand the seriousness of apathy as a social problem in St. Louis if one recalls the events that took place over the waterworks project described in chapter four. Everyone realized what was happening as soon as the new underground trench was being dug. However, even though aware of what was going on, no-one bothered questioning or complaining. It was merely accepted as something undesirable, but not worth becoming involved over. The people living in the residential area through which the line ran did not feel strongly enough about the entire thing to become involved in seeing that they received their waterworks.

Another classic example of apathy in the community took place in November of 1976. After an extremely dry summer, some children started a grass fire behind a row of residences and a store along the main street. The wind, being very strong that night, drove the fire towards the buildings. It was a pitch black night and the light of the fire was visible five miles away. In all, eight people showed up to combat the flames. Of these, three had property that was threatened, one worked at the store in danger, one was a local resident and friend of the store owner, and the remaining three were friends from four miles away. The

apathy of the community in this situation showed itself in three ways. First, only two of 636 residents in St. Louis showed up to fight the blaze. Second, as the fire burned, at least thirty cars pulled off the road to watch the flames, but no-one offered help, advice or encouragement. And third, the water pumper of the community was filled with water that was frozen. When asked to assist at the blaze, the man in charge of the pump stated that he was paid to look after the equipment and not to fight fires.

These examples are indicative of an attitude which pervades the entire community. Although it is impossible to state with any accuracy the cause or causes of this apathetic attitude, the writer has concluded that much of it stems back to a feeling of futility, derived in part from the unemployment situation in the community. As well, the author feels that the welfare program in the community has created in the residents, a dependance upon outside aid. Consequently, there is no need to get involved in anything as someone else will certainly take care of it. In the case of the fire, no-one was overly concerned for if the houses had burnt, some government agency would have replaced them with new ones, and the residents would not have been expected to fend for themselves.

It is clear that an attitude such as this does little to help improve the situation of the community. There are a number of people who have tried, and some who are still

trying to take the intitiative and to get people involved. These invariably sit on the boards of directors of the various socio-political organizations of the community. Unfortunately they are very few and those who are apathetic greatly outnumber them. Hopefully they will be able to convince more people to become concerned and in that way motivate the community so that it can progress.

The four problems of unemployment, liquor, prejudice, and apathy are, to this writer's mind, the major social problems of St. Louis. Part of the reason for this is that they are, at least in part, contributing factors to the other social problems of the community.

Other problems however do exist. One of these is a high school drop-out rate. The reasons for this are mostly speculative, but it is certain that the unemployment rate of the community is in part to blame. This writer has been told by several dropouts in the community that the reason they left school was that it didn't make any difference how much schooling they had, because they were going to live in St. Louis anyhow. This makes a great deal of sense in that the community does not have any employment opportunities and educational qualifications do not affect the amount of welfare assistance one receives. It is interesting to note that none of the drop-outs interviewed had any intention of leaving the community. It seems that they are satisfied to remain in the community and be looked after

by the various government welfare agencies. In contrast, the writer knows of three drop-outs who have moved out of the community into urban areas. Each of these has enrolled in upgrading programs to finish or to advance his education. The implications are clear. In St. Louis, education is something of little value because there is no economic base to make it meaningful.

Another problem in St. Louis is the lack of recreational facilities. In all, the community has a skating rink, a town hall (used primarily for Bingo although occasionally dances are held too), and a pool hall with six tables in it. This of course leaves the bulk of the community with nothing recreational to do. Consequently many of the unoccupied begin drinking. The combination of excessive free time and liquor leads to many of the remaining problems of illegitimate children, venereal disease, broken homes, neglected children, and a high crime rate.

It is not uncommon to find single mothers in St. Louis. (See figures for single parent families in chapter three.) In 1975, a grade six student gave birth to a baby girl and kept the child. There does not seem to be any shame or stigma attached to having children out of wedlock. The parents of the young mother usually are very proud of the grandchild and dote over it as they would with any other grandchild. This is an obvious example of the different value system used by St. Louis residents as compared to the

mainstream of Canadian society who for the most part, frown on illegitimacy.

As well as illegitimacy, venereal disease is a problem in St. Louis. With the permissive attitude of the community towards illegitimate children, one can see that the fear of pregnancy is not much of a deterrent to sexual promiscuity. Add to this the fact that there is excessive leisure time, and one can understand, at least in part, that the community is quite active sexually. That venereal disease is a social problem in St. Louis was attested to by the Public Health Nurse for the community. She stated that there was seldom a week that went by when she did not have to treat at least one patient for venereal disease.

The problem of broken homes and neglected children is one which usually finds its root in the use of intoxicants. Quarrels often erupt between the husband and wife during drinking bouts. At times, physical violence takes place and the wife (or occasionally the husband), will leave the home. In cases like this, the children are sometimes forgotten and left to fend for themselves. One such case took place in 1975. The three boys of the family involved kept coming to school, but they had no jackets, no boots, and no mittens during the winter months. When queried about this, they did not want to answer at first, but it later came out that their parents had split up and that they didn't know where they were. Eventually one of the

social agencies obtained custody of these boys and placed them in foster homes out of the community. This case is by no means an isolated one, and in all the cases observed, the prime contributing factor appears to be alcohol abuse.

The preceding chapter has outlined the major social problems that exist in St. Louis. No attempt has been made to go into all the problems that exist in this community. The problems mentioned are viewed by the writer as the most significant ones. Undoubtedly the community views some of those mentioned here as problems as well. Other of the problems are viewed as an accepted lifestyle pattern for the community. This can be seen in the acceptance of unwed mothers. Obviously a value system different from the author's is at work in the community. How this value system develops will be discussed in the following chapter on socializtion and education in St. Louis.

Chapter 6

SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION IN ST. LOUIS

Prior to writing about education and socialization in St. Louis, it is necessary to define certain terms as they will be used in this chapter. Learning will refer to the accumulation and assimilation of knowledge. Knowledge will refer to discrete particles of factual information and to values, attitudes, morals, and ethics, as well as their application. Socialization will refer to the process whereby children learn in an informal environment. Education will refer to formalized learning in an institutionalized setting such as a school or a training program and the terms schooling and training will at times be used synonymously with education. Values will refer to either "ideas, beliefs, practices or things that are important to people for any reason".[89]

As with all children, the first type of learning that takes place in St. Louis is socialization. This type of learning serves a very useful function. It aids the child to acquire his own culture. Elkin and Handel define socialization as "learning the ways of any established and continuous group".[90] By means of socialization the child learns the things that are necessary to his survival in

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[89] Ina Corinne Brown, Understanding Other Cultures, (Toronto: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1963), p. 95.

[90] Frederick Elkin and Gerald Handel, The Child and Society, (New York: Random House Inc., 1972) p. 8.

his own world. The child's learning during this period is controlled primarily by his parents and other community members with whom he comes into contact. The child learns responses to actions, acceptable behaviors and the like. He does not choose the things he learns. Rather, they are imposed upon him. Such things as attitudes and values are often developed within the individual by means of imitation during the early stages of socialization. An example of this is the child who learns the value of not crying because his parents isolate him, spank him, or in some other way discourage him from engaging in this type of behavior. It is easy to see from this that most children because of their early socialization assume many, if not most, of the attitudes and values of their parents.

Children in St. Louis undergo a minimum of five years of socialization before they begin their education. At that point they are expected to devote the following twelve years to schooling.[91] The learning environment involved in school differs drastically from that involved in socialization. The children are faced with a specific geographic location within which their learning is to take place. The structures of that location are numerous. At precise times certain skills, facts, and behaviors are to learned. Definite materials are used to teach these learned

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[91]Of course not all children do complete twelve years of schooling. This expectation is held mainly by the teachers.

items. All learning in this formal situation is sequential and thus rigidly time-tabled and structured. Nagler points out that:

> Education is always a process of teaching a culture, and the education provided by whites for the Indians has always been aimed at teaching the white culture, or at least some element of it to people who have been reared in another culture.[92]

This opinion is also applicable to education in St. Louis, and it undoubtedly is the basis for educational problems within the community.

Formal education has existed in St. Louis for a long time (see chapter two), and over the years the philosophy underlying schooling has undoubtedly changed from administration to administration. Any comment on the goals of educators in St. Louis prior to this writer's arrival would be, at best, speculative, and serve little useful function here. However, an exposition of the objectives and aspirations of present day educational programs will be useful to identify problem areas.

The schooling which takes place in St. Louis is from Kindergarten through Grade Six in the Manitoba Department of Education schema. The earliest admission age of students is five years, and the expected leaving age is either twelve or thirteen years. The teachers in-

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[92]Mark Nagler, Indians in the City, (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Studies in Anthropology, 1970), p. 29

volved in the process of educating the children are composed of different ethnic groups. Three are White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, one is of Germanic Mennonite origin, one is Phillipine Catholic, and two are Metis Catholics. Of the two Metis teachers, one is male and the other is female. The male teacher grew up in relatively large urban centres while the female teacher is from the Community of St. Louis.

This diversity amongst the staff members is not a particularly significant item. What is important however, is that the majority of the staff, including the administrator of the school, are from cultural groups significantly different from the cultural group which is being educated. Of equal importance is the fact that the culture of these teachers is different from that of the community in which the school exists. These differences can and do lead to conflict as will be pointed out later. The conflicts that do arise are basically cultural conflicts as opposed to personal ones.

The programs of the school are designed to impart to the students all the basic skills that will be necessary for them to function in the outside world. This is the basic philosophy of the school and has often been verbalized by the school staff. However, although this may be the philosophy of the institution, there are a number of inherent assumptions made bythe teachers when they direct

their efforts towards these ends. In the first instance, they assume that the students will be unable, without this education, to function adequately in later life. The validity of this assumption holds true only if the students in later life place themselves in situations where the skills taught by the school will be useful and necessary. It is difficult to agree that schooling (especially for twelve years) is of utmost importance to the boy who is going to live in St. Louis and fish part time for a living.

The second assumption made by teachers is not so much an assumption as a perception and value judgement. The phrase "in the outside world" is used specifically when teachers speak of educational philosophy. While parents will often times agree with the teachers about this philosophy, the understanding of the term "outside world" is often times completely different.[93] The teachers perceive the "outside world" in somewhat of a global sense. The following type of statement is not uncommonly made by school staff members:

> If a child wants to live in Toronto or Montreal or Winnipeg or England, I want him to have all the skills he or she will need to survive wherever he or she wishes to live.[94]

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[93]This has been apparent at Home and School meetings when parents have discussed the purpose of school with the school's staff.

[94]Statement of teacher presently employed in the St. Louis Elementary School.

If one analyses this statement, one finds it interesting to note that examples of survival in non-urban communities, or remote communities are never mentioned. Teachers assume that the students will live in large urban areas such as those listed, and that their students will undoubtedly seek employment there. The perception teachers have of the "outside world" represents a bias because they have for the most part been socialized and educated into their perception. Education falls into a very neat perspective when considered in terms of these types of areas as it then ties into the economic base of the communities. The economic base of larger urban centres gives to many teachers a meaningful purpose to education, and in some instances validates (at least in their minds), what they are doing in the classroom.

The refusal to consider the possibility of students settling in St. Louis, Brochet, Shamattawa, Morden or other non-urban communities, is often times an admission of a lack of validity for the type of education given in these communities. The teachers of St. Louis have all undergone extensive training in education, and the general perceptions, assumptions, objectives and values that they have internalized are a reflection of mainstream Canadian society rather than minority Canadian cultures. Because of this, they are often unable to think, react and effectively function in terms of parameters which differ in what they per-

ceive as basic fundamentals. At one point, St. Louis had a turnover of teachers equal to four and a half times the staff of the school during a one year period. When talking to some of the teachers who took part in that year, the author was told that "Education means nothing in St. Louis and so there is no point in teaching there."[95] If one reads between the lines, one can see that the teacher actually meant that education, as it applied to himself, was invalid in St. Louis, and rather than find other applications of education, he would not teach there. This approach to education has been a problem in St. Louis in the past, and is improving somewhat now through efforts at creating in the teachers an awareness of the differences that exist.

If one examines the parents' view of the philosophy of education in the St. Louis school, one can see how the parents can agree with it. In order to do this, one must first discover the basic assumptions that the parents have about the statement "giving students all the basic skills that will be necessary for them to function in the outside world." Once again, the main difference lies in the perception of the "outside world". To the parents, the outside world usually means the world outside of the school. The parents' perception of that world is

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[95] Statement of ex-teacher from St. Louis.

usually dictated by their experiences. In the case of St. Louis parents then, the "outside world" means predominantly St. Louis and the occasional contact with Grant, Pelican Lake, Beaver Lodge, Jack Creek, and the Jack Creek Reserve. Contact with Winnipeg is a far rarer occurrence than with the non-urban areas, and contact with urban areas outside of the Province of Manitoba is virtually non-existent.

This difference in perceptions between the teachers and the parents gives rise to other misunderstandings. The first of these involves the meaning of the words "basic skills". Teachers in St. Louis, and in most other communities, associate the term basic skills with academic learning. Invariably the academic skills considered basic are reading with comprehension, writing and the ability to communicate through verbal expression, and computation which includes the four fundamental operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. As this is the general perception of the St. Louis school staff, these are the basic skills which have been taught and to which much time has been devoted. It sometimes comes as quite a shock to teachers when they are confronted by parents with "Our kids don't learn anything at school",[96] especially when all the records, tests, and other evaluative

[96]Parents' opinion relayed to the principal during telephone conversations on several occasions.

materials give absolute evidence to the contrary.

Here again, the conflict seems to be one due to misperceptions and value differences. While the basic skills which have been taught are pedagogically sound in a setting wherein the teachers' perceptions are accurate, they are often times of little value to the parents whose perceptions and values are applicable to their own situation. The parents' concept of basic skills is quite different from that of the teachers, as the following example will show.

When talking to an irate parent one day, the writer asked a mother what she meant when she claimed that her child was not learning anything in school. She quickly retorted that her child still could not tie her shoes properly and that she kept losing her mittens. The same parent had previously agreed with what the teachers had vocalized as the prime objective of their teaching. Obviously her perception of what theteachers really meant was radically different from what the teachers understood by their statements.

It is obvious from this that a disparity exists between what the teachers and what the parents in St. Louis perceive as the meaning of "outside world", "basic skills", and even "survival". The differences that exist in the perceptions of these items give rise also to differences in expectations of the two groups. If misunderstanding exists over the basic premises of education in the community, it is not surprising to find that there are a number of dif-

ferences in the expectations of both groups concerned. The teachers on the one hand expect students not only to learn the material presented, but to internalize it as well. The parents on the other hand expect the students to learn items the teachers are not concerned about teaching, and as a result a conflict of interests exists.

This conflict exists in a number of fashions. Usually confrontations will take place between parents and teachers, or teachers will not be accepted by either individual parents or by the community. The latter sign of conflict is one which has contributed to the high turnover of school staff in St. Louis.

There are however, at least two ways in which the conflict of perceptions and values is exhibited in the students of the school at St. Louis. The first is an inability to internalize certain values such as punctuality and regular attendance. This inability does not stem from an innate weakness of the student, but rather it is learned through the child's normal socialization which goes on simultaneously with his education. It must be remembered that prior to school the child undergoes five years of socialization and during his schooling, over three quarters of his time is spent in his socializing environment. Those children who are deemed successful by teachers in the school, often learn appropriate behaviors for the school setting, but do not internalize these values as is evident

from their everyday behavior in the community. One student has learned to say "Please" and "Thank-you" which is a school value. He does this without hesitation whenever he is in the school. However, at the store it has been noted that he never uses this kind of behavior when dealing with clerks from the community. At the same time, they never require this of him. However, when he is talking to the owner of the store or his wife, he uses his school behavior. It must be pointed out that the store owner was at one time a teacher in St. Louis. The real problem with this type of behavior lies not in the politeness or rudeness of the student, but in the absence of reinforcement of school learned behaviors whenever he is in the community. It is self evident from this that the community values are different from the school's when it come to courtesy.

The lack of ability to carry over seems to be a learned behavior stemming from community-school value conflicts such as the one just pointed out. Many such conflicts exist of which the teachers are aware. However, it appears (from the little success at alleviating the problem) that many more areas of conflict probably exist of which the educators in St. Louis know nothing. This learning to isolate situations and to behave differently in different situations appears detrimental to one part of the learning process of St. Louis children. The shcool has several students who are unable to transfer most learned

principles, such as grammar rule or mathematical properties, to other than identical situations. These children have been psychologically tested and evaluated by different means, all of which have found nothing to indicate that they should have this problem. It is this author's contention that a significant part of the cause of this problem lies in the child having to change behaviors constantly from the school to the community setting. This type of change has to be made in order for the student to function comfortably in both situations. After a period of time, it seems that the student is incapable of making normal situation transitions and adjustments. This opinion seems supported by the fact that lack of transfer occurs most severely in older students who have had to make these changes for longer periods of time.

There are areas of conflict between the school and the community of St. Louis in areas other than educational philosophy. These areas are for the most part, ones of cultural values. It is in this realm that the teachers exhibit many of their mainstream biases as opposed to the community's value system.

Throughout this dissertation, no doubt the reader has been aware of the author's biases. The chapter on social problems was written through the eyes of a Canadian who is by and large a product of the mainstream society. No apologies are made for this, but the creating of an

awareness that this exists is important. It serves as an example of the situation in which the school at St. Louis finds itself. Every teacher has his or her own value system, as does the writer. For the most part, the values held by the staff of the school are reasonably homogeneous. The same can be said of the community of St. Louis. However, the value systems at work in the school and in the community are by no means identical. In fact they are quite different. It is the author's feeling that while the awareness of the existence of these differences does not resolve the conflicts, it does at least allow people to work through conflict situations with more understanding.

The teachers in St. Louis all teach through their own biases. Some of the values they hold dear can be suppressed to a certain extent. Deviation from the curriculum guides sent out by the government are an example of this. Other values change or are in the process of changing. Greater acceptance of absenteeism exemplifies this. Some values however are held sacred. In St. Louis, honesty and certain types of social behavior fall into this category.

No doubt the same can be said of parents in St. Louis. An example of the suppression of one of their values can be seen in their gradual acceptance of corporal punishment in the school. Changing values also exist and are attested to by such things as sending notes for absenteeisms and

increased attendance at Parent-Teacher days held by the school. Parents still adhere rigidly to certain values and hence constant demands for bussing and warm loading areas are present.

In all three types of values held by both parents and teachers, there are occasions when conflicts arise. Those areas in which either the teachers or the community of St. Louis refuse to budge or are incapable of moving are the only areas in which impasses are reached. Occasionally it has been necessary for either the teachers or the community to remain fixed in its values, and this has resulted in the other group modifying their position in order that progress be made. An example of this can be seen in the refusal of the community to accept the school sending children home due to lice infestation. After an explanation and a refusal to re-admit children who had been untreated, the community relented, cared for the children, and a greater concern for the health of the children was established. On one occasion the community insisted that the Grade One and Kindergarten classes, which were combined as one, be seperated because they felt that there were too many children together in that room. The school had refused to do so earlier because there were not enough "qualified" teachers to allow the move. The school finally acquiesced and a paraprofessional was placed in the Kindergarten room under the supervision of the Grade One teacher.

Although the school in St. Louis functions reasonably well, there are certain areas in which value conflicts arise between the parents of the students and the teachers. These conflicts are viewed by the teachers as detrimental to the progress of the students' education, as they would like to see it. It must be realized though, that the parents of the students do not necessarily consider these conflicts as a problem because their view of the purpose of education is in many cases appreciably different from that of the teachers. In those areas where value differences give rise to conflicts, the parents do not and often cannot understand the problem which the teachers claim exists.

Areas of value conflict then, give rise to problems which at least the teachers consider detrimental to the education of the students. Of these, apathy on the part of the parents, poor attendance, and poor work habits of students, are considered to be those problems which most effect the outcome of education in St. Louis.[97] It is obvious that these problems mirror closely the larger social problems of the community as outlined in chapter five. In fact, it appears that these may simply be offshoots of the larger problems.

Parental apathy has been cited as the problem which most prevents the achievement of the objectives of formal

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[97] General opinion of the staff of the St. Louis Elementary School.

learning in St. Louis. This problem manifests itself in a variety of ways. One is that few parents attend the Parent-Teacher days held at the school. Because of this, an opportunity for the parents to understand what the objectives of the school program are, and why those objectives were chosen, is lost. Also lost is an opportunity for the teachers to gain an understanding of the families they teach, as well as the opportunity to explain their programs and objectives. Improved attendance at Parent-Teacher days, it is felt, would enhance communications between the home and the school, and allow the school a better understanding of the community in which it works. In keeping with the premise of this thesis, it is the author's opinion that improved understanding between the parties involved in the upbringing of children in St. Louis can only lead to better, more meaningful, education of those students.

Another way in which apathy among parents exhibits itself is in the failure of parents to interest themselves in the academic achievement of their children. Many parents when approached by a teacher in St. Louis about the progress of their child or children, do not respond as the teachers would like. There often seems to be little interest on the part of the parent and they seem anxious to end the interview as quickly as possible. On the surface, this behavior has all the earmarks of disinterest, yet the writer cannot

agree that this is entirely the case. There may be a certain amount of disinterest involved, but for the most part, it would appear that parents are extremely uncomfortable discussing education. This makes sense in view of the low level of formal education that most of the parents have. Also, parents involved in discussions of something as philosophical as education, which has evolved out of a different value system can be expected to feel somewhat out of place. Considering the different value systems of the teachers, it is unlikely that most parents understand to any full degree, the aims and objectives of education in St. Louis. It is difficult to imagine how a parent in this situation could be comfortable, and hence somewhat easier to understand that the apathy of parents may be a refusal to participate in something in which they feel out of place.

The examples of apathy just presented are not isolated and seperate events. Rather, parental apathy weaves itself into other problem areas as well, and in some areas is a factor contributing to specific problems. One such example is the poor attendance of some students. Although the problem of attendance is limited to only a few students,[98] it poses a problem as a disruptive influence on normal classroom activities. The students who frequently absent themselves from school interrupt the progress of the entire class when they return and have to be given some

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[98]School records indicate 13% of students attend less than 80% of the time.

assistance in upgrading the skills they have missed. In class projects, setbacks result from innattendance. Students are assigned various roles and responsibilities in project work. The effects of absenteeism are frequently felt by those students who attend regularly. Their achievement in a group situation often depends on the fulfillment of obligations by the other students.

Not only is the progress of other class members disrupted by attendance problems, but the progress of the delinquent students is hampered as well. The design of education in St. Louis is one which follows the pattern of most Manitoba public schools. The progression of the various skills is a sequential one. This type of system is useful in some schools, but not necessarily understood or agreed to by all St. Louis parents. Nonetheless, it is the approach used by the school, and the one in which the students are expected to function. Consequently, poor attendance impedes the progress of students being educated in St. Louis.

Causes of poor attendance can be related to two main factors. The first is undoubtedly the socialization of St. Louis children. The community is one in which the majority of people are unemployed. Consequently, relatively few people establish very routinized lives as demanded by societies with high employment rates. Those who are employed tend to leave their positions after relatively short

periods of time. This is in part due to the feeling of futility described in chapter five. As well, the ease of obtaining welfare and the dependency created by that institution, all contribute to a high turnover rate in what employment opportunities exist in St. Louis. No one in St. Louis has held the same job for a period of twelve years which is the expected duration of a child's schooling. The only exception to this would be one storekeeper in the community. In fact, to this author's knowledge, there are only two people in St. Louis who have been continually employed for twelve years. It should be clear from these examples, that children being socialized in the community of St. Louis are not reared with a high emphasis placed on routine and unfailing attendance. It would be surprising if this were not the case as strict attendance at anything is not a value of the community as a whole.

The second factor contributing to poor school attendance is that of parental apathy. Parents do not bother to force their delinquent children into regular attendance. This is predominantly viewed by the teachers as an example of an uncaring attitude on the part of the parents. However, as regular attending habits are not a part of the community's lifestyle by and large, it once again can be viewed as a behavior pattern of little value to the parents of the community. It is not surprising then that some parents

do not make efforts at improving the problem. In their eyes, no problem exists, and to work at having their children attend, would be to waste effort at something of no value. Nonetheless, it must be re-iterated that because of the system in which the students are expected to function, poor attendance hinders educational progress.

The third most significant educational problem area in St. Louis is that of poor student work habits. The causes of this problem closely parallel those of poor attendance. This lack of good work habits among certain students exhibits itself in the forms of work sloppily done, incomplete assignments, and work unattempted. Once again the lack of imitative models in the community make it quite difficult for teachers in St. Louis to instill a good-work ethic in the students.

Parental apathy also contributes a certain amount towards poor work habits. Some parents will not support the school in terms of work assignments to students. This is not due to an innate opposition to either the school or work, but rather it is due to a lack of validity perceived in the school's demands. These parents often cannot understand the value of enforcing the demands made upon their children because they are operating in a world which they perceive in a radically different fashion than the teachers.[99] Again however, because the teachers operate

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[99]Opinions of several parents paraphrased.

in a manner suitable to the world as they perceive it, and because the students have to function in view of the teachers' perceptions, poor work habits are another impediment to educational progress in St. Louis.

Up to this point, consideration has been given only to those problem areas which the teachers perceive as arising from the community. An equally important and very real problem exists which the teachers may not be fully aware of. In fact, this lack of an awareness that a problem does exist is a facet of the problem. The difficulty is either the refusal, or the inability on the part of the teachers to cope with and adjust to the different values that some parents hold. In some cases the teachers do not realize that they operate under different assumptions than the rest of the community. When this happens, conflicts can and do arise. Sometimes the teachers are unaware that the conflicts actually do exist. This phenomenon is dysfunctional in that students often cannot succeed and the teachers do not realize why.

A second and equally serious problem lies in teachers aware of the differences in the value systems of the school and the community, and who refuse to modify any of their teaching behaviors in view of this realization. All teachers cling to certain beliefs and values. In St. Louis, a few teachers refuse to even consider the possibility of either changing or modifying some of their values. These "sacred cows" often times result in impeding educational progress

because they tend to lock students into either patterns or systems. Because these patterns and systems often hold little validity for students, failure or at least setbacks in educational progress are inevitable.

It is beyond the scope of this study to present solutions for the educational problems encountered in St. Louis. The problems are extremely complex in that they are interwoven with some of the social problems of the community. These social problems are in turn related to economic and political events. Attempts at solving educational problems would have to solve problems in areas far beyond the mandate and scope of educators.

This chapter has dealt with socialization and education in St. Louis. The presentation has been one sided as the situation has been viewed through the eyes of an educator reared in a culture different from that of St. Louis. Certain problems have been pointed out in both the area of socialization and education. Problems in socialization exist only in that there is a value difference present between the reporter of these problems and the society of St. Louis. If the parents had the same perceptions of what constituted a problem in the area of socialization, they would undoubtedly resolve the problem by bringing the events or behaviors into line with their perceptions.

For as many problems as have been listed here, the parents within the community could expound on problems of

an equal and opposite nature, and this too would be by virtue of the values and perceptions from which they operate. For the present, an attempt at recognizing the existence of these differing values and perceptions is considered by the teaching staff of the St. Louis Elementary School, as the only approach to solving educational problems which holds any hope. Consequently, this is the operational framework of the school today.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to provide information about a typical Manitoba Metis community in order that the readers might more readily understand life in such communities. It was felt by the author that many teachers accept assignments in Metis communities and do so with preconceived notions. These notions, it was felt, could be detrimental to the progress of education and the development of learning in children from these areas. After extensive research, the writer was unable to locate any specific and up to date studies of communities such as St. Louis. This thesis was written with a view to supplementing the obvious lack of information about such settlements. It was the writer's contention that by providing accurate and current information about a typical community, a better understanding between teachers and similar communities would ensue. It was further felt that education in such localities could be improved by this increased understanding.

The people of St. Louis are descended from the Metis who settled in the Red River area of Manitoba and who were instrumental to the success of the fur trade of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. When Manitoba entered confederation, the Metis had disagreements

with the Government of Canada concerning Metis rights and land claims. This ultimately led to the Red River Rebellion of 1869. Following this, migration of Metis from the area took place, and many moved to the area of present day St. Louis.

Various factors contributed to the formation of the community of St. Louis. People congregated together because of economic reasons. Later the Roman Catholic Church came to the area and built a school. This served as a strong attraction for settlement in the area. For a time, the community flourished, but eventually the natural resources were depleted and when the Great Depression arrived, the community never recovered economically.

At present the community consists of 636 people. The economic situation is one of high unemployment and much welfare assistance. Most of the existing employment opportunities are in tertiary enterprises. An examination of spending habits in the town further leads to the conclusion that St. Louis has no economic basis for its existence. Government subsidies allow the community to survive

As in all communities, St. Louis has its own power structures. The three main ones are kinship groups, religious affiliation, and socio-political affiliations. These structures are not rigid however, as they change with new situations. (Examples of this can be found in chapter four.)

The social problems of St. Louis are numerous. The

major ones are unemployment, liquor abuse, prejudice and apathy. The root of many of the social problems in St. Louis lies in the value differences between St. Louis residents and the Canadian mainstream.

These value differences are further seen in the examination of socialization and education in the community. The areas of conflict between these two appear to be the result of different perceptions due to opposing or incompatible value differences.

At several points in the study, the author interjected his own interpretations and subjective opinions. Whenever this occurred, it was pointed out to the reader in order that he or she might not be mislead.

It is at present, impossible to tell whether or not the objective of increased understanding and improved education has been met. The validity of this writer's assumptions will be proven or disproven in time. However, the objective of supplementing some of the existing lack of pertinent information about present day Metis communities has been met, and one implication is clear. Further studies must be undertaken in order to determine if the quality of education that Metis students receive is in fact enhanced by greater teacher understanding of Metis community settings.

The understanding teachers gain by reading this work will enable them to choose the educational approach they feel is the most fitting. This writer sees possible two different teaching styles in communities such as St. Louis. These styles are based on the philosophies the teachers might have. The first style is based on a view that the assimilation of the children of St. Louis and similar communities into the Canadian mainstream is desirable, and that schooling should be a tool to help accomplish this end. The second teaching style is based on the belief that such communities should be allowed to exist apart from the majority of society and that schooling should provide to the students, the tools necessary to attain this goal.

Within each approach, a number of different techniques might be tried. Those with anti-assimilationist views would undoubtedly be concerned with radical curriculum changes. These changes might include the teaching of such items as public health, how the welfare system operates, how to establish and use credit to good advantage, commercial fishing regulations and methods, methods of lumbering, how to establish co-operatives, effective political activism, proposal writing, job creation projects, consumer education, as well as basic levels of the more academic skills of reading, writing, and computation. These skills would all help an individual live successfully in a community such as St. Louis.

On the other hand, those teachers with assimilationist

leanings would of necessity introduce curriculum modifications of a less radical nature. Items of relevance to the community could be included, but not as an end in themselves. Rather, these would be used as springboards to more advanced learning in standard areas of the curriculum. The assimilationist teacher would undoubtedly stress high levels of competence in basic skills as perceived by the rest of Canadian society. As well, this type of teacher would in all probability attempt to expose the students to new and attractive things which are not available in the community. This would be done with a view to instilling in the students, the desire to move to communities more in keeping with the mainstream of the country.

The individual teachers will have to decide which teaching style to use. The study presented here will serve as useful information in making that decision.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PETITION OF SASKATCHEWAN METIS

TO HIS
EXCELLENCY THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF CANADA, IN
COUNCIL:

We, the undersigned, your humble petitioners, would respectfully submit to your Excellency-in-Council, the following as our grievances:

1. That the Indians are so close to starving that the settlers in many places must give them food, partly to prevent the Indians' dying at the settlers' doors, and partly to keep the peace in the territory.

2. That the half-breeds of this territory have not received 240 acres of land each, as did the Manitoba half-breeds.

3. That the half-breeds who do own land have not received proof of ownership from the government.

4. That the old settlers of the Northwest Territories have not received the same treatment as the old settlers of Manitoba.

5. That settlers are charged dues on lumber, rails, and firewood required for use at home.

6. That customs duties are collected on things necessary for everyday life.

7. That the Northwest Territories, although they have a population of 60,000, do not have as large a say in their own government as did Manitoba when that province had a population of less than 12,000. Your humble petitioners believe that the best way of ending these problems would be to grant the N. W. T. responsible government, with control over its own land and other resources, with just representation in the parliament and cabinet of the Goverment of Canada.

(Adapted from the Métis and white settlers petition) December 1884.

APPENDIX B

MANITOBA WORK ACTIVITY PROJECT

OVERVIEW

MANWAP, Manitoba's first work activity project, was initiated by leaders in five Metis communities; Due to a reduction in commercial fishing, failing interest in trapping and redirection of tourism, at least 80 per cent of each community population were in receipt of long term social assistance. The effect of continued welfare dependency manifested itself in severe alcohol abuse and related social problems . . . . in short the foundations for community growth and potential for individual self development were severly eroded.

The programme was established and headquartered in Dauphin under the auspices of provincial department of Health and Social Development while giving acknowledgement to the right and desires of the member communities to direct and manage their own affairs. The value of maximization of total community participation and responsibility was recognized at the out set; the design and direction of individual projects was to come from the communities themselves. To this end, a Project Operating Committee (POC) was established in each community and is composed of up to six trainees. Authority for direction and control of the overall project was initially vested in the MANWAP

Board of Directors, strong in community representation.

This body, meeting monthly, and now in an advisory capacity, consists of a member from each community council; a member of each community POC, one representative from the Northern Association of Community Councils (NACC) and one from the Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF). An Executive Committee with delegated authority from the Board meets during the month, whenever necessary, to oversee the day-to-day operation of the project. Decisions made by the Executive are subject to ratification by the total Board at regular meetings.

Staff positions (contracted by the Province on a fiscal year-to-year basis) in the field consist of resident Manager Trainers responsible for the overall supervision of community operation, and two Vocational Counsellors to assist trainees in the formulation of career objectives and planning for their attainment. These community staff members participate as members of the local POC unit. Head office staff consists of the Project Manager (responsible basically for the overall management of the project), an Administrative Officer, an Accounts Clerk and clerical support provided by one or two additional persons. Instructor/Consultants, generally of journeyman status, are hired through the Project on a permanent basis to facilitate the delivery of vocational training.

MANWAP began its community operations by offering Life Skills training to programme participants in an attempt to develop individual abilities to cope with daily living, and to focus on problem solving techniques. An educational component was introduced on a very basic level through BLADE and LINC programmes especially geared to people unable to take advantage of conventional upgrading. Existing ABE programmes as developed by community colleges were extended into MANWAP served communities. Realizing the need for a combination of individual and community development, local POC's explored various possibilities for community-based workshops which might facilitate the vocational training aspect of the programme for an average quota of 20 trainees per community. Several chose carpentry shops and auto-mechanics shops while one (Pelican Rapids) selected a sawmill setting and another (Mallard) decided on a farrow-finish piggery operation.

Funds were allocated for the initial purchase of tools and equipment to make these ideas a reality. Partly because of the project's relatively short duration (three years initially) and partly because the provincial government was uncertain of the degree of cost sharability in the area of capital expenditures, no funds were ever allocated for physical shop facilities nor for new capital equipment. Community councils made available old, often unworthy buildings, or contributed materials for very

basic shelters to house the shops. Additional tools and equipment, used vehicles, etc. were gradually amassed by reallocation of funds within the total project budget. While the project proposal originally called for 100 trainee vacancies and funding in the form of an allocation for the year's training allowances, staff salaries plus administrative costs, the actual number of participants and staff was low thus creating surplus funds to be utilized elsewhere.

Vocational training, consistent with the aim of preparation for return to full employment, has been stressed in every activity setting. At no time however, largely because of the funding criteria, has official recognition been extended toward the fact that some individuals may, through necessity or inclination, wish to stay in a community with very limited employment opportunity. Some participants have been on the project since its beginning and have not indicated any intention of seeking alternative forms of employment.

The trainee turnover rate is respectable and leaving data indicates that efforts at readjustment have been, in the main, successful. Since turnover of participants within the project is a normal occurance in one form or another, and individuals are of very diverse abilities, there can be no formal programmed instruction with scheduled

completition dates and conventional pass/fail criteria. In fact, most trainees appear to view MANWAP primarily as a source of employment. Production of solidly constructed quality goods, as a by-product of the simulated work setting, has increased substantially over time. A sizeable amount of revenue, just short of $100,000 in fiscal 1975 - 1976 was collected in the sale of these goods both in and outside MANWAP communities. This figure is certain to be surpassed in the current fiscal year.

All MANWAP projects, since their inception, have stressed the development of business-like atmosphere throughout their operations to facilitate the development of basic managerial and supervisory skills within individual POC's. As projects have gained in sophistication from very basic beginnings, the term viability has arisen. The concept that when a project develops through the efforts of community persons to a point where there is potential for self-sufficiency, then that project should be "spun-off" from MANWAP with title to project assets passing directly to those trainees who have demonstrated interest in its furtherence, has been an implied aim since project development began. This process could have immediate equity for a potential business, a firm foundation upon which to build further funding; but has never been attempted.

In thorough discussionary meetings with mayors, community counsellors, MMF representatives, school officials, women, trainees and interested others from MANWAP served communities, the overall response to the project is highly favorable. A broad based questionnaire type survey conducted by MANWAP staff during January and February, 1975 as the Project ended its initial three year phase indicated that the provision of community based employment, the convenience of MANWAP produced goods and services at reasonable cost and the availability of vocationally oriented training were, in that order, the most valuable contributions of MANWAP. Also cited were improved work habits on the part of programme participants and the reduction in family problems related to excessive drinking while in receipt of straight social allowances. School officials noted an improvement in the attitude and productivity of school children in response to a more regularized home atmosphere. Storekeepers in particular agreed that community based employment, which allows family heads and their paycheques to remain in the community has, through the dependability of regular income, helped families to formulate workable budgets and led to an improvement in overall living conditions.

All community spokesmen firmly endorsed the continuation of MANWAP in the realization that, were the programme to

terminate, problems related to large scale prolonged unemployment would recur. Most respondents to the survey expressed the opinion that, were it not for MANWAP, large numbers of community people would either be on welfare, or obliged to leave the community in search of work. Some pointed out that heads of households who leave the community on their own to find employment also find themselves in the unenviable position of maintaining two places of residence or incurring substantial travelling costs. Job availability and remuneration outside of the somewhat sheltered atmosphere of MANWAP is generally directly related to education and/or experience which would make attainment of vocational and economic goals difficult. Those families who might choose to leave the community as a unit in response to employment prospects would be required to sever long standing and close social and family ties, change schools at possibly inopportune times and bear the brunt of relocation costs. All respondents surveyed visualized with distaste the possibilities of recurring social problems related to unemployment and agency dependence as the probable prospect for those families who might choose to stay in their community in the absence of a permanent source of community based employment.

APPENDIX C
IMPACTE PROJECT OVERVIEW

The IMPACTE Off-Campus Project, is sponsored by the Faculty of Education, Brandon University, and funded by the Department of Colleges and University Affairs, of the Government of Manitoba at present. The Project has Centres at

Another Centre will almost certainly be opened in January of 1977.

The Project has the funding to support 42 full time students. Students receive a living allowance while they are enrolled in IMPACTE.

Each Centre has a Faculty member who acts as a Centre Coordinator and who lives in the community served. The Centre Coordinator is responsible for the administration of the Centre, the supervision of the students of that Centre, and liason with both the University and the School Division(s). In addition, the Coordinator usually has a part time teaching load in the porgram. The position of Centre Coordinator is the "backbone" of IMPACTE !

THE PROGRAM. IMPACTE students are enrolled in Brandon University's Bachelor of Teaching Program which is a three year degree. Because the majority of the students began their Program prior to Sept. 1, 1976, they qualify for a teaching certificate after the successful completion of the first two years of the B.T. Program. Students enrolling after September 1,1976 will not be eligible for certification until they have completed all three years of the B.T. Program.

Certification requirements (2 years) of the B.T. Program include:

First Year

21-30 credit hours of arts/science
0-9 credit hours of Education

Second Year

3 credit hours Educational Psychology
6 credit hours Elementary School Sturctures and Curriculum
6 credit hours Language Arts Methods
3 credit hours Science Methods
3 credit hours Math Methods

Second Year (cont'd)

3 credit hours Social Studies Methods
6 credit hours Education Electives

AND, the successful completion of field experience.

IMPACTE signigicantly modifies this program in two ways. First, it integrates first and second year course work from time to time so that related courses (e.g. math and math methods) can compliment each other. Secondly, the design of IMPACTE is based on the premise that teachers are best educated "by doing". Therefore the field experience is several times the minimum requirement, with students our working in schools during each term of the three years they are in the Program. Students are supported for 2 1/2 to 3 years, during which time they complete the minimum two year qualifications. This allows students with various academic backgrounds time to "catch up", and also allows for the extended field experience needed for a quality program.

Field Experience. The single most important component of a quality teacher education Program is the Field Experience component. It is not enough to pass university courses. A teacher should possess the attitudes, skills, and knowledge necessary for a successful career as an educator before they are recommended for certification. Entire books have been dedicated to the topic of what these ideal attributes are, but let us arbitrarily summarize what the minimum standards should be before and IMPACTE students is recommended for certification.

Knowledge. The successful student must possess a good understanding of the core subject areas currently taught in the Manitoba Public School System, i.e. Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies. Preferably the certified teacher will also have a command of one or more of the fields considered an "elective" in the Elementary School i.e. P.E.; music;art;etc.

Skills. The successful student must be able to effectively and independently plan, deliver, and evaluate instructional activities

Attitude. The successful student must have demonstrated the ability to effectively cooperate with teaching colleagues and the students in a school. Guidelines that define good attitudes should include: the ability to stimulate and excite students; and the demonstration of empathy and concern for others in the School settings.

Expectations. It is crucial that the Projects,the students, and the cooperating teacher, know what they can expect of one another during field experience.

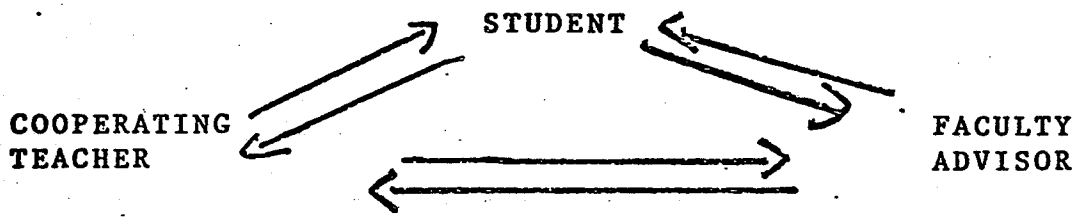

FIG. 1
EXPECTATIONS

A. What can be expected of the Faculty Advisor?

The Faculty Advisor. 1. The Faculty advisor has the legal responsibility to recommend (or not recommend) a student for certification. Practice has taught us that while this is legally a unilateral function in practice it is far from that. In fact, a recommnedation for certification should be a concensus of the faculty advisor and the cooperating teacher.

2. The faculty advisor shall be responsible for the administratior of any support services necessary for the successful function of the field experience activity.

3. The faculty advisor shall visit schools systematically and often, on a schedule agreed to by the school personnel, the student, and the faculty advisor.

4.

B. What can be expected of IMPACTE student teachers?

Examples of Students Tasks During Field Experience

The following are representative tasks identified by student cooperating teachers, and staff in IMPACTE over the last few years. They should be used as guidelines to:

1. Ascertain at what stage of field experience a student is at any one time.
2. Indicate when a student has successfully completed their field experience responsibilities.

Early experience, usually during the first year.

Observe, help with routine tasks and move from desk to desk helping individual students.

Supportive	Instructional
1. Get to know staff and Administation	1. Observation
2. Get to know school outline	2. Knew students names
3. Get to know teachers expectations for class	3. Read to groups
4. Supervise Playgounds	4. Story telling
5. Operate A/V equipment	5. Make bulletin board di
6. Attend Staff meetings	6. Learn curriculum
7. Encourage informal talks with students outside class	7. Correct workbooks
8. Assist in health checks	8. Tutor students
9. Do routine daily paper work	9. Become familiar with library and it functi
10. Become familiar with Board Policy	10. Be an assistant to th teacher.
11. Make A/V aides	
12. Assist in extra curricular activities	
13. Correct objective tests	

Intermediate Experience, usually during the second year.

Students begin to share the teacher's load by teaching small groups under the classroom teacher's guidance and by sharing in the planning of each day's work. They should not be expected to teach full classes or handle a classroom on their own, but should be able to relate to the children in the class, help students who run into difficulties with their assignments and assist in all the routine tasks of the teacher.

Supportive

1. Learn fire drill routine
2. Help order equipment
3. Scrounge resources
4. Use community resources
5. Attend in-services

Instructional

1. Work with small groups
2. Do remedial activities
3. Work up case studies
4. Develop an activity centre
5. Design a field trip
6. Do lesson plans
7. Teach individual lessons
8. Do daily planning
9. Team teach
10. Be a resource person to another teacher

Advanced experience, usually during the third year.

The student is preparing for certification and must show that s/he is ready to undertake the planning, preparation and presentation evaluation of lessons and do al full day's work. However, we ask teachers to bear in mind that daily preparation of more than three lessons in which new material is presented puts quite a load on an inexperienced person. Students should have some released time if they are to prepare adequately. Both students and supervising teachers should discuss load with supervising faculty.

Supportive

1. So student progress reports with teacher
2. Be a part of teacher-parent meetings
3. Become familiar with School Division support services

Instructional

1. Design inquiry activities
2. Design curriculum
3. Do attitude and interest development thing with stude
4. Design a total learning environment
5. Independent instruction

C. What can be expected of the Cooperating Teacher?

The Role of the Ideal-Type Cooperating Teacher.

Most of the suggestions found here are made by experienced cooperating classroom teachers. A lot of them you will have alread considered. Our hope is that these ideas will help you organize your thoughts about your function as a cooperating teacher-but further we need your help. These suggestions will only be relevant as you continue to make them. Please add your recommendations and comment on those recommendations already made.

A. Some things That Cooperating Teachers Can D

INITIAL TONE

1. Take the initiative to make the student comfortable in the school. Make them feel welcome. Show them around the building and while you're doing this, share with them several things that excite you about your school's program.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

YOU AND WHAT YOU HOPE YOU ARE

2. Be <u>available</u> and get <u>together with</u> the student. Make a specific time that is convenient for you to chat for a few mi nutes with the student and <u>follow throu</u> for the first few days. Later this on can be considered a mutual affair or ev the student's-but initially it belongs you.

<u>REMEMBER</u>: It is important that the observer/student understand what you tl you should be doing as that he observe what you do. For this reason, it is especially important that you take tim discuss your own philosophy and progra

APPENDIX D

CANADA MANPOWER TRAINING RATES
1977

Individual living with parents or spouse who are employed	$45.00/wk.
Individual maintaining household without dependents	$79.00/wk.
Individual maintaining household with	
one dependent	$90.00/wk.
two dependents	$97.00/wk.
three dependents	$103.00/wk.
four or more dependents	$109.00/wk.

APPENDIX E

MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION, 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
INFORMATION SERVICE: TEL 947-1681 EXT. 41

RURAL AND NATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

A Federal/Provincial program which is cost-shared (75/25) for both capital and operating expenditures, under Section 40 of the National Housing Act.

In Manitoba, the program is delivered by the federal Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation through its designated delivery agents — the Manitoba Metis Federation (R.A.N.H.C.O.M.) and the Northern Association of Community Councils — and by the provincial Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, Remote Housing Department.

Type of Program
A subsidized purchase program to provide mortgage assistance to families living in remote or unserviced communities.

Income Requirements
For families whose total income is less than $10,000 per year. Families on Social Assistance are eligible.

Qualifications
Families with at least one dependent child.

Type and Cost of Home
For puchase of a new or older home meeting CMHC standards and costing up to $25,000.

Down Payment Required
Depending on house costs, down payment will be $200 to $600. Payment maybe in the form of cash, land and/or sweat equity.

Mortgage Repayment Required
Each family's monthly payment is based on its income. The minimum monthly payment is $18 and the maximum monthly payment is equal to the full costs of the mortgage plus insurance and taxes.

Annual Subsidy Available
Depending on each family's income and the cost of the house, a subsidy is available to help reduce monthly mortgage payments to not more than 25% of a family's gross income.

Subsidy Review
The family's income is reviewed each year and the family's monthly payment is fixed for the next 12 months. The house payment under the Rural and Native Housing program (N.H.A. Section 40) can increase or decrease from year to year as the family's income changes.

For Further Information
The Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation,
Remote Housing Department,
1100-259 Portage Avenue,
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 3A7.
Telephone: 957-0430 (call collect).

MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION, 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
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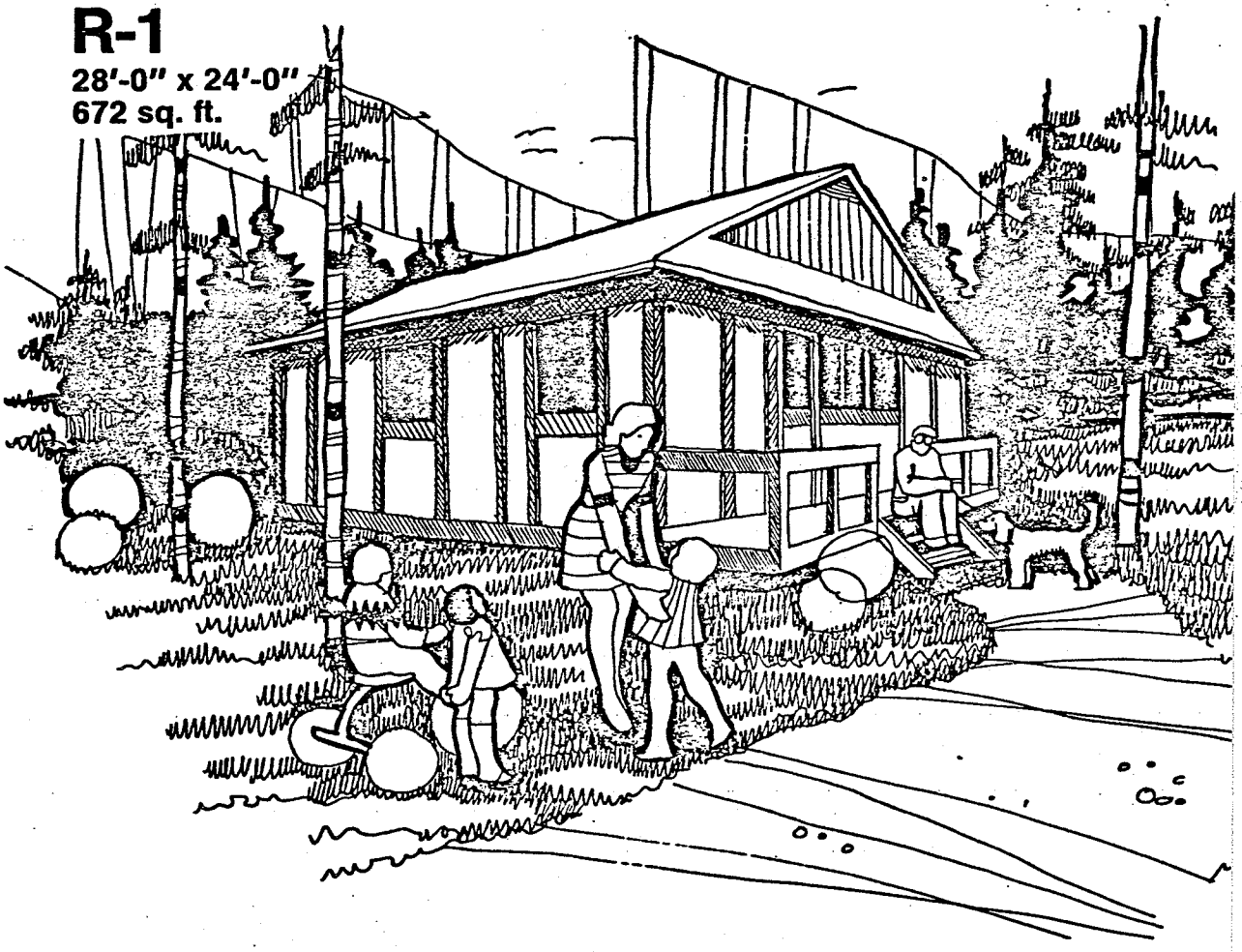
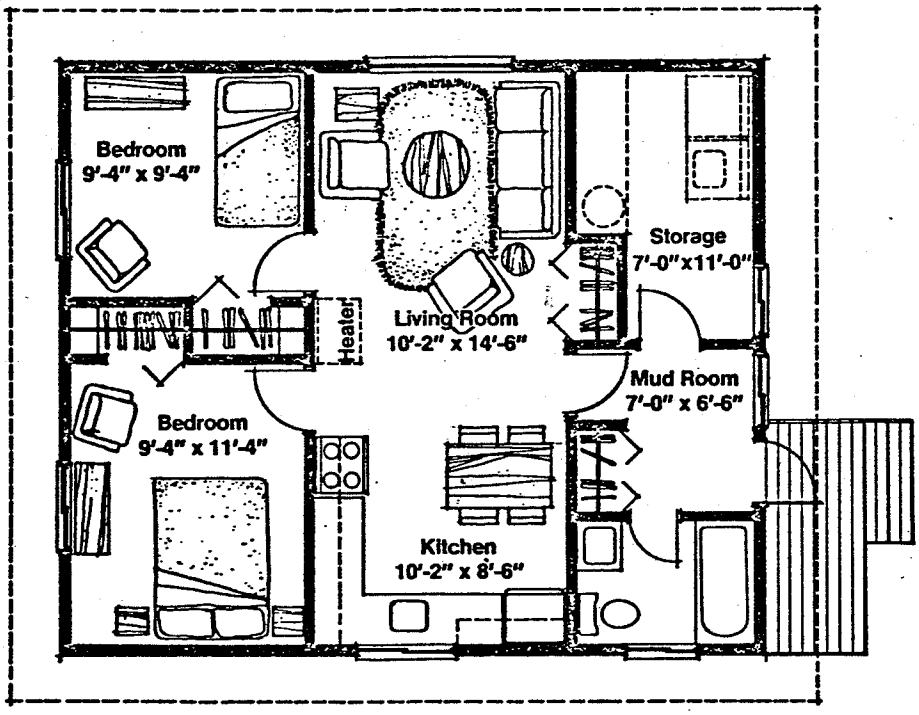
R-1

28'-0" x 24'-0"
672 sq. ft.





FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 FEET

MARCH

MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION, 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
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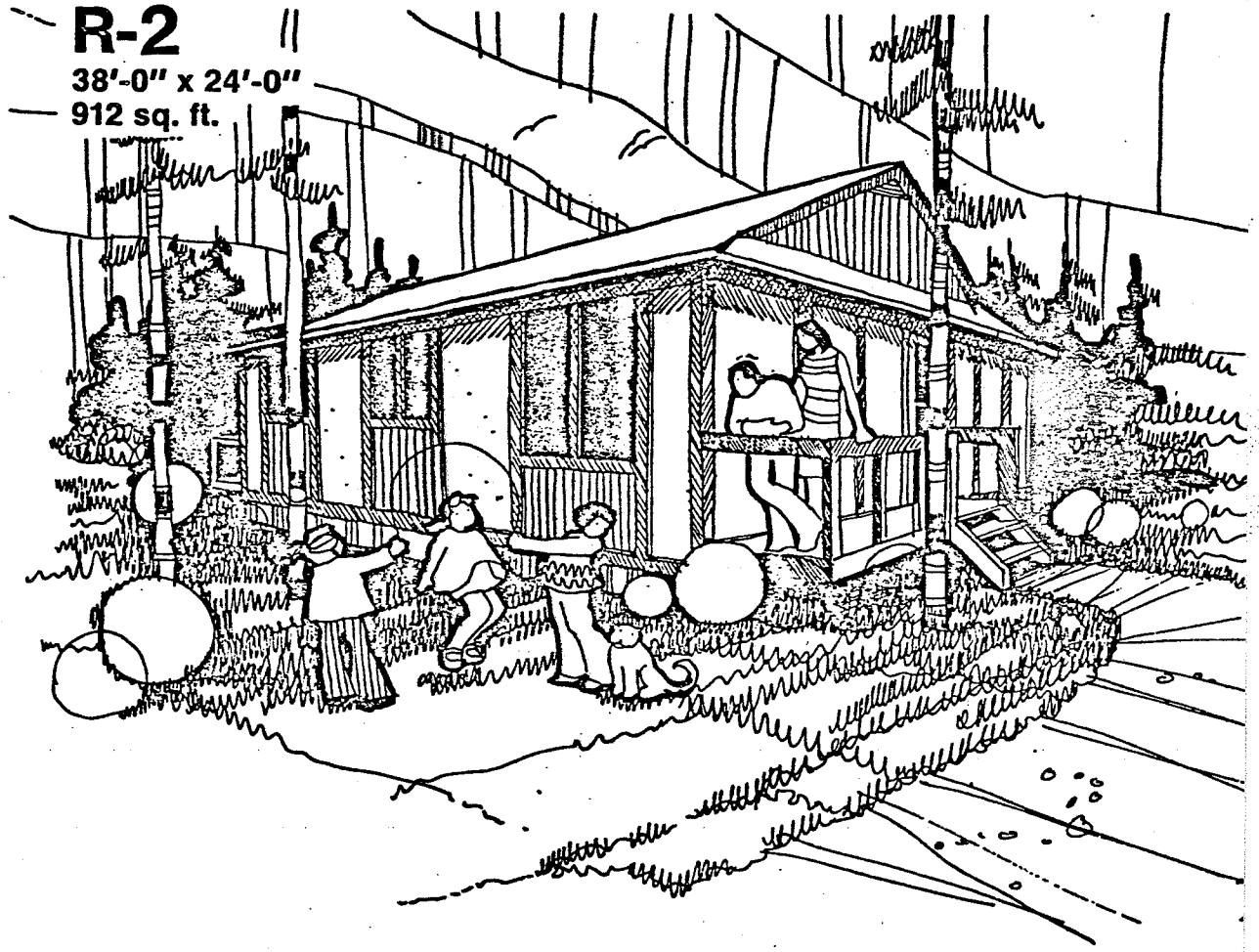
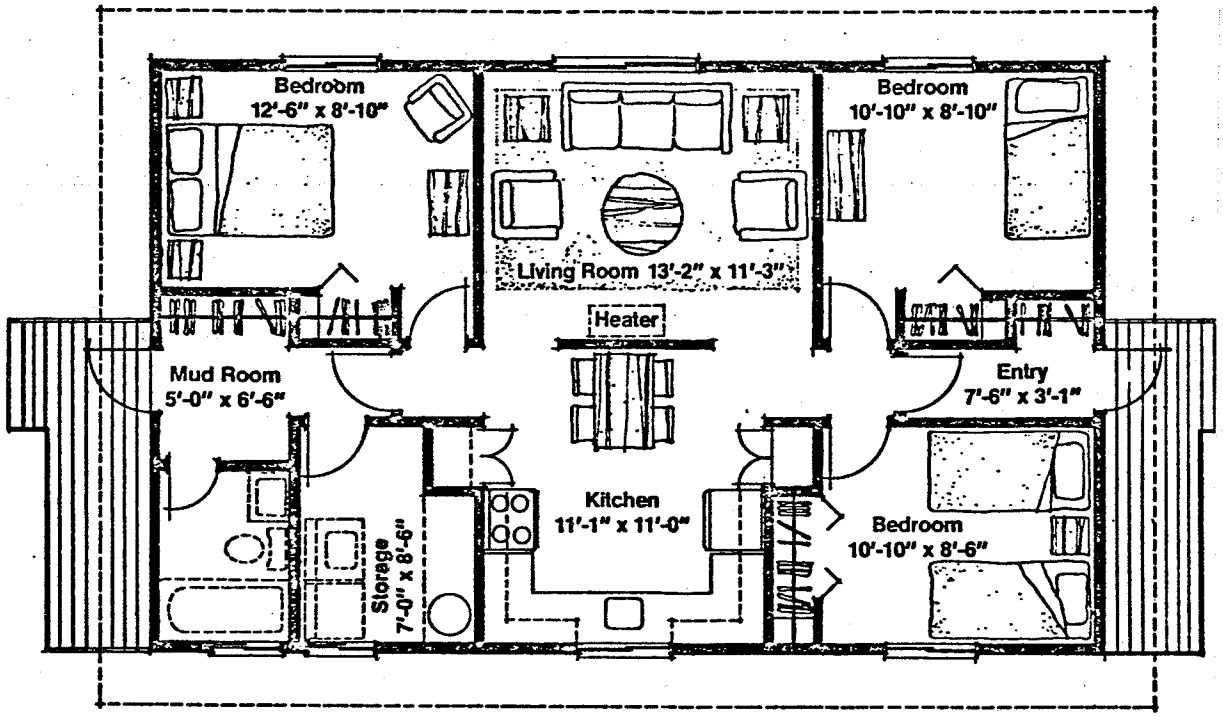
R-2

38'-0" x 24'-0"
912 sq. ft.





FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 FEET

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MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION, 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
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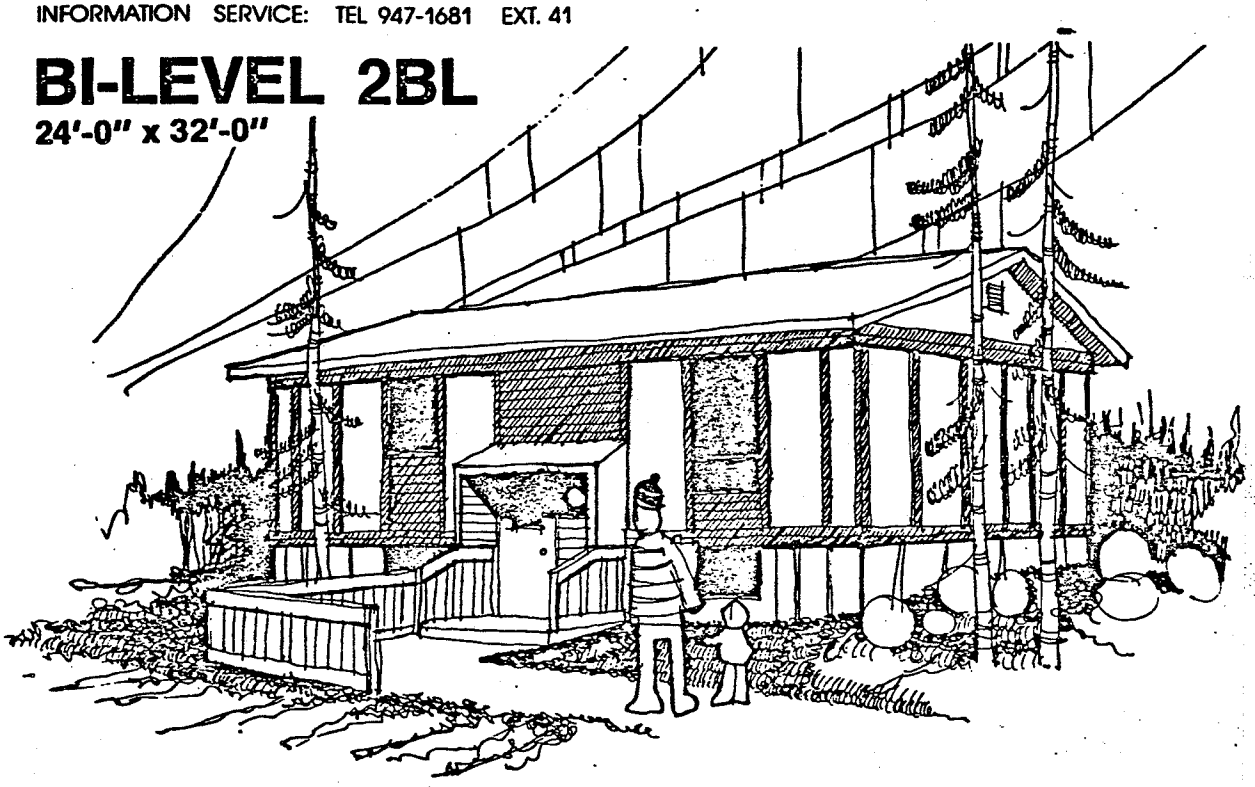
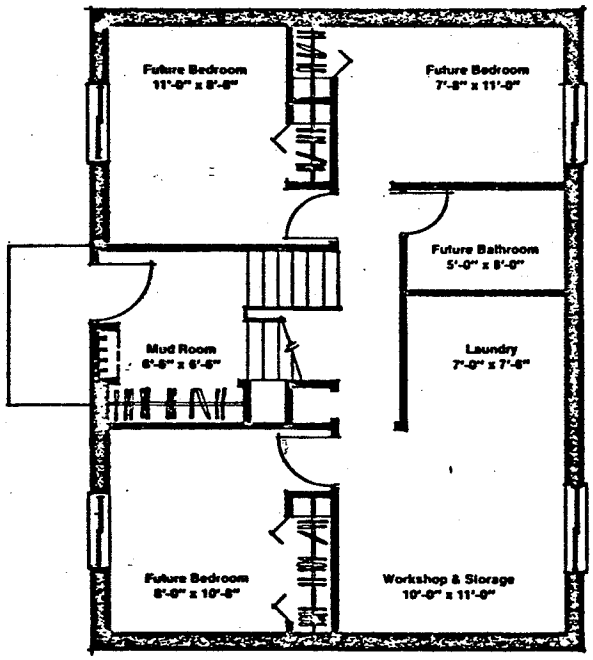
BI-LEVEL 2BL

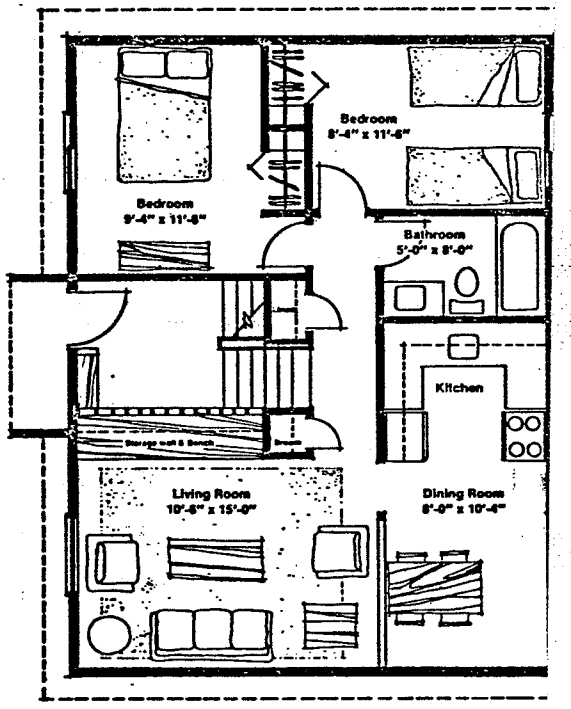
24'-0" x 32'-0"





BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN

OPTIONAL



FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 FEET

MARCH 1

MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION, 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
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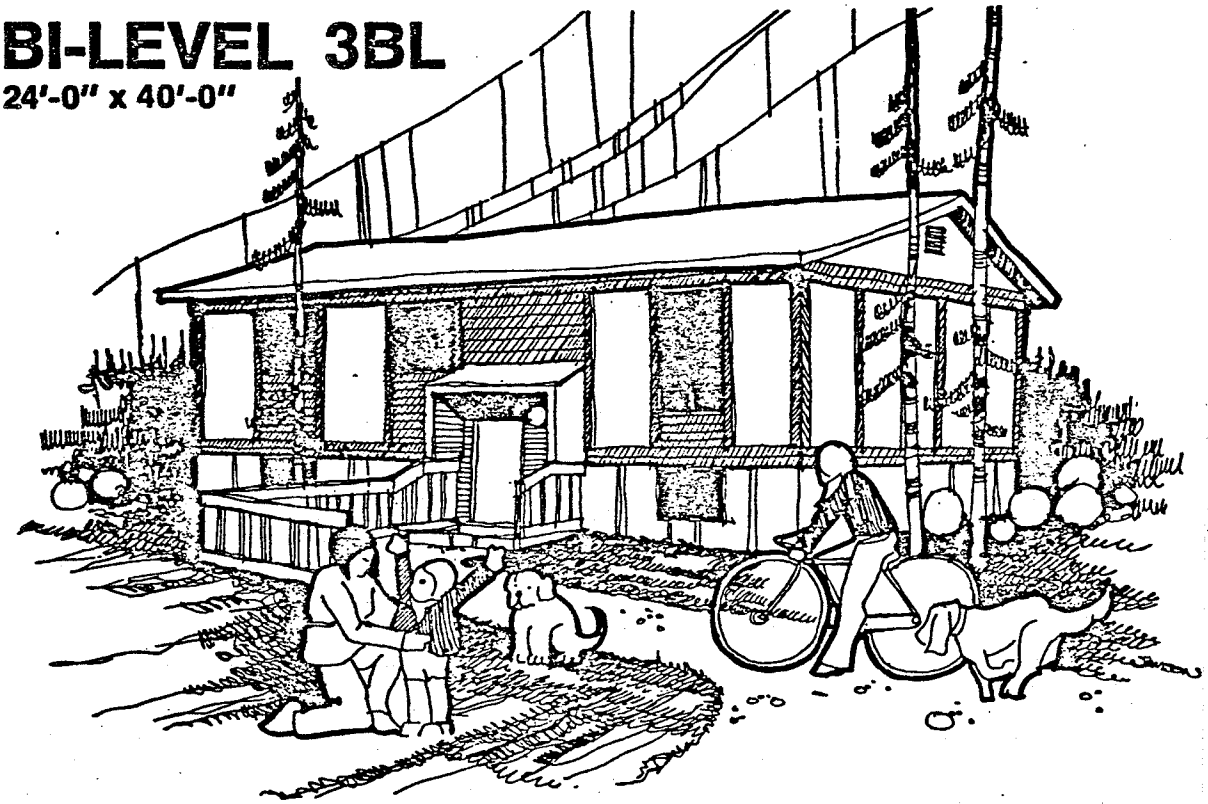
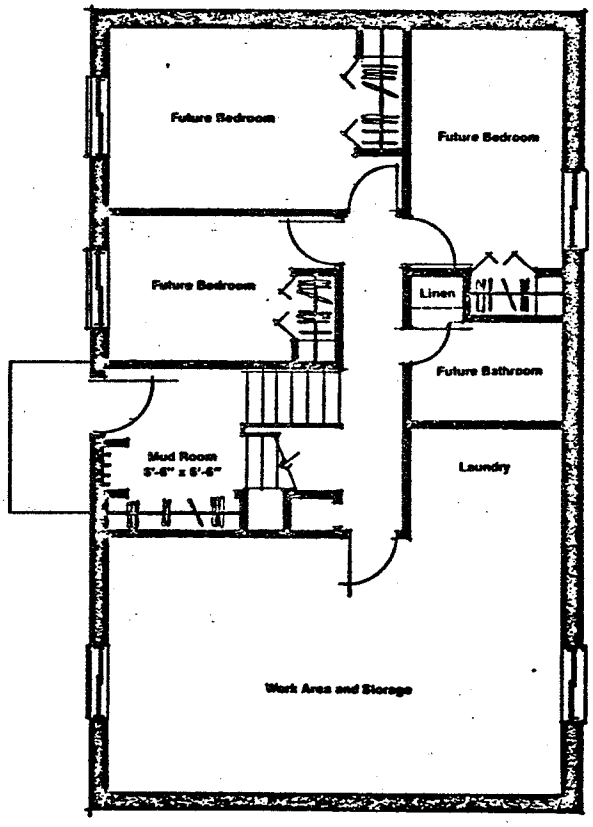
BI-LEVEL 3BL

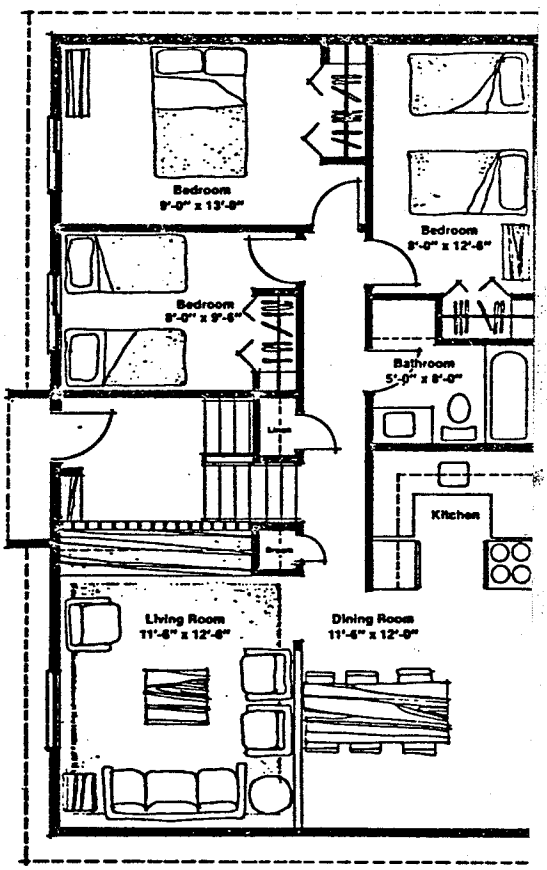
24'-0" x 40'-0"





BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN

OPTIONAL



FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 FEET

MARCH

APPENDIX F

Occupational Structure of St. Louis

Occupation	Number employed
Stores	9
Carpenter	4
Odd job laborers	16
Priest	3
Nuns	3
IMPACTE	12
Bush worker	7
Farmer	1
MANWAP	22
Waterman	2
Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation	6
Teacher	8
Northern Association of Community Councils	3
Probation worker	1
Caretaker	1
Machine operator	1
Baby sitter	1
Home Advisor	1
Pulp worker	3
Trapping	1
Contractor	1

Occupational Structure of St. Louis - (Cont'd)

Occupation	Number employed
Churchill Forest Industries	1
Taxi-driver	3
Constable	1
Truck driver-operator	2
Mayor	1
In jail	1
Bus driver	1
Court Communicator	1
Council Clerk	1
Store Clerk	1
Community worker	1
Public Relations Worker	1
Community Council in training	1
TOTAL EMPLOYED	136

APPENDIX G

1971 CENSUS

INCOME OF INDIVIDUALS 15 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX

Income	$0	$0-3000	$3000-5999	$6000-9999	over $10,000
Male	30	80	30	5	--
Female	75	50	--	10	--
Total	105	125	30	10	--

	Count	Average
Male	145	1,826
Female	130	870
Total	270	1,372

APPENDIX H

EMERGENCY REPAIR PROGRAM

Monitoring Guidelines

Provincial Monitoring Committee: 2 CMHC plus 2 Association members meet once a month at the Branch or Regional level.
Purpose: to review the program of the ERP

Purpose of E.R.P.:
a) emergency repairs of a nature which will provide habitable houses with respect to health and safety until such a time as replacement houses can be provided;
b) substantial up-grading and renovation to extend the life of the existing houses until such time as replacement houses can be provided.

Guidelines for E.R.P.

A. The House

1. The house is structurally sound.
2. The house is large enough to offer at least a bare minimum acceptable amount of living space.
3. The house requires various basic renovation and up-grading work to turn it into a habitable unit.
4. If the basic renovation and up-grading work is done, the house will be a habitable unit for an extended period of time.

B. The Family

The family is on a fixed income, or a low income (seasonal wages, for example) such that it could not reasonably be expected to finance on its own the renovations required.

C. Types of Materials

1. Polyethylene sheeting or storm windows, weatherproofing leaking walls, general sealing of cracks where drafts enter homes.
2. Building paper which would be used for roof repairs, interior lining of walls and for insulating purposes.
3. Shingles to make minor roof repairs where roofs are leaking.
4. Sheet metal - this would be used primarily for fire-proofing stove pipes which presently discharge outside the house without the benefit of a chimney.

5. Caulking compound which would be used for sealing joints and cracks.
6. Glass which would be used for window and door repairs.
7. Chipboard and plywood which would be used for both interior and exterior repairs where major damage had been done to the walls.
8. Paint and calcimine for finishing repairs.
9. Vents and louvres to allow for fresh air to enter homes and moist air to leave the homes.
10. Building hardware including nails, hinges, latches and screws.
11. Insulation materials to help make houses warmer and thus in need of less heating.
12. Simple hand tools should be turned into the delivery agent for use in future projects.

D. Types of Repairs Anticipated

1. Heaters repairs and replacement.
2. Checking and replacement of unsafe chimneys.
3. Replacing and repairing of doors and windows.
4. Insulating of floors, walls and ceilings.
5. Repairs to foundations and footings, replacing log foundations and footings with concrete blocks or poured concrete.
6. Roof repairs.
7. All discarded materials, i.e. windows, doors, etc. should be destroyed.

E. Policy on Labour

It must be remembered that there is only so much money in this program. The more we spend on labor the less we can spend on materials. For this reason we expect people to do their own labor (free). If help is needed for some specific reason (OAP, widow, incapacitated) it will be considered.

F. First priority will be given to those in most need. It will also be taken into account if a person has had repairs before.

G. All repairs must be passed by the local housing committee or council.

H. The budget for the 26 communities that NACC Housing services is [redacted].

MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION. 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
INFORMATION SERVICE: TEL 947-1681 EXT. 41

RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (RRAP)

A Federal program administered by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

In designated rural communities
R.R.A.P. is delivered by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, Home Repair Department.

In designated Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.) areas of Winnipeg and Brandon
R.R.A.P. is delivered by: City of Winnipeg,
Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Telephone: 985-5189.
City of Brandon, Telephone: 728-2278.

Type of Program
A housing rehabilitation program which provides loans and grants to owners of older houses who wish to make repairs that will extend the useful life of the house for at least a further 15 years.

Rehabilitation Assistance
1) *Loan*, up to a maximum of $10,000, is available to all homeowners living in designated rural communities. Loans in excess of $5,000 must be secured by a mortgage with C.M.H.C.

2) *Loan Forgiveness (Grant)*, up to a maximum of $3,750, is available to homeowners with incomes less than $11,000.

Qualifications
For families with or without dependent children, whose present home is of sufficient quality that it can be made safer and more comfortable with some repair and improvement.

Type of Repair
Those repairs required to bring substandard residential dwellings up to minimum provincial health and safety standards. Emphasis is on major items such as wiring, heating, roof repair and foundation repair.

Loan Forgiveness (Grant)
The maximum amount that may be forgiven is $3,750, to be forgiven at the rate of $750 for each year the family continues to own and occupy the house.
1) A family whose adjusted income is less than $6,000 per year, is eligible for maximum loan forgiveness.
2) A family whose adjusted income is less than $11,000 is eligible to have a reduced portion (depending on income) of the loan amount forgiven.

Loan Repayment
Repayment of the balance of the loan can be made over a term of up to 20 years or the estimated useful life of the property.

For Further Information
The Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation
Home Repair Department,
165 Garry Street,
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 1G8.
Telephone: 944-2300 (call collect)

APPENDIX J

MANITOBA HOUSING

AND RENEWAL CORPORATION, 2100—ONE EIGHTY-FIVE SMITH STREET, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3C 3G4
INFORMATION SERVICE: TEL 947-1681 EXT. 41

ASSISTED HOME OWNERSHIP PROGRAM (AHOP)

A Federal program administered by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Type of Program
A mortgage assistance program providing interest reduction loans and non-repayable subsidies to encourage the development of and purchase of newly constructed, moderately priced housing.

Mortgage Assistance
1) *Loans* that effectively reduce the mortgage interest rate to 8%, are available to any household of two or more persons. These loans are secured by way of a mortgage arrangement made with C.M.H.C. and are interest free for up to five years.
2) *Non-repayable Subsidies*, up to a maximum of $750 per year, are available to households including one or more dependent children when the mortgage payment, after the interest reduction loan, is more than 25% of the family's gross income.

Mortgage assistance will be progressively reduced by a maximum amount of $240 annually.

Gross Income
Income from all sources, for both applicant and spouse, including family and youth allowances.

Qualifying House
A newly constructed house, meeting C.M.H.C. standards, and costing up to a maximum of $35,600 (land plus construction costs) where such costs can be supported by C.M.H.C. lending value.

Down Payment Required
A minimum of 5% of the house cost ($1,780 on a $35,600 house). It may be in the form of cash, land and/or sweat equity.

Mortgage Assistance Review
The mortgage assistance (loan and subsidy) will be reviewed after the first five-year term of the mortgage. Any monies advanced in the form of an interest reduction loan are repayable at that time. They may be paid in cash immediately or through a variety of alternatives with C.M.H.C.

Where to Apply
1) Contact builders to find a qualifying house and make arrangements to assume the mortgage.
2) If building your own house, obtain working drawings for a qualifying house and apply to a C.M.H.C. approved lender; e.g. chartered bank, mortgage or trust company for an A.H.O.P. mortgage.
   In both cases, your mortgage application will be forwarded to C.M.H.C. for approval and calculation of mortgage assistance.

For Further Information
Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
870 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3G 0P2
Telephone: 774-7491

NOTE:
Additional Provincial A.H.O.P. Assistance is available to qualifying applicants.

For Further Information
The Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation
Provincial A.H.O.P. Assistance
2100-185 Smith Street
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 3G4
Telephone: 947-1681 (call collect)

PART III

LOCAL COMMITTEES AND COMMUNITY COUNCILS

Establishment of local committees.

13 (1) Where the minister deems it advisable in the interests of the residents of an area in Northern Manitoba, other than an area in respect of which a community council is functioning, or which is included in an incorporated community, he may appoint a local committee composed of residents of the area, to assist him,

(a) in providing, maintaining and improving local services in the area, and

(b) by acting in an advisory and consultative capacity to him; and

subject to the written approval of the minister, a local committee may enter into agreements and make arrangements necessary to provide, maintain, and improve local services in the relevant area of Northern Manitoba.

Boundaries.

13 (2) The minister may determine the boundaries of the area in which a local committee is to function in such manner and by such means, including the use of photogrammetric surveys, as he considers appropriate.

Remuneration of local committees.

13 (3) The minister shall pay the members of local committees such out-of-pocket expenses and remuneration for the performance of their duties as members as provided in regulations and may pay them out of the funds allocated to the local committee.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 13.

Community councils continued.

14 Subject to the other provisions of this Act, community councils established before this Act comes into force, are continued, and the minister, from time to time, may determine the boundaries of the area in respect of which a community council functions in such manner and by such means including the use of photogrammetric surveys, as he considers appropriate.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 14.

Elections of community councils.

15 (1) The elections of members of community councils shall be held in accordance with the regulations.

Term of office of community councils.

15 (2) The members of a community council shall be elected for a term of two years, and subject to the regulations, general elections for ½ of the members of the community council, or as close as may be to ½ of the members, except the mayor, shall be held every year.

Powers of community councils.

15 (3) Each community council, may do all things necessary to achieve its purposes; and, subject to the written approval of the minister, it may enter into agreements and make arrangements necessary to provide, maintain, and improve, local services in the community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 15.

Remuneration of community councils.

16 Members of community councils may be paid from and out of the funds of the community council,

(a) their out-of-pocket expenses incurred in the performance of their duties as members; and

(b) remuneration in accordance with the regulations.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 16.

Meetings of community councils, disclosure and translation.

17 Subsections 41 (1) to (3), clauses 50 (f), (g) and (i) and section 54 apply mutatis mutandis to community councils.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 17.

Personal liability of members.

18 (1) The members of a community council or a local committee are not personally liable for the debts of the community council or the local committee, as the case may be.

Accounts.

18 (2) Each community council and each local committee shall keep books of account of their receipts and expenditures which shall be audited by an auditor appointed by the minister; and the auditor shall send a copy of the report to the community council or local committee concerned.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 18.

Acquiring property.

19 A community council and a local committee may accept donations, grants, and gifts, may acquire personal property necessary for its purposes and may dispose of such personal property when it is not required for its purposes.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 19.

Misuse of powers.

20 Where the minister is satisfied that a community council or a local committee is misusing its funds or is not looking after its affairs in a proper and straight forward manner or cannot or is unlikely to be able to meet its obligations as they fall due, he may, with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council,

(a) take over the assets, including any cash or credits of the community council or a local committee;

(b) assume the obligations of the community council or local committee; and

(c) take possession of the books of account, records and other documents of the community council or local committee;

or appoint a person to do those things on his behalf; and he may, with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, dissolve the community council or local committee.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 20.

PART IV

INCORPORATION

Incorporated communities.

21 (1) On receipt of a petition signed by at least fifteen adult residents of an area in Northern Manitoba, which may include the whole of a community for which a community council has been established or an area for which there is a local committee, the minister may establish the area as a district and may recommend to the Lieutenant Governor in Council that the residents of the district so defined be incorporated as an incorporated community.

Form and contents of petition.

21 (2) The petition referred to in subsection (1) and the signatures thereto, shall

(a) be verified by the statutory declaration of a person having knowledge of the facts; and

(b) describe by reference to a survey, or landmarks, the boundaries of the area, which it is proposed should be defined as a district.

Notice of petition.

21 (3) Prior to making the recommendation referred to in subsection (1), the minister shall direct that notice of the petition be given to the adult residents of the area referred to in clause (2) (b), in such manner as he considers to be appropriate.

Contents of notice.

21 (4) The notice referred to in subsection (3) shall describe the area which it is proposed should be defined as a district and the residents of which should be incorporated as an incorporated community, and shall invite any person objecting thereto to give his objection in writing together with a brief statement of the reasons for it, to the minister by a date specified by the minister and set out in the notice.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 21.

Definitions of district.

22 (1) With the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, the minister may establish the area referred to in subsection 21 (1) as a district by defining its boundaries by reference to a survey based on astronomic bearings; provided that, if in the opinion of the minister a survey based on astronomic bearings is not available when he decides to define the district, its boundaries may be defined by reference to a photogrammetric survey.

Survey based on astronomic bearings.

22 (2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, where the minister has defined the boundaries of a district by reference to a photogrammetric survey at any time thereafter he may define the boundaries by reference to a survey based on astronomic bearings which shall be substituted for the former survey for all purposes.

Incorporation.

22 (3) The Lieutenant Governor in Council, may direct the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs to incorporate the residents of the district defined pursuant to subsection (1) as an incorporated community.

Notice of incorporation.

22 (4) Forthwith after the issue of letters patent incorporating an incorporated community, the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs shall cause a copy thereof to be published in one issue of the Manitoba Gazette.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 22.

Day on which incorporated community council may commence to exercise its powers.

23 Where the minister directs the incorporation of the residents of an area which includes the whole of a community for which a community council has been established or for which there is a local committee, he shall name the date on which the community council or the local committee, as the case may be, ceases to exist and the date on which the incorporated community and its council may commence to exercise the rights, powers, duties and responsibilities delegated to them by this Act.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 23.

Incorporated community successor of community council's or local committee's property and liabilities.

24 Where section 23 applies, the incorporated community is the successor to and the continuation of the former community council or local committee for all purposes and all the property and assets in which the community council or local committee had an interest and all the liabilities incurred in the name of the community council or local committee are vested in and are the responsibility of the incorporated community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 24.

Employees of former community councils or local committees to be offered employment.

25 Where section 23 applies, the incorporated community council shall offer to employ every person who immediately before such incorporation was employed by the former community council or local committee on the same terms and conditions as he was employed by that community council or local committee.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 25.

Employee benefits.

26 Where an incorporated community employs a person theretofor employed by a former community council or local committee pursuant to section 25,

(a) the employee shall be deemed to remain an employee of the former employer for the purposes of any sick leave credit plan of that former employer until a sick leave credit plan for the incorporated community employees is established;

(b) the incorporated community shall, during the first year of his employment by the incorporated community provide for that employee vacation and holidays with pay equivalent to those to which he would have been entitled if he had continued to be employed by the former employer; and

(c) all the other terms of employment of that employee, including the amount of his remuneration and pension or superannuation rights and group insurance benefits, if any, shall not be less favourable to him than those he enjoyed in the employment of the former employer.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 26.

Inordinate increase in benefit or salary.

27 Notwithstanding clause 26(c), where a community council or local committee gives to an employee an inordinate increase in benefits or salary, the minister may reduce the increase in benefits or salary to a level which, in the opinion of the minister, recognizes the training, experience and length of service of the employee and the benefit or salary so reduced shall be deemed the benefits or salary received by the employee from the community council or local committee for the purposes of section 25.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 27.

Continuation of actions against community council.

28 (1) Where section 23 applies and an action is pending against the former community council, the action may be continued against the incorporated community, as the community council's successor.

Continuation of actions by community council.

28 (2) Where, section 23 applies, and an action is pending which was commenced by the former community council, the action may be continued by the incorporated community, as the community council's successor; but the law and procedure applicable thereto on the day the former community council ceased to exist continues to apply until completion of the action or proceedings.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 28.

Transfer and vesting of rights.

29 All rights, claims estates, property, obligations and liabilities, of, against, vested in, due or payable to or owing or payable by each former community council or former local committee before it ceased to exist pursuant to section 23 become, on the day it ceases to exist, and are rights, claims estates, property, debts, obligations and liabilities of, vested in, due or payable by, the successor incorporated community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 29.

Contents of instrument of incorporation.

30 The letters patent incorporating an incorporated community, shall,

(a) subject to subsection 22 (1), describe the boundaries of the district, the residents of which are incorporated and name the incorporated community;

(b) specify whether the mayor is to be elected by the electors of the incorporated community or is to be elected pursuant to subsection 34 (3);

(c) specify the number of members of the incorporated community council if the mayor is to be elected by the council from its members or specify the number of members of the council in addition to the mayor if subsection 34 (1) applies;

(d) designate the first enumerator, the first revising officer and the first returning officer and assistants to them or any one or more of them, for the incorporated community;

(e) specify the date by which the preparation and revision of the first voters list shall be completed;

(f) notwithstanding regulations made under section 109 specify the date and time when, and the place where, nominations of candidates for members of the first incorporated community council shall be made;

(g) notwithstanding regulations made under section 109, specify the date and time when elections shall be held for the members of the first council of the incorporated community;

(h) notwithstanding subsection 89 (1), specify the commencement and termination dates of the incorporated community's first fiscal year;

(i) specify the date, time and place of the first meeting of the first incorporated community council;

(j) designate the person to act as clerk of the incorporated community until the council appoints a clerk;

(k) subject to regulations made under section 109, fix the terms of office of the members of the first council; and

(l) make such additional provisions as in his opinion are necessary for the establishment of the incorporated community and the election and operation of its first council.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 30.

Alteration of district boundaries.

31 (1) The minister, with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, may alter the boundaries of a district defined under this Act at any time, and where he does so, subsection 22 (1) applies mutatis mutandis; provided that before acting pursuant to this subsection, the minister shall consult with the council of the incorporated community concerned and with the adult residents of the area or areas which he considers might be included in or excluded from the district, in such manner as he considers appropriate.

Review of district boundaries.

31 (2) The minister shall review the appropriateness of the boundaries of each district defined under this Act at least once each five years after the incorporation of its residents as an incorporated community after consultation with the incorporated community council and such other persons as he considers appropriate.

Effect of order altering district boundaries.

31 (3) Where the minister alters the boundaries of a district pursuant to subsection (1), the order takes effect on the day named in it and the residents of the district as altered continue to be incorporated as the incorporated community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 31.

PART V

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Composition of incorporated community councils.

32 Each incorporated community council comprises the mayor and such number of other members of council as is specified either in the letters patent incorporating the incorporated community or regulations made pursuant to section 109.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 32.

Term of office of members of incorporated community council other than the mayor.

33 Subject to regulations made pursuant to section 109, the members of an incorporated community council shall be elected for a term of office of two years and elections for ½ of such members, except the mayor, shall be held every year.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 33.

Election and term of office of mayor.

34 (1) Subject to regulations made pursuant to section 109, the mayor of an incorporated community council shall be elected by the electors of the incorporated community for a term of office of two years.

Election of mayor by members of council.

34 (2) Notwithstanding subsection (1) the mayor of an incorporated community council shall be elected by a majority of the council from its members where the letters patent incorporating the incorporated community, or regulations made pursuant to section 109 so provide.

Election of mayor by incorporated community council from its members.

34 (3) Where subsection (2) applies,

(a) the mayor shall be elected by a majority of the members of the whole council from its members at its first meeting following an election for a term of one year and shall hold office until the first meeting of the council following the next election;

(b) where the members of the council are unable to elect a mayor, the chairman may adjourn the meeting to the third following day that is not a holiday, and if the mayor is not then elected, he shall forthwith report that fact to the minister, who shall thereupon appoint a member of the council to be the mayor;

(c) should the mayor die, resign, or be removed from office, the council shall by a vote of the majority of the members of the whole council, at the first regular meeting of the council held after the office becomes vacant, elect a new mayor to hold office for the unexpired balance of the former mayor's term and clause (b) applies mutatis mutandis; and

(d) the mayor may be removed from office by the vote of a majority of the whole council at any time, following 30 days written notice of motion.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 34.

Exercise of powers by residents of incorporated community.

35 (1) Within five years following the incorporation of each incorporated community, the minister shall consult with its adult residents in such manner as he considers appropriate, and after such consultation, may recommend to the Lieutenant Governor in Council that subsections (3) to (7) apply to that incorporated community.

Order of L. G. in C. re application of subsections (3) to (7).

35 (2) After receiving the recommendation referred to in subsection (1) the Lieutenant Governor in Council may order that subsections (3) to (7) apply to an incorporated community; but the order is not effective until it has been published once in the Manitoba Gazette.

Ibid.

35 (3) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, but subject to regulations made pursuant to section 109, after the order referred to in subsection (2) comes into effect, the adult residents of the incorporated community who are present at a regular or special incorporated community meeting shall exercise those powers otherwise delegated by this Act to the council and which are referred to in subsection (4).

Powers of residents of incorporated communities.

35 (4) Where subsection (3) applies, the adult residents of the incorporated community have and may exercise the powers delegated to incorporated community councils by regulations made pursuant to Part VII and by Part IX of this Act, subject to the same limitations, restrictions and rights of appeal as apply where the powers are exercised by incorporated community councils.

Powers of incorporated community councils.

35 (5) For the avoidance of doubt, after the order referred to in subsection (2) comes into effect, the council of the incorporated community continues to have the rights, powers, responsibilities and duties provided in this Act, except to the extent that they are delegated to the adult residents of the incorporated community by this section.

Recommendation of community council to be read.

35 (6) Prior to discussion of a matter in respect of which a power referred to in subsection (4) may be exercised at an incorporated community meeting, the mayor, deputy mayor or clerk shall read or cause to be read the recommendation of the incorporated community council as to the exercise of the power in question.

Application of sec. 36 and secs. 40 to 55 of Mun. Act.

35 (7) Section 36, and sections 40 to 55 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to the adult residents of an incorporated community who participate in an incorporated community meeting held pursuant to subsection (3).

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 35.

Disqualification and forfeiture of seat.

36 Sections 47 to 50 of The Municipal Act, apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated community councils.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 36.

Vacating seat.

37 (1) Where, after the election of a person as a member of an incorporated community council, he

(a) fails, except where prohibited from attending pursuant to section 36, to attend three consecutive regular meetings of the incorporated community council without being authorized so to do by a resolution of the incorporated community council entered in its minutes; or

(b) becomes, under the provision of this Act, disqualified for election as, or to be or remain, a member of the incorporated community council,

he thereby forfeits his seat on the incorporated community council.

Other vacancies in council.

37 (2) Sections 67 to 69 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities and the councils thereof.

Elections to fill vacancies.

37 (3) Sections 70 to 73 and sections 75 to 80 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities and their councils.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 37.

Remuneration of incorporated community councils.

38 (1) No member of an incorporated community council is entitled to any payment, mileage, or indemnity except as is provided in this section.

Portion of remuneration for expenses.

38 (2) Where a member of an incorporated community council is, under a by-law or a resolution of the council, paid an indemnity, or other remuneration, 1/3 of the amount shall be deemed to be for expenses incident to the discharge of his duties as a member of the council.

Condition as to indemnities.

38 (3) The by-law of an incorporated community fixing the amount of the indemnity to be paid to the mayor and other members of the council may fix the terms and conditions

(a) as to their attendance at meetings of the council and the committees thereof; and

(b) as to their performing additional duties in connection with the carrying on of the business and affairs and the discharge of the duties and the responsibilities, of the incorporated community.

Indemnities.

38 (4) Subject to regulations made pursuant to section 109, an incorporated community may, if a by-law of the council so provides, in lieu of all other indemnities, pay to the mayor and to each other member of council, monthly or annually, such indemnity as the council determines.

Travelling and other expenses.

38 (5) Subsections 111 (1) to (5) of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 38.

Irregularly called meeting no penalty.

39 Section 112 of The Municipal Act applies mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 39.

Oragnization and general powers of incorporated community councils.

40 Subsection (1) and subsections 5 (3) to (6), sections 81 to 86, sections 88 to 91, and sections 95 to 98 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 40.

Meetings of incorporated community councils and committees.

41 (1) Every incorporated community council and committee thereof shall hold its meetings openly at the community centre in the incorporated community, or if there is none, at a suitable building in the incorporated community to which the public has access, where all business shall be transacted.

Minutes to be kept.

41 (2) The incorporated community council shall cause minutes of every meeting of the council or a committee thereof, to be kept as provided herein.

Quorum.

41 (3) A majority of the whole number of members required to constitute the incorporated community council is necessary to form a quorum.

Meetings.

41 (4) Subject to the other provisions of this Act, subsections 115 (1) to (5), sections 117, 118, 120 and sections 122 to 128 of The Municipal Act, apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated community councils.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 41.

First meeting of incorporated community councils.

42 The incorporated community council shall not proceed with any business at its first meeting following an election unless

(a) there is a quorum; and

(b) each member present, whether or not elected at the last preceding election, has taken the declaration of election and qualification if such is required by regulation made under section 109.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 42.

Monthly meetings to be held.

43 Notwithstanding any other provision of the Act, the incorporated community council ordinarily shall meet at least once each month.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 43.

Voting by members of incorporated community councils.

44 (1) Every member of the incorporated community council present when a question is put, including the mayor, shall vote thereon, unless a majority of the members then present excuse him or he is prohibited from doing so by this Act.

Voting by mayor.

44 (2) When there is an equality of votes cast inclusive of his own vote, the mayor shall not give a casting vote.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 44.

Special meetings of incorporated community councils.

45 (1) A special meeting of an incorporated community council may be convened at any time by the mayor or by not fewer than three of its members, by giving before any such meeting, a reasonable notice thereof in writing, which includes a statement of the subjects to be considered and is delivered to the residence of each of its members in the incorporated community; provided that a copy of the notice shall be posted for at least three hours before any such meeting in the community centre, if any located in the incorporated community and in the office of the incorporated community.

Application of Municipal Act to special meetings.

45 (2) Where a special meeting is convened pursuant to subsection (1), sections 130 to 133 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis.

Adjournment.

45 (3) Any ordinary or special meeting of an incorporated community council may be adjourned and section 134 of The Municipal Act applies mutatis mutandis.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 45.

Order of business.

46 (1) Subject to section 42 as soon as the mayor or the chairman has taken the chair, the minutes of the last preceding meeting shall be read by the clerk in order that any mistake therein may be corrected by the council; and after the reading and the correction, if any, the minutes shall be confirmed and signed by the mayor and chairman, and by the clerk; and the council shall then proceed to business.

Resolution dispensing with reading of minutes.

46 (2) The incorporated community council may, by resolution waive the reading of the minutes of the last preceding meeting if a copy thereof has been delivered to the residence of each member at least 24 hours before the next succeeding meeting.

Minutes to be posted.

46 (3) Notwithstanding subsections (1) and (2), a copy of the minutes of each meeting shall be posted, by the clerk in the community centre, if any, located in the incorporated community and in the offices of the incorporated community for at least 2 days prior to the meeting of the council at which the minutes are to be confirmed.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 46.

Participation by incorporated community residents.

47 Each incorporated community council shall,

(a) at least once each year invite all residents of the community to attend and participate in a public meeting in discussions of the current and proposed programs for the incorporated community;

(b) conduct a public meeting or meetings of residents of the incorporated community to facilitate participation by them in the preparation of the annual estimates for the incorporated community;

(c) conduct a public meeting or meetings at least quarterly to consider progress reports on the programs and projects of the incorporated community; and

(d) at one of the public meetings referred to in this subsection present for discussion, the annual statement of revenues and expenditures of the incorporated community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 47.

Notice of meetings.

48 Notice of the meetings referred to in section 47 shall be given by posting a copy of it in the community centre, if any, in the incorporated community and in the offices of the incorporated community, for at least 14 consecutive days prior to the meeting in question.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 48.

By-laws to be posted before final enactment.

49 Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, no by-law shall be finally enacted unless a notice describing the substance and effect of the by-law is posted for at least seven consecutive days in the community centre, if any, in the incorporated community and in the offices of the incorporated community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 49.

Disclosure of information.

50 The clerk of each incorporated community shall at any time when the offices of the incorporated community are open for the transaction of business, on the demand of any person, produce to him and permit him to examine

(a) the latest assessment role;
(b) the latest tax roll;
(c) the latest list of voters;
(d) any financial statement incurred by the treasurer;
(e) any report of the auditor;
(f) the minutes of any council meeting or of any committee meeting;
(g) all attachments to and reports referred to in the minutes of any council meeting and committee meeting;
(h) any by-law or resolution enacted by the council; and
(i) the agenda of any committee meeting.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 50.

Copies of by-laws.

51 The clerk of an incorporated community shall, on payment of the proper fee therefor, provide to any person interested in any by-law, order or resolution, a copy of the by-law, order or resolution certified under his hand and under the corporate seal of the incorporated community.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 51.

Inspection of records by any person.

52 Without limiting the generality of section 50, but subject to the provisions of regulations made pursuant to section 109, any person may inspect voters' lists, poll books and other documents pertaining to an election in the possession or under the control of the clerk, at all reasonable times, and the clerk shall, within reasonable time furnish copies thereof to any applicant at a charge to be determined by the incorporated community council.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 52.

Inspection of other documents.

53 With the approval of the incorporated community council, as shown by resolution thereof, the clerk shall produce for the examination of any person, on his demand, any record or document of the incorporated community in the possession or under the control of the clerk which is not referred to in sections 50 to 52.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 53.

Translation of council debates.

54 Any member of an incorporated community council at any regular or special meeting, may require that the motion, debate, resolution, or by-law be translated into a language which he declares that he understands; but the chairman of the meeting may require him to make his declaration under oath.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 54.

Chairman of meetings of incorporated community council.

55 (1) The mayor shall preside at all meetings of the incorporated community council whenever he is present and he or the other chairman shall,

(a) maintain order; and
(b) decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the council.

Removal of persons from meetings.

55 (2) Where, at a meeting of the incorporated community council, any person other than a member of the council is, in the opinion of the mayor or other chairman, guilty of disorderly or improper conduct, the mayor or other chairman may require that person to leave the meeting forthwith and, if he fails to do so, may cause him to be removed.

Removal of councillor from meeting.

55 (3) Where, at a meeting of the council, a member of the incorporated community council is guilty of disorderly or improper conduct, the council by a resolution passed by a majority of the other members present, may require him to leave the meeting forthwith, and if he fails to do so may cause him to be removed.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 55.

Duties of mayor.

56 (1) Subject to subsection 55 (1), the incorporated community council may, by by-law, define the duties and the responsibilities of the mayor.

Mayor may administer oath, etc.

56 (2) The mayor may administer an oath, affirmation, or declaration to any person concerning any account or other matter submitted to the council.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 56.

Appointment and recall of deputy mayor.

57 (1) An incorporated community council may, by resolution, appoint from among its members a deputy mayor; provided that the deputy mayor may be removed from office by a majority of the members of the council following at least seven days written notice of motion given by at least two members of the council.

Duties and powers of deputy mayor.

57 (2) While acting as the chairman of the incorporated community council, the deputy mayor shall perform and exercise the duties and powers of the mayor.

Deputy mayor to act in case of absence of mayor.

57 (3) Where the office of the mayor is vacant by reason of the death or resignation of the mayor or of his refusal to act, the deputy mayor shall continue as acting mayor, until a new mayor is appointed or elected pursuant to this Act.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 57.

Other chairman of meetings.

58 (1) Where, at any meeting of the incorporated community council, the mayor and the deputy mayor are absent, the members present may, if they constitute a quorum of the incorporated community council, fifteen minutes after the hour fixed for the meeting, appoint a chairman from among themselves who shall preside until the mayor or deputy mayor is present.

Powers of chairman.

58 (2) A chairman appointed under subsection (1) has the same authority, and shall exercise the same functions in presiding at the meeting as the mayor might have had or exercised if present.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 58.

Taking of oaths, etc.

59 Section 4 of The Municipal Act applies mutatis mutandis when an incorporated community has been incorporated pursuant to the Act.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 59.

Authentication of by-laws.

60 Every by-law of an incorporated community council shall be authenticated by,

(a) the seal of the incorporated community;

(b) the signature of the mayor, the deputy mayor, or the chairman presiding at the meeting of the council at which the by-law was passed; and

(c) the signature of one other member of the incorporated community council.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 60.

Procedure, quashing, enforcing and penalties.

61 (1) Where a by-law is enacted by an incorporated community council, sections 181, 182, subsections 183 (1), (2), (3) and (5), sections 184 and 187 to 195 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis.

Promulgation of by-law.

61 (2) A by-law enacted by an incorporated community council may be promulgated by posting a copy of it for at least two weeks in the community centre, if any, in the incorporated community and in the offices of the incorporated community and by publishing a notice of it once in the Manitoba Gazette which copy and notice sets forth concisely the object of the by-law and the following statement:

"All persons are hereby required to take notice that any one desiring to apply to have the by-law, or any part thereof, quashed, or declared invalid or void, must make his application for that purpose to a judge of the Court of Queen's Bench on or before (here state last date on which applications to quash by-law may be made which is not to be earlier than five weeks from the date the by-law was first posted pursuant to this clause)."

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 61.

PART VII

POWERS OF INCORPORATED COMMUNITY

Regulatory etc. powers.

80 (1) Subject to the other provisions of this Act, the Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations which make applicable mutatis mutandis to an incorporated community, its council, officers, employees and individuals, of The Municipal Act,

(a) Subdivisions I to VII, XIII, XIV, and XVI of Division I of Part V;
(b) Subdivisions I, II, IV and V of Division II of Part V;
(c) section 281 and Subdivisions II, V and VI of Division III of Part V;
(d) Subdivisions II to VIII of Division IV of Part V;
(e) Subdivisions I to III, V to VII, IX and XI of Division V of Part V;
(f) Subdivisions I and IV of Division VI of Part V;
(g) Subdivisions II, and VII to X of Division VII of Part V;
(h) Subsections 434 (1), (2), (6) and Divisions I, III, VI and VII of Part VI; and
(i) Part XIII.

Rights and restrictions of individuals.

80 (2) For the avoidance of doubt, where regulations have been made pursuant to subsection (1), an individual affected by an act or omission for which an incorporated community is responsible, has the same rights and is subject to the same limitations and restrictions as if the act or omission had been one for which a municipality is responsible pursuant to the provisions of The Municipal Act referred to in subsection (1).

Ibid.

80 (3) Notwithstanding subsection (1),

(a) subsection 206 (2);
(b) clauses 239 (1) (c) to (e) and (h) and (p) and subsections 239 (2) and (4) to (6);
(c) subsection 336 (3);
(d) sections 351 and 352;
(e) subsection 354 (2);
(f) clause 360 (b);
(g) clause 372 (1) (n) and subsections 372 (2) and (3);
(h) section 374;
(i) sub-clause 379 (1) (c) (ii); and
(j) section 380;

of The Municipal Act, do not apply to incorporated communities.

Power to levy taxes only on all taxable property

80 (4) An incorporated community's power to levy annual taxes pursuant to a regulation made under subsection (1), is deemed to be a power to levy annual taxes upon all taxable property in the incorporated community only.

No power to issue debentures.

80 (5) Notwithstanding subsection (1), where an incorporated community has power to contract a debt not payable within the year in which it is contracted pursuant to a regulation made under subsection (1), it does not have power to issue debentures.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 80.

Police services.

81 (1) The Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations authorizing an incorporated community council to appoint a chief constable and one or more constables and may make applicable section 285 and sections 287 to 289 of The Municipal Act mutatis mutandis.

Agreements re policing.

81 (2) Where regulations have been made pursuant to subsection (1), subject to the approval of the Minister, an incorporated community may enter into an agreement with,

(a) The Government of Canada or any ministry or agency thereof;

(b) The Province of Manitoba;

(c) a municipality, a local government district, or another incorporated community; or

(d) any one or more of them;

whereby

(e) the duties assigned by by-law passed by the council to the police of the incorporated community will be undertaken and carried out by the members of a police force that is under the control or supervision of the Government of Canada, or a municipality, local government district, or other incorporated community, as the case may be; and

(f) the incorporated community undertakes to pay part of the cost thereof.

Agreements re facilities.

81 (3) An incorporated community, subject to the approval of the minister, may enter into an agreement with the Government of Canada or any ministry or agency thereof, the Government of Manitoba, a municipality, a local government district or an incorporated community, or any one or more of them, whereby one of the parties to the agreement will do one or more of the things referred to in clauses 285 (a) to (c) of The Municipal Act and the other party or parties to the agreement will share the payment of the cost thereof.

Application of The Provincial Police Act.

81 (4) Incorporated communities are deemed to be rural municipalities for the purposes of The Provincial Police Act.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 81.

Nuisance grounds etc.

82 (1) The Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations authorizing an incorporated community council, subject to the approval of the minister, to pass by-laws for acquiring and holding for the use of the incorporated community, lands situated within or outside the incorporated community to be used for the purpose of a nuisance ground, disposal area, or land fill disposal area and clauses 337 (1) (b) and (c) and subsection 337 (2) of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis.

Scavenging system.

82 (2) Subsections 338 (1) and (2) of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 82.

Utilities.

83 Sections 679 to 703 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis to incorporated communities.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 83.

Power to acquire, use and dispose of property.

84 (1) An incorporated community may acquire, use, lease and dispose of personal property and acquire, use and lease real property and sections 196 to 198, subsections 199 (1), (3) and (4) and sections 200 to 204 of The Municipal Act apply mutatis mutandis.

Power to develop and redevelop land.

84 (2) For the avoidance of doubt, an incorporated community may develop or redevelop land acquired by it, and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, may provide services for the land.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 84.

Power to establish, acquire and operate businesses.

85 (1) An incorporated community may,

(a) establish, acquire, own, operate and manage a commercial or industrial business or activity in Northern Manitoba, on its own account, with the Government of Manitoba, a ministry or agency thereof, an incorporated community, or any one or more of them;

(b) acquire, develop, redevelop, use and lease real and personal property in connection therewith; and

(c) enter into agreement in exercising its powers under clauses (a) and (b) with the Government of Canada, ministry or agency thereof, the Government of Manitoba, a ministry or agency thereof, an incorporated community, municipality or local government, or any one or more of them.

Mortgage of property.

85 (2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, where real or personal property is acquired pursuant to subsection (1), with the prior approval of the minister, the incorporated community may make a mortgage of such property to the vendor of it, to secure the whole or any part of its purchase price.

Disposal of property acquired for a business.

85 (3) For the avoidance of doubt, subsection 84(1) applies to the disposal of property acquired pursuant to subsection (1).

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 85.

Homes for elderly persons.

86 (1) An incorporated community council may enter into agreements into all or any acts or things that are necessary under The Elderly and Infirmed Persons' Housing Act or The Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation Act or both of these Acts to provide housing for elderly persons as defined in The Elderly and Infirmed Persons' Housing Act.

Acquisition or construction of housing for rent.

86 (2) Subject to The Housing and Renewal Corporation Act, an incorporated community may acquire, take, and expropriate land with or without the consent of the owner, whether or not there are dwellings thereon, and may construct dwellings on land acquired by it and rent the dwellings so acquired or constructed at such rentals as the council fixes; and the power of an incorporated community under this section is not less than its power to acquire and lease lands generally.

En. S.M. 1974, c. 56, s. 86.

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