

J.  
103  
12  
123  
SSA12

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

HON. CHARLES STEWART, SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL  
DUNCAN C. SCOTT, F.R.S.C., LL.D., DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL

---

REPORT

BY

COL. ANDREW T. THOMPSON, B.A., LL.B.

Commissioner to investigate and enquire into

the affairs of the

SIX NATIONS INDIANS

1923



OTTAWA  
F. A. ACLAND  
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
1924

# SIX NATIONS INDIANS

---

OTTAWA, November 22, 1923.

To the Honourable

The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs,  
Ottawa, Canada.

SIR,—Herewith I have the honour to submit the report of my investigation and inquiry into the affairs of the Six Nations Indians, under authority of a Commission issued to me dated March 20, A.D. 1923, based upon P.C. 44/506, by which I was instructed "to investigate and inquire generally into the affairs of the Six Nations Indians, including matters relating to education, health, morality, election of chiefs, powers assumed by council, administration of justice, soldiers' settlement and any other matters affecting the management, life and progress of the said Indians as may be required by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs."

As you, sir, have given me no further instructions as to "other matters affecting the management, life and progress of the Six Nations Indians," my report is confined to matters of "education, health, morality, election of chiefs, powers assumed by council, administration of justice, soldiers' settlement," and some minor matters closely connected with these subjects.

Permit me to say that every possible effort was made to elicit facts and the views of all those Indians willing to express themselves on the matters involved.

For several weeks previous to the first formal hearing I spent much time reading books, pamphlets and departmental files likely to throw light upon the questions submitted for my investigation. I also travelled extensively over the reserve, interviewing men and women of all classes of the community, observing the condition of the schools and homes, and also carefully studying the roads and drainage system.

Some days previous to the first hearing a large bill notice was widely posted up throughout the reserve, in the following words:—

(Coat of Arms)

## NOTICE

---

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in him by

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA IN COUNCIL,

LIEUT.-COLONEL ANDREW T. THOMPSON

will proceed to investigate and inquire into the affairs of the

SIX NATIONS INDIANS

including matters relating to

Education

Election of Chiefs

Health

Powers assumed by Council

Morality

Soldier Settlement

Administration of Justice

and any other matter affecting the management, life and progress of the said Indians as may be required by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

---

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMPSON  
will commence his investigation at  
OHISWEKEN AT ELEVEN O'CLOCK

in the morning of Tuesday, September 18, at which time and place all those interested in the above matter are cordially invited to be present that they may be heard with reference to the same.

ANDREW T. THOMPSON,  
*Commissioner.*

In my personal interviews above referred to, I learned that a number of Indians, while anxious to give evidence, were very timid about doing so, because of acute political differences existing upon the reserve, and the consequent fear that a frank statement of facts and expression of opinion might lead to serious results. I was urged to take all evidence submitted under oath *in camera*, and this suggestion I adopted.

To supplement the information so obtained, a number of open meetings were held at Ohisweken, at which all were invited to express their views. This invitation was widely accepted. No man or woman was denied a hearing, and the open meetings were not discontinued until all desirous of a hearing had been heard.

I shall now deal with the questions submitted to me in the order in which they are named in my Commission.

## EDUCATION

There can be no doubt that the Six Nations Indians have made very substantial progress in the matter of education during the last twenty-five years.

They are a people of very quick intelligence, and quite as capable of assimilating education as are their white fellow-citizens. However, it must never be forgotten that they have not enjoyed the opportunities of the whites for a lengthy period, and are still working under decided handicaps.

A large number of the Indians, both men and women, are keenly alive to the benefit of education, and ready and willing to make sacrifices to obtain it. They are, none the less, a poor people, and so find themselves quite unable to give to their children that higher education so easily obtained in white communities.

In spite of all their disadvantages, quite a number among them have become qualified school teachers, a few have graduated from universities, and others have become members of the learned professions.

There are at present eleven schools upon the reserve, with the Mohawk Institute, situate in Brantford, serving as a residence, vocational and academic school, training, for the most part, orphan children, deserted children, and the children of the extremely poor.

Let me deal first with the question of the schools on the reserve.

They are at present managed by a school board, consisting of five Indian members, appointed by the Council of Chiefs, two white members, one representing the New England Company, and one doing missionary work upon the reserve, with the agent at Brantford acting as chairman.

From my investigation I am quite convinced that this Board is inefficient, and should be abolished.

I recommend that each school section elect a board of school trustees, to manage the affairs of the section, with the agent at Brantford to supervise the whole. I am convinced that in this way keen local interest will be aroused, with a corresponding improvement in present conditions.

The attendance of children at the schools is entirely unsatisfactory. This I learned from the evidence of the school teachers themselves, from the evidence of the truant officer, and from personal observation. I believe that at the present time this condition is very much worse than it was some two or three years ago. This is no doubt attributable to the unrest which has been so prevalent during that period, an unrest which has brought in its train quite widespread disregard for authority. Truancy laws have not been enforced—no doubt a few prosecutions, by way of example, would produce a most valuable result.

The present truant officer, Mr. John Lickers, is a capable and earnest official, but conditions have been too much for him. Even under normal circumstances, I consider the whole reserve far too large a territory to be administered by one man alone. In my opinion each school section should have a truant officer of its own. A small salary would secure the necessary service, and I do not think the expense would be much increased by the proposed change. In this connection I wish to say that the suggestion was made to appoint some women as truant officers. It was pointed out that the mothers of the children have really more to do with the attendance than do the fathers, on the reserve, and that a woman truant officer could do more in enlisting their cordial support than could a man. The suggestion seems to have some merit, and it might be well to give it a trial, should an officer for each section be appointed.

Sanitary conveniences are not at all what they should be. It appears that at some of the schools neighbouring farmers water their cattle at the school well or cistern during the winter months, fouling the ground, and leading to serious danger of water contamination.

Some system of individual drinking cups should undoubtedly be provided. At present, in several of the schools at least, one drinking cup does service for all the children, with an inevitable spread of disease. The lavatory accommodation is also entirely inadequate. Small plants are to-day being supplied to country people for individual residences at a cost of a few hundred dollars each. I think it would be quite possible to install similar conveniences in the various schools.

When I deal with the question of health I shall have something to say as to the appointment of a qualified nurse to work in conjunction with the resident physician at Ojibswiken. Should such an one be appointed, I strongly recommend regular periodical visits by her to the various schools, that she may keep a constant eye upon the sanitary conditions and upon the health of the children attending. Such supervision would undoubtedly lead to the cure of many troubles in their incipient stages, which if neglected, would become chronic, and lead in due course to unhealthy men and women. In addition, it would be a protection to healthy children from the dangers of infection.

The question of duly qualified teachers is one of great importance. In this connection it must be noted that conditions on the reserve are not so attractive as in the majority of white communities throughout rural Ontario. The roads are bad during the winter months, and almost impassable during the late fall and early spring. There are no large towns or villages upon the reserve, and resident teachers are, in consequence, cut off from the social advantages which such supply. There are not, as yet, sufficient qualified Indian teachers to supply all the schools, and incoming white teachers are not so contented in an Indian community as they would be among people of their own blood.

Boarding accommodation, too, in some of the school sections, is not at all of the best, and in two or three of them, is not to be had. These two or three sections are in contiguous localities. The suggestion has been made that one teachers' house might be erected for the residence of the teachers in these sections; the matter seems worthy of consideration.

Taking these various handicaps into account, the teaching staff on the reserve might be very much worse. Because of them, it has been impossible to

engage duly qualified teachers throughout, but the majority of them hold the proper certificates, and are an earnest and capable lot of men and women.

It was alleged at the inquiry that the salaries paid were lower than those received by teachers in white rural communities. I have looked into this matter since the close of the public hearing, and do not find the allegation sustained.

Several teachers complained of the impossibility of procuring school books and equipment promptly. I understand that these supplies are sent from Ottawa on requisitions approved and forwarded by the agent at Brantford, and it is said that vexatious delays result. On the other hand, it is but fair to state that officials of the Indian Department say the trouble arises because teachers do not file their requisitions reasonably ahead of their requirements, but wait until their actual need is upon them, before doing so. I have not been able to reach a conclusion as to the rights of the matter, but some friction undoubtedly exists, and I recommend that an ample supply be maintained in the Indian office at Brantford, for immediate issue on the receipt of requisitions.

School fairs, already somewhat in vogue, should be encouraged and extended, as should also school sports. All healthy competition and amusement tending to increase the pleasure of the children at the schools will have most beneficial results, and is a much better method of procuring satisfactory attendance than is the threat of a truant officer.

I come next to the question of education subsequent to that at the reserve schools. This is a matter of very considerable difficulty. As I have already pointed out, there is no large village or town upon the reserve, and there is no high school situate there. As a consequence, children seeking higher education must perforce attend schools in the neighbouring white centres—Hagersville, Caledonia, and Brantford. Most of them live too far away from these points to go back and forth daily, and that means the necessity of boarding where the school is. The people on the reserve are not well off, and but very few of them could afford this outlay if unaided. At the present time a grant of \$100 is made to each child attending high school. Even with that assistance the Indian parents must find some \$200 more to meet the total expense. With many, eagerly anxious to give their children these benefits, this is an impossibility, while many more can afford to send but one child, where they would gladly send more.

To meet the situation it has been suggested that a continuation school be established on the reserve. By reason of its location, Ohsweken would seem to be the only place for such an institution. But Ohsweken is a very small village, and almost totally without accommodation for boarding school children. The majority of those who would attend such an institution are too remote to drive back and forth daily, so, unless residence accommodation were also provided, this would be an impracticable scheme.

I have obtained a careful estimate of the probable expense of a continuation school with residence, upon the reserve. The annual expense of operating such an institution would be about as follows: Salaries, \$5,500; upkeep of plant, \$1,500; fuel, food, etc., \$8,500, a total of \$15,500. These figures are based on a three teacher school, with one matron, and fifty pupils in attendance, and provide for a residence for girls only. In my opinion a residence for boys would be equally necessary, and that would very largely increase the above estimate. The capital expenditure for the erection of the necessary building would be very considerable indeed. Of course, the parents of resident pupils might contribute somewhat toward their support, but even allowing for such a source of revenue, the net current expense would be heavy.

There is another important feature to be considered. The Indians themselves, who discussed with me this question of a continuation school, were unanimously of the opinion that it was very much to the advantage of their children to attend the white schools, and there to mingle with the white children. As one Indian put it, "We do not wish to be a people apart, we want our children to grow up good Canadians like the rest."

This seems to be a point well taken. The Indians cannot live advantageously as a separate community. They are a small handful of people, only some forty-six hundred in number, surrounded by densely settled white districts with which they must constantly have dealings. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to them, that their young folk should grow up on terms of friendly intimacy with the young white folk of their neighbourhood, and to this end the attendance at the white schools materially contributes.

I do not think that the present grant of \$100 per pupil for Indian children attending high schools, is sufficient. I think it should be materially increased. Nor should it, in my opinion, be paid at a flat rate. Some of the children are close enough to the white schools to go back and forth daily; these should not receive as much assistance as those who are compelled to board in the towns.

At the present time thirty-five Indian children are in receipt of these grants for high school education, and in addition \$1,600 is paid to the Boards of the high schools attended; besides these, fourteen pupils are receiving grants, totalling \$2,300 for vocational training. The expense is divided between Parliamentary appropriation and Six Nations funds, and it will be seen that the forty-nine students are at present costing \$7,400 per annum. I understand that no contribution is made from Indian funds towards the fourteen pupils undergoing vocational training. To my mind, this vocational training is quite as important as the high school instruction, and the distinction made should disappear.

It will be seen from the above figures that a substantial increase could be made to the present aid granted, and that the total expenditure would still be very considerably less than that entailed by the establishment of a continuation school, with residence upon the reserve.

The Mohawk Institute, situate in Brantford, already referred to, performs a function quite apart from the general educational system. As I have stated, it provides vocational and academic training for orphans, for deserted children, and for the children of the very poor. This function is necessary, and must not be interfered with. At the present time its accommodation is nearly all taken up by children of this class. However, it might be advisable to construct a dormitory wing for the use of high school pupils attending in Brantford. A very small addition to the present staff would no doubt be quite sufficient to manage these new residents of the Institute. Such a dormitory would accommodate promising children of the very poor who, at present, even with the Government aid, are quite unable to attend high schools.

## HEALTH

The health of the Six Nations Indians is very far from being as good as it should be.

It must never be forgotten that these Indians are, in the main, a poor people, and good health and poverty never travel hand in hand. With a majority proper sanitary conveniences are entirely lacking, while ignorance of sanitation and indifference to it are widespread.

The Indian is by nature a Stoic, and will much more willingly endure the discomforts and pain caused by disease than go to the trouble of seeking remedies to defeat it.

In spite of all this many of the Indians have cleanly and sanitary homes, and there is a strong and growing desire upon the reserve for better conditions all round. The time appears very favourable for an advanced policy in matters pertaining to health. Asked as to the most prevalent diseases among the Indians, a physician who practices extensively among them replied: "Pneumonia, tuberculosis, and some venereal, rheumatism, neuralgia, and autointoxication; there is also a lot of communicable skin disease largely caused by uncleanness." It will at once be apparent that better sanitary conditions would go far to abate a number of these troubles.

The same physician deposed that "It is difficult to get them to carry out prescribed treatment, and to observe quarantine. For instance, last fall I treated six cases of diphtheria, and in my opinion there need only have been two, but for visiting back and forth. . . . I think if some example were made for breach of quarantine and other health laws it would have a good effect. I also think that instruction in the schools along health lines would have a good effect." He was asked, "Do you think that lectures given from time to time by the reserve doctors on such subjects as infection, sanitation, first aid, care of infants etc. would be of advantage?", to which he replied "To some extent, yes. I know there are a number of intelligent Indians anxious to profit by information of this kind."

I am of the opinion that lectures of the kind suggested as a part of a general health propaganda would be of considerable benefit. Some years ago tuberculosis was much more prevalent than at present. An active campaign was undertaken to instruct the people in the best means of combating this dread disease. Overcrowding in houses was vigorously attacked, cleanliness urged, the advisability of precautions against the effects of contact pointed out, suggestions made as to proper food, etc., with the fortunate result above indicated. I fear that the fight against the great white plague has somewhat slackened, its novelty having worn off, and I strongly urge that steps be taken once more to arouse the interest of the people in this struggle against the great scourge of American aborigines.

Dr. Greenwood, until very recently the resident Government physician upon the reserve, and who for some years held that post, pointed out that venereal disease, especially syphilis, was far more prevalent there than in white communities. He ascribed this, in large part, to the unwillingness of the Indians to undergo the long course of treatment necessary to effect a cure, to uncleanness, and to gross disregard of all means to prevent contagion. He stated that he had brought about some prosecutions under various health laws in this connection, but that the magistrates trying the cases seemed quite oblivious to the seriousness of the matter, dismissing the accused with penalties so light as to destroy what should have been the benefits of the proceedings. The matter is one of great importance not only to the Indians themselves, but also to the people of the neighbouring white communities. I strongly recommend that steps be taken to enforce the health regulations to the full. In this connection I think that the Indian agent at Brantford should keep in close touch with the resident physician at Ohsweken, and should institute prosecutions when informed by the latter that the law as to health is being broken. No doubt a few examples would have an excellent effect. The suggestion is made not only in the interest of the diseased themselves, but also for the benefit of the innocent who are in constant danger of contamination. Communicable skin disease has already been mentioned as prevalent on the reserve. From this very many of the school children suffer, as do they also from inherited venereal troubles. In my remarks upon education I pointed out the lack of proper sanitary conveniences in the schools. One can readily imagine the spread of disease where all the children drink from a common cup, and where there is a complete lack of facilities for washing and general cleanliness.

I recommend that a properly qualified nurse be appointed with residence at Ohsweken, to assist the resident physician there, one of whose duties it shall be to visit the schools at brief intervals, supervising sanitary conditions, and examining into the health of the children in attendance. Such an instructed visitor would discover many a trouble in its early stages, and by reporting to the physician not only effect the cure of the sufferer, but also in contagious cases, prevent the spread of the disease. In my opinion this is a matter absolutely vital to improved health conditions on the Six Nations Reserve.

I do not consider the present medical staff sufficient for its purpose. It consists of one resident physician, living at Ohsweken, with one assistant, the

latter not a fully qualified practitioner, while at times this assistant is not to be had. It is quite impossible for such a personnel adequately to attend to forty-six hundred people, scattered over a wide area, in a country where the roads in the late fall and early spring are almost impassable for horse-vehicles, let alone motors. As a matter of fact Indians living remote from Ohsweken and near Hagersville and Caledonia usually employ physicians from those towns at their own expense. Since the resident physician is paid from the funds of the whole band this is an unfair discrimination. It has been suggested that a physician be appointed in each of these places to do Indian practice, not upon a fixed salary, but to be paid for work actually done. The scheme undoubtedly presents difficulties, but is worthy of consideration; it should not be impossible to work out a plan which would give better all-round medical attendance, and remove the unfair discrimination at present existing. Should the patient and the Government each be required to pay a part of the expense, there would at least be some check upon unnecessary calls upon the physician.

### MORALITY

Standards of morality vary with time and with peoples. Webster gives a broad definition—"Conforming to the standard of right"—but what one community may regard as a "standard of right" another may regard as a standard of wrong. For instance, Indians, before they were converted, regarded revenge as a sacred duty, a doctrine quite contrary to Christian teaching. There are some eight hundred non-Christian Indians on the Six Nations Reserve. These are commonly called "Pagans," an appellation which they strongly resent. They call themselves "Deists," and point to the fact that they worship "The Great Spirit," whose blessings they invoke, and to whom they return thanks.

But the views of this minority, on some subjects at least, could not be considered "moral," from the Christian standpoint, and especially is this the case with regard to marital relations. The influence of so considerable a minority in a comparatively small population is necessarily large, and no doubt contributes not a little to loose living between the sexes.

In consequence married people frequently separate and take up with others, rearing families of illegitimate children. One or two of the witnesses referred to the prevalence of bigamy upon the Reserve, and advocated prosecution of the guilty, but I do not think that this crime is at all common, mainly for the reason that the husband or wife who has deserted his or her legal partner seldom takes the trouble to go through the form of marriage with the new companion. One of the missionaries living on the reserve gave evidence that many Indians live together as man and wife without ever having contracted marital relations with any one. This is not bigamy, though immoral, according to Christian ethics.

I believe that the clergymen living upon the reserve, commonly called "missionaries" there, are doing what they can to abate this practice, but it is so prevalent and has been so long in existence that they seem to be making little progress in this direction.

There is abundant proof that the Council of Chiefs is quite indifferent to this unfortunate state of affairs, and as their influence is great, it makes the work of the missionaries in this regard all the harder, and largely tends to destroy it altogether.

The better element upon the reserve, and it is by no means small, feels keenly this moral degradation of the people, and is anxious for betterment. Indian after Indian referred to it with regret, and various suggestions were made looking toward improvement. To one of the Indians examined this question was put: "Do you think the morality of the people, especially with regard to the relations between the sexes, can be improved?", to which he replied:—



"Yes, it is a very bad example to the rising generation to see men deserting their lawful wives and children, and taking up with other women and raising illegitimate children. I think men who do this should be followed up sharply and made to support those whom they have deserted. This would not stop the practice altogether, but it would tend to lessen it."

Another Indian, himself a chief, and of high standing in the community, on being asked the same question replied as follows:—

"We have some eight hundred non-Christian Indians on the reserve. Their ideas as to marriage are very different from the Christian ones, and the example they set has a considerable influence on the balance of the community. As it is now, when a couple properly married separate and take up with other partners their children are put upon the list, provided they are the offspring of Indians who are members of the Band. I believe that if this matter were properly looked into, and hereafter children born out of wedlock were not placed upon the list, it would have a decidedly good influence. In the case of married unhappiness I believe many of our people would get divorce in the regular way like the white people do, if they could afford the expense, but they cannot, and so they drift into these unlawful connections. I don't think that the passing of any law could force the people to improve in this connection. It is a matter of improving the moral ideas of our people, and our clergymen are doing all they can upon that line."

Still another witness, dealing with this subject, expressed himself thus:—

"There are a great many glaring examples of immorality within my own knowledge. It is quite a common thing for a husband to abandon his wife, and to leave her to support their children, while he goes off and lives with some other woman, and has a second family by her. I think if men who act in this way were followed up sharply and carefully and made to support their legal children, or to go to jail in the alternative, conditions would be improved. I further think it is a very bad thing to place children born out of wedlock on the Indian list. Should this practice be discontinued it would have a beneficial result."

A further statement made at the inquiry reads as follows:—

"First of all, I do not think illegitimate children should be placed on the list of the Band. At present all the mother of a child born out of wedlock has to do is to go to the Council and declare that the child is the child of an Indian father. Even a married woman who is the mother of a child by a man other than her husband can have that child placed upon the list. This is simply an encouragement to vice. I think some of our missionaries are too much inclined to accept the immoral conditions they find around them."

On the other hand, speaking on the question of placing of illegitimate children on the strength of the band, a witness pointed out that their exclusion would be hard on the children themselves, surely a point worthy of consideration. And what would become of such unfortunates, should they be deserted by their parents, and the band released of all responsibility?

I have very serious doubts of the advisability of the course suggested. In my opinion such exclusion from registration on the list of the band would not greatly improve moral conditions upon the reserve, while it might very easily place the unfortunate illegitimate children in a position of great hardship.

However, I am heartily in accord with the suggestion that the fathers of illegitimate children, wherever ascertainable, should be made to support them, with prison as an alternative, and also that fathers deserting their wives and legitimate children should be shouldered with the same responsibility, with the same alternative.

While people may honestly differ as to what constitutes morality, surely all will agree that premeditated violation of the law is such, and this leads me to the question of Sunday lacrosse games, held for profit on the reserve.

These have been the constant practice during the past season. The majority of Indians know perfectly well that such exhibitions, with admission charged, are not allowed in white communities, and that they are against the law. Their continuance breeds a contempt for law, and encourages the campaign for defiance of it.

Hundreds of whites, many of them of the extremely rough element, flock to these exhibitions. Sales of goods are openly carried on, till the gathering assumes almost the appearance of a market, and liquor is smuggled in.

The law-abiding Indians strongly protest against these games, and demand enforcement of the law. Some go so far as to say that the reserve is no longer safe for their children on Sundays, and that they are in constant fear of violence to their young women, and even of kidnapping.

I recommend that Sunday lacrosse games, where held for gain, be stopped.

## ELECTION OF CHIEFS

The Council of Chiefs is composed of men not "elected," but appointed.

The right to a seat in the Council is vested in certain families.

The chieftainship does not go to any particular male member of the family, but to some one of these, selected for the purpose.

In their form of government the Six Nations have no written constitution. Their procedure rests upon long established custom, but as the knowledge of this has been transmitted by word of mouth only from generation to generation, it is impossible to ascertain the facts with exactness.

That the right to chieftainship is confined to a few families, and is hereditary in principle, all are agreed, and further that the nomination of the chief is a prerogative of the women of the family concerned. At this point, however, the evidence of the witnesses varied somewhat. Some maintained that the right of nomination belongs to all women of the family, with the final say, in case of disagreement, in the oldest woman thereof. Others maintained that the oldest woman alone has the right to nominate. The difference is not of very much importance, for after all the oldest woman of the family has the say, whether with or without consultation with the other women.

This family right to a seat in the Council is much cherished, and jealously guarded. It not infrequently happens that the number of males in the family concerned has become very small, with a limited choice in consequence. As a result men are sometimes sent to the Council who are grossly ignorant, and more than one witness alleged that even those mentally unsound had been sent there, in order that the chieftainship should be maintained in the family concerned.

It follows that a comparatively small number of old women have the selection of those who are entrusted with the transaction of the business of the Six Nations Indians, while the vast majority of the people have nothing whatever to say in the choice of their public servants.

The appointment of the chief is for life, and he can only be removed if guilty of some serious offence, such as a crime. Utter incompetence is no bar to an appointment, and no reason for a dismissal.

There can be no doubt that some of the people cling to this ancient form of government. The Six Nations Indians have a wonderful history, and they are surprisingly well acquainted with its main features. They know that their confederacy, though numerically small as compared with the total Indian population, dominated America from the Great Lakes almost to the gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. They know that they were the powerful and much sought for allies of the British Crown in its struggle with the French for the possession of this continent, and that in courage and statecraft they were the superiors of all the other red races.

To-day they find themselves confined to a territory the size of a township, and with a total population less than that of a small Canadian city. They feel bitterly their fallen state. Their greatness and their influence are gone. Their history alone remains to them.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that many of them adhere to the form of government which served them in the days of their prosperity, even

though they must know in their innermost hearts that it has long outlived its usefulness.

One Indian proudly remarked, "Ours is the oldest form of government on the American continent."

On the other hand, the better educated and more progressive Indians, in whom the hope of the future lies, are keenly anxious for the same democratic form of government as is enjoyed by their white fellow-citizens.

Witness after witness pointed out the following objections to the present system:—

(1) The people as a whole have no voice in the selection of their councillors.

(2) The present Council is absolutely unwieldy. It consists of some sixty chiefs, charged with the conduct of the business of less than five thousand people. This leads to great delay in the transaction of even simple matters.

(3) Owing to the method of appointment a great many of the chiefs are ignorant men. Many of them are unable even to read and write, and totally incapable of transacting business.

(4) The present Council is unnecessarily expensive. An expense allowance is made to each chief for attendance at Council meetings, and while the individual payment is not large, the aggregate is said to amount to at least \$1,000 per annum.

I am convinced that those advocating a change in the system of government have fully established their contention, and that an elective system should be inaugurated at the earliest possible date.

The franchise should be given to all male Indians of the Band, twenty-one years of age or over. The consensus of opinion was that for the time being the franchise should not be extended to women, and since education is not yet very much advanced on the reserve, in this I concur.

The question of the number of councillors to be elected, and the method of election, in the event of a change being made, was fully considered during my investigation. As the change proposed is a radical one, time must be allowed for it to function smoothly. No doubt within a few years the proposed new form of government will be so well established that a small Council, say of five members, will be sufficient for the purpose, but for the present I think a larger number advisable. This larger number, giving an opportunity for more men to sit in Council, would arouse more widespread interest, would serve as an education to those elected, and would ensure the return of some capable men. I am of opinion that a Council of fourteen, with a chairman, corresponding to the reeve of a rural municipality, fifteen in all, would not be excessive.

The suggestion was made that each of the tribes should elect two councillors. As the Delawares are now a part of the Six Nations, making in reality seven nations in all, this would give the fourteen suggested. To elect the councillors by tribes would, I think, be inadvisable. The latest figures available give the Mohawks as numbering eighteen hundred and ninety-three, and the Delawares one hundred and sixty-seven. To give equal representation to each would be inequitable. Further than that, the difficulty in voting by tribes would be almost insuperable. The tribes are not confined to separate localities, but are scattered over the whole reserve; to arrange a voters' list with polls for each tribe under such conditions, would lead to the greatest confusion.

I recommend that the reserve be divided into seven wards, each ward running from north to south the full distance of the reserve, the area depending as far as possible upon equality of population, and that each should select two councillors. I further recommend that the electors as a whole should choose the chief councillor.

Perhaps, sir, it is not my function to pursue this matter too far into the future, but I shall at least venture a few further brief remarks.

The Six Nations Indians have progressed notably in civilization. They are amongst the most advanced, if not the most advanced, of the Indian tribes, and the Indian Act might very well be amended with respect to them, in consequence.

I realize that should you inaugurate an elective system of council at an early date the functions of that body will have to be determined by the Indian Act, as it at present exists. I would suggest, however, that after the new Council has reached a stage of settled efficiency the Indian Act be changed to enlarge its functions, so that it may more and more approximate to the Council of a white municipality.

### POWERS ASSUMED BY COUNCIL

The powers of the Council of Chiefs are strictly limited by the Indian Act.

Under that Act the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs is given the control and management of the lands and property of the Indians in Canada.

It is clear from evidence submitted by a number of witnesses at the inquiry that the Council of Chiefs has, in several instances, undertaken to deal with the property of the Six Nations quite independently of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

For some considerable time past there has been a strong agitation to have the Six Nations constituted as a separate and sovereign people. Those supporting this course allege that by the wording of certain early treaties the Six Nations are not subjects but are allies of the British Crown.

To investigate the merits of this contention was not one of the duties assigned to me, and I merely mention it in connection with the subject "Powers assumed by Council," which was so assigned.

The separatist party, if I may so describe it, is exceptionally strong in the Council of Chiefs, in fact it is completely dominant there. Its members maintain, and it is a logical sequence from the position assumed, that not being British subjects they are not bound by Canadian law, and that, in consequence, the Indian Act does not apply to the Six Nations Indians.

No doubt this has been responsible for what under the Indian Act is undoubtedly an assumption of powers by the Council.

Some specific instances were called to my attention, and these I feel it proper to bring to your notice.

A house, a part of the property of the Six Nations Indians, which had been used for school purposes, was disposed of by the Council of Chiefs, and the money thence arising has not been accounted for either to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, or to the Six Nations Indians themselves. It was alleged by the witnesses, who testified to this transaction, that the money was handed over to one Levi General (Chief Deskaheh), the speaker of the Council, that he might use the same in support of the campaign for independence. These witnesses could not swear positively of their own knowledge to this fact, but they did swear that this was a matter of common notoriety among the people.

The Council of Chiefs issued bonds, alleged to be secured upon the trust funds of the Six Nations Indians, and sold some of them. The proceeds of these sales have been unaccounted for either to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, or to the people of the Six Nations Indians, and here again it is alleged that the money was handed over to Chief Deskaheh in support of the separatist campaign.

So much for the powers assumed by Council, as they directly affect the Government of Canada.

But it is further alleged that the Council has arrogated to itself powers previously vested in those who had the right to nominate chiefs.

In a preceding part of my report, under the heading "Election of Chiefs," will be found a description of the manner in which Six Nations Indians are made chiefs. There can be no doubt that the ancient usage of this people was on nomination by the women of certain families, in which the right to chieftainship was hereditary. There is abundant evidence to show that while the letter of this institution has been observed, its spirit is now constantly broken. The Council undoubtedly brings pressure to bear upon the woman about to nominate a chief, with the result that the party nominated is in reality their choice, and not the free and unfettered choice of the woman herself.

The Council appears further to have usurped authority as to dismissal. On this point very positive evidence was tendered by an Indian who was himself a Chief, who has been so for a period of some forty-five years, and who appeared to be exceptionally well posted in the customs and traditions of his people. In answer to the question, "How is a chief dismissed from Council?" he replied as follows:—

"If the chiefs desire his dismissal they so advise the woman who has nominated him. She then admonishes him, and he remains a chief. If, however, this occurs three times, he is ejected, and the woman nominates a new chief. This was the old system, but the chiefs have usurped this right of the woman to a large extent, and have been known to dismiss a chief from the Council without consulting the woman who nominated him. They have exercised their power in a tyrannical way to get rid of those opposing the view of the majority. The majority did not favour Indians participating in the Great War. Chief J. S. Johnson announced that he was going overseas to fight, and was dismissed in consequence. Chief Thomas John actually did go, and he, too, was dismissed. In my opinion the present action of the Council is a usurpation, and quite contrary to the ancient custom of our people."

Another witness deposed that he was a chief, but had been dismissed by the Council. He said that he requested Council to "lay a charge" against him, but that this they had refused to do.

I am fully convinced that the present Council has undoubtedly been guilty of a serious usurpation of power, with regard to the Government of Canada on the one hand, and the people of the Six Nations Indians on the other, and that for a considerable time they have been acting very much as a law unto themselves.

### SOLDIERS' SETTLEMENT

The Six Nations Indians sent some two hundred soldiers to the Great War. These men performed their duties admirably. Seven of them were commissioned officers, and two of these, both serving in the Air Force, lost their lives. One of the seven, Major George Smith, received three decorations, and his brother, Lieutenant Charles Smith, the Military Cross.

A number of the men in the ranks were also decorated for service in the field.

Although not strictly relative to the inquiry I take pleasure in stating these facts as an evidence of the patriotism and courage of the Six Nations Indians, and also of their efficiency as fighting men. The blood of the Iroquois has not grown thin.

Since these Indians are almost entirely an agricultural people, it is not surprising that a large number sought the benefits of the Soldiers' Settlement scheme. I understand that one hundred and thirty made application for its benefits, and of these about eighty were accepted. The remainder were rejected after careful inquiry, as not likely to make good, and I heard no complaint whatever on this score.

Of the eighty accepted applicants some seventy-five are "in good standing." By this is meant that they are still on the official books, kept there because it is considered that they have a fair chance to win through.

No man has been sold out, or "salvaged," to use the official term, with the exception of two, one of whom burned his barn for firewood, and the other of whom sold nearly \$3,000 worth of timber without applying one cent of the proceeds in reduction of his loan.

Mr. Robert H. Abraham, the agricultural representative of the Indian Department, and the official charged with the administration of the scheme, pointed out in his evidence that while only ten or twelve of the soldier settlers had made all their payments up to date, the remainder had reasonable excuses for default, and that he expected seventy-five per cent of the payments due this fall to be met.

The "reasonable excuses" referred to lay in two partial crop failures, and in the fact that the farm stock and implements had been purchased when prices were high, and had since greatly depreciated in value.

Lieutenant Frank W. Montour, himself an Indian soldier settler, in giving evidence, made the following observation:—

"I think if anything, the department is a little too easy on the men for their own good. Most of them are hard working, and mean well, and they would respond to better supervision. For example, after hay harvest, and again after grain harvest, some of them sell their produce and the money is just frittered away. I think it would be a good thing to have a Government man visit the settlers during these two periods to encourage them to pay in as much money as possible on account of their instalments, even if the exact day for payments had not fallen due."

Mr. Montour knows practically every soldier settler on the reserve, and is highly thought of by them. Asked as to whether these had, to his knowledge, any complaint as to the treatment they were receiving, he replied, "I think not. I think the board has done everything reasonable so far." Mr. Montour stated, however, that, "We all bought our stock and implements when prices were high, and about the time payment became due the price of everything had dropped to about half."

Other soldier settlers also stressed this point, and urged that a revaluation, under the circumstances, would be only fair. One of them pointed out that at a salvage sale the chattels brought very low prices indeed, and that they were bought largely by men who had not gone to the war. He pointed out that in this way the Government made quite as big a loss as it would have done had the man sold out been given a revaluation. However, were this done in one case it would have to be done in all, and if for Indian soldiers, then for white ones. The question thus becomes a very large one involving in the aggregate millions of dollars, and is one of general policy not to be considered within the purview of this Report.

It is satisfactory to note that though many soldier settlers were examined, not one had any fault to find with the way in which the officials are administering the scheme.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

This may be considered under two heads.

In the first place, the Council of Chiefs has jurisdiction in certain matters of rather minor import between Indians.

A number of witnesses made serious complaints against the methods of the Council in this particular.

It was freely alleged that delays were frequent, lengthy and most vexatious. It was quite as freely stated that decisions went by favour, and not according to the merits, and that an applicant politically at variance with the Council had no chance of success if opposed by a man who supported the views of the chiefs. It was further declared that a majority of the councillors were totally without business experience, and so lacking in education that many of them could neither read nor write. As one witness put it, "How can men unfit to manage their own affairs manage the affairs of other people?"

One witness openly stated that to his personal knowledge there was corruption in the Council, while a number of others expressed their personal belief that this was so, but could not swear to it positively.

In the next place, there is the question of carrying out of the process of the courts.

About this there has been considerable difficulty, certain of the chiefs encouraging their followers to resist the officers of the law in the prosecution of their duties, on the ground, elsewhere alluded to in this Report, that the Six Nations Indians are an independent people, and not subject to Canadian laws.

The matter came to a head some months ago when two constables of the county of Brant proceeded to enforce a warrant of ejectment. A number of armed Indians gathered and resisted their efforts, finally driving them away under threats of violence. The Government then sent a detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who carried out the process, and who have ever since patrolled the reserve, and enforced the law's decrees. In this connection I wish to state that these men have carried out their duties with admirable tact and prudence, and seem to have aroused no feeling of personal animosity whatever.

Their presence on the reserve, however, is deplored, not resented, by the law-abiding Indians, who constitute a vast majority of the population, for they feel that it stamps them in the eyes of the white community as a lawless people.

While strongly sympathizing with this view, it will be necessary, in my opinion, to continue the service of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police force until matters have once more become normal upon the reserve, which I think will be in the not very distant future.

## ROADS AND DRAINAGE

While roads and drainage are not specifically mentioned in the subjects assigned to me for investigation, they touch so closely upon some of these that it is necessary to consider them.

In more than one place I have called your attention, Sir, to the fact that the Indians are a poor people, and that this is a serious handicap to their progress.

The Indians are almost entirely agriculturalists, and better market facilities would tend largely to increase their wealth.

Even the heart of the reserve is but a few miles removed from the city of Brantford, and from the flourishing towns of Hagersville and Caledonia.

However, during several months of the year, the Indian farmer is practically cut off from these centres by reason of impassable, and often flooded, clay roads, and this at the very period when many of his products command the best price.

The same difficulty presents itself with regard to health. The sick person is frequently unable to reach his doctor, while the doctor's ability to minister to his patients is for long periods almost destroyed.

In my remarks as to education I have referred to the unsatisfactory state of attendance. For this, again, bad roads are partly responsible.

The present clay roads are fairly well graded and drained. There is a good plant of road machinery upon the reserve, so that conditions are favourable for improvement.

On this one subject of good roads there was an absolute unanimity of opinion during my inquiry. They were more spoken of than any other one thing, and all were most anxious to obtain them.

An expensive system of roads is out of the question, nor is it necessary. Gravelled roads would fully meet the situation.

I made careful inquiry as to the gravel deposits on the reserve, and am quite convinced that they are ample and fairly well placed.

The consensus of opinion was that a main road should be gravelled, beginning at what is known as the Cockshutt Road on the north, and running south through the central portion via Ohsweken to the Hagersville-Caledonia road at Willow Grove. This should be followed later by another gravelled road, bisecting the reserve from east to west. I feel quite sure that with these two main highways constructed, connecting links would follow by a co-operation of the people themselves, should further money be unavailable.

No doubt, Sir, you could arrange with the Ontario Government to bear a proportion of the expense in connection with the general road system of the province. There is plenty of Indian labour available, and the engineering supervision could be furnished by officers of the Indian Department. Should further money be required, it was the generally expressed opinion that the Indians themselves would gladly sanction a grant of the same from their principal fund.

I recommend that a start upon gravelled roads be made next spring, or even sooner, should that be possible, and that the main road above indicated be pushed to completion at the earliest possible moment.

A good system of drainage has been planned for the reserve, and about one-half of it carried out, with very beneficial results.

In consequence, a considerable area of low lying land has become productive, while the health of the community has also materially benefitted.

I am told that a completion of the system would not cost more than \$20,000, and I am of opinion that this expenditure should be made, and the work completed without delay.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Though not strictly within the class of subjects submitted to me for consideration, some matters were so frequently called to my attention that I think it advisable to make brief reference to them.

#### SEED GRAIN

There is evidently a misunderstanding as to the distribution of seed grain upon the reserve. Witness after witness deposed that this was a "free" distribution, that is, free to the recipient, and that the cost of the seed was charged against the funds of the Band.

I find on investigation in the department that this is not so. In every case the recipient signed for his grain and undertook to pay for it. The earlier distributions were, it is true, financed from the funds of the Band, but almost this entire amount has been repaid.

The distribution of 1922 was financed from a Parliamentary vote, and not from Indian funds. The greater part has not been repaid. Should default continue the loss will be to the people of Canada as a whole, and not to the Six Nations Indians.

I have reached the conclusion, from evidence submitted, that a distribution of seed grain, even on promise of repayment, is unnecessary. Any Indian requiring such can readily obtain it from some neighbour on a share basis.

I recommend that the practice be discontinued.

#### STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

The Indians do not feel that they receive sufficient information as to receipts and expenditures in connection with their own fund. They claim that the general report of the department is too complicated for their understanding, and that they should have, half-yearly, a simple statement as to moneys received and expenditures made on their behalf, a statement similar to that issued annually in the majority of white municipalities.



I feel that the adoption of this suggestion would do away with much misunderstanding and some mistrust, and I strongly recommend that it be followed.

While on the subject of accounts, I desire to deal briefly with two items brought up by Mr. Albert Edward Hill, who in his evidence, stated:—

"A vote of Parliament was passed for bonuses to teachers paid in 1919-20, and afterwards this was charged against our interest, as shown on page 107 of the Auditor General's report for 1920-21. If this money were voted by Parliament I do not see why it should have been charged back to us. While on the question of accounts I desire to call attention to a further item on the said page 107, showing a payment of more than \$15,000 to forty-seven enfranchised Indians. As far as I know \$170 was the highest paid to any individual. We would really like an explanation."

With regard to the bonus for Indian teachers, it appears that certain Indian Bands in Ontario, including the Six Nations, pay the salaries of their own teachers, and in these cases the Auditor General requires the bonus to teachers to be met from the same source. When the salary is paid from parliamentary appropriation the bonus is paid therefrom also, but not otherwise.

As to payments for enfranchisement, the explanation is as follows: The total amount paid for enfranchisement is \$15,799.98. The Auditor General shows this as being a payment to forty-seven Indians, but the payment was really made to one-hundred Indians at a per capita rate of \$157.99. The Auditor General's report is misleading inasmuch as it shows a payment to forty-seven Indians, instead of to forty-seven families, consisting of one-hundred individuals. As a matter of fact the payment was to forty-five heads of families, representing the one-hundred individuals, and not to forty-seven Indians as stated.

#### WEEDS ON HIGHWAYS

Complaint was made to me that no effort was made to cut noxious weeds on the highways before they ripen. One farmer stated that he kept the weeds cut on his own frontage, only to lose the benefit of his industry through seed blown on to his farm from neighbouring weed patches on the highway.

I recommend that the cutting of weeds upon the highways be made a part of the care of roads system upon the reserve.

#### GRAND RIVER NAVIGATION COMPANY

This matter was frequently called to my attention, and is considered a real and very substantial grievance by the Indians.

It was alleged, and a perusal of a file I have made seems to bear out the main facts, that from the year 1834 to the year 1842, both inclusive, almost \$160,000 of Six Nations Funds were invested in the stock of the Grand River Navigation Company, quite without the approval of the Indians, and without consultation with them.

The investment was a total loss. Ever since it became so the Indians have been constantly seeking reparation.

In answer to appeals made, the Canadian Government took the stand that the transaction occurred before there was responsible government in Canada, and that, therefore, no responsibility rested upon it.

The Six Nations Indians then forwarded, through the Government of Canada, an appeal to the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government replied, in effect, that this was a matter for the Government of Canada, and disclaimed all liability.

The fact remains that these trust funds have been lost, and that the Indians have been denied redress by both Governments to which they have appealed.

They suggest that the Canadian Government should negotiate with the Imperial Government to the end that an agreement may be reached between

the two to appoint a jurist of repute, a citizen of some foreign country, to whom shall be submitted the whole question, with power to find whether the Six Nations Indians are entitled to a return of their money. and if so the amount thereof, and which Government should make the payment.

This question undoubtedly constitutes a real grievance and should finally be dealt with in some way. It is a constant irritation to the Indians, and, as one of them put it, shakes their confidence in British justice.

Your obedient servant,

ANDREW T. THOMPSON,  
*Commissioner.*

**RE SIX NATIONS INDIANS  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT**

OF

**ANDREW T. THOMPSON, ESQ., K.C.**

OTTAWA, December 5, 1923.

*To the Honourable the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, Canada:*

SIR,—On November 22, I submitted to you my report upon the Six Nations Indians, in which I referred, in general terms only to the Mohawk Institute.

Almost immediately thereafter my attention was called to serious charges which had then just recently appeared in the public press, made against this institution.

Having discussed these criticisms with you, Sir, you instructed me to proceed to Brantford, and there to make a thorough investigation into the affairs of this school.

This inquiry I have since concluded, but before reporting upon it I shall state briefly the general character of the charges made against the institution.

These refer mainly to food and discipline. It is also asserted that truancy has been unusually prevalent, while suggestions have been made that the Institute should be changed somewhat from its present operation, which is that of an academic and industrial boarding school for both the sexes.

I arrived at the Institute on the morning of Thursday, November 29. I had given no previous intimation of my proposed visit, and was absolutely unexpected by any member of the staff, or by any one else within the institution. I took this course that I might be able to make my inspection under the ordinary everyday working conditions of the school.

I spent the whole day in a careful inspection of the premises; in attendance in the class and industrial rooms, where book work and manual labour were in progress; in the stables and outbuildings, where gardening and farm work was going on; in watching the children at play, in talking to a number of them; in inspecting the food served at the dinner hour, and the supplies held in store; in interviewing nearly every member of the staff, and in taking evidence under oath from Mrs. Alice Rogers, the Assistant Principal and the present Acting Principal of the school; R. H. Knowles, Boys' Master; Miss Floretta Elliott; Miss Minnie Cummins, the housekeeper; Mrs. Emma Persall, Sewing Teacher; Mrs. Neva Knowles, Junior Governess; Miss Carrie Crowe; and Miss Susan Hardie, senior teacher of the school.

Three of these were themselves Indians, and formerly, for many years, pupils of the institute.

**FOOD**

I found the food of good quality, and that served at the dinner meal, which I most carefully inspected; clean and well cooked. The reserve stores were well and neatly housed, and appeared to be of ordinary good quality.

At this dinner meal the quantities served to the children were certainly ample.

In conducting my examination under oath, above referred to, I paid special attention to the question of food. As this is a matter of importance I beg to submit the following extracts from the sworn testimony of the witnesses:—

PERCY HENRY KNOWLES: "I have been here eight months. I preside in the dining room each breakfast, and so far I have never seen anything I would not willingly eat myself. To the best of my knowledge no child has ever left the dining room hungry. They are allowed further helpings every time they ask for them."

FLORETTA ELLIOTT: "I am on the staff of the Mohawk Institute, and have been since the end of June, 1923. Previous to that I lived here as a pupil for more than eight years. I was happy and contented. I always had lots to eat and it was good. All the children get all they want to eat, and are given further helpings if they ask for them."

ALICE MARY ASHTON ROGERS: "It is and always has been of the best quality, and sufficient in quantity."

MINNIE CUMMINS: "The food is very good, and the children are really well fed. They have all they can eat, and usually there is food left over. The food is as good as in any other institute I have seen."

Miss Cummins is the housekeeper at the Institute, and she detailed her duties as follows: "To arrange the children's meals, and to keep stock of the supplies, and generally to supervise all kitchen duties." While she has been at this school only since October 13, 1923, she is a woman of experience, having served in the Liverpool Sheltering Home and the Belleville, Ontario, Marchmont Home.

I asked, "Have any of the children ever complained to you about their food, as to either quality or quantity?" and she replied, "Never; they have sometimes told me it was very good. I taste all the food that ever goes in to the children. Mrs. Rogers has never stinted me in my requirements for the children's food, and I always ask for plenty."

EMMA PERSALL.—"I take the suppers every night." Asked as to the quantity of the food, she replied, "It is splendid; quite as good as I would give my own children. They are never allowed to go away hungry. They can have further helpings if they ask for them, and very often they do."

NEVA KNOWLES.—"I preside at the serving of the dinners every day." In reply to the question, "What have you to say about the food?" she replied, "I have always found it plentiful, and of good quality; the children get all they want." She further deposed that margarine is used instead of butter, and declared it to be of good quality, saying, "As I know from having eaten it myself."

CARRIE CROWE.—"It is good, pure and substantial, and they always get plenty of it at their meals. They are allowed extra food when they ask for it, and they do, at almost every meal."

SUSAN HARDIE.—"During all the time I have been here the food has been abundant and wholesome, but of late years the variety has increased, which is an improvement. You have only to look at the boys and girls to see that they are well fed."

I would like to point out that Miss Hardie is herself one of the Six Nations, and has been on the staff of the Institute for thirty-six years. She further deposed that the children get *fresh separated milk*, but *not fresh whole milk*.

From my personal inspection and from the evidence of the witnesses above quoted, I feel absolutely certain that the children at the Mohawk Institute are well and abundantly fed.

I would, however, call your attention, sir, to the fact that margarine is used instead of butter, and separated milk instead of whole milk.

The Institute maintains some twenty milch cows, and while margarine may be a wholesome food in itself it can hardly be maintained that it is as nutritious as butter. In the same way separated milk is wholesome, but it lacks certain important nutritive qualities which are found in whole milk.

Many of the children at the Institute are quite young, ranging from nine years upward. I recommend that butter be substituted for margarine, and I very *strongly urge* that whole milk be given instead of separated milk, especially in the case of all children up to fourteen years of age.

## DISCIPLINE

In articles appearing in the public press comment has been made upon the stern discipline of former times. I conceived it to be my duty to inquire into present conditions, and not into what may or may not have happened in years gone by.

However, so serious were the allegations made as to past severity, carrying with them implication of present excessive strictness, that I think I cannot do better than to quote again from the evidence of the sworn witnesses.

PERCY HENRY KNOWLES.—“The children are not severely handled; just enough punishment is administered to maintain a fair amount of discipline.” In answer to the question, “Are the boys contented at the Institute?” he replied, “There is a very good spirit among the boys; I hardly know how else to put it. Their doors are not locked at night; in fact they are never locked in. I have lived in the city for twenty-three years, and in my opinion these boys have more advantages than those living in the city. The boys are supplied with all the bats and balls they can use up, both baseball and football, and they play with good spirits in both the boys’ and girls’ schools.”

FLORETTA ELLIOTT.—In answer to the question, “Is the discipline severe?” Miss Elliott replied, “No, just enough to keep order,” and in answer to the further question, “Are the pupils contented?” she said, “Yes, as much as any would be away from their homes, I think. Mrs Rogers is very thoughtful, and looks carefully after their health, too.”

ALICE-MARY ASHTON ROGERS.—In answer to the question, “How do you maintain discipline in the Institute?” Mrs. Rogers replied, “In cases of extreme breach we use the strap in moderation. Only the regulation school strap is used, and whipping is confined to the hands. Whippings are only very occasionally administered. Quite frequently whole weeks pass without a single whipping.” In answer to the question, “Do you ever use a dark or semi-dark room for punishment?”, she replied, “Never.” To the question, “Do you ever restrict diet as a punishment?”, she said, “Only once in the years I have been here, and then only for one meal. Even then, the restriction being to bread and water, unlimited bread was allowed. I do not believe in such a form of punishment, as it would injure the health of the children.”

CARRIE CROWE.—In answer to the question, “Do you consider the discipline severe?”, Miss Crowe replied, “I do not; when I was a pupil I found that I was always treated well. Of course, when the children misbehave, they are punished, but not severely.”

SUSAN HARDIE.—In answer to the question, “What is the discipline imposed?”, Miss Hardie replied, “It is not severe,” and to the question, “Is whipping used?”, she said, “Yes, and I have to do it for all the girls. I do not have to whip more than once a month on an average, and I use a rubber strap and seldom give more than six or seven strokes on the hands.” To the question, “Do you ever confine in a dark or semi-dark room?”, she replied, “No. This practice was abolished almost ten years ago.”

I most carefully observed the deportment and appearance of the children both at work and play. I saw no evidence of sulkiness or unhappiness in any of them. At their dinner meal they talked and laughed constantly. They appeared to me to be acting as white children of the same ages would do under

normal conditions. They showed no signs, whatever, of being under severe restraint.

From this my personal observation, and from the evidence of the witnesses above set forth, I am fully convinced that the discipline at the Mohawk Institute is not at all harsh, and that criticism levelled against it is entirely unjust and unwarranted.

### HEALTH

At the time of my visit the health of the children impressed me as extremely good.

They were comfortably clad, and cleanly in appearance. Bath-room accommodation was ample, and I learned that all the children are under careful supervision and obliged to bathe frequently.

Mrs. Rogers, the Assistant Principal, is a graduate nurse of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal, and also a trained and social service worker of Bellevue Hospital, New York; she has held several important hospital positions, and has been on the staff of the Institute itself for nearly seven years.

In her examination I asked, "What have you to say as to the health of the children?", to which she replied, "Absolutely good. They are a healthy lot of children on the whole. Years ago we had great trouble with scrofula, but to-day we only accept healthy children. Should tuberculosis or other disease subsequently appear, we have the child removed. I use my own professional knowledge in watching over the children. When I think a doctor necessary I send for Dr. Palmer, our regular physician. I have not had to call him in since last August. If a child develops eye trouble we send him to an eye specialist. We do everything possible to make the children healthy, and to keep them so."

I found the residence clean, well ventilated, well heated and with plenty of light. The improvements carried on during the last three years, at a large expenditure of public money, have been most beneficial, and I have nothing further to suggest in this particular.

### TRUANCY

There must always be a certain amount of truancy from an institution such as this.

The majority of the pupils are orphans or neglected children. In many cases, in consequence, they have grown up in a wild, undisciplined way. To such even the mild restraint of the Institute is irritating, and the reserve from which they have been sent is only a few miles away.

It is an undoubted fact that truancy has been more prevalent during the last two years than formerly. In my main report I pointed out that exactly the same condition has obtained during that period in the day schools upon the Six Nations Reserve, and I gave it as my opinion that the cause lay primarily in the state of unrest upon the reserve, with its consequent disrespect for order and authority.

I do not think that the Mohawk Institute is suffering more in proportion than are the day schools, and I cherish the belief that when conditions upon the reserve once more become normal, truancy will almost disappear at the Mohawk Institute.

### FINANCE

I desire to correct a misapprehension existing in some of the Six Nations Indians.

During my inquiry held upon the reserve last summer more than one witness spoke of the funds of the Band as going towards the support of the Mohawk Institute.

I have examined into this question and for the information of the Indians wish to state that none of their funds are expended in the support of this school, but every dollar is found by the Government of Canada from the funds of the Canadian people, and by the New England Company. This New England Company is the oldest English Missionary Society, having been chartered by King Charles II in 1661-1662. It was founded for the work of propagating the gospel among the Indians of New England, but ever since 1829 the work has been confined to the Indians of Canada. Previous to that time, however, in fact from 1661 on, the activities of the company included Canada as well as New England.

### SUGGESTED CHANGE IN SCHOOL

At the present time the land used in connection with the school consists of ten acres, owned by the New England Company, most of which is in orchards, gardens and playgrounds, and a two hundred acre farm, upon which the agricultural work of the institution is done.

Of the latter the Institute has the use so long as it is maintained as a manual training farm, with reversion to the Six Nations Indians.

Because of its close proximity to the city of Brantford, this two hundred acre farm is of large value, and consequently much more capital is tied up than is warranted for agricultural uses.

It would in my opinion be advisable to continue the school for girl pupils only, retaining the ten acres in connection therewith.

At the present time the accommodation for girls is fully taken up. Should the boys be removed from fifty to seventy-five more female pupils could be accommodated and from inquiries I made I am convinced not only that this number could be readily obtained, but also that there is a necessity for this extra accommodation for Indian school girls.

A new agricultural school, and a farm in conjunction therewith, would then become necessary. The land could be purchased at a reasonable figure in the neighbourhood of the reserve, should that be thought desirable, but the necessary buildings would be somewhat expensive.

The difference between the selling price of the present farm and the purchase price of the proposed new farm would go very far towards paying for the new buildings.

I realize that the proposed sale and disposition of the funds arising therefrom could only be made with the consent of the Council of Chiefs, but the proposal seems so full of advantage for the Indian children, to wit: more accommodation for the girls, and better accommodation for the boys, that it might be possible to obtain this.

### GENERAL REMARKS

In conclusion I wish to say that I was unable to see Mr. Rogers, the Principal, as he is away on leave of absence in England.

The following facts will, I think, prove of interest, and will show conclusively that the Mohawk Institute has the careful management and generous financial support of the Canadian Government, very kindly assisted in the latter respect by the New England Company, the founder of the school.

### FISCAL

In January, 1922, the Mohawk Institute was leased by the New England Company to the department at a nominal rental for a period of twenty-one years. This change in management became necessary because of the diminution in the revenue of the New England Company. The company grants £1,000

per annum for current expenses, and, when they can find funds, they are assisting the Department of Indian Affairs with capital expense. In the past two years the New England Company has granted \$7,015.25, which has been used for alterations and repairs.

The Department of Indian Affairs, before leasing the Mohawk Institute, made per capita grants for current expenditure each fiscal year. For the past few years the per capita grant has amounted to:—

1914-15.. . . . .	\$12,003 00
1915-16.. . . . .	12,066 08
1916-17.. . . . .	12,002 00
1917-18.. . . . .	13,231 37
1918-19.. . . . .	12,642 44
1919-20.. . . . .	14,514 10
1920-21.. . . . .	22,830 27

During these years no grants were made from parliamentary appropriation, for buildings or equipment.

Since leasing the institution, the department has not only paid from parliamentary appropriation a per capita grant for current expenses:—

1921-22.. . . . .	\$20,843 98
1922-23.. . . . .	18,772 10
1923-24.. . . . .	20,000 00 (estimated)

but also grants for buildings and replacements, as follows:—

1921-22.. . . . .	\$ 1,486 00
1922-23.. . . . .	36,568 13
1923-24.. . . . .	6,500 00 (estimated)

Since leasing the Mohawk Institute from the New England Company, the department has met, roughly, 82 per cent of the current expense and has appropriated, roughly, 85 per cent of the moneys needed for the alterations and repairs that have been undertaken in the past three years.

#### MANAGEMENT

Under the terms of the lease, the department is to maintain the Mohawk as an educational institution for Indian boys or girls, or for both, and the pupils are to be drawn, as far as possible, from the Six Nations Indians. It should be noted that the responsibility for the management of the Mohawk Institution is practically entirely with the department.

#### INSPECTION

The Brantford representative of the department visits the Mohawk Institute each month and reports to the department. The new agent, Colonel Morgan, has already paid some eight visits. The public school inspector for the county inspects the class-room activities twice each year and reports to the department concerning the progress of the pupils and the pedagogy of the instructors. The date of the last inspection by the public school inspector was the 7th of November. The Superintendent of Indian Education has paid two official visits to the Mohawk Institute during the past two years. The department architect has visited the school at frequent intervals during the alterations and additions to the buildings.

#### RELIGIOUS

Church services are conducted regularly each week by an Anglican clergyman, communion services being held each quarter. The Bishop of Huron is the official church visitor.



## INSTRUCTION

The department requires each pupil in residence to be held in the class-room at least five half days per week. The older boys and girls spend the other school hours in one of the departments, for the purpose of assisting with the domestic duties and the farm and garden activities and to receive instruction along vocational lines. The department expects the younger pupils up to eleven and twelve, to be in the class-room during the whole of each school day.

Your obedient servant,

ANDREW T. THOMPSON,  
*Commissioner.*