KEENEBONANOH KEEMOSHOMINOOK KAESHE PEEMISHIKHIK ODASKIWAKH - [WE STAND ON THE GRAVES OF OUR ANCESTORS] NATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF TREATY #9 WITH ATTAWAPISKAT ELDERS

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ABSTRACT

Keenebonanoh keemoshominook kaeshe peemishikhik odaskiwakh -
[We Stand on the Graves of our Ancestors]
Native Interpretations of Treaty #9 with Attawapiskat Elders

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This thesis tries to make aware that in relations between people from different cultures 'facts' cannot be interpreted as such by merely referring to a set of values based in one of the two societies. Instead, knowledge and understanding as interpreted by Native societies have to be considered as well. In regards to the interpretations of treaty #9, I present the view of the Cree people of Attawapiskat, gathered in interviews among elders, political leaders and professionals in the community. Using the interpretations of the way of life by the elders of the community as a bridge to the time when the treaty was signed, this thesis explains why the people of Attawapiskat understand that land was never given up with the signing of the treaty, and that a surrender of land could not have happened due to the people's relations to the land that was given to them by Kitche Mando.

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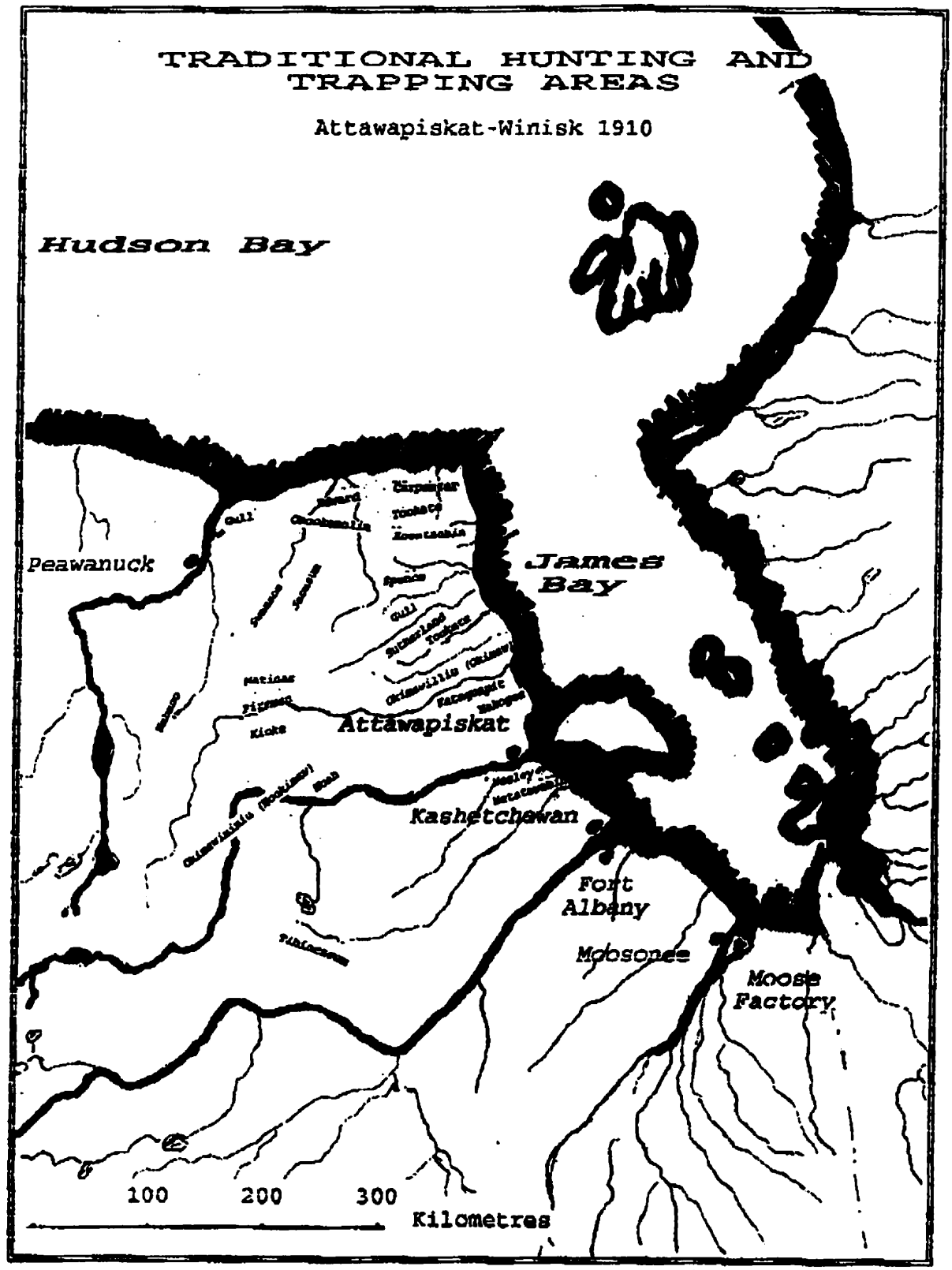
TRADITIONAL HUNTING AND TRAPPING AREAS
Attawapiskat-Winisk 1910
Hudson Bay
Peawanuck
James Bay
Attawapiskat
Kashechewan
Fort Albany
Moosonee
Moose Factory
100
200
300
Kilometres

Setting the Stage -

The Problems with Indian Claims to their Lands.

During the years at University, having taken Native Studies, I always came across discussions about land claims of Indian people who were not covered by a treaty. Negotiations with the Indians were started by the government only when the Natives had signed or agreed to the clause of ceding and surrendering their lands to the government. Being a traditional Native person from Northern Ontario, I always shivered hearing these words of surrendering lands, which, in my opinion, was not possible.

The other concept that I could not relate to was that the government owned the land, or that we had to ask the government for land to live on, which, of course, was the reality on our reserves. Hearing about land claims, I saw the chance to maybe get the Indian point of view over in this issue, however, for our people, the Cree of James Bay (on the Ontario side), the possibility of claiming or reclaiming anything seemed very small, because, as it was pointed out, we had signed a treaty, treaty #9, and by the treaty signing our people had surrendered the land to the government. This was pointed out to me, and the fact that the Indians were just whining to get more out of the government. The relations we had to the government were always interpreted in a way that we just were the takers and the government were the givers. This is, by the way, also the widespread opinion among my non-Native fellow countrywomen and men, as we do not pay taxes

etc. The claim that we were 'whiners' could also easily be underlined by the facts, legally and scientifically, that there was indeed a treaty signed, and that we, for giving up our lands, did receive so many benefits, among them the one that actually brought me to post-secondary education, namely my free university education, 'free' here used as free of charge. And the treaty is a fact. There is no doubt about it, as well as the 'benefits' that came with it.

In this regards, it was also referred to me that we could not have it both ways, getting the benefits that came with giving up our lands, and then coming along and 'pretending' that the land was indeed never given up.

That this whole thing was a legal matter became obvious once I followed reports on T.V. on land claims, and claims by Indians in general, because there were always lawyers involved. Indians who tried to claim lands and their Nationhood were referring to 'laws', like the one called the Royal Proclamation, and for matters concerning Indian claims, court decisions were quoted etc. It is indeed a very complicated matter, and there are always the 'facts', something that is written down, like in a treaty, and the 'fact' that there are signatures on it. Naturally, when you get these facts presented all the time, you start to believe them. The only possibility for Native people was in the interpretation of these facts, or in finding some legal loop holes. The latter was my first thought when I started to think about the treaty.

There were, however, other things that finally made me

think. Some Native people often refer to the treaties as land robbery, that the land was stolen from us, that we were cheated. What were these references based on? The logical conclusion to look for fraud in the treaty text, based on the legal practice in this country, did not seem so logical any more, once I took a deeper look on the foundations of this legality. There is, for instance, something called the 'Right of Discovery', and the 'Right of Conquest'. Where do these rights come from? Also, our lands along James Bay were 'given' to the Hudson's Bay Company by the king of England. How did he acquire these lands to give them to a company? This company, in turn, 'sold' the land to the Dominion of Canada, even before the treaty was signed. I could interpret this as us being sold as well, because our ancestors lived on this land. The company's claim to the lands they sold later was based on the King's grant of these lands, and on their activity on it, trading with the Aboriginal peoples. To make it bigger, not only the land was claimed where the company had their trading posts, but also all the lands whose rivers flowed to Hudson's Bay, which the King had claimed. The people who claimed these lands had most probably not even seen them, let alone lived on them. So, how could they claim these lands?

Trying to explain the logic in this kind of 'legal' realities, I want to point out that the same government which had 'bought' the lands already from the said company, had later come to us to extinguish our title to it with a treaty that was 'negotiated' with our people, being admonished by their King,

that our title to the land had to be extinguished in a fair way.

Now, one can easily read in the 'tone' I was writing this introduction up to here that from my perception of 'law' I cannot follow these arguments easily. Some seem indeed ridiculous, but, I must admit, maybe only because I am a Native person. But that should be the point. What I wanted to point out that finding 'facts' is not so easy as just taking them from written words and interpreting them 'legally' and 'scientifically'. The question still remains whose law and whose science we are talking about. When we talk about treaties between different Nations, we have to take into account that these Nations are not only different *per se*, like being two separate entities, they are also different in their culture.

This cultural difference now brings me closer to the identifi-cation of the problem, as this difference would produce a different legal understanding, by which an interpretation of a treaty would be made a lot more difficult than by just basing it on the understanding of one of the partners, the non-Native one that is. However, that is exactly the path that is always taken when treaties are interpreted. Indian politicians even try to argue on the basis of the non-Native understanding of the facts, trying to justify their Nationhood by a Royal Proclamation of a King from a different country, even a different continent. We really do not have to justify our existence on the basis of what other Nations think about us.

Beside the different understanding of 'the law', the

cultural difference also brings with it a different perception of 'the facts', of 'knowledge' and of life in general. Interpreting a treaty in a fair way, one would have to consider the perception of reality of **both** partners, and, as a non-Native person, one should try to understand the 'other side' as well rather than just make presumptions based on one's own perception of reality. We as Native people have to learn the other reality, as we are also educated in the 'white' way, as is testified by my being at university. This consideration of our perceptions was never done, particularly in regards to a treaty. All that counted were just the 'legal', 'historical' and whatsoever 'facts'. Coming from the land of my ancestors, which lies in a region defined as treaty #9 region, I will, in the following pages, look into this treaty, trying to interpret the 'facts' from the point of view of us Native people. The basis for my analysis is a survey I did in my own community, Attawapiskat, among our elders and some other community members. An explanation of the research I did will follow in chapter 4, just before the analysis of the data I collected. Before I present the 'facts' of the treaty in the treaty text and in historical interpretations (in chapter 2), which more or less include the non-Native interpretation, I will justify this venture of presenting the Native point of view, with emotions and all, 'scientifically' on the basis that our people are actually culturally different from the non-Native people in this country.

CHAPTER 1

The Place of Aboriginal Knowledge within the Academic Context

> What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night.
> It is the breath of a buffalo in the winter time.
> It is the little shadow which runs across the grass
> and loses itself in the sunset. (Crowfoot)
> (T.C.McLuhan 1971:12)

This wisdom describing life makes perfect sense to me, although it does not lie within my own experience and only partly within my own culture. Crowfoot, the author of the above wisdom was a Blackfoot, a member of a people with a culture based on life on the plains, born in 1821. I am Muskego-Cree, a member of a people with a culture based on life in the Muskeg, born in 1965.

Nevertheless, I can accept Crowfoot's wisdom as part of the whole truth in the question what life is, although I would interpret some parts of it in a different way.

I have to point out that, of course, Crowfoot and myself do not share the same culture even though we are both aboriginal to this country. What we do share, however, is the respect we have to knowledge in general, no matter which society it originates in. We do not question other peoples' knowledge and will, if we can apply it and understand it, even include it in our cultural

set. We do not ask how the knowledge was acquired, experimentally, empirically or scientifically, but if it is useful for the one that shares it with others. Unfortunately, this attitude of respect, or tolerance as some people might call it, is not prevailing in the world I experience, being of Native ancestry and receiving post graduate education in a non-Native institution. My goal as a graduate student is naturally to contribute to academic knowledge, yet I do not want to contribute as a white but as a Native person. This means that I will base it on our own philosophy which partly derives from my own experience. The problem is that:

> Indians will have varying degrees of knowledge of religious rituals, treaties, the complexity of tribal sovereignty, plant and animal usage, etc. ....To share parts of their culture or life with others who may not understand or who may ridicule a traditional way...sets up a student to feel the demeaning effects of racism. (Betz 1991:16)

Though I do not think that there was any intention behind this kind of racism, I did feel it throughout my studies at university.

Leonore Keesig Tobias (1994) defines racism as it might appear in a university setting:

> RACISM is any communication, action or course of conduct, whether intentional or unintentional, which denies recognition , benefits, rights of access or otherwise abrogates or derogates from the constitutionally recognized rights and freedoms of any person or community on the basis of their membership in a racial, ethnic or cultural community. The fostering and promoting of <u>uniform standards</u> (my emphasis), common rules and same treatment of people who are not the same constitute racism where the specifity of the individual or community is not taken in consideration (Keeshig-Tobias 1994:3).

The racism lies here in the using of the scientific or academic

concept as the only one there is.

I feel therefore urged to explain my philosophy and my way of writing my thesis, and I will try to make people understand that this way, the more Native way of doing science, also has its rightful place in academia. After all I will contribute to knowledge by bringing a different point of view into the academic community.

To make sense of the above quote I first will discuss two examples of the kind of unintended racism I experienced in one of my M.A. classes.

In one of my classes we discussed issues dealing with Native life, my life that is, how it is presented and how much this representation confirms reality. One of the concepts discussed was that of *Mother Earth*, with the question asked if the concept of Mother Earth was traditional at all. It was decided that the term seemed to have been used only over the last twenty years or so, and to back this statement up, I was asked if that term existed in my language, which I had to pass on at this moment, also being stunned about this question which I did not understand. The racism lies within the process of proving that the concept of Mother Earth did not exist in traditional life because the term is not present in a traditional language, Cree in this matter. Yet, the absence of the term does not prove anything, on the contrary, discussing this problem on the basis of consciousness, it proves the opposite. In my cultural consciousness the interpretation of the earth as our mother is

ever present. It is the way we treat the earth, the way we see her as the starting point of all life and the way we take care of her, bleeding when she bleeds and crying when she cries, that makes her our mother. We do not have to define this with a word. It is the actions and the feelings we have towards the earth that defines the concept of her being our mother. For us as Native people there is no problem with this concept. It is

> mainstream society [that] doesn't want to hear that the earth is a being because mainstream logic doesn't fit that notion. So we have to turn to a people, a culture, where you don't have to prove that the earth is alive. It is understood. It is the fundamental basis of Native cultures throughout indigenous global society. The earth, she is our mother. (Greer 1992:18)

The hidden racism does not only lie within the academics' decision that Mother Earth is not a traditional concept, but also in the way I have to prove that it in fact is. Interpreting my own philosophy which is based on my experience and my oral tradition will not have *value* as long as I do not back this up with a quote of something written down, which I did above and which I will do throughout this chapter in order to make our knowledge acceptable to the academic world.

The other issue on Native life, a very delicate one, that of spirituality, was also discussed in the same class. Coming from a northern community where many people still pursue a traditional life, which includes spirituality, I took the statement/question if there actually still are people who live like that in our *modern* country as an offence, because I could sense the doubt that there actually are. Being in Native Studies as a Native

person I sometimes wonder why people take this course of studies and what actually they want to learn from it. Although it might not look like that for the non-Native observer, the old tradition is still very much alive and holding on to it has nothing to do with romanticism or phoneyness. In this situation I felt like the Jewish cartoonist Art Spiegelman who told the survivor story of a Holocaust survivor, his father, in a comic book. Talking about his own life he refers to a picture of the brother he never knew in person because he had died during the war but with whose spirit he had to compete because his life, which was non-existent because he was dead, was idealised by his parents. Spiegelman comments:

> That's the point! They didn't need photos of me in their room, I was alive! The photo never threw tantrums or got into any kind of trouble. It was an ideal kid and I was a pain in the ass. I couldn't compete. (Spiegelman 1986:15)

The same is true with us Natives who are still alive today and who, of course, carry on the history of our ancestors. Yet, our knowledge of our own people does not count. Like Spiegelman's parents who created an image of their dead son, scientists created their image of our ancestors or our people in general without asking their children, us, the living generations, what we could contribute to that image. Although we are still alive, we cannot compete with the image that was 'scientifically' created. That makes me a pain in the butt as well, always referring to my actual experience, my memory and even my post-memory (a concept I will explain below) and perhaps be contradictory to the *'scientific'* proof of who my ancestors

were. It is like other people making sense of *my* own life by referring to *their* own definitions of who *my* ancestors were and also defining if I still match the image they have of my ancestors and sometimes even going so far as to denying me my carrying on the traditions of my ancestors because, as scientists or academics know, my reality has changed.

This concept of telling other people how they have to perceive their history and existence in order to make it 'scientifically' acceptable sometimes leads to painful encounters on the Native side. I experienced that when I referred to the destruction of our culture in two of my Native Studies courses, and I was told I could not use the word *destruction of culture* but should use the more academically appropriate term of *social adjustment*. The fact that my culture was being destroyed, at least the attempt was made, cannot be captured in the term *social adjustment* and actually is a slap in my face. It is like a neo-Nazi telling a Jew that the holocaust was not mass murder but ethnic cleansing.

Of course, meanwhile my reality has changed, but nevertheless, it is fundamentally different from the reality of non-Native people. Yet, within this changed reality I can still complete the circle of life in the same way my people did before me.

To support this I again refer to Art Spiegelman's comic about his parents' survival of the holocaust and by that also explain the term post-memory. Marianne Hirsch (1992) explains

the authenticity of Spiegelman's memory of the Holocaust he never experienced himself: The comic

> ...demonstrates how immediately present the war memories of his parents are for them and for Art [Spiegelman] - and how unassimilated. But the grieving Art does not literally remember the concentration camp whose uniform he wears [in the comic]; mediated through his parents' memories, his is what we call a *post memory*. Art remains imprisoned in his camp uniform and in the black-bordered spaces of his psyche. (Hirsch 1992:18)

This post-memory alters reality for people. That is why I live in a different reality than people with a different post-memory. Yet, the same people would like to define this reality for me. Like Art Spiegelman, I got my understanding of my culture through my parents' and my grandparents', and, in a wider sense of grandparents, of course also through my elders' memory. In this way I can remember things I have not experienced myself. Culture is in this way deeply engraved in my psyche. The hidden racism I was mentioning at the beginning of this paragraph lies within the denial and ridiculing of this post-memory living generations have of their ancestors and their ancestry. It is ridiculed when it is devaluated because it is not *academically* accepted, which always gives concepts an aura of primitivism.

This brings me to the question of which, or should I say whose, knowledge can be accepted as such and why. Whereas in my culture, knowledge is believed to accumulate by experience and therefore can be found in those people who have the most experience, the elders, in western understanding knowledge is produced by an institution, the university, following a certain method of producing it. Being from a people that did not develop

universities, our knowledge is therefore misrepresented. Globally, "97% of knowledge production comes from *developed* countries" (Hall 199.:26) meaning countries which follow the western life style and, of course, have universities which can produce knowledge.

What might be mistaken in terms is knowledge and truth. In western ideology science is *the* road to truth. Jurgen Habermas from the Frankfurt School terms this dominance of science as *scientism*, meaning science's belief in itself. (Hall 199. :29). This belief has led to the opinion that scientific knowledge is the only knowledge that can be labelled as such, or that knowledge can only be recognized as knowledge when it was produced in the scientific way. Yet, there is a lot of knowledge among my people as well, though it was not produced that way. Thom Alcoze (1992) goes even so far as to say that scientific concepts do exist even in Native traditions:

> Native people have been taught that Native traditions are somehow 'primitive' and must be left behind. My approach is to take another look at them. We are in a new time... Scientific concepts *exist* in Native traditions. Just because Native people do not use a scientific jargon [there] is no reason to suggest that the knowledge is lacking. That would be analogous to saying that a Navajo person who does not speak English does not have a language. (Greer 1992:14)

This statement is so strong because it exposes an evaluation of knowledge existing only within sciences as being ethnocentric because it uses the example of language, referring to people who do not use proper scientific methods as not being scientific as well as people who do not use the 'white' language as having no

language.

This ethnocentricm is also referred to by Martha Johnson (1992), the director of the Dene Cultural Institute:

> Rational analytic thought, objectivity and the Judeo-Christian ethic of human domination of nature have been challenged for being ethnocentric, antiecological and ignoring the dimension of technical development. (Johnson 1992:78)

Now, as Melville J. Herskovits (1973) points out,

> ..ethnocentrism is the point of view that one's own way of life is to be preferred to all others....It characterizes the way most individuals feel about their own culture. (Herskovits 1973:66)

This alone would not be enough to evaluate ethnocentrism as something negative. It is even positive in promoting one's self-esteem. Of course, I feel about my culture the same way and that makes me proud of who I am. However,

> ...it is when, as in Euroamerican culture, ethnocentrism is rationalized and made the basis of action, detrimental to the well-being of other peoples that gives rise to serious problems. (Herskovits 1973:66)

Although ethnocentrism within the sciences does not necessarily have to affect our lives negatively, the statement that only scientific knowledge can be considered knowledge, ignoring the experiential knowledge of other peoples contains a great deal of arrogance and can well be counted to the kind of racism I was talking about at the beginning of this chapter.

This attitude of scientific knowledge as being the only form of knowledge also leads to the rather primitive attempt to silence Native people in politics as it is done by the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, trying to avoid a comanagement

deal in fish and game management with Native people:

> The comanagement deals being negotiated between Ontario and First Nations are resulting in unscientifically-based and arbitrary political decisions, rather than modern, sound scientific decisions (my emphasis). (McLaren 1994:2)

Scientific knowledge as the only modern and sound one is here used as a political weapon against people who argue from the basis of their own knowledge and gives rise to racism as defined by Loenore Keeshig-Tobias (1994) (see page 7), where racism lies in the using of the scientific concept as the only one there is.

That scientific knowledge also not necessarily contains the absolute truth and is not always so predictable or applicable as it is supposed to be is illustrated by the following, practical example from my own experience:

Two years ago, in May 1993, there was supposed to be a flood in Attawapiskat based on the scientific measurements of ice and snow by experts who predicted how the ice in the river would break and block the water from flowing into James Bay. The elders (among them John Hookimaw, Shano and Raphael Fireman and James Carpenter) who were invited by the experts to take part in the surveillance of the river by helicopter, were amused about the scientists' methods of measuring the thickness of the ice etc. and from there predicting the flood to occur. Although the elders could enjoy several free helicopter rides up and down the river which, by observation of the river, should give the experts the clues for their prediction, the elders found the whole method more or less useless, being based on only a small part of the whole scenario of ice and snow building up over the year, and too

expensive. Based on the experts' predictions, the whole village of 1200 people was evacuated. The elders stayed. Having observed the river, snowfall, snow-melting and ice break-ups over the long years of their lives they stated that there just could not be a flood that year because of certain conditions of snowfall and ice build-up, together with the melting process over the whole winter. Of course they did not use scientific jargon for their statements and had explained the process in a more spiritual way. Naturally, their knowledge was not considered because it was not based on scientific knowledge. However, there was never a flood that year in Attawapiskat. In fact, the rise of the river water did not even reach a dangerous level.

This example shows the difference in acquiring knowledge which, on the one hand is based on scientific reference (which, for the social sciences, is usually found in books) and on the other hand is based on experience in this exact environment where the flood was supposed to take place. I do not say that scientific knowledge should not be taken into consideration. I am sure that the predictions based on this knowledge are usually very accurate. But, the knowledge of our elders has to be equally considered.

To illustrate the other side, the Native view towards western sciences, which makes Black Elk even point to the ignorance of persons who cannot look into things holistically (Lee 1987:66), I will use a quote from John Mohawk (1988):

> Back during the medieval times, there was once a great debate that arose in Europe; some of you might have heard

> about it. It was a debate that sought to answer the question of how many teeth are to be found in a horse's mouth. This debate lasted for years. The great scholars of the great universities of Europe met and discussed it, and papers were passed, and I am sure PhD.'s were earned. The discussion went on and on while the scholars sought the body of knowledge that held the answer to all of humanity's questions. They searched the writings of the Greek and Roman scholars of antiquity, the philosophers, and then they searched the holy scriptures. These were the <u>legitimate</u> sources for understanding the world in the 14th and 15th centuries. ...After a considerable and vigorous search they concluded that it was not possible to discover the number of teeth in a horse's mouth because it had never been placed in the body of information that stood as human knowledge. (Mohawk 1988:13/14)

Although, or maybe because, this story is surely exaggerated, it demonstrates the pettiness of acknowledging knowledge only from a very confined point of view, in the scholarly world only when it can be referenced. I mentioned that above when I tried to get the point of my own philosophy over. Scholars still have to learn that, although their scientific rules certainly can be justified, it could well be that other forms of existence, or of producing knowledge for that matter, might have their rightful place as well. This is not a question of absoluteness, or, as the educator John Dewey (1963) puts it, of *either-ors* between which mankind tends to recognize no intermediate possibilities (Dewey 1963:17). Knowledge and the production of it should always be open, even when this means that the rules might have to be changed. It seems that it is these additions, these constant negotiations of the methods to find the absolute truth, that make the scientists' stomachs turn. It is the fear of losing credibility of the 'old' knowledge when something new has to be added that makes people fight for the status quo, although the

additions would not mean that the old values have to be overturned.

I want to discuss this point, the renegotiation of concepts, on the basis of a concept, the definition of which is just taken for granted - that of objectivity. In practice, *objectivity* is translated into *scientific method* (Hall 199.:29), an attitude I want to define as scientism following Habermas' definition. This translation ignores completely that scientific methods are based on a cultural subjectivity that, although being able to be objective within its own definition, cannot be objective in general. This is especially true for the social sciences. I try to explain the meaning of my statement by having a short discourse about the reality of everyday life and about the subjectivity and objectivity of human existence. Berger and Luckmann (1967) state that

> Everyday life presents itself as a reality interpreted by men and subjectively meaningful to them as a coherent world. As sociologists we take this reality as the object of our analyses. Within the frame of reference of sociology as an empirical science it is possible <u>to take this reality as given</u> (my emphasis), to take as data particular phenomena arising within it, <u>without further inquiring about the foundations of this reality</u> (my emphasis) which is a philosophical task. (Berger & Luckmann 1967:19)

What this means for me is that before starting my research I have to look for the starting point. Everything up to this starting point is subjective reality as it is defined by the members who live in the researched society, or the subjective reality as I have defined it in the society I come from. As a researcher I take this reality as given, which does not state any problem when

I research a society I am part of, knowing the subjective reality of it. Only from that point on, when I start my survey, having defined the reality subjectively, will my research be objective. This is what I mean by being objective within a set definition.

In practical work, like Native studies, we will get into a dilemma when interpreting our learned, scientific facts to be the only truth there is:

> Perhaps the most difficult work the anthropologist has to do is to make his way into another codification of reality. It is difficult to realize that what we know about human nature, about motivation, about emotions, about satisfactions is not necessarily true of all human beings, but may be true only of the human being who have been brought up within our own cultural framework. (Lee 1987:3)

My point is that when science found out about human nature based on research within western culture, the researcher who looks into a different culture will not be free from this subjective reality even when s/he follows strict scientific rules in the research itself. When I as a Native person want to research a non-Native society I will have to familiarize myself with this society's subjective reality. Up to that point I will not be objective, because I either base my observations on my own, subjective reality or on the subjective reality of the people researched. Of course, this is true also for a non-Native person researching a Native society. Even when following strict rules of scientific, objective research, our research will always be subjective up to the point when we start it, as our basis for analysis will always lie within our own subjective, cultural experience, or, when we actually have the ability of being bi- or

multi-cultural, in the cultural experience we chose to analyze the data in. We just have to be aware, as I pointed out earlier when I mentioned post memory, of the world "as consisting of multiple realities" (Berger & Luckmann 1967:21). These multiple realities are the product of multiple experiences within which the human being grows up. What this means is explained by Berger & Luckmann (1967) when they describe the difference between human being and animal in the perception of reality:

> Unlike the other higher mammals, he [man] has no species-specific environment, no environment firmly structured by his own instinctual organization. (p.47)...
> Man's instinctual organization may be described as underdeveloped, compared with that of other higher mammals. ...Important organismic developments, which in the animal are completed in the mother's body, take place for the human infant after its separation from the womb. At this time, however, the human infant is not only in the outside world, but interrelating with it in a number of complex ways. (Berger & Luckmann 1967:48)

As important organismic developments are completed outside the mother's womb, the reality that forms for the human being will be, of course, influenced by the society and the environment s/he is born into. The infant's reality will thus also be formed by the memory and post-memory of the people in this environment. In this way, the reality of a Native person who is raised by her/his natural parents and grand-parents will differ from the reality of a non-Native person, even when born in the same environment, say in the same part of a given city. In order to research this person objectively we would have to familiarize ourselves with her/his reality in order to make sense out of her/his life before we start our research. Anything else would remain patch work and

becomes subjective from that point that we try to make sense out of the other person's life using our own, subjective experience as basis for this analysis, scientific as this analysis might be.

Again, in order to follow proper scientific rules, I will back up my statement with quotes.

First, W.C. Sturtevant (1964) comments on the new approach of ethnography, the writing of other people's history that

> it is not a new proposal that an important aspect of culture is made up of the principles by which a people classify their universe (Sturtevant 1964:41),

which underlines that in order to record another peoples' history we will have to know their own point of view to the universe.

Malinowski (1922) makes this even more clear by stating that

> the final goal, of which an Ethnographer should never lose sight...is, briefly, to grasp the native's point of view, *his* relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world. (Malinowski 1922:25)

The strongest support for my above statement of where objectivity begins and where research is always also subjective I get from E.B. Tylor (1881) who warned that the ethnologist

> must avoid that error which the proverb calls measuring other people's corn by one's own bushel. (Tylor 1881:410).

For me it is amazing that such a statement was made as early as 1881 and today, in the 1990's, I still have to discuss how far scientific methods used for the evaluation of *other* peoples can be subjective. It seems that we need to find a clear definition of scientific objectivity. Science and objectivity can certainly not be equalled as easily as it was perceived by some of my non-Native class mates when we discussed appropriate methods in

research.

Again I want to point out that I do not doubt scientific research in general. On the contrary, I support it very much. Where I do have my difficulties, however, is the way it is perceived as the absolute truth. And this *truth* is never questioned at all, even when a person of a different culture tries to establish her place within the academic community, suggesting that there might be some different points of view in the definition of certain concepts.

Another concern I have as a Native person is the validity of my thinking patterns which not always fit into the rational, logical form of thinking which seems to be defined as the only form of (valid) thinking there is. I am referring to remarks like "the Native people's emotional crap", which I heard during my time at university.

Before I discuss the issue from my Native point of view I want to point out that even academics use emotional work, as for example by the German Klaus Theweleit (1987) in his PhD. project 'Male Fantasies' about the fascist past of 'Freikorps' warriors, among them his father, who influenced the living generation through the physical and emotional abuse they exercised on their children. This influence can be felt in all victims if they are now neo-Nazis, left wing or of any other political direction. Although this particular PhD. was done in German Literature, it is recognized as historical work. The point is that Theweleit uses the emotional realm to explain the present, which could not

be grasped with logic alone.

> Theweleit is looking not for the truth about the fascists, not for the specificity of their socialization, he is not even trying to uncover new, unknown fascists. He is interested in their emotional legacy. (Yaeger Kaplan 1989:164)

This approach comes close to our people's vision of history, which, of course, is always seen in its reference to the present. We follow the path of life as our ancestors did, and naturally, their actions still influence us in the present. Of course, as Alice Yaeger Kaplan (1989) points out, traditional historians are not likely to do emotional work as Theweleit did (Yaeger Kaplan: 1989:161), but nevertheless this approach obviously exists and, like Yeager Kaplan who

> got incredible writing energy from the book [Male Fantasies], analytical energy and permission to use [her] intuition. (Yaeger Kaplan 1989:162)

I also refer to this historical work to justify my intuitive, emotional existence within the academic context. How I feel as a Native person about a remark referring to my emotions as *crap* is perfectly expressed in the following quote:

> Discrimination against persons because of their beliefs is the most insidious kind of injustice. Ridicule of one's spiritual beliefs or cultural teachings wounds the spirit, leaving anger and hurt that may be masked by a proud silence. American Indians experience this discrimination in abundance for the sake of their traditional beliefs, especially when such beliefs conflict with those of the dominant education systems. (Locust 1988:315)

For me as a spiritual person there is also a spiritual dimension beside the material one. Some people might doubt this, but for me this is reality. The spiritual side of the human being is that of the senses, the emotions or the feelings. The

saying that Natives think with their hearts instead of their heads describes this dimension. This dimension actually exists in science as well, yet it is termed differently because, scientifically, there is no spirit. For the better understanding of my paper by non-Native people I will use the scientific terms for this phenomenon, the two halves of the brain. The misconception and ridiculing of Native thinking derives from an education system that has done

> little else but developed the left brain, the seat of intellectual analysis, linear thinking and language. (Couture 1978:129).

The right side of the brain, the seat of intuition and emotions, withers in non-Native education because it is not considered valid for a reason I really do not understand. If the creator has given us two brains, why would we only use one and desperately try to shut off the other?

What I also want to say by this is that I am well able to use my logical, analytical mind as well. This is not a question of either/or but a question of coordination. The Native psychologist Joseph Couture (1978) points out that

> the traditional process of education has addressed both skills of the brain, not consciously but nonetheless so, which enabled a Native person to move into different thinking patterns. (Couture 1978:129)

Of course, not only Natives have this ability, but they seem to be among the minority of people, like artists with any cultural background or the above mentioned historian Theweleit, who still dare to widen their perception by using both sides of the brain.

Returning to Couture's above statement, the ridicule, which

I am sure was not consciously made, could fire back with the indication of the wider horizon of a person who is able to utilize both sides of the brain in a constructive way.

My suggestion is to use both sides of the brain and to coordinate them in a way that life makes sense. This point is also discussed by Yaeger Kaplan's evaluation of Theweleit's work when she quotes him on understanding phenomena like fascism:

> How can we hope to understand fascist defenses... if our intellectual methods for understanding are rigid and defensive, too? (Yaeger Kaplan 1989:166)

This quote indicates that in order to understand certain phenomena we have to go beyond logical, analytical thinking, at least sometimes, and by this we will have to try to also understand the world with our emotional/spiritual mind.

Beside spirituality there are other concepts we cannot understand by merely using the analytical mind. One of them is the so-called holistic thinking of Native people, a concept I also heard repeatedly in my Native Studies courses. Yet, merely mentioned in a course, this concept is only a word. It does not make any sense to somebody who does not use it. In this concept the use of the intuitive mind is necessary; it cannot be grasped by logic and analysis alone. Dorothy Lee (1987) discusses this concept in the teaching of Black Elk explaining that the visible, knowable world is only a reflection, a temporary manifestation which cannot deplete the infinite reality. In this reality, all is one; everything, all animals and plants, the heavenly bodies, the rocks, the earth, the sky, the cardinal directions. Here the

one is many and the many is one (Lee 1987:66). Only with one's intuitive mind can one grasp the truth in this perception of the world and can make sense of the different realities among different people which become one not by defining the ultimate reality by choosing one part of it and declaring it as *the* one, but by the sum of all realities put together and understanding it as one. This also means that we do not know the absolute, complete truth when we only know part of the ultimate reality. In this way, science does not produce truth as long as it is defined on the basis of only one part of knowledge, and struggles against any addition to knowledge that comes from somewhere else than the scientific community. If it is so hard to accept other concepts, I would suggest that at least the attempt should be made to listen and then make other knowledge valid or scientific by trying to explain it in a scientific way. But, of course, for that we would have to use both parts of the brain.

Coming back to my original question, the one for the meaning of life, as a Cree person I would answer that life is *Pimaatisiwin*, the good life, a holistic concept of life which includes everything imaginable in life and some of the concepts I was talking about like knowledge, spirituality, objectivity and even science. Pimaatisiwin also includes respect for 'The Other' which gives the concept of sharing a double dimension, meaning that I not only share my knowledge and philosophy but I am also open enough to accept what other people share with me. That is

why I am in a post-secondary program. Of course, I like to hear the definitions of people outside my culture, even definitions that concern my own life. There is always something to think about when you listen to others. What I expect at the same time, however, is that people accept whatever we, as Native people, have to share, and how we see ourselves. Our perception of ourselves cannot just be ignored or ridiculed because it does not seem to fit the scientific suit. This should especially be considered in a Native Studies program. Scientific knowledge is valid, but so is any other form of knowledge. Being a Native person I tend to think in circles and I would also like to see knowledge as a circle with science as part of this circle, not as the whole. As science in the form it is taught to us was developed on the basis of a certain culture it can only be part of that culture and certainly does not represent the absolute truth for all humanity. It even does not reflect the ultimate reality, as I tried to explain in this chapter. Understood in this confined way, science can even give rise to racism, as I pointed out, because perceptions of life based on different cultural experiences are not accepted. Yet, science is an important part in the attempt of understanding the ultimate reality, which, as I also pointed out, can however not be understood by a quest for wisdom that confines itself to unalterable rules. What if somebody finds out that certain parts of reality do not function according to these rules? Do I deny these parts? It would be much better if these rules can be

negotiated whenever some new wisdom is discovered, or, at least, the new wisdom can be defined in a way that it can fit the framework. As a Native person I will also not give up my spirituality, unscientific as it may seem to people who do not understand this world view. Being part of my life, spirituality certainly will be reflected even in my 'scientifically' researched thesis. In scientific terms, I will have to use both sides of my brain when I try to reflect my cultural views in my scientific work, which seems even logical in a Native Studies program. We should not fall into the trap of believing that we are in the possession of absolute knowledge merely by the fact that we follow certain rules. Knowledge cannot be grasped in books alone, not even in millions of them, because the absolute knowledge is greater than any human being can imagine. The absolute knowledge can not be produced, it was once created. We can seek for it, and in our quest we have to follow all routes possible. Yet, the knowledge we seek will never be complete as long as there is life on earth because life can have many forms and can alter, and knowledge is life.

To bring all this in context with the treaty I was researching I want to point out that, similar to the interpretations of knowledge, the 'right' interpretation of a treaty is usually defined as the 'legal' interpretation, 'legal' here meaning the legal concept of the western world. The legal concepts of the Aboriginal peoples were completely ignored. In this way, treaty interpretations cannot be fair to the Aboriginal

peoples. The problem was not only that the Natives did not understand the language the treaty was written in; some of the concepts, like ownership of land, could not even be translated into the Native languages because they simply did not exist in the way they were presented by the 'outsiders'.

I will try to analyze this problem in the following chapter by looking into the original treaty text and literature about the treaty and by this open the path for the treaty interpretations of the people on 'the other side' of the negotiations on treaty #9, the Native people, which means in this thesis, the elders of Attawapiskat.

CHAPTER 2

Historical Context -

What was written about the treaty and how it was perceived

In the years 1905/06 a treaty was signed between the Ojibways and Crees and a commission consisting of delegates from the governments of Ontario and the Dominion of Canada. The treaty is usually referred to as the James Bay Treaty or Treaty #9. From a point of view of the Cree, the treaty would have increased the area of the Province of Ontario considerably, because we consider the lands we live in as our lands, and if the lands had been signed away by the chiefs at that time, a 'fact' I will dispute in this thesis, Ontario would have been granted these lands up to the Albany River in 1905/06, and North of the Albany River up to Hudson's Bay, which was considered North West Territories up to 1912, with the Adhesion of the treaty in 1929/30. From the Natives' point of view, the establishment of provincial boundries before these dates are irrelevant. The surrender of 'Rupert's Land' to the Dominion by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870, the establishment of the northern boundry of Ontario by Orders in Council of both provincial and federal

government up to the fifty-first parallel, the Albany River, in 1874 (Nicholson 1964:63), and the extension of this boundary up to Hudson's Bay by taking these lands from the district of Keewatin in the North West Territories in 1912 (Nicholson 1964:89) can be of no relevance to the people who lived there, the Cree and Ojibways, because they were not included in these decisions before 1905/06 and 1929/30.

The establishment of provincial boundaries before treaty negotiations also brought forth another new practice: It was the first time that a province was involved in treaty negotiations, which were usually exclusively negotiated between the Indians and the Federal Government. To avoid misunderstandings I will use the term 'Indians' for the Native people, as this is the term we are usually referred to in the documents and literature discussing treaty #9.

Treaties are widely understood as agreements that have a mutual positive effect on all parties, usually being nations. In the opinion of many non-Native people, we profited most by signing treaties, because we were then able to receive the blessings of civilization. Meanwhile even some of our elders share this opinion. What they remember of the 'old times' is starvation, the cause of which was interpreted as being connected to our way of life and never to the white people's interference with it. This opinion was also indoctrinated by the church who described our way of life as savage. Only given these conditions could our elder Sophie Okimaw say

People were starving - We can never go back
and gnaw on the bones of animals. [1]

However, many Indians see the treaties as beneficial only for the other side, the 'white' side, who made the treaties to 'steal' our land. This fact becomes drastically real in the proceedings that lead to the signing of treaty #9. The intentions of the government were not even hidden, as they are all documented in the negotiations between the province and the Dominion that proceeded the treaty negotiations. The government even managed to offer less than in previous treaties using the desperate situation many Indians found themselves in after the break-down of the fur trade and the invasion of Indian land by white surveyors, railway people, trappers and entrepreneurs.

The practice of treaty making in the example of treaty #9 leaves questions of the legality of treaties altogether and made me look for solutions to fight injustice done to us in the past when I engaged myself in research of treaty #9. What has to be looked into is what both sides had in mind when they negotiated the treaty, what the text of the treaty actually says and how the Supreme Court of this country interprets treaties in cases where Native people fight for their rights.

Historical Background

At the turn of the century, Aboriginal people living in

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[1] Okimaw, Sophie during a workshop at the 1994 Elders Gathering at Trent University, Peterborough

Northern Ontario began to address the federal government requesting a treaty. It was Chief Louis Espagnol, Sahquakegick in his original name, of the Spanish River Band on Georgian Bay who initiated a request for treaty. The chief's concern was that his people had nothing to eat due to white trappers having stolen all the beaver. (Morrison 1986: 1) This concern is supported by visiting Superintendent of Indian Affairs James Phillips who wrote to the Superintendent General in 1885:

> The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway has opened up the country in the neighbourhood of Lake Poganasing to White Trappers who deprive the Indians of the Beaver (which they carefully preserved, never taking all, but leaving some to increase) and as the whites kill and destroy all they can, the consequence will be that no Beaver will be left in that section of the country. (James Bay Coalition 1992: 12) [2]

Similarly, E.B. Barron, a stipendiary magistrate at the time pointed out in a report that the Brunswick Lake Indians would soon be deprived of their means of subsistence due to the CP Railway passing through their hunting grounds which would lead to the destruction of larger game, fur bearing animals and even fish. (James Bay Coalition 1992: 12) [3]

With the increased contact to white people that invaded the country after railway construction also came unfamiliar diseases. The consequences were devastating when the appearance of the

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[2] Phillips, James to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 5 1905 PAC RG10 Vol. 2289 File 57, 64 1

[3] as stated in the Barron Reports 1890/92 Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1892

diseases was combined with the cyclical downturn in animal population that occurred in a seven to ten years' interval. In 1889 measles broke out at Chapleau and Missanabi causing several deaths among treaty Indians and the spread to the non-treaty people who lived north of the railway line. As these people were just recovering from a food shortage caused by low rabbit population, the traditional winter food, the hit by disease was devastating. A decade later, when country food was scarce again, the people were struck by influenza decimating the population. According to the Hudson's Bay Company trader on Missisnaibi Lake several people died of starvation during the winter of 1898-1899 (Morrison 1986: 8) [4]

Other diseases like tuberculosis that was brought by white people prevailed among the Indians in the North because of the dietary change, another cause of contact and trading, by greater consumption of bacon and flour, the increasing use of wooden cabins instead of the familiar teepee, combined with the diminution in game resources. There were frequent reports of starvation among the Northern Indians in the eighties. The sufferings of the Native people began to demand an increasing degree of governmental intervention. (Zaslow 1911: 94)

Railway construction was followed by an invasion of the country by trappers, prospectors and industrialists. This would sooner or later lead to conflict with the Native population.

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[4] from the HBC Archives B261/e/8, G7, B133/e/3, C and G and B314/e/4

Almost twenty years after the Canadian Pacific Railway had passed through Northern Ontario the government began to consider dealing with the rights of northern Cree and Ojibway. (Morrison 1986: 19)

Involving the Province - The Struggle for the Terms

Dealing with rights of Native people in the context of treaty making usually meant the extinction of Indian land Title. Title to the land was held by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), granted to the company by the British King in 1670. After purchasing that land from the HBC, Britain assigned the territory to Canada in 1870 under the condition that:

> Indian claims be extinguished fairly. What also had to be resolved until 1894, when the area referred to as "New Ontario" was awarded to Ontario. (Long 1978: ii)

The territorial rights of the Indians of this region were to be legally extinguished by a new treaty.

What was new with the James Bay Treaty was the involvement of the province in the negotiations with the Indians of the area, but first the Province and Dominion had to come to an agreement in terms of land title and exploitation of natural resources in the said region. Based on the St. Catherine's Milling decision of the Privy Council, Ontario disputed the federal government's claim to areas that were covered by treaties. (James Bay Coalition 1992: 18)

In 1884 the two governments, provincial and federal had agreed to the term:

"That any future treaties with the Indians in respect

> of territory in Ontario to which they (Indians) have not before the passing of the said statutes surrendered their claim afore said, shall be deemed to require the concurrence of Ontario." (Morrison 1986: 28)

The above clause was aimed at the region of the new James Bay Treaty because all the other areas were covered by treaty already. The involvement of the province also brought up the question of the payment for a new treaty which had to be divided between Province and Dominion.

In 1899 Inspector J. Maccra and the later negotiator for the federal government Duncan Campbell Scott visited New Brunswick House to meet with Robinson Treaty Indians. There they also came in contact with non-treaty Indians north of the Robinson Treaty area. Maccra and Scott were approached by the non-treaty Indians seeking a treaty agreement with the government because they were concerned about the erosion of their rights as surveyors and mines invaded the area. By December 1902 agents had estimated that there were between 140 and 3,000 Indians living in the area. In his role as chief accountant Scott translated these figures into a rough budget for the treaty estimating the costs of negotiations at $15, 000 and the first annuity and gratitude offered at $24,000. He based his calculations on the rate of $4.00 a head. (Titley 1986: 62 - 63)

By the time the final proposal was ready for the superintendent general's consideration in August of 1903 the department officials had worked out a solution of which regions should be covered by the treaty. The new treaty, the name of which was proposed as Treaty #9 or James Bay Treaty, would

exclude the Indians on the Quebec side of James Bay, because Indian title in the Province of Quebec has never been recognized or surrendered as in the Province of Ontario (Morrison 1986: 27). In this way the federal government would avoid more complications with the involvement of provinces in the treaty, matters with the province of Ontario being complicated enough already.

In regards to sharing of costs, the deputy superintendent suggested that the province be asked to pay for the annuities and the surveying of reserves, while Ottawa would take the costs of treaty making and supporting schools. (Titley 1986: 64) The province was informed on April 30. Details were that

> Reserves should be surveyed and confirmed by the Ontario government within one year after selection by the Indians or at any time after the expiry of one year upon the request of this department. It is proposed to provide the ordinary educational facilities afforded by day schools, to be established upon Reserves. It is contended that as the entire of the land will, by this treaty, remain with the Province free for all Indian claims, the financial responsibility, as well as the provision of reserves, should rest with the province of Ontario. (Morrison, 1986: 28) [5]

The suggestion of the federal government that as the province gained by receiving the land, Ontario should have financial responsibility was not surprisingly resisted by the province. The province responded that

> The Government of Ontario does not concede that without its concurrence the Department of Indian Affairs can promote a treaty with the Indians placing the financial responsibility as well as the providing of reserves upon

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[5] in the letter of Pedley to E.J. Davis, April 30 1904, Treaty File

the province. (Morrison 1986:29) [6]

The struggle between the province and the federal government went on for another year due to the delay caused by the province's withholding a response to the federal government's altered offer. Finally, the department sent the province a draft order in council on May 8th, 1905. What obviously speeded up the process was the department's urging the province to agree

> ...before the Indians come into closer contact with white people as they are apt to be easily influenced to make extra demands." (Morrison 1986: 29) [7]

Although Ontario agreed in principal this time with the provincial treasurer writing back on June 1st, the province still wanted two important changes to be made:

First, Ontario wanted one of the Commissioners on the negotiations team to be a provincial appointment and second, the location of the reserve should not be chosen by the Indians, but by the commissioners (Morrison 1986:30). The federal government agreed on the first condition but, trying to avoid possible conflict with the Indians, altered the second condition in a way that the commissioner's right in choosing the reserve site was more hidden:

> .... the location of the said reserves having been arranged between His Majesty's Commissioners and the chiefs and Headmen as described in the schedule of Reserves here unto attached. (James

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[6] White, Aubrey to Pedley May 30, 1904, in Ontario Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers 1908, No. 71)

[7] letter of Pedley to J.J. Foy May 8, 1905 in the Treaty File

Bay Coalition 1992: 22) [8]

The final agreement was based on the response of the province, saying that the province would pay over to the Dominion the amount of annuities and would agree to the setting aside of reserves, but that all further payments and expenditures would be at federal expense. In addition, no suitable site for development of water power exceeding 500 H.P. was to be included within the boundary of the reserve. The Dominion was to bear the cost of treaty, and pay the Ontario Commissioner. (Morrison 1986: 30/31) [9]

On June 29, 1905 the commissioners were appointed. For the federal government they were Duncan Campbell Scott and Samuel Stewart, both employees of the Department of Indian Affairs, and for Ontario it was Daniel McMartin, an Ontario lawyer. The commissioners' mandate was "to negotiate a treaty with the Indians." (Morrison 1986:31)

Treaty 'Negotiations' in 1905/06

After the hard struggle about the treaty terms between province and federal government, the framework of the treaty was outlined and now it was up to the commissioners to fit the Indian bands of the northern region into the conditions that were already outlined.

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[8] as written in the letter of Pedley to Matheson June 1st,1905 PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3033, Treaty files 235, 225-1

[9] in the response of Matheson to Pedley June 23, 1905, PAC, RG 10 Vol. 3033 Treaty files 235, 225-1

On July 2nd 1905 the commissioners for Treaty #9, as the treaty was to be called, arrived by train at Dinorwic. With a group of voyageurs, mainly half-breeds, the treaty party started in three large canoes on July 3rd for Osnaburgh House, the first place of negotiations at the head of the Albany river. (Morrison 1988: 5) The treaty party arrived at Osnaburgh on July 11th. The rituals surrounding the signing of the treaty followed a similar format at each of the stops. The procedure started with an explanation of the terms offered by the commissioners. An interpreter, usually an HBC employee or a missionary, communicated the terms to the Indians. The discussion that followed inevitable ended with the Indians agreeing to the terms with various degrees of enthusiasm. Then they elected chiefs and councillors. The chiefs signed or marked the agreement. The gratuity of $8.00 (for the initial payment, later the annuities were $4.00) was given out and the chiefs received flags and copies of the treaty. The commissioners then held a feast for the entire community with tea, bacon and bannock. The selection of the reserve by the commissioner ended the ceremony. (Titley 1986: 68)

As mentioned above the enthusiasm of the Indians varied and their concerns had to be soothed by the commissioners. In Osnaburgh, Chief Missabay hinted that his people would not give up their hunting grounds for what they were offered in return (Morrison 1988: 10). The commissioners assured the chief that the Indians would not have to give up their hunting and when they

were assured, the Indians were ready to sign the treaty. Duncan Scott describes this in his essay "The Last of the Indian Treaties" published in 1947:

> So they were assured that they were not expected to give up their hunting grounds, that they might hunt and fish throughout all the country, but that they were to be good subjects of the king, their great father, whose messengers we were. (Scott 1947: 111/112)

The official report of the commissioners also mentioned this incident, the concern of the chief in regards to being compelled to reside on the reserve and being deprived of fishing and hunting privileges:

> On being informed that their fears in regard to both of these matters were groundless, as their present manner of making their livelihood would in no way be interfered with, the Indians talked the matter over among themselves, and then asked to be given till the following day to prepare their reply. This request was at once acceded to and the meeting adjourned. (Canada 1905-1906: 4)

Similar discussions followed the presentation of the treaty terms at Fort Hope on July 18th. Again the people were concerned about how they would make their living and were assured that:

> ... hunting and fishing in which occupations they were not to be interfered with, should for many years prove lucrative resources of revenue. (Canada 1905-1906: 5)

Other than in Osnaburgh, the people at the HBC post of Fort Hope got an interpretation of what it meant to be good subjects of the King as they were informed:

> ...that by signing the treaty they pledged themselves not to interfere with white men who might come into the country surveying, prospecting, hunting or in other occupations: they must respect the laws of the land (my emphasis) in every particular, and that

> their reserves were set apart for them in order that they might have a tract in which they could not be molested ... (Canada 1905-1906: 5)

On July 25th the treaty party reached Marten's Falls where the Indian people were again suspicious of the government's motives (Morrison 1988: 11). The commissioners' explanations could ease the tension again. Unfortunately none of the sources I had available talked about what the commissioners explained to the Martin's falls Indian delegates.

The Indian people that were met at the next stop of the treaty party, English River on 29th July, were not considered a separate band, but a sub-band of the Albany band and it was not considered necessary to have them sign the treaty (Canada 1905-1906: 6).

Fort Albany was reached at August 3rd. The Fort Albany band accepted the treaty 'gracefully', though the report does not mention if and how the terms of the treaty were explained to the people. Obviously the band was in a bad spot having gone through starvation, as the commissioners were presented with an address in Cree syllabics where the Indians thanked the commissioners that they had helped them in their poverty (Canada 1905-1906: 7). This makes it obvious that no lengthy negotiations and discussions were necessary for making the Fort Albany Indians sign the treaty.

The treaty party left Fort Albany on August 7th by sailboat heading for the mouth of the Moose River which was reached in the evening of the same day. On the 9th of August the commissioners

explained the terms to the Moose Factory Indians who

> expressed their perfect willingness to accede to the terms and conditions. (Canada 1905/1906:8)

From Moose Factory the treaty party continued their journey by canoe and reached New Post on the Abitibi River on August 19th. The way the New Post Indians described by Scott as being "of excellent character and disposition" (Canada 1905/1906:8) can leave no doubt that the treaty party was not held up by lengthy negotiations and discussions. The treaty was therefore concluded on August 21st. When the treaty party reached the HBC post on Lake Abitibi on August 30th there were not many Indians present and the treaty work had to be left unfinished for the year 1905.(Titley 1986:69)

The commissioners returned to Ottawa with the treaty signed by delegates of the bands of Osnaburgh, Fort Hope, Marten Falls, English River, Fort Albany, Moose Factory and New Post. It is remarkable that the Indians signing at the last three HBC posts were much more willing to accept treaty conditions than the ones at Osnaburg, Fort Hope, and Marten Falls who had to be given lengthy explanations and assurances regarding their hunting and fishing rights which the commissioners might not have had the authority to give.

In the conclusion of the commission's treaty report it was pointed out that cession of the land was taken of 90,000 square miles. Land that lies north of Fort Albany, which included Attawapiskat, Fort Severn and Winisk, was considered covered by the treaty negotiations of 1905, as the people hunting north of

Fort Albany were considered band members of the Fort Albany band. Scott especially pointed out that the reserves were usually selected by the commissioners (Canada 1905/1906:9/10), a statement that would reassure Ontario that her interests were kept in mind during the negotiations.

The treaty party of 1906 was the same as that of the previous year except for the addition of Edgar and the absence of Rae and Parkinson. It was to treat with Indians at the HBC posts on Lake Abitibi, Matachewan, Mattagami, Flying Post, Chapleau, New Brunswick House and Long Lake. Most of these posts were close to stations of the CP railway. (Titley 1986:71)

Other than the previous year there were no difficulties reported in negotiations with the Indians. The impression Scott had of the Indians indicate that they were already assimilated due to their living close to white settlements. Their situation was obviously different to that of the Indians living further up north. Scott reports about the Mattagami Indians:

> [They] were well dressed, and appeared to be living comfortably. A degree of <u>unusual</u> (my emphasis) cleanliness was to be observed in their surroundings and habits. They gave a cheerful hearing to the terms of the proposed treaty, which was fully explained to them...They, like other Indians visited, were given an opportunity to ask any questions or to make any remarks they might desire....The Indians held a short conversation among themselves and then announced...that they were fully satisfied with the terms of the treaty, and were prepared to have it signed by representatives of the band. (Canada 1905/1906:14)

Throughout the following negotiations Scott remarked that the Indians were satisfied by the terms of the treaty and that they signed readily. The only amendment that had to be made (orally)

was in Long Lake where the chief expressed his hope that provisions would be made for the sick and destitute. The chief was informed that "the government was always ready to assist those actually (my emphasis) requiring help, but that the Indians must rely as much as possible upon their own exertions for their support." (Canada 1905/1906:16)

Having been so successful, the treaty party was satisfied when they began their return journey on the afternoon of August 10, 1906. By the early 1920's Ottawa began to receive representations from Indians in the areas north of the Albany river, which they (the Indians) considered unceded. By the summer of 1926 another treaty party, again with Duncan Campbell Scott, was ready to embark up North. This time a plane was used. Trout Lake was the only community that was visited in 1929.(Titley 1986:72)

In summer 1930 another trip was necessary to secure the adhesion of Wendigo, Fort Severn and Winisk to treaty #9.(Titley 1986:73) In this adhesion to Treaty #9 reserves were set aside for the following bands: Trout Lake, Sachigo Lake, Wunnumin Lake, Caribou Lake, Sandy Lake Narrows, Fort Severn, Winisk, and Attawapiskat.(Canada 1905/1906:schedule)

The Attawapiskat band, which was first considered part of the Fort Albany Band, was admitted to the treaty in 1930. No negotiations were held with this band, but the band requested to be admitted to the treaty as a band separate from Fort Albany band.

With the adhesion of Treaty #9 in 1929/1930 the negotiations for the James Bay Treaty were completed in the eyes of the government. The reserves were selected by the commissioners "under the agreement with the representative chiefs and Headman of each Band" (Canada 1905/1906:Adhesion to Treaty 9). The governments of Ontario and Canada considered the lands that were covered under the treaty surrendered by the Indians. The newly surrendered lands increased the size of the province of Ontario.

The Treaty Text

The James Bay Treaty - Treaty #9 (1905/06)

The text of the treaty, which was supposed to have been explained to the signing chiefs and headman contains the following details:

Intent; the treaty reads what Canada intents to do with the land:

> The said Indians have been notified and informed by His Majesty's said commission that it is his desire to open for settlement, immigration, travel, mining, lumbering, and such other purposes... (Treaty Text)

Political Organization:

The treaty was signed by the commissioners and by chiefs who had to be appointed for this purpose:

> The Indians ... (are) being requested by His Majesty's commissioners to name certain chiefs and headmen who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be found thereon, and to become responsible to His Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have therefore acknowledged for that purpose the several chiefs and headmen who have subscribed hereto. (Treaty Text)

By this the appointed chiefs were given the authority to speak

and negotiate for the people they were supposed to represent.

The Crown's Negotiators were the commissioners.

Land Title

Treaty #9 contains the sentence that the land is surrendered and defined its borders:

> The said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up the government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His successor for ever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands within the following limits, that is to say: That portions or tract of land lying and being in the province of Ontario, bounded on the south by the height of land and the northern boundaries of the territory ceded by the Robinson-Superior Treaty of 1850, and bounded on the east and north by the boundaries of the said province of Ontario as defined by law ... (Treaty Text)

To Hunting and Fishing Rights the treaty confirms that

> they (the Indians) shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretoforth described ... (Treaty Text)

However, these rights are restricted as they are

> ...subjects to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country, acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes. (Treaty Text)

This means that hunting, trapping or fishing rights can be taken away any time (from time to time) when the government sees fit to use the land for other purposes that are in the interest of the non-Native population. By this, the said Indians' subsistence can be taken away. The way of life of the Indians is not

protected by the text of the treaty, and this might not have been interpreted to those Indians who were concerned about their hunting and fishing rights.

The size of Reserves were determined by heads in the families:

> And His Majesty the King hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for each band, the same not to exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger and smaller families

and they had to be chosen in agreement between the commissioners and the chiefs and headmen.

Administration of the reserves was to be managed by Indian Agents:

> the said reserves when confirmed shall be held and administered by His Majesty for the benefit of the Indians free of all claims, liens, or trusts by Ontario. (Treaty Text)

The sale of reserve land cannot be done by Indians, reserve land can only be sold by the government.

Gratuities and annuities were also regulated in the treaty text with $8.00 per head as the first payment and $4.00 per head for every following year (Treaty Text) which was interpreted as gift in exchange for

> extinguishment of all their (the Indians) past claims. (Treaty Text)

For education it was agreed that the federal government (His Majesty) agrees:

> ...to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians, and also to provide such school buildings and educational equipment as may be seen advisable to His Majesty's government of Canada. (Treaty Text)

The treaty also binds the Indians to Canadian Law:

> They (the Indians) promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law ... and that they will assist the officers of His Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the law in force in the country so ceded. (Treaty Text)

Adhesion to Treaty # 9 (1929/30)

The adhesion refers to treaty #9 in the conditions discussed above. The boundaries of the treaty are more precisely defined including the coasts of Hudson and James Bay and the border of the province to Manitoulin (Treaty Text). The wording

> do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada ... (Treaty Text)

is part of the wording to the adhesion of the treaty. All other parts discussed above are referred

> in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty, (Treaty text)

to the original Treaty of 1905.

Why did the Government seek Treaty?

Considering the economic development at that time it is obvious why both federal and provincial government were in favour of a treaty with the Natives living in the area. Typically, the government sought treaty *after* development, settlement and surveying of the country had already started. Railway construction was well under way and some pulp and mining companies had already started their operations prior to the

surrender of the land by the Indians. The fact that the Indians were approaching the government for a treaty put pressure on the government because there was a danger that by increasing contact with the white population who invaded the land the Indians would be aware what they will lose and might "make extra demands." (Morrison 1986: 29) which could mean that the treaty becomes costly. What the government was seeking was a treaty with similar conditions as in the treaty of the year 1850 (Morrison 1986:29). In fact, the government was even seeking a less costly solution by excluding parts of other treaties like the provisions made for farming equipment and hunting and fishing technology that was promised to the Indians in Treaty # 3 and 8. There was also no promise made for a 'medical chest', which is interpreted as free medical care in Treaty #6. (Titley 1986: 66) It seems that the government used the situation that many Indian bands were in, threatened by starvation and disease, against the bands as they would agree to any conditions as long as they could hope for immediate relief.

Another factor that certainly played a role in the decision of the government was to assure the way for railway lines that still were to be built "by the extinction of all aboriginal rights in the territory to be exploited." (Morrison 1986: 29) on top of the fact that great mineral, hydroelectric , logging and farming had been discovered before 1905. After 1891 when the area had been surveyed already, Ontario established its own Bureau of Mines (Long 1978: iii) which indicates that minerals

had been discovered which the province intended to exploit. The land had already been taken by non-Natives even before a treaty was 'negotiated' can be easily read in the report of the treaty commission which also demonstrates that the already advancing civilization created the necessity to make treaty with the Indians whose land was exploited:

> As we ascended the Abitibi evidences of approaching civilization and of the activity in railway construction and surveying which had been rendered the making of the treaty necessary (my emphasis), were constantly met. Surveying parties of the Transcontinental railway, the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario railway and Ontario township surveyors were constantly met with. (Canada 1905-1906: 9)

I want to point out that these observations were made by the commission when they were on their way to 'negotiate' a treaty with the Abitibi band. The intentions of the governments are obvious. Indian title had to be extinguished as fast and as uncostly as possible. The role the Indians were to play in the 'negotiations' was interpreted by Duncan Scott:

> What could they grasp of the pronouncement on the the Indian tenure which had been delivered by the law lords of the Crown, what of the elaborate negotiations between a dominion and a province which had made a treaty possible, what of the sense of traditional policy which brooded over the whole? Nothing. So there was no basis for argument. The simple facts had to be stated and the parental idea developed that the King is the great father of the Indians, watchful over their interests, and ever compassionate. (Scott 1947: 115)

As is often the case in relations between Indians and white men, the assumption is made that we, the Indians, do not know ourselves what is good for us. We have to depend on the

compassion of the great father. This also shows how 'serious' negotiations with the Indians were fake.

What the Natives wanted by signing the Treaty

As in the motives of the government for seeking treaty the approaching 'civilization' played a role in the Indians' petition for a treaty, yet in this case for the opposite reason. The Indians were alarmed by the approaching civilization and what it brought with it. This was expressed in a letter by J.A. Macrae to Clifford Sifton, who was at the time the inspector for Indian Agencies and reserves:

> These Indians had come from considerable distances and asked what the Government proposed to do about the rights of the Indians residing between James Bay and the Great Lakes who had not been treated with by the Honourable Mr. Robinson (in 1850) saying that they heard that railroads were projected through their country, and that mines, prospectors, and surveyors were beginning to pass through it in such largely increased numbers that the game was disturbed, interference with their means of livelihood had commenced, and their rights were being trespassed upon. (Morrison 1986: 14) [10]

What is expressed here is that the Indians' motive for seeking treaty was to protect their ways of life that would be endangered if civilization kept advancing. What the Indians ultimately wanted was that the advance of white people into their hunting territories be stopped; that their rights be asserted, not extinguished.

The concerns about their ways of life were frequently

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[10] as written in a letter from Macrae to Sifton, June 3 1901, PAC, RG 10 vol. 3033, file 235, 225 -1

presented to the commissioners during the treaty negotiations, especially from those bands who still lived away from white settlements. These bands of Osnaburg, Fort Hope and Marten Falls were, as discussed earlier in this chapter, particularly anxious to get their hunting and fishing rights confirmed. The fact that they still signed the treaty, although in the text of the treaty hunting and fishing rights were only confirmed as long as the region was not opened for development, makes me suppose that the explanations of the commissioners were not entirely truthful and were given in a way that the Indians could believe their rights would be protected by the treaty.

The intentions of those bands living more to the south and being overrun by the development already might have been different. Their willingness to accept the treaty readily, as it was frequently expressed in the commissioners' report, indicates that they had largely been restricted in their traditional ways already. They might have gained more by a treaty than their northern brothers and sisters, because the loss of their lands had been a fact already when the treaty was negotiated.

Referring to the enthusiastic description of the Mattagami Indians by the commission I would also conclude that the way of life of the more southern Indians had widely changed by assimilation already.

The same can be concluded for the Fort Albany and Moose Factory band who had lived close to HBC posts and, as in the case of Fort Albany, were influenced by the education of an existing

school which was run by the grey nuns. They were affected by the breakdown of the fur trade much more than their brothers living further away from the trading posts and who were not so dependent on trading food at the post because they still lived a traditional life.

Thus the intention the Natives had for seeking or accepting treaty were different. The people who still lived off the land certainly wanted to make sure that this way of life be protected. The more southern bands were more dependent on assistance from the government which they hoped to receive when they signed a treaty. This becomes particularly obvious in the case of the Long Lake band whose chief had asked for medical assistance. I do have my doubts that either of the expectation was met.

How Treaties are interpreted by Courts

Recent court cases interpreted treaties in favour of the Indians as the weaker party. In Nowegijick vs the Queen (1983) it was stated that

> treaties and statutes relating to Indians should be liberally constructed and doubtful expressions resolved in favour of the Indians.
> (Supreme Court of Canada, 1983)

In the case George Henry Howard vs the Queen (1993) it was ruled that fishing rights upon the Otonabee River (outside the reserve) were not extinguished by the treaties of 1818 and 1923.

In the case Regina vs Cooper (19..) it was ruled that

> any ambiguity must be construed in favour of the exploited Chiefs.

As far back as 1832 courts ruled that treaties have to be interpreted according to their spirit as in the U.S. case Worchester vs Georgia (1832) where the ruling was:

> The language used in treaties with Indians should never be construed to their prejudice.
> If words be made use of, which are susceptible of a more extended meaning than their plain import, as connected with the tenor of the treaty, they should be considered as used only in the latter sense.
> (United States Supreme Court, 1832)

An example of a ruling in favour of what the Indians understand as *Spirit of the Treaty*, which includes the oral promises given to them, is the case Regina vs White and Bob:

> It is necessary to point out that on numerous occasions in modern days, rights under what were entered into with Indians as solemn engagements, although completed with what now would be considered informality, have been whittled away on the excuse that they do not comply with present day formal requirements and with the rules of interpretations applicable to transactions between people who must be taken in the light of advanced civilization to be of equal status. Reliance on instances where this has been done is merely to compound injustice without real justification at law.
> (Supreme Court of Canada, 1964)

The above case also maintains that the Indians the treaty was made with have to be seen as equal partners, which would mean that the Indian Nations were recognized as independent Nations. This is confirmed by the following ruling. Referring to earlier cases the Supreme Court interpreted general rules of Interpretation of Indian Treaties as follows:

(a) Historical evidence is to be assessed and interpreted in light of modern understandings of the customs of our original people, and in light of the law's growing sensitivity to native rights.

(b) Treaties and statutes relating to Indians should be liberally construed and uncertainties resolved in favour of

the Indians.

(c) Indian treaties must be construed, not according to the technical meaning of their words, but in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by the Indians.

(d) In approaching the terms of a treaty, the honour of the Crown is always involved and no appearance of sharp dealing should be sanctioned.

(e) Cases decided after 1982 must take into account the intent and scope of section 35 of the Constitutional Act of 1982, the rules of construction relating to that section and the fiduciary relationship between the Crown and the Indians which finds expression in it.
(Supreme Court of Canada 1993: 19/20)

These regulations were the basis for the ruling that the extinguishment of fishing rights in the treaty of 1923 was not relevant because the Indians had no legal advice that would have explained a *basket clause* that contained the extinguishment clause. This interpretation would leave a lot of room for interpretations in favour of the bands who signed the treaty in 1905/06 and 1929/30.

In particular, the explanations given in the treaty report by the commissioners of how the chiefs that doubted the good intentions of the government were assured their hunting and fishing rights could be the basis for nullifying the part of the treaty that mentions that these rights can be extinct when development asks for it (see discussion of treaty text). On the grounds of uncertainties being resolved in favour of the Indians (section (b) above) and the understanding of the treaty by the Indians (section (c) above) it could be ruled that the rights of the Indians were never extinguished because of oral confirmation by the commissioners that these rights would not be touched. It

would not matter that the treaty text reads different. Proof can be found in the treaty report of the commission that reads that the chief's concern in regards to giving up hunting rights "were groundless, as the present manner of making their livelihood would in no way (my emphasis) be interfered with" (Canada 1905/1906: 4). The Indians were clearly left with the impression that their rights were not touched and would not be touched in the future. Only then did they sign the treaty.

What the Treaty means to me - A Conclusion

In the interpretation of the treaty I would even go further than the recommendations of the Supreme Court of Canada. I am from Attawapiskat, and according to the treaty report, a treaty was never negotiated with that band. I would question the legality of the treaty altogether, not only for Attawapiskat, basing my conclusions on the following:

(1) A treaty in my understanding is an agreement between Nations. Nations define themselves. One Nation cannot interpret membership of the other Nation's population. What should have been discussed with the Indians before negotiating the treaty was which families the bands themselves considered members of their Nation. In the case of treaty #9, bands were created by the commissioners who had chiefs and headmen appointed among the people present at the location of treaty signing. A possibly existing political structure was completely ignored. The practice of creating political structure was even anchored in the

treaty itself with the phrase that chiefs and headmen be named

> ...who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct [such] negotiations and sign any treaty...(Treaty text).

Who belonged to the band of the chief appointed in this way and which land was occupied by them was obviously determined by the treaty commission. Only in this way can I interpret the fact that Attawapiskat people were considered members of the Albany band. Yet, this could also have been born out of convenience. The commission might have known that

> Roman Catholic Attawapiskat Indians are led by Katchang who is not anxious for government control. (HBC Arch. B155/b/2).

This quote is from internal correspondence between Hudson's Bay officials in 1902. The HBC helped the government in the treaty making and most probably informed the commission which Indians were willing to make treaty. If there was trouble expected from one band, why not ignore that band and have a chief from a willing band sign for them?

(2) The locations where treaty signing took place were HBC trading posts and the bands present were usually people who lived close by. It is not clear if all people living on the land further away from these posts and whose land was signed away by the people present were represented. It could well be that many bands found out later that they had lost title to the land they lived on and from, by a treaty that was signed for them by somebody else. In order to make a fair treaty the government could have investigated the political structure of the region and then signed treaties with the actual chiefs, not with chiefs that

were appointed by the people who came to the negotiations.

(3) The treaty was altogether unfair. There was no room for negotiations between Indians and commission. The treaty conditions had been negotiated prior to treaty negotiations between province and Dominion. The commission merely pushed through what was determined before. That is why John Long (1990) calls the outcome of the treaty an "acquisition of land, not a voluntary surrender". (Long 1990:2) The Indians had no input whatsoever. They only had to agree to the terms negotiated between province and Dominion. The commission never negotiated with the Indians. If some chiefs had concerns, as they did have, they were reassured with what I call plain lies to make them sign the treaty. The text of the treaty was thus different from the oral promises made. That seemed not to matter, however, because first of all the Indians could not read what they signed and second, as Scott put it later, the relations between government and Indians were that of a father to his children. Of course, a father knows what is good for his children and he would never negotiate this with them, at least not in *white* society of the early twentieth century.

The treaty was also unfair in the sense that it was only meant to legalize facts that had already been created. Indian country had already been invaded by white adventurers (or entrepreneurs as they are frequently called). A fair share for the Indians was never intended. All the treaty was supposed to achieve was the extinguishment of Indian title.

The only positive aspect I can interpret from the treaty is that by making treaty with the people of our region the government recognized our rights to the land. This could be the legal basis for new negotiations and land-claims. The chance for new negotiations could derive from the difference between spirit and intent of the treaty. According to the recommendations of the Supreme Court in the Howard Case, treaties have to be interpreted in the way as Indian people who signed them would have understood them. There is some written evidence that some chiefs only signed because they were promised something that was not in the text of the treaty, and the false promises were justified later as having been the only way to make the chiefs sign.

Based on this positive aspect of our rights on the land being recognized I have researched how the treaty was seen by the Cree people of Attawapiskat (as described in the following chapters), in particular if the people believed that they had surrendered their land and what rights to the land they think they still have. It will be , so to speak, an addition to the *common* concept of treaty interpretations (common here is used as mainstream) in order to shed some light into the perception of the treaty by *the other side*, here the Native side, in particular that of the Attawapiskat First Nation. The people I interviewed on this matter were our elders because they still have a memory of the treaty making or a post-memory through the experience of their parents and grand-parents.

CHAPTER 3

The Modern Political Basis -

How Native Political Organizations of the Treaty #9 Region Interpret the Treaty

The Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)

The Nishnawbe Aski Nation, seated in Thunder Bay Ontario, represents Cree, Ojibway, and Oji-Cree bands in the treaty No 9 and treaty No 3 regions in Northern Ontario. Beside some official written documents saying where NAN stands regarding the question of what was given up or gained by signing the treaty, there was a presentation on this issue during the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation Treaty Conference in Timmins, January 30 to February 1, 1996. I will base my analysis of NAN's point of view on this presentation, on the elders' meeting the night before the presentation (January 30), which I attended, and on the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation paper "Treaty Rights and Health" (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1991).

Spirit and Intent of the Treaty

NAN makes a clear statement about the intent of the treaty and what the political organization bases its interpretation of the treaty on:

> The Nishnawbe-Aski Nation's Treaty position is derived from our Elders' understanding of the treaty process. It is the belief of our Elders, as handed down to them from their ancestors that the Nishnawbe-Aski First Nations agreed to a sharing and cooperative relationship with the two governments. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

This statement does not contain any mentioning of land having been surrendered, but talks about a sharing relationship with the two levels of government. The spirit of the treaty will be interpreted on the basis of the elders' memory of treaty making in 1905/06 and the Adhesion in 1929/30.

The basis for the statement of not having surrendered any land, that land surrender was neither intent nor spirit of the treaty are interviews of elders in NAN territory conducted in 1974 and 1992. The elders interviewed interpreted why the treaty was signed by their leaders:

> I can clearly remember when the treaty was signed. We were promised assistance and protection from the government for as long as the sun shines and rivers flow. We were promised that our traditional activities would not be regulated from us. (elder Jimmy McKay, age 80, interviewed 1974 at Bear Skin Lake)
> (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

Elder Rev. Eliezer Beardy from Muskrat Dam, interviewed on Treaty Day in 1974, age 65, referred to the 1929/30 adhesion at Big Trout Lake with the following statement:

> This is what they said. That the government was now taking us as his own children and he told us about this promise, that as long as the sun shines that he would think of his promise and that as long as the rivers flow his promise would be carried. For certain we know that the biggest promise he made was to have the sick go, those that are sick to go to the hospital, that the government would pay for them and take care of them. They also said that they would allow the children to attend school in the future.
> (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

Elder Moses Fidler from Muskrat Dam, age 61 (in 1974) referring to the same treaty states:

> When the representatives came to our village in Big Trout Lake to sign the Treaty with our leaders, we were promised that our traditional activities would be protected. They did not say that we would be regulated in the future.
> We were promised that our land and people would be protected..... The Treaty protects our God given right in this land. We were never informed that the laws and regulations would be passed by the government to rule over us.
> (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

What Nishnawbwe-Aski Nation concludes from these statements and the treaty text (discussed in the previous chapter) is:

> The First Nations were promised by the Commissioners representing Canada and Ontario at the time of signing that they would continue to have access to their traditional lands and harvesting rights, to continue to live as their forefathers had done.
>
> The harvesting clause assured continuing rights.
>
> Reserves are viewed as centres where certain federal/ provincial services may be accessed on a convenient basis.
>
> Promises to protect the well being of the First Nations were made verbally and also in the written document.
>
> Medical: the Commissioners were accompanied by a Doctor who administered to the First Nations throughout the treaty making process, both in 1905 and in 1929.
>
> The federal and provincial governments agreed to meet the educational needs of the First Nations on a flexible basis.
> (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

What the First Nations get by the treaty is thus:

> Continuous use of their land in a traditional way,
>
> Protection of their traditional way of life,
>
> Free medical treatment and education and access to other

social services.

The question remains what the benefits are for, or what the Native people gave in return for receiving these benefits, which, in the treaty text, is usually interpreted as the surrender of land and title to it. NAN has a firm stand in this question, stating that

> the First Nation signatories to Treaty 9 did not believe that their rights to their traditional territories were to be abolished by the Treaty. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

This statement is based on elders' statements on the intent of the treaty on the side of the Indians. Elder Jowin Quequish from the Windigo Tribal Council told the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples at a hearing at Sioux Lookout on December 1, 1992:

> The reason we signed was because we wanted to have the non-Native people who came into our society to be able to stay within the land, but not giving up land and resources. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

This statement emphasizes the sharing of the land the Native Nations are living on, rather than surrender.

Elder Sarah Beardy from Muskrat Dam interviewed on treaty day in 1974 (age 67) says about the annuity payments:

> The Indians never surrendered the land. Annuity payments of four dollars represented a Treaty of friendship and trust. We were never told that our right to rule our people and land would be taken from us. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

Why land was never surrendered was explained by Frank McKay from Cat Lake First Nation to the Royal Commission on December 2, 1992:

> Our Elders tell us that the agreement was to share the land with the newcomers, not to surrender it for a handful of beads and a few scraps of land. It is inconsistent with our long history and our fundamental philosophy to suggest that our grandfathers would trade the birthright of their unborn grandchildren for a few trade goods and confines of a reserve on some useless piece of land. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

To an Indian person it does not make any sense to give away land because s/he does not own the land in the first place. The living generations are rather taking care of the land for the future generations. The interpretation of the treaty as surrender of land is not a Native interpretation. There is mention of the purpose of the treaty from the white people's point of view in the treaty text, as in the example with Chief Moonias (Port Hope, 1905) who had asked for an explanation:

> "Father Fafard thereupon explained to him the nature of the Treaty, and that by it the Indians were giving their faith and allegiance to the King, and for giving up title to a large tract of land of which they could make no use, they received benefits that served to balance anything that they (the Indians) were giving". (Treaty Text)

However, Chief Moonias' understanding of what is said there was certainly different from how the commissioners would have interpreted it. There are two issues where the interpretation of this statement would differ:

On the one hand the interpretation of title to the land is different from the Native point of view. Chief Moonias certainly believed, as the elders still interpret this part, that land cannot be owned. Title to the land will be interpreted as taking care of the land. If that is shared, there is trust that the newcomers will take care of the land as well.

On the other hand the report says that only land that is of no use for the Indians will be 'given up'.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, in the opinion of NAN, based on what the elders said, land cannot be 'given up'. The interpretation of this event is that land is shared.

The interpretation by NAN of the intent and spirit of the treaty is that the Indian people signing the treaty in 1905/6 and 1929/30 were hoping to be protected against destruction of their way of life. Also, the verbal promises and surrounding documentation to the Treaty "indicate that the First Nations were lead to believe that they may expect social services" (NAN 1996). In NAN's interpretation of the intent and spirit of the treaty, land was never surrendered.

NAN analyzes how in their opinion the treaty has to be implemented, pointing out that a mere reliance on the wording would be an incorrect interpretation:

> Implementation must proceed on the basis of Spirit & Intent. ... The Aide Memoire on Treaties as an example is limited, relying strictly on the wording. A strict reliance on the wording of the written document is an incorrect interpretation that denies Spirit & Intent. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996).

The emphasis is laid on the spirit and intent of the treaty seen through the eyes of the Indian Nations which entered into the treaty with the governments of Canada. Contrary to the interpretation that treaties extinguished the First Nations rights to their traditional lands, NAN follows a definition by the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs stating that

> Modern treaties must be holistic in character, recognizing the interconnectedness and inseparability of our Aboriginal Title and Rights.
> (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 1990:22/23)

Any negotiations with the government have to be seen in this light, that Aboriginal title and rights have to be recognized and are not touched by the treaty. In the question of the interpretation of land *surrender* the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation follows a definition expressed by the following statement of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs:

> [The Chiefs] sought and received guarantees from the Crown (or so they thought) respecting a broad, connected range of rights, benefits and services in exchange for sharing their territories with the white settlers and their settler governments.
> (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 1990:19/20)

In the definition of Aboriginal political organisations, land was never surrendered. The elders who still remember the treaty reported on the spirit of the treaty, as interpreted by the chiefs who signed it, that land was never surrendered but shared. NAN clearly takes a position in which the treaties in its territory (treaty No 9 and treaty No 3) are interpreted as friendship treaties between the Indian Nations and the governments of Canada, emphasising the rights to access to social services (as promised in the treaty negotiations) and the never extinguished title to the traditional territories of the First Nations. The debt for receiving social services by the governments of Canada is paid by sharing the land with the newcomers.

Land under Water - A legal Case about a forgotten Clause

In order to make the government listen to the First Nations' concerns, as emphasized by Deputy Grand Chief Brian Davey (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996), NAN also takes another path in the political and legal relations to the government by taking the two governments to court. The legal case NAN will bring forward refers to the surrender of "all tracts of land and land covered by water" (Treaty No 9, Adhesion) which is included in all treaties, including the adhesion for Treaty No 9, but is not mentioned in full in the 1905/06 Treaty No 9 text which reads:

> That portion or tract of land lying and being in the Province of Ontario, bounded ... (Canada 1905/06)

The clause of "land covered by water", included in the Adhesion of the treaty, was forgotten in the 1905/06 treaty text. This forgotten clause about the land under water will be the basis of the legal case Nishnawbe-Aski Nation is bringing forth against the two Governments of Ontario and Canada, reclaiming all the lands under water, including the islands in the water, as these lands were not specifically included in the surrender.

Before going ahead with the official court case, the NAN officials (Grand Chief and Deputy Grand Chief) sought advice and agreement with the elders of NAN territories who were invited to the Treaty Conference (NAN 1996, January 30, 19:00).
Many of the elders first did not understand what the legal case against the two governments was all about, due to their own interpretation of the treaty which did not contain any surrender of land at all. The confusion about certain concepts, like

surrender of land is expressed in the response of elder Jemima Morris of Big Trout Lake (translated from Oji-Cree):

> I do not understand what the people signed at that time. I could witness a treaty signing. The White Man did not give a response to what the people wanted to talk about. My father was a translator. He found it very difficult to translate. It was difficult to translate (understand) what the commissioners wanted. I had a hard time believing what was discussed in today's meeting. The government used us and misuses the words of the First Nations.
> The chief of our Nation did not sign the treaty. I do not know who put the 'X' there.
> (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

This response to the legal case NAN wants to file reflects the shock of some elders about the treaty interpretation by white authorities. It also reflects the deep belief that land was never surrendered and the shock that part of it would now have to be reclaimed by a law-suit against the government. The last remark that the chief did not sign the treaty even questions the legality of the treaty.

The response of the elders to the Grand Chief's quest for advice for this legal case can be summarized with the words of Attawapiskat Councillor Greg Koostachin who commented on the discussion with the elders:

> The people who were talking today were young at that time, but they know what was said.
> The land was mentioned, the water was mentioned. When the treaty was signed, we surrendered the land and what was available. <u>At least, that's how it is interpreted.</u>
> The people were not sure what it meant when they were asked to surrender their land. Maybe it is time for us to now put things together. It is worth a try. But we have to have something together first before we approach the court. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

The chiefs present at the elders' meeting interpreted this

statement as a positive response to the question if they should go ahead with their court case. The next day a resolution was passed containing that Nishnawbe-Aski Nation would file a legal case against the two governments, reclaiming land under water which was not surrendered according to the treaty text of Treaty No 9.

The Attawapiskat councillor's summary of the elders' statements, however, also contains some concern about the legal tactics NAN is taking with this court case. He indicates, as the elders quoted in the previous paragraph, that the concept of land *surrender* is an interpretation (by white authorities) and it was not understood by the signing chiefs in this interpretation. Koostachin is also asking that this concept has to be cleared when he indicates that "we have to have something together first before we approach the court". The elders mentioning during the discussion that land was never surrendered, so why would we have to go to court to claim it back, were assured by Deputy Grand Chief Brian Davey that Nishnawbe-Aski Nation will not alter their approach towards the treaty by this court case. The overall interpretation of the treaty by Nishnawbe-Aski Nation would still be that land was never surrendered. (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation 1996)

The Mushkegowuk Council

The Mushkegowuk Council, seated in Moose Factory, is the tribal council of the Mushkego Cree with presently seven members

consisting of the

> Attawapiskat First Nation, Kashetchewan First Nation, Fort Albany First Nation, Moose Cree First Nation, New Post First Nation, Missanabie Cree First Nation and Chapleau Cree First Nation. (Omushkego Arrow March 1996)

In the late 1980's the tribal council took over the responsibilities of the Department of Indian Affairs District Office in Moose Factory. Thus, the structure and function of Mushkegowuk Council appeared "to be limited to administrative and program development/delivery work with its member communities". (Rickard 1994:3) To change this mere administrative into a more political representation, Mushkegowuk Council held "a workshop on the treaty process during their 9th Annual Assembly of Mushkegowuk Council in Kashechewan Cree Nation Territory on October 24-27, 1994". (Rickard 1994:1) My interpretation on the Council's point of view on the treaty will be based on the report on this workshop by Andy Rickard (November 1994) and on his paper on "Self Government and Treaty Process Implementation Initiatives" (Rickard (2) 1994)

How the Treaty is seen - Spirit and Intent

The above mentioned workshop had the purpose to

> set up our own organization system [within the Mushkegowuk Council] which would be used to fight for the implementation of our treaty rights under the 1905-06 James Bay Treaty with Ontario and Canada. (Rickard (2)1994:3)

This quote already assumes that, in the opinion of Mushkegowuk Council, treaty rights are not implemented yet, or, in other words, that the interpretation of the treaty is different from

the official, government interpretation of it.

The recommendations worked out in the treaty workshop to clear the point of view on the treaty by the Council was to use

> historical background and an outline of development and implementation initiatives of self-government and treaty process of Mushkegowuk Cree Nations with fact sheets, charts and diagrams. (Rickard 1994:4)

In these fact sheets, the facts were presented as seen by the Mushkegowuk Cree based on Cree relations to the land and Cree interpretations on land title and resources. The most important questions asked are:

> How did Ontario obtain our land and resources and how did it take away our Aboriginal title? (Rickard (2) 1994:1)

In the feeling of the Mushkego Cree the obtaining of land by way of a treaty and in the understanding of the 'white' government is impossible because

> our sacred traditions only allowed us to hand down the use of our traditional land and resources to our children and their children in the future. (Rickard(2) 1994:2)

The basis for negotiations with the governments of Ontario and Canada would be this interpretation of land ownership and the implementation of the treaty agreements

> as understood by our people in 1905-06, and as we understand our treaty today. (Rickard(2) 1994:2)

The historical process of treaty making from the point of view of Mushkegowuk Council is presented in a fact sheet with the subject matter of the treaty,

> James Bay Treaty#9 signed in 1905-06 between Ontario, Canada and Mushkegowuk Cree Nations for peace and friendly relations with white people within Canada and Ontario. (Rickard(2) 1994:6),

the process, showing that in 1904, Ontario and Canada officials met to plan how they would negotiate a treaty with the Mushkegowuk Cree and other nations

> so that our land and resources could be taken away for forestry and mining developments through the guise of economic development and employment opportunity purposes. (Rickard(2) 1994:6),

and the current status that

> today we are told that we gave up our lands, water, resources and environment without any rights to such life sustaining elements of our country. (Rickard(2) 1994:6)

In the interpretation of Mushkegowuk Council the treaty is seen as a friendship treaty between the Mushkegowuk Cree and the two governments (provincial and federal). However, the intention of the two governments were different, as they met before the treaty was signed, outlining the treaty contents in a way that the "legal theft of our lands and resources" (Rickard(2) 1994:6) could begin. The current status is completely based on the interpretation of the treaty by the 'white' governments, yet, the Mushkegowuk Council makes clear that this interpretation is not the one the Council would hold up. The Council will interpret the treaty on the basis of the spirit and intent of the treaties as seen by the Native people who signed it, so that

> the promises made to our ancestors may be honoured as we understand them today. (Rickard 1994:6)

To find out the spirit and intent of the treaty, the Council suggests to

> take oral affidavit statements from our elders who may have heard the stories of their own elders, who may have witnessed the signing of Treaty#9 that may be used in

some court challenges. (Rickard 1994:6)

Rickard (1994) refers to promises made by the treaty commission in 1905/06 in the treaty report when he says that

> in Moose Factory treaty promises were specifically made for medical and education services. At Mishkeegogamang (formerly Osnaburgh First Nation), commitments were also made that hunting and fishing rights were understood to be retained by our people throughout their traditional territories. (Rickard(2) 1994:1)

What Rickard refers to is the commissioners' report of the treaty which reads for Moose Factory that

> that one great advantage the Indians hoped to derive from the treaty was the establishment of schools wherein their children might receive an education. George Teppaise said that they were thankful that the King had remembered them, and that the Indians were to receive money, which was very much needed by many who were poor and sick. (Treaty text)

In Osnaburgh, Missabay, the recognized chief of the band expressed the fears of the Indians that

> if they sign the treaty, they would be compelled to reside upon the reserve to be set apart from them, and would be deprived of the fishing and hunting privileges which they now enjoy. (Treaty text)

He was reassured by the treaty commission that

> their fears in both these matters were groundless, as their present manner of making their livelihood would in no way be interfered with. (Treaty text)

It is important to note here that, according to the report of the treaty commission, the Indians only signed the treaty because of the above reassurance.

This reference to the treaty text also shows that the Mushkegowuk Council wants to hold on to and enforce the promises made in the treaty. The question again is, what, if they did not

surrender their land, the Natives gave in return for the services that were promised them from the government.

Similar to the interpretation of sharing of land and resources by Nishnawbwe Aski Nation, Mushkegowuk Council's point of view is that the treaty was a friendship treaty between the Natives and the two governments. From the point of view of the Natives it did not contain a surrender of land, but rather a sharing of land, and, as seen in the example of Osnaburgh, it was only signed if it was guaranteed that the Indians could still pursue their way of life. Thus, the Indians neither surrendered their land, nor did they agree to give up their culture or to be integrated/assimilated into a different society.

The Mushkego Crees' understanding of the treaty could best be explained with the interpretation of a written address by Fort Albany Cree to the treaty commission:

> From our hearts we thank thee, very much, and pray for thee, O Great Chief, that thou hast pitied us and given us temporal help. We are poor and weak. He (the Great Chief) has taken us over, here in our own country, through you (his servants). ... Thou hast helped us in our poverty..... (Treaty text)

This address is written into the commissioners' report on the treaty making in 1905/06 (James Bay Treaty) and might have been misinterpreted in its meaning. There are, however, two passages that explain the point of view of the Mushkegowuk council today, and which express the understanding of the treaty signing in the context of our own culture:

First, the address points out that the Great Chief (the government) "has taken us over, here <u>in our own country</u>" , and

secondly, that the treaty commission has "helped us in our poverty".

It is significant that the Fort Albany Indians emphasize that the help they receive from the government is received in their own country. This alone is a strong indicator that they never intended to give up their land.

The position of Mushkegowuk Council that the promises made in the treaty have to be kept nevertheless, even though the Indians did not surrender the land, as it is written in the treaty text, but was not comprehended by the Indians who signed it, can also be explained by our cultural practice, which would accept help from a stronger party without the condition of paying back that debt. John Long (1993) discusses this cultural trait of the Cree with the anthropologist Regina Flannery who says:

> To the Cree, a generous person was one who shared, especially food, with relatives, the elderly and those in need and did so without expectation of any tangible return.... Consequently, when the promises were made to look after the people and help them, they believed the Crown to be generous as they understood "generosity". It seems evident that they had no notion that they were giving up their land in return for what they were promised.... (Long 1993:42)

Apart from the sharing of land that was expressed by most of the signatories of the treaty, and the understanding that the treaty was signed for friendship, this interpretation alone would justify the acceptance of the help the government promised to the Indians in the treaty.

The above discussion explains clearly the point of view of the Mushkegowuk Council towards the intent and spirit of the

treaty, which, in the understanding of the Cree themselves, is distinctly different from the interpretation by the two governments who were negotiating the treaty with the Cree people. Although the treaty text reads that the Indians surrendered their lands, this fact is not accepted by the Council based on the intent of the Native signatories who were never explained the concepts the government was basing their negotiations on (surrender of land, land title etc.). None of the Native signatories could read the treaty they signed, and they had to rely on the words told to them. Their fear of being confined to the reserve land and by this surrendering their lands were, as shown in the example of Osnaburgh, dispelled by the promise that they would not give up their land. Thus, the spirit and intent of the treaty mean, as opposed to the treaty text, that land was never surrendered. The spirit and intent of the treaty was, in the opinion of Mushkegowuk Council, never implemented and therefore they, the Council, see their first priority in the dealing with the governments "to implement the spirit and intent of Treaty#9 promises as we understand them". (Rickard(2) 1994:4)

Government Relations - Aboriginal Title and Rights

The point of view of the Mushkegowuk Council on their relations to the two governments, in particular with the provincial government of Ontario, derives from the understanding of the treaty as a tri-lateral treaty, a treaty between Ontario, Canada and the Mushkego-Cree people (Rickard(2) 1994:3). This

means first of all that the Mushkego-Cree people are seen as equal partners, as a third government in the treaty who have equal rights and responsibilities. The requirements for the Council in the future dealings with the government are presented as

> to take a stand to persuade and convince the Ontario and Canada Governments that we have a tripartite treaty that must be respected and implemented as we understand it today. Anything less would be sacrilegious. (Rickard(2) 1994:6)

The indication to the sacrilege and the understanding of the treaty refers to the sacred traditions that

> only allowed us to hand down the use of our traditional lands and resources to our children and their children of the future. (Rickard(2) 1994:2)

The basis for every dealing with the two governments is thus that land was never surrendered because, according to Cree traditions, a surrender of land is not possible.

In reference to the often quoted mere federal responsibility towards Indians Mushkegowuk Council states that

> since the three parties were involved in the signing of Treaty#9 (Ontario, Canada and our people), each party has a major responsibility in keeping the conditions of the intent and spirit of our treaty, a trustee role. This means that Canada is not the only government who has a trustee role.... ...it is clear that since Ontario is part of the treaty, it has certain trust responsibilities as well. If this is so, Ontario can be legitimately challenged to provide our people various program and community services. (Rickard(2) 1994:2)

This means that the promises made to our people by the treaty commission who negotiated it is also binding for the provincial government, as they were part of the treaty making. This

particular case is different from the other treaties with Indians in Canada which were negotiated only between the Crown (the federal government) and the Indians.

Like Nishnawbe Aski Nation, Mushkegowuk Council is aware of the 'land under water'-clause which is not included in the 1905/06 treaty. The Council is, however, not considering a legal case in which they would reclaim this particular part of the land. Yet, it is mentioned that

> Since no reference was made on water rights or the surrender of such rights in the 1905-06 Treaty#9, we have some very serious issues to raise with Ontario, concerning the past and continued exploitive use of our river systems by Ontario Hydro. (Rickard(2) 1994:1)

The major concern of Mushkegowuk Council in regards to Treaty #9 is, however, the interpretation of the treaty and the basis of new negotiations, which would be that the Aboriginal title was never surrendered. The issues that need to be dealt with are identified as

> **Water Rights** of Mushkegowuk Cree Nations. This item will be a treaty challenge.
>
> **Aboriginal Title** and how it was supposedly relinquished to Ontario and Canada. Again this is a treaty challenge as above.
>
> **Fiduciary (Trust) Responsibility** of the signatories of Treaty #9 (our people, Canada and Ontario).
>
> **Validity of Treaty #9 Agreements** are always compared under the whiteman's legal system which always sides with our non-aboriginal brother. It is now time to assert our own aboriginal laws to reinforce the intent and spirit of our treaty."
>
> (Rickard(2) 1994:19)

With this position, the Mushkegowuk Council challenges altogether the treaty interpretation based on only the Law of Canada and brings into the discussion the interpretation of the treaty by its Native signatories who base their understanding on their own laws. One of these laws of the Mushkego-Cree is that land cannot be surrendered, and this understanding has to be the basis for all future negotiations with the government. In the eyes of the political organization of the Mushkego-Cree Treaty #9 agreements are not valid when they are only compared and based on the whiteman's legal system, and thus a surrender of land never took place. The promises given to the people are, however, binding to all signatories of the treaty.

The same conclusion can be drawn in regards to the position of Nishnawbe Aski Nation. Although they decided to reclaim part of the land, the land under water, on the basis of Canadian law (because this clause was forgotten in the treaty), their overall position is also that land was never surrendered because this would run contrary to our traditions. Although Mushkegowuk Council takes an altogether stronger position by challenging the treaty validity on the basis that it is only interpreted according to non-aboriginal laws, both aboriginal organizations agree in the one point that land was never surrendered and that the treaty has to be interpreted on the basis of intent and spirit and the understanding of the Native people who signed it.

CHAPTER 4

Field Research in Attawapiskat -

Developing Research Questions and finding a Method to research in a Native Community

It might seem an awkward place to discuss the following points, and the reader might think that this chapter should have been at the beginning of this thesis, yet, this would only apply to the first item, the 'books and archives', a research method already referred to in the three earlier chapters. Let us regard this item as a summary of the aforesaid matters. It is, however, helpful for the understanding of the whole process of the development on argument, if the following items, how the research was conducted in the field, in Attawapiskat, and how the research questions developed, are discussed right after this summary. And the place to discuss the field research is after the discussion of the references used for this thesis, because, as already started in the previous chapter, the following chapter about the field research brings in a different perspective on knowledge, which I have already tried to point out in the first chapter. It might show the difference between the 'scientific' and the 'Native' approach to knowledge, and how it is acquired, and it might explain the point of view of the Native political

organizations, building a bridge from one kind of understanding, the non-Native, scientific one, discussed in the previous chapters, where even the Native way of understanding the world, and the treaty for that matter, is explained in an academic way, and the Native understanding, represented in the following chapter, the analysis of the words of the elders and other community members on the understanding of the treaty.

***Books and Archives* -**

How the Thesis Project developed

The idea for this treaty #9 research developed out of an essay I was writing for a fourth year Native Studies course, which developed into the basis for chapter 2 in this thesis. At that time I was still struggling with the for me strange environment at a university, trying to fit in and understand the way of acquiring and presenting knowledge. What I have learnt in these four years of university was to prepare my presentation and discussion of the 'facts' in a scholarly way, looking for the appropriate references in books and in the archives. The basis for the whole work was, of course, the treaty text. Reading through it I became aggravated as a Native person for the first time, because of the matter-of-fact interpretation of us people being like children.

This gave the essay I intended to write a completely new direction, now wanting to give a response to this kind of interpretation of Native people. I did, however, not dare to

base my interpretations on my feelings as a Native person, and chose the path I was directed to in my university courses, to look for references that might support the thoughts I ha about this issue. I found plenty.

First I went to the National Archives in Ottawa to look at certain parts of the treaty negotiations and the reports of the negotiators in order to verify 'their', the non-Natives', point of view on the treaty negotiations, namely that there were not to be any negotiations because we, the Native people, were not able to contribute anything to the negotiations due to our lack of understanding the real issue, as expressed by Scott (1947:115). For the historical process of the treaty making, and the interpretation of it, I also had to rely on the literature at hand, as discussed in the second chapter. Although I did find confirmation of my feelings that the treaty process was not fair to the Indian people, and that we were cheated, I did not content myself with this and looked for another pillar of interpretation of 'facts' in the academic world, that of legality, knowing at that time already that this was 'their' legality, rather than 'ours', but that I had to look into this path in order to be taken serious. What I found were several court decisions that supported my suspicion that basing the issue merely on the interpretation of the treaty text by 'scientific' methods, meaning on references and from a non-Native, non-emotional point of view, does not bring justice to the issue of Native people. There was definitely a need for interpretation of the Indian

point of view in the treaty issue.

At this point I had a case, deciding to find this Indian point of view in my own community by asking our elders for their feelings and interpretations of the spirit of the treaty. Yes, I intended to ask for their feelings, although this might have been considered non-scientific. I simply did that, because in order to understand our point of view, one has to understand our 'life' (pimaatisiwin), which includes the whole rather than just referring to logic and science. I was not shy any more to interpret our own philosophy of life, which includes the emotional/spiritual realm in the interpretation of 'facts'. With the writing of the first chapter I tried to justify this step scientifically for non-Native people to understand.

I had to develop research questions that would fit that format, representing our life rather than having it interpreted by non-Native people. During this process I ran into another problem, that of 'political reality', namely that we as Indian people are meanwhile represented by organizations which, though they try to represent the 'Indian way', are organized on the basis of non-Native organizations and, maybe for the same purpose as I based my first chapter on, in order to make non-Natives understand, argue within the logical/scientific realm. So I went to a treaty conference of Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the organization for the treaty #9 region, and I did research work for Mushkegowuk Council, the tribal organization of the Mushkego-Cree along the James Bay coast. The results are summarized in chapter 3.

I finally could leave books and archives behind and get into field research, trying to establish a research method that also represents Indian philosophy.

A joint Venture -

Finding Research Questions, struggling with the holistic Approach, and combining several projects into one

What I wanted to find out was the **spirit of the treaty** as Native people would have interpreted it at that time. For this I had to find a link to these past times, which, of course, are the elders who had already lived in the time of the treaty signing, or got a first-hand account by their parents and grand-parents. This alone would, however, be not enough to present the case, as the accounts of the elders could be interpreted as personal opinions of a few, particularly when, at the time of treaty signing, they had been too young to understand the process. It would also be difficult to base the case merely on the people's having been present at the time of the treaty signing, because the people are now living in our times, as might be argued, and they are, of course, influenced by it, particularly by the political interpretations of the issue by our political organizations. So, how can you find out what people at that time actually thought they signed, when they signed the treaty? One answer to that I found while I was writing the first chapter, when I justified my Native existence in academia. I ran into terms like 'cultural memory' and 'post-memory', with which I

could explain that we as Indian people still live in a different reality than non-Native people, and that we do have a different perception of reality.

The next thought was, where this conception comes from. An explanation that it is merely passed on by 'word' from generation to generation is not satisfying. This oral tradition is only part of it, because there is also 'tradition', which means the way we live, and living can be interpreted as experience. We do not get our values merely by being told what they are, or as it is in 'modern' education by references in books, we also live and experience them, and they are also passed on by 'example'. That, of course, means that we still live our own way of life, our own culture, despite the influences from outside, and despite the onslaught by educational institutions, which want to mould us into somebody else. This is especially true in Attawapiskat, where there are still people who live traditional lives. Considering that these people live among us on the reserve, at least during the time they are not on the land, one can conclude that they contribute to our 'reality' as much, or, because they are our people, even more than the outside influences represented by the non-Native institutions in our community. For my research I had to include those people who still live on the land, as well as those who are on the reserve now. The people living on the land would represent the life style during the time of the treaty signing, and they most probably could represent best what people at the time of the treaty signing felt and thought, because they

basically still live the same way. The other elders, as I supposed, would still be able to express the same thoughts and feelings, and I could actually show that the way of life, and the memory and post-memory of it, was only altered by outside influence on the surface, not deep inside our souls. This would justify that I include some other community members who are not elders in the survey, because they might be able to express the same feelings despite their having been through the 'white' education system. I have already mentioned this phenomenon in the first chapter, saying that an Indian's reality is still different from that of a non-Native person, even when s/he grows up in the same city.

To make the research stronger, I also tried to interview the people in their 'natural' environment, which is for some their camp in the bush (elder 2), a goose hunting camp (in the case of the chief), a trapline, or a teepee where fish and geese are smoked. Most of these interviews are documented on the video tapes. Some of the questionnaires I also did in these environments.

At this point I had to include emotions into the research asking for people's **relations to the land, what land means for their lives**. The other questions on **concepts of landownership** and **land use** developed directly out of the relations to the land. The remaining questions, which had to do directly with the treaty signing, were **the role of the government in relations with Indians (power of the government)** and the **motives for moving to**

the reserve which usually happened between the mid-1930's and the late 1960's. The last two questions should give an insight into what the Indians themselves thought the treaty was, and, together with the above mentioned set of questions, should produce some clarity in the people's feelings about if they had ever given up their land. Interpreting it from my own feeling, it was impossible for them to have given up their lands, due to the meaning of the land for our lives and due to our spirituality. I was almost sure to get a confirmation on this topic, as I grew up learning from my parents and our elders. The research questions I developed thus were:

1. Relations to the land (what does land mean to our lives?)
2. Land use. (What do we get from the land, how did we live, where did we live?)
3. Concepts of land ownership. (who owns the land, can land be owned, can it be given up?)
4. Motives for living on reserve. (what did we expect from the treaty?)
5. The role of the government in relations to Native people. (can the government control us?)

This focus on certain aspects of life was, of course, a concession to academic research, to not blow my thesis out of proportion. I do have to admit that this is not usually my way of thinking, as this only represents part of our lives. I tend to see the problem more holistically, and include the spiritual aspect into any consideration of life, which (the spiritual part)

came back into this research once I started with my interviews, in particular with the questions on relations to the land, land use and land ownership. What I would have liked to include as well was education, relations among people and social structure, which, of course, are also connected to the land and would explain our feelings towards it. To express it humorously, I left the path of holistic thinking in order to give the non-Native people a chance to follow my thoughts, because, as Joe Couture (1978) puts it,

> who understand what lurks in the dark mind of an Indian. (Couture 1978:130)

While I was doing the interviews, another project formed by chance. A documentary film maker from Austria came into our community, having asked my husband and me to write the script for the documentary. Again, we had to interview people, this time with a camera. In this process we realized that we both could use those interviews for our thesis projects, which for me solved the problem of developing another questionnaire for the interviewees who were not elders. Instead, we translated and wrote down the interviews on the tapes, included them in our appendices, and, to give the interview some order and to make the analysis easier, we assigned the numbers used in the elders' interviews to the interviews on tape.

In this way, I had to expand my research time, altogether it took me about one and a half years, but it was worth it, as these camera interviews complemented my treaty research. I also had the opportunity to go to Austria for over two months, where I

translated the tapes.

The project of writing a thesis about treaty #9 interpretations in Attawapiskat had become a huge project, including my husband's doctoral thesis and a documentary film about my community. For the Appendix in this thesis it means that some parts of the questionnaire presented there are not relevant for my thesis (though they are relevant for me). I, however, included the whole questionnaire with the answers to give an overall picture of the project, and because the questions were so intertwined with both thesis projects, some are relevant for both theses, that it would have been difficult to separate them again. We had combined our questionnaires in a way that a comfortable flow of the interview was possible. The same is true for the interviews on camera.

The interviews were 'free' interviews, meaning that the interviewees talked about their thoughts without being asked particular questions. I included the parts that were relevant for both our theses in my appendix in order to not rip the whole interview apart too much, which would give a wrong picture of the whole speech.

The interviews on camera were, by the way, much more appropriate in this community, which is a Native one, than the structured interviews, which brings me to the next, important discussion about researching in a Native community.

The Conflict -

How to approach Elders in an academic manner that does not interfere with their cultural Understanding of Behaviour

The question of how I would approach my elders concerned me from the beginning, since I decided to do the treaty research in my community. There is a certain code of behaviour, which is a matter of course for me, that one has to follow when approaching elders. The fact that one does not interrupt elders in their talk led to my first decision to make the research a more qualitative one, with some parts of it participatory, rather than quantitative research, which would be too technical and the answers too short for the elders to really express their feelings. With the short, closed ended answers, I would have to interrupt the elders too much, which would be completely out of the question. It was hard enough for me already to make another concession to scientific research, in order to satisfy the need for statistics. It is not polite to ask somebody for his/her age, yet I had to do it.

What is always quoted as well in Native Studies courses at universities is the fact that we, the Indians, come from an oral tradition, yet, few scholars actually take the time to think what that really means in regards to research that is done in our communities.

It means several things. There were troubles with researchers in Native communities, and therefore, I suppose, the universities now insist on an ethical review, done by a

university committee, to check out that everything is acceptable with the research done in the community, and that the researcher follows the appropriate cultural etiquette. Beside asking myself how the committee would know about the cultural etiquette in my community I would like to point out that the practice done in social research of asking for a written consent of the interviewee is culturally not appropriate, at least not with our elders. This would look like we do not trust their words. When an elder agrees to give you an interview, s/he does not sign for that on top. We had trouble enough with the signatures on the treaty, which are taken as evidence that we agreed to the terms of the treaty.

Once, an elder agrees to an interview, it would be impolite to ask her/him to sign that s/he actually did agree. That looks like we don't trust their words. If s/he does not want to talk to you, s/he will not do it, but when s/he does, s/he will stand by what s/he said. There is no need for a written consent. The elder trusts in the honesty of the researcher, which is one of our values. A signature does not make any difference.

I want to explain here that I do not promote a system that allows individuals to take advantage of our elders. What I suggest is that a signature does not prevent somebody who wants to take advantage of his 'partner' to actually cheat, as the example with the treaty shows.

What I would like to promote is culturally appropriate research in our communities with a definition of the

appropriateness made by the communities themselves rather than by a university committee.

At this point I would also like to comment on another issue that has to do directly with what is said above. Looking into the appendix one will realize that not all elders answered all the questions. The elders only talked about issues they wanted to talk about. There is no use trying to force them into answering certain questions. This is another reason why I would not recommend quantitative research in most of the cases. It is impolite as well to repeat the question several times when the elder does not answer it, because this would indicate that s/he did not understand it. If a question gives discomfort to a Native person, the person will ignore it. To talk about ones discomfort would get the one who asks the question in an awkward position. By ignoring the question, the person gives the other one the chance to withdraw without embarassement.

The way of asking the questions is another issue. Thinking I had to satisfy certain standards set by the academic community, I tried out different kinds of interviews. To come back to the oral tradition of our people, I want to emphasize that going to an interview with the questionnaire or with a note book is the most inappropriate way to do interviews in a Native community. People in my community got irritated by the researcher writing things down. It is better, when the interviewee agrees to it, to bring a tape recorder and tape the whole session. The disadvantage with this method is when the tape runs out, you will

have to interrupt the speaker until you change the tape. The same applies for a video camera, of course. However, some of the elders get irritated by the tape recorder as well. One of the elders (David Tookate) had told me, when I brought my notebook and a tape recorder, to take this away and just listen, because I came here to listen. Writing or fumbling around with the tape would distract me from listening. There I had to practice the actual oral tradition, which is based on listening. This also implies that not too many questions are asked. Of course, when I got home, I was writing everything down, but even that would not be appropriate, because I have my brains where I can store what I heard.

This example shows best the conflict between our two cultures in regards to knowledge, with the non-Native culture, which includes university, only acknowledging what was written down. I think this has a lot to do with sharing. When an elder shares her/his knowledge, s/he does not mind that the other person uses it, makes it her own, even in an altered way. The important thing is that this knowledge is passed on. It is not important who it comes from, as it is in non-Native society which makes sure, jealously, that everything is properly quoted. The appendix at the end of my thesis is thus another concession to the rules of academic research, because a traditional Indian would not write down the words of her elders twice in order to justify her conclusions, but would quote the elder from her memory.

However, I could manage to do the work in a way that it would be recognized by the university, and not be too far away from my cultural practices. What I would recommend for researches done in Native communities, and what I would follow in my next research, is the method suggested by the one elder I quoted, that the researcher comes and just listens. Afterwards, the interview can be written down and put into an order that allows a scholarly analysis. For people with less memory capacities, or for those who want to make a film, I guess it should be acceptable to tape the interview. With the consent of the interviewee I would suggest that the researcher is absolutely honest and only does what s/he said s/he would do with the data. I still doubt, however, that this can be controlled by an ethics committee. Nobody can control the honesty of a person, and no person should be controlled or spied on in this way. The best one can do is to give recommendations about general issues that would come up with researching people in a Native community. The individual researcher will have to familiarize herself with the culture of the community she wants to research. No committee can do that for any researcher. The most important issue is that the individual remembers the value of honesty. If somebody is not honest, s/he should not research in a Native community. Our elders can sense that and would not share their thoughts with this person.

CHAPTER 5

The Words of the People -

Analysis of the collected Data, and Answering the Research Questions

In order to understand how the people at the time of the treaty signing would have understood the spirit of the treaty, one has to understand how the people would have felt towards the land, as in the usual treaty interpretation the land was 'surrendered' and title to the land was 'extinguished'. Would the people at that time have been able to surrender their land, based on their feelings and spiritual beliefs?

The analysis on these questions is based on the way of life of the people at that time, interpreted through the memory **and** the life of the elders **and** the people of today. I have interviewed nine elders with questionnaires and with a video camera, two of them still living in the bush (Mary Wabano and Shano Fireman), six community members (chief, former deputy chief, a Native teacher from the local school), and three drummers with the video camera, and I included the video interviews of two non-Native community members in order to have a reference of how non-Native people who live with us perceive our relations to the land, and how interpretations might have formed. The two people were the priest, who has been in Attawapiskat for

23 years, and the director of health, who has worked for Mushkegowuk Council and the Attawapiskat First Nation for the last three years. With the six Native community members I wanted to find out how much of the feelings to the land had been passed on from our elders, in order to have an argument that the feelings of the elders today are actually based on what people had thought at the time of the treaty signing. As people live different lives than during the time of the treaty, a comparison between the elders still living in the bush and those living in the community would give some consideration to the same argument.

Relations to the Land - What does Land mean to our Lives?

I will start with a holistic thought about our relations to the land, as it was expressed by the elder Patrick Metat during the interviews, before I break this statement down in parts to analyze this feeling 'scientifically'. The statement can be understood in our conception of life, 'pimaatisiwin' which was explained in the first chapter. In the thought of the elder, land means life:

> Land is precious, rich and very important.
> Without the land we will die. (Patrick Metat, App.1, p. 186)

The same statement is made by elders John Mattinas:

> It (the land) is our life. (App.1, item 4.1., p.185)

and John Hookimaw:

> The land provides life. (App.1, item 4.3., p. 186)

What this means in detail can be summarized in the following

categories, land and life.

Freedom and Peace

Life in the community, or 'the reserve' as it is referred to, is life that was forced on the Indian people. It is life away from the land, life without freedom and peace. Many elders made a statement that life on the land is peaceful and they referred to the freedom on the land:

> It was peaceful as long as we lived on the land. (John Mattinas, Tape 22/Red, App. 1, p. 216)

John Mattinas was also indicating the absence of wars while they lived on the land when he asked :

> Why are there wars? (App. 1, item 4.5., p. 189)

Referring to life on the reserve James Carpenter says:

> We were like dogs tied in chains (James Carpenter, App. 1, item 2., p. 173),

and referring to the freedom one has on the land he says:

> We built houses (cabins, migwams), wherever we were. (James Carpenter, App.1, item 2.1., page 173).
>
> Life on the land is peaceful. Life is sacred on the land. (James Carpenter, App.1, item 4.1., p. 185)
>
> Life was free before, and we were not controlled. (James Carpenter, App.1, item 2.2., p. 173)

The other elders commented:

> When I'm in the house I can just breathe. I cannot see the creation. (David Tookate, App.1, item 2., p. 173)
>
> Life was good and peaceful on the land. There are many problems now that were unknown before. (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 2., p. 173)
>
> Everything is peaceful, calm and clean. (Mary Wabano, App.1, item 4.1., p. 188)

> Life was very peaceful on the land.
> (Marie-Louise Hookimaw, App.1, tape 49/Red, p. 205)

There is no difference in this interpretation among the elders who live on the reserve and Mary Wabano who still lives on the land. Among the younger people interviewed on camera, the former deputy chief refers to the same analogy as the elder James Carpenter who talks about life on the reserve as being like dogs in chains. The younger community member only uses a more 'modern' example when he refers to the reserve as being

> like a jail (App. 2, Tape 16/Red, p. 237).

Altogether, life on the land means freedom and peace for the Indian people, be they old or young, and it certainly has meant this during the treaty signing.

In regards to 'peace', this concept can be interpreted also as 'peace of mind', which points towards spirituality, discussed in the next category.

Spirituality

Spirituality has always been part of the Indian people's lives, which is even commented on by the non-Native priest who lives in Attawapiskat, when he says :

> God was always part of their lives.
> (App. 2, tape 33/Red, p. 233)

He also connects it to the land, which is seen as part of 'the Creation', when he relates to the story of the trapper, who prays that the spirit will send him an animal (App. 2, tape 33/Red, p. 232), and the story of the woman who prays on a frozen lake in

thanks for the beauty of Creation (App. 2, tape 33/Red, p. 232) That this spirituality, which is connected to the land, is still present among the Indians of today is shown in the testimonies of all participants in the survey.

One part of this spirituality tells us, in a similar manner to the response of the catholic priest in Attawapiskat, that land is God's creation and has to be honoured, which is expressed in statements like:

> We were given the land by Kitche Mando. (John Mattinas, App. 1, item 4.1., p.185),
>
> Kitche Mando gave us this land.....We have to honour this gift. (Shano Fireman, App.1, item 4.1., p. 185),
>
> Kitche Mando blessed everything, we must respect it. (James Carpenter, App.1, item 4.3., p. 186),
>
> Kitche Mando gave us this land to use.... (Mary Wabano, App. 1, item 4.3., p. 186),
>
> We should be responsible for the land we live on. We must show respect for Creation, and we have to continue to pass it on to our future generations. (David Tookate, App.1, item 4.3, p. 186/187),
>
> We are responsible for the land, as it is part of sovereignty given to us by Kitche Mando. (Patrick Metat, App. 1, item 4.3., p. 187)
>
> It was Kitche Mando who made all this, and who provided us with animals. This is like a garden. (Raphael Fireman, App. 1, Tape 22/Red, p. 212)

The younger community members are still rooted in this belief, and, as in the case of the chief, still pass it on to the younger generation. He also refers to the land as something "the Creator provided for us". (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 219)

However, the spirituality we get from the land goes far beyond this, and has also to do with our well-being. This is

what the chief means when he says, regarding the purpose of going on the land:

> It is not to hunt only, but also to renew your spirit. Your spirit needs to see the different times of the seasons. You watch the difference you see out there. (App. 2, tape 17/Green, p. 220)

The former deputy chief interprets the same thing and names it by a term, identity:

> That is my home, the water, the birds, the animals. That is part of me. That is my identity. (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 235)

The land being our identity will also include another form of spirituality, how we treat creation.

The elder John Mattinas demonstrates that when he apologizes after picking a plant from the ground, just for the purpose of explaining what it is used for. He says:

> You are not supposed to cut down a tree. You have to respect Creation. Hunted animals were treated with respect. (John Mattinas, App. 1, item 2.6., p. 176)
> and also:
> I was told that you do not misuse or mistreat plants, as they have to be here still for future generations.
> (John Mattinas, App. 1, tape 28/Red, p. 217)

The respect we have for creation, of course, expands to every part of Mother Earth, which includes plant, animals, minerals and all the elements, which is mostly summarized in John Mattinas' statement whose grandfather told him

> to use the resources on earth very wisely, and to respect all creatures, because the creator has provided them for us. (John Mattinas, App.1, tape 27/Red, p.214)

The difference in the understanding of spirituality between the elders who live in the community, and have had more contact with

the 'other' society, shows only in the one statement Mary Wabano made about relations to the land when she says:

> Our people lived a good life (pimaatisiwin).
> (Mary Wabano, App. 1, item 4.1., p. 185)

She shows with that that she still sees the issue holistically and does not break it down in the parts I do here in this work. Of course, a 'good life' includes spirituality.

That this kind of spirituality is still around is also stated by the drum of Attawapiskat, the White Bear Singers, who see the hide they used for the drum as something that comes from the land and that should be honoured (App. 2, tape 42/Green, p. 243) and who use the term 'Mother Earth', explaining what it means:

> With 'Mother Earth' we mean everything that grows.
> It starts the way it (the hide) is given to us.
> The hide is still used spiritually.
> (App. 2, tape 43/Green, p. 243)

What spirituality also means is guidance and wisdom we get on the land, as is illustrated in the following account of an elder:

> We prayed to Kitche Mando and had fasting
> ceremonies. A person who went into the bush
> not eating and drinking for ten days came back
> with knowledge. We could connect to spirits.
> (Patrick Metat, App. 1, item 2.6., p. 177)

To answer the question if an Indian would have a choice with what he does or does not on the land, or if he could live any different life the elder Shano Fireman gives an answer which summarizes this:

> To live on the land and from the land is to
> obey Kitche Mando. That is why he put us here.
> (Shano Fireman, App. 1, item 4.3., p. 186)

This elder is one of those who still lives on the land. This

should answer the question of how Indians at the time of treaty signing would have understood the treaty concerning the Indians giving up their way of life and land title by signing the treaty.

Health

Although in the second and third chapter it is mentioned that one of the expectations of the Indians in the treaty was that the sick people would be taken care of in the hospital (e.g. p. 55, the elder Eliezer Beardy from Muskrat Dam), land also means health to the people I interviewed in Attawapiskat, which is particularly expressed by Shano Fireman, the elder who still lives on the land:

> Because we lived healthy lives, we were strong. When you cut your finger using the medicine from the land, it heals within several days. Women who gave birth were back to work one day after birth. Nowadays, when you go to the hospital, it takes forever to heal. People have become weak. (Shano Fireman, App.1, item 2.5., p. 176)

What the elder expresses here is that life on the land is healthier than on the reserve, where people get weak. He also explains what health on the land comes from:

> When we lived on the land we were healthy. When we kill animals, the animals are strong. They live off the land, too. (Shano Fireman, App.1, item 2.2., p. 173)

He refers health to the land and the food we get out of the land, because the animals we hunt live off the same land. The same is expressed by the elder Marie Louise Hookimaw I interviewed in her smoking teepee while she was preparing a beaver:

> It is good to eat wild game. It is fresh. I feel healthy. I only like wild food. It is much healthier.
> (Marie Louise Hookimaw, App.1, tape 50/Red, p. 207)

There should be no doubt that the people living on the land knew how to cure themselves by medicines they took from the land, as demonstrated in the following comments:

> Medicine plants we used long before the hospital was established. These is medicine for cuts, when you cut yourself of for accidents when using a gun. Long time ago there were no doctors. We only used what was growing on earth for medical purposes.
> (John Mattinas, App.1, tape 27/Red, p. 215)

> We had taken all the medicine from the land. There is medicine in the ground, not only in the hospital. We had medicine for cuts, etc..
> (James Carpenter, App.1, item 2.5., p. 176)

How much this is connected to life itself, and how important land is for life, is expressed in comments like:

> The land is a place where there is much tranquility and calmness. There is a lot of good medicine on the land from plants and roots.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 4.5. health .... , p. 188)

> Nature is healing. You feel like a different person.
> (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 4.5. health .... , p. 188)

Also, following the above interpretations of land and health, there would be a strong support for the suggestion that the Indians at the time of treaty signing did not intend to leave their land, thinking of the diseases that were brought by the white man, and the diseases that came due to living, as the white man does in cities. Our way of life was different, and we could take care of ourselves on the land. Elder John Hookimaw commented on that:

> There were no major diceases before we moved to

> town. We could cure ourselves from the land.
> (John Hookimaw, App.1, item 2.5., p. 176)

Health on the land is also connected to our spiritual life on the land when the elders say:

> On the land you are strong. You feel the presence of Kitche Mando.
> (John Mattinas, App.1, item 4.5. health .., p. 188)

> Our grandfathers used herbs and roots from nature, which have been provided for us to use. There are all sorts of medicine on earth.
> (Mary Wabano, App.1, item 2.5., p. 176)

> We used our traditional medicine that Kitche Mando provided for us on the land.
> (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 2.5., p. 176)

These statements can be interpreted again in connection with the above statement of Shano Fireman (in 'spirituality'), that we have to use the resources that are provided for us or that to live on the land means to obey God.

This part of getting health from the land by the plants and roots provided for us by the Creator has diminished meanwhile, due to the people having forgotten most of this knowledge. It is significant that the elders speak in the past tense about this, and only the people living on the land still make statements in the present like

> We find all healing plants on the land.
> (Mary Wabano, App.1, item 4.5. health ...., p. 188)

Yet, it was there in the past, when the treaty was signed, and it can be used as evidence that Indians at that time would not just give that up. The younger people I interviewed did not refer to this kind of health directly, other than by talking about food, only mentioning, as in the chief's interview, that

you can enjoy the land. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 220), which at least has to do with mental health, or, as in the interview with the former deputy chief who indicated that the land was his identity.

Responsibility

What is present still, however, is the way Indians feel about the land in regards to being responsible for it, which is expressed in the chief's interview several times:

> We are the custodians of this land. ..... We have to protect animals. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 221)

He also explains that taking care of the animals does not outrule our way of life, hunting and trapping, when he refers to the animals' decreasing well-being when they overpopulate:

> When we take something, it balances nature. .... Trapping is a way of control. When we do trapping, we do not clean one area. We always leave something behind to give the beaver the chance to multiply for future generations. That's what I mean where we have conservation laws. (App.2, tape 18/Green, p. 221)

These unwritten conservation laws in our culture are still followed today, and they were always present.

The elders refer to the same laws, tying them again to spirituality, which is ever present in our lives. Their testimonies also explain that the people living on the land have to take responsibility for it:

> It is us who have to look after it (the land). We have to think of our future generations. (John Mattinas)

> The one who lives on the land is responsible for it, and that is me. (Shano Fireman)

> God blessed everything, we must respect it.
> (James Carpenter)
>
> We were given this land to protect and to guard.
> The land provides life. (John Hookimaw)
>
> Kitche Mando gave us this land to use, not to control.
> But we have to look after it. (Mary Wabano)
>
> We should be responsible for the land we live on. We must show respect for Creation, and we have to continue to pass it on to our future generations. (David Tookate)
>
> We are responsible for the land, as it is part of sovereignty given to us by Kitche Mando. (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 4.3., pp. 186/187)

There is a strong consensus in this question, and it is also significant, that all the elders refer to this question in the present tense. Again there is a strong spiritual commitment to the land, which makes it mandatory for the Indians to keep the land they were put on. There is a subtle difference in the perception of this issue by the old people and by the younger generations in the use of the words, which might be due to the influence on us of the alien education system. Whereas the elder Mary Wabano points out that using the land should not mean controlling it (see above quote), the chief in his interview refers to trapping as a means of control against overpopulation of certain species (App.2, tape 18/Green, p. 221).

It is, however, obvious that with this concept of responsibility to the land that is linked to spirituality, it would be impossible for traditional Indians to agree to let go of this responsibility and to sign it over to somebody else, particularly, when they continue to live on the land. Living on

the land also brings another mutual relationship, as the following quote should explain:

> We lived in close harmony with nature. There is so much to learn from the land. Kitche Mando gave us life within this land, and we are to respect it and take good care of it.
> (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 2.7., pp. 177/178)

This can be interpreted in both ways, that the responsibility for the land is also the responsibility for life. It also shows, with the indication of learning, that we get much more out of the land than material things.

Harmony, Values, and Relations

The above quote also shows another dimension, that of learning from the land, which means also how we live and organize our lives.

The Native teacher I interviewed presents several examples what the land and her creatures mean for our life. Our values, the Seven Grandfathers as he refers them as (App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 225) were passed down from generation to generation, but we got them through observation of nature:

> We learn our values through observation of the animals. (App.2, tape 34, p. 226)

He presents examples what we can learn from the wolf (p. 226), from the cedar tree (p. 227), and even from the river (pp. 226/247). Our whole existence can be explained by the land. This can be summarized in the sentences like 'we are the land', or 'the land is us', or 'the land is in us'.
This is also expressed by the chief when he refers to what the

land means for family life:

> We share the chores within our families. Everyone contributes. Everyone does something to help. That's important ... to survive. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 220)

This is confirmed by elders when they say:

> We were very close when we lived on the land. Everybody contributed to the whole, and we respected each other, shared everything with each other. (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 2.8., p. 178)

> Children grow up close to their family members. They learn how to care for each other by tasks. (Shano Fireman, App.1, item 4.5. family ...., p. 187)

The concept of sharing is obviously so much connected to life on the land that the former deputy chief comments what he would do in a hunting or fishing camp,

> where I just hunt or fish, or share my food with others, or offer food, or just live on it. (App.2, tape 16/Red, p. 240)

We lose this when we lose the land, when we do not have the example of nature any longer. The following elders' statements illustrate this by comparing life as it used to be to life now:

> People knew how to live and where to find food. (James Carpenter)

> We took care of our families. (David Tookate)

> We took good care of each other. We lived in harmony. (Patrick Metat)

> (App. 1, item 2.2., p. 174)

> When the sun was down in the bush, the kids had to be home. (John Mattinas)

> Parents and grandparents taught the children. (Shano Fireman)

> In the land there were not so many problems (James Carpenter)

> There was calmness in the family and a lot of

harmony. (John Hookimaw)

The relationship with parents decreased. (Mary Wabano)

There are disruption and family break-up. (David Tookate)

Parents looked after their kids well. (Patrick Metat)

(App.1, item 2.3., p. 174)

This is also related in statements like:

Parents were there for their children. On the land you feel content. (John Mattinas)

On the land we have strong bonds with each other. We are together. (James Carpenter)

In nature you only learn the good things in life. (Mary Wabano)

(App.1, item 4.5. p. 187)

Our life is thus completely connected to the land. It breaks apart when the land is lost, or not used anymore.

Of course, altogether people still care, however, people who still have that knowledge from nature, but have to live on reserve now, are in a dilemma, because on the one hand they know that life is better out on the land, and on the other hand they know, they have to care for each other. This is expressed in the following two statements.

We are still lonely for the land, to live there again. If I could I would live there again, but I cannot leave my children.
(John Hookimaw, App.1, item 2., p. 172)

I would still like to live on the land. I really wish this. But it is hard to leave my children and grandchildren.
(Marie-Louise Hookimaw, App.1, tape 49/Red, p. 206)

If people still feel like this, it can be concluded that they felt the same way or even stronger about it during the treaty

signing.

To explain our existence by the land can also be extended to the political organization of the people in that time. The treaty negotiators were always referring to chiefs and headmen who signed the treaty. This concept is, of course, based on a non-Native perception of the political organization of a people. Thus it was possible that in 1905/06 the people living around the Attawapiskat River and the other rivers north of it were represented by the chief in Fort Albany. From my understanding of our lives, I would even doubt that the ancestors of the people now living in Attawapiskat would have all considered themselves members of the same people, or 'band' as it is called now. This is why I included the question of band membership in the questionnaire. The answers I got confirmed my suspicion, although at first glance they might be contrary. Most of the elders did not answer this question at all. The ones who did gave two different responses to the question of whether they were band members before they moved to Attawapiskat, the answers being as contrary as 'yes' and 'no':

> Yes, depending on the place we lived on the land. People who lived on the Attawapiskat River called themselves Attawapiskat Inninew, on the Kapiskau River, they called themselves Kapiskau Inninew etc. (John Mattinas, App.1, item 1.5., p. 170)
>
> No, there were no bands like today. Only Inninew. (Shano Fireman)
>
> There were no bands as there are today. When we came to this place here, we were band members. (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 1.5., p. 171)

Although this seems as if the elders did not agree on the concept, these statements do express the same idea. It might be helpful to mention that Mary Wabano who still lives on the land and comes to Attawapiskat very rarely asked several times what the interviewer meant by the concept band member. She did not know the concept. The answers of Shano Fireman, who also still lives on the land, emphasized that the concept of band membership did not exist. There were only people, Inninew, which would explain, why Mary Wabano was confused about this concept. The answer of John Mattinas does actually not contradict that, because he merely interprets the term 'band membership' by saying that people called themselves by the names of the regions they lived in. There were no organized 'bands' in the sense as there are today. What all the answers confirm is that long ago there were no bands, just people, which would make it difficult for a treaty negotiator to make a fair treaty. Even in the scenario presented by John Mattinas that there were kind of bands in the different regions, treaty negotiations with all these 'bands' would have lasted forever. His interpretation of band would also explain the earlier mentioned relationship to the land that 'we are the land', or at least that we belong to the particular land we live on.

The term 'band' must have been imposed on the Indians by the treaty negotiator to make it easier and faster to extinguish title to the land. Instead of visiting the people living on the land, the negotiator went to the Hudson's Bay Trading Posts, and

the people trading there were considered a 'band'. This is confirmed by Raphael Fireman who explains how people went to Attawapiskat. While they were trading at Fort Albany first,

> Later there was a trading post here also, and people went there. (Raphael Fireman, App.1, tape 21/Red, p. 211)

It is obvious that the Indians were organized completely differently than the white people who came for treaty negotiations. The Natives were not in the position to understand this kind of organization, because it did not exist in their lives. In order to make a fair treaty, the ones negotiating it would have had to understand our concepts by learning our language as the priest said that the missionaries did:

> The missionaries, all of them, always learned the language of the people, not only to be close, but also to understand their culture, the way they lived, the way they are, and the way they think and so on. This is a big part of the people. (App.2, tape 33/Red, pp. 232/233)

In order to understand that the Indians could not have given up their land in the treaty signing, one has to understand our relations to the land as it is explained in this paragraph. One cannot just leave out the feeling and the spirituality of the people and state the 'fact' that land title got 'extinguished'. The question the white people have to ask themselves is, if the extinguishment of land title is possible at all in the culture of the ones that supposedly gave it up, or if the concept of 'title' does exist at all. Unfortunately, we are still misjudged by people from other societies, even those who live among us, who see our culture as a culture of 'poverty', only because we are

more spiritual than materialistic, and see this culture as the cause for the problems that arise in our communities. From this misinterpretation of our culture the following judgment arises:

> During cultural leave in Spring and Fall (goose hunt), a lot of problems show with the abuse of solvents, triggered by violence in the family and other things that are widespread in this community. This is pretty serious, as people do something, and they do something they want to do that at the same time takes away the stress and pressure from the family environment. (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 239)

Of course, the things 'they want to do' refers to our cultural activities. This attitude of our culture being inferior, and that we therefore had to be cheated off our land in order to be saved showed also during the time of the treaty signing. It derives from a misunderstanding of our relationship to the land, and ignorance of the fact that we are in fact a different people, not 'underdeveloped'. The reason why it is important to include the emotional/spiritual realm in the discussion about the treaty is that our culture cannot be understood without a consideration of our spirituality. That it is still not understood shows in my struggle to establish emotions as valid 'facts' in an academic paper. Yet, it is important that this is understood. Otherwise, there will be no understanding of our culture, and no fair consideration of a treaty that is based only on one side of the understanding of 'facts'.

I want to conclude this section with a quote from an elder who comments on what land means and it is connected to our way of life, which should explain that our way of life is not 'underdeveloped', that we do not have to catch up, but that we

are just different.

> It is Kitche Mando's Creation which provides us with many good things. ... I feel how much sacredness has been given by Kitche Mando. The land is a reminder of that. It is a place where you can heal, and feel the calmness of your soul.
> You heard the story of Kitche Mando's Creation of the Garden (Eden). You see white people as farmers. As with us, Kitche Mando did not give us farms or cities. He provided us our own style of garden. The 'Island' here is **our** garden, and it is **our** kind of city, where we travel to gather the necessities of life.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 4.1., p. 186)

Land Use - What do we get from the Land, how did we live, where did we live

Our spiritual relations to the land also explains the way Indians lived at the time of the treaty signing, and why they lived in this way, spread out over the large country, in little family groups rather, than being organized in bands. This interpretation of land use and how the people were organized on the land is important for the interpretation of the fairness or even legality of the treaty, as the question has to be asked if the treaty was actually negotiated with the 'owners' or 'users' of the territories. The other question to be answered is if this traditional life style was ever abandoned after the signing of the treaty, which would indicate that the people had actually given up their land.

The map (page iv) should explain where the families had their territories. I just want to add, to make the picture complete, that my own family was called 'Okimawininew' which had their territory at the knee of the river, where the Attawapiskat

River coming up from the south turns east towards the Bay. The statement of one of the elder who still live on the land (Mary Wabano) about her opinion why there are problems with the children in our community that

> ...there are too many children in one place
> (Mary Wabano, App.1, item 4.5. education, p. 188)

should demonstrate that life on the reserve with so many people living at the same spot is unnatural for us. In order to preserve the resources, the people had to spread out and use the resources wisely.

At the time of the treaty signing, the families still had their own territories, as it can be concluded from the answers to the question where the people interviewed had lived before they had moved to Attawapiskat (item 1.2.). The elders all name different locations. Only Mary Wabano and Patrick Metat seem to have lived in the same location

> North of Attawapiskat, Winisk area
> (App.1, item 1.2., pp. 169/170).

However, this description covers a huge region as well. This is also verified by the answers to the question to where their parents had lived, which are reflected in the statements of John Mattinas and Patrick Metat who commented that their parents lived at "the same places" (App.1, item 1.6., p. 171).

That they did not stay at the same spot, and why they moved around within their territory, is explained in the answers to question 1.7. All the answers can be interpreted in the same way, yet the following are the most accurate summaries:

> They moved around to give the land time to regenerate. Depending on what they were doing on the land, they looked for the appropriate spot. (John Mattinas, App.1, item 1.7., p. 171)

> We moved around at the same places for a while. When harvesting was not so good any more, we moved away a bit and came back later. (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 1.7., p. 171)

These statements alone should make it already apparent that the treaty was not negotiated with the 'owners' of the territories, the families, who could not be represented by a chief concerning their claim to the traditional family territories. This should become even clearer in the following section, which discusses the concept of land ownership.

But first, let me return to land use to clarify another suggestion that might be made, that of the people having agreed to giving up their land, expressed in their willingness to move to the reserve. The conclusion which could be drawn is that with this move the people had given up their former way life already. All the elders interviewed had organized their lives after the treaty signing, and question 1.3. (App.1, p. 170) gives a clue about what they lived from. All of them included living on the land in their answers, however, there were other sources of income as well, as it is particularly summarized in this answer:

> First (I lived) completely from the land. When I was young I worked on the railroad, laying tracks. Later I lived on welfare. Now I am in Attawapiskat, and once in a while I go hunting and harvesting. (John Mattinas, App.1, item 1.3., p. 170)

The other elders also combined living on the land and on welfare. Two of the answers illustrate what life on the land consisted of,

also in regards to contact with the other civilization represented by the trading posts:

> I supported myself by trapping and hunting. The store gave me credit for pelts I provided.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 1.3., p. 170)

> We got money from the furs, but not so much. Only enough. We could buy tea, flour, sugar. But that's all. We lived off wild meat. We only lived off wild game like beaver, moose, rabbit, fish.
> (Marie-Louise Hookimaw, App.1, tape 49/Red, p. 205).

The above quotes mention hunting and trapping as source of subsistence. This is also described by Raphael Fireman, who gives the most detailed account of land use in his interviews on video tapes. He summarizes:

> "We were trapping and hunting. By trapping we were able to purchase guns and boats, and that's how we could go hunting".
> (Raphael Fireman, App. 1, tape 21/Red, pp. 209/210)

These accounts show already that in the opinion of the people nothing much had changed after the treaty was signed. The people were still using the land as they did before, and, as answered in question 1.2. (App.1, p. 169) on where people lived, they still lived on their traditional territories.

It can be concluded from the statements of the elders in question 1.4. (App.1, item 1.4., p. 170) and that of the priest in Attawapiskat (App.2, tape 32/Red, p. 231) that the move to Attawapiskat was relatively late, around the 1960's. This is answered directly by one of the elders, who moved to Attawapiskat in December 1968. (John Mattinas, App.1, item 1.4., p. 170) The other statements could be dated in combination with the priest's account. One elder stated that he moved to Attawapiskat

> ...when we were supposed to get assistance and education. (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 1.4., p. 170),

which was not before the 1960's, as that is when the first school was opened in Attawapiskat. At this time, people still lived out on the land, which influenced the operation of the school:

> As people were on their traplines in winter with their families, the school was only run July to August. The priest did not want to interfere with traditional life. (The Priest, App. 2, tape 32, p. 231)

I was born in 1965 and still remember when we moved to the community. I also still attended this 'Indian Summer School', which was closed not before 1974, when the present local school was opened by the Department of Indian Affairs.

My older siblings had to go to Residential School in Fort Albany. For the Attawapiskat band members this means that a majority were still living a traditional life on the land throughout the 1960's, demonstrating that the treaty did not mean at all that they had given up their land.

The answer of one elder who moved to Attawapiskat

> "...when people started to receive housing". (David Tookate, App.1, item 1.4., p. 170)

could also be dated to the 1960's when one looks at the old photographs of Attawapiskat in the rectory of the local church, which show very few houses throughout the 1940's and 1950's because "the people only came here in summer" (Rhino Film Video 1996: tape 32/Red, p. 231).

The activities on the land and the life necessities that the people got out of the land are vividly described by Raphael Fireman in the video tapes in Appendix 1 (pp. 208-214), which

include hunting and trapping, building migwams, preparing wild meat and fish by smoking, using everything from the animals (including the feathers of geese for blankets and parkas), and using the rivers as highways for transportation by canoe.

When people did move to the reserve in the 1960', does that mean that they left their traditional life styles behind? This again could be interpreted as justification of the interpretation that the signing of the treaty had meant that they had signed away their territories. Attawapiskat was included in the treaty in 1929/30 with the Adhesion to treaty #9. The time from there to their move to the reserve could be interpreted as interlude, or time of grace until all the treaty promises made by the government were actually fulfilled (school, hospital etc.). This issue will be discussed also in the following section on concepts of land ownership and why people moved to the reserve. In regards to land use, the changes were not so significant. That the land is still used in a traditional way is answered in question 3.1. (App.1, p. 180), where I asked if the elders' children still go out on the land. All the elders answered this question positively with John Hookimaw adding to hunting that his wife and daughters still go berry picking around the community (John Hookimaw, App.1, item 3.1., p. 180). This is also confirmed by the chief who says that

> ...a high majority (of the people of Attawapiskat) is still practising traditional activities. .... It is our way of life that we practise. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 220)

The way of using the land and the old values did not change

so much either, as he also comments on his life in the goose camp:

> It is a tradition we have every year from September to October. ... It is important to live on the land and take whatever means to live on. ... We take from the land, such as geese, ducks. We use it for food, as we eat the meat. We don't waste, nor do we throw anything away we take from the land. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 219)

The chief also comments on why this life style, passed down from generation to generation, is still passed on to the children, in order "...to keep the tradition going". This includes even the youngest members of the community, like the chief explaining that when his youngest son was five years old, he was already taught "...how to handle a gun and how to respect it." (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 220). The observation I made in the chief's hunting camp was that his youngest son (now age eight) already goes out alone hunting ducks, with which he contributes to the food for the family. His younger sister already helps her mother plucking and preparing geese (Rhino Film/Video 1996, tape 17/Green). Even the example of the drummers who use caribou hide for their drum and by this the hide "...is still used spiritually" (App.2, tape 42/Green, p. 243) shows that the old traditions are still practised.

The question if the interest of the younger generation in doing traditional activities is decreasing remained unanswered in the questionnaire, as the answers on this question were too different (App.1, item 3.3., pp. 180/181). From my own observations I can only conclude that due to the children going to school, their time going out on the land is limited and that

many younger girls and women have difficulties preparing the meat from the harvested animals.

This is also confirmed by the statements the elders made on the video tapes, complaining that the young people's skills for traditional life are decreasing due to their being in school:

> Even young women don't know any more how to prepare food or how to smoke food. Or youth doesn't know any more how to cut geese like these here. .....
> I think, although you do live in the community, but you only go to school all the time, that contributes to losing interest in traditional life. (Raphael Fireman, App.1, tape 22/Red, p. 212)

> Nowadays youth do not know these activities any more because they are in school the whole day. (John Mattinas, App.1, tape 27/Red, p. 216)

However, most of the families still go out on the land hunting, and, as answered by all the elders to the question if their children still go out on the land (App.1, item 3.1, p. 180), so do the children of the elders interviewed.

Something did, however, change in regards to land use and the traditional territories, which shows in the answers to the questions where people go hunting (App.1, item 3.2., p. 180). With the exception of the two elders who still live on the land, still using their traditional territories, the elders answered that goose hunting is done down the river, on the Bay, sometimes also up north, and moose and caribou hunting up the Attawapiskat River (App.1, item 3.2., p. 180). That means that the old territories, which were inhabited and used by the individual families, as ours was up the river, are now shared, depending on the traditional activity. As most of the people live in

Attawapiskat now, the home base for going out on the land is not the camp in the traditional hunting territory any more, it is now the community, although most of the people still know where the families had their traditional lands. This is also in the response of Patrick Metat to the question if other people go hunting at the same area he does. He says:

> They are now, because they all live here.
> (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 3.5., p. 182)

It would be possible to research where the 'modern' hunting territories are, which could again develop into family territories. For now I can also conclude this with my own observations. Although all people go goose hunting to the Bay nowadays, due to its proximity to the 'home base', the reserve, new territories are claimed again by different families, which are recognized mutually. The chief's goose camp, for example, is at the same spot at the mouth of the Attawapiskat river every year, while the elder we went goose hunting with during the survey (Raphael Fireman), his brother and their families go goose hunting around the mouth of the Lawashi River, to the south of the Attawapiskat River, every year. Other families distribute north and south on the Bay and across to Akimiski Island. With the territories for moose and caribou hunting up the river and north and south of Attawapiskat, this all happens within the traditional territories of the families who now live on the reserve.

Concluding this section I can say that treaty negotiations were indeed not conducted with the actual owners/users of the

land, which were the families. A permanent community at the Attawapiskat River did not exist at the time of treaty signing (1929/30), nor did a 'band' exist whose chief could have represented the people living in the territories in regards of claiming or giving up these territories. This is particularly confirmed in the statement of the grandmother who still lives on the land when she says concerning the signing of the treaty by a chief being appointed by the commission:

> Our words would float away in the river. We wanted a chief to represent us and look after our interest. The chief appointed by the commission did not represent us.
> (Mary Wabano, App.1. item 3.10., p. 184)

This is particularly true for the time of the first treaty signing in 1905/06 where the families living out here were attributed to the Fort Albany band. People did not only hunt, fish, and gather out here, they lived on a certain part of this land. The fact that they went trading to a certain trading post -- the closest was at the Albany River before one opened on the Attawapiskat -- does not make them members of a 'band'. All this can be concluded from the perception of the people discussed above, particulary that of the elders who still lived on the land of their parents during and after the time of the treaty signing. A claim that the people had consented to the suggestion that they had given up their land by moving into the community can also not be made because, firstly, the majority moved into the reserve relatively late, over thirty years after the treaty, and secondly, even after the move the traditional way of life, which

includes of course the use of the land, was not given up. The traditional life is still practised today, and all the traditional territories of the families are still used by the people who live in Attawapiskat today, although nowadays the family members might use land that is not traditionally theirs, and other families also use land that was used by different families. A new order, due to the different 'home base', could develop out of this as I demonstrated in my example of the goose camps of the different families. The claim that a 'reclaiming' of the land is a 'modern' phenomenon, based on the growing education and political awareness of the people can also not be made, because traditional land use in Attawapiskat was a continuous, never interrupted fact. This way of life, which includes land use, was passed down from generation to generation, as it has been done since the beginning of the people. The alterations to our way of life that were due to the introduction of a new political organization of the people, that of chief and council, and due to the alien education of our children, are a development. This development, however, did not abolish our way of life and cannot be taken as evidence that the people had surrendered their lands with the signing of the treaty.

Concepts of Land Ownership - Who owns the Land, can Land be owned, can it be given up?

The interpretation of land ownership in the conception of the Indian people themselves should clarify the statement made by Nishnawbe Aski Nation, which I discussed in chapter 3:

> The Nishnawbe Aski Nation's treaty position is derived from our elders' understanding of the treaty process. It is the belief of our elders, as handed down from their ancestors that the Nishnawbe Aski Nations agreed to a sharing and cooperative relationship with the two governments.
> (Nishnawbe Aski Nation 1996)

What should be analyzed in this regard is the reference to the sharing and cooperative relationship, which, when one analyses the elders' conception of land ownership, is not only a political concept used nowadays by Native people in order to underline their claim to their own lands, it is a philosophy based on the way of life of the people. The conclusion that this was the intention of the people who signed the treaty can also be made on the basis that this philosophy, which is still deeply rooted in the people of today, has been passed down from generation to generation.

Let me start with the statement of 'modern' Native people in regards to land ownership concerning our traditional lands. The chief makes a clear statement on this saying:

> We want to be those who decide what happens in our traditional land, in our land. ....
> I think, this is the land of our people, the Natives. They own this land. (App.2, tape 18/Green, p. 222)

The same claim that this land is our land is made by the former deputy chief who says in regards of establishing a treatment centre in Attawapiskat:

> It was possible to get our own vision through, and that we had the right to get what we wanted in our own land. (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 236)

These statements are clear statements in regards to the white people's concept of land ownership, and it seems that our

'modern' people have taken over this concept. However, in other statements one can see that the old concept of land ownership, based on the idea that our spiritual relationship to the land, as it will be discussed below, is still present, be it consciously or sub-consciously. Thus, the chief says:

> And that's the important thing we have to tell the world that we are the people of this land, and that we are the custodians of this land. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 221)

This gives the concept of land ownership a different twist, suggesting that we belong to the land rather than the land belongs to us. The same is expressed by the former deputy chief who states that the land is his identity (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 235), and also makes a statement concerning the purchase of the land, that this concept is not the concept of our people:

> They (the government) want me to buy this land, to buy the gravel, to buy ... whatever, to be happy. But in our history it wasn't like that. That's what I am told by my people. (App.2, tape 16/Red, p. 237)

Of course, the indication of 'being told by my people' refers to the passing down of our values from generation to generation. I am sure that both chief and former deputy understand that concept of land ownership of our ancestors. For outsiders it might, however, be rather confusing, and I will try to discuss it in a way that people from a different cultural background will understand it.

There are two major foci. When Native people refer to the sharing relationship in regards to the land, which is summarized in one of the elders' statement that

> This land is for everybody
> (John Hookimaw, App.1, item 3.5., p. 182),

how can they claim at the same time that this land is theirs? In order to shed some light into this dilemma of land ownership I asked two questions:

> 4.2. Do you own any land around here? (App.1, p. 186),
>
> and later, to reconfirm this concept,
>
> 4.6. How would you interpret land ownership. (Can land be owned and who owns the land?) (App.1, p. 190)

The response to the first mentioned question (4.2.) brought about some opinions which seem to be different, but only on the first glance. I will list all of them to make visible, what I base my analysis on:

> Do you own any land around here?
>
> Every being born into this area has been set aside a piece of land by Kitche Mando. He gave land to all four races to cooperate. Individual ownership creates jealousies. (John Mattinas)
>
> (laughs) No! (Shano Fireman)
>
> No! We were given an Island to live on and we have to respect the land. (David Tookate)
>
> Yes! Kitche Mando gave us the land, Ministik, where there is food and medicine, and we should take care of it and respect it. (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 4.2., p. 186)

There are two 'yes' and two 'no' answers, yet, they all say the same thing. First of all, land comes from God, and yes, it was given to our people. The amusement of Shano about this question refers to his interpreting 'ownership' in the way non-Native people would interpret it. You cannot buy land and own it like

you own a car. Yet, we do own the land in a different sense, which is explained in the answer of John Mattinas, who states that as much as we 'own' the land, the other beings on the land (animals, plants, rocks) own the land as well, meaning that we were put on the land by the Creator, and everything on the land belongs there and can use the land. An individual ownership of a certain part of the land is by this definition impossible, because there are other beings on the land as well who use the same part of the land. This is also meant by sharing. We do not only share the land with other human beings. This relationship of owning/using becomes clearer with the responses to the other question:

> How would you interpret land ownership?
> (Can land be owned, who owns the land)

> No single person can say 'this is mine'. You are given the land to live off. There is a shared responsibility for the land. You look after the land that future generations can still live from it. (John Mattinas)

> You cannot 'own' land. This is all a man made law. Kitche Mando did not give the land to any one person. Wars and laws are man made. Land comes from Kitche Mando. We cannot own it or give it away. We have to honour it. (Shano Fireman)

> It is not the land of the government. It is for us to use, given by Kitche Mando. (James Carpenter)

> Kitche Mando created the land. He wanted that there were animals, plants and human beings on the land. We belong to the land. Land was not 'discovered', it was made by Kitche Mando, and Kitche Mando did not say for us to be controlled. (Mary Wabano)

> We were given the sacredness of the land, and we must take good care of it, as our future generations will depend on it. As well we were given that gift and that responsibility ..... (David Tookate)

> Kitche Mando gave each different race different life styles. Native people lived with nature, and we are to treat the land and the animals with deep respect. (Patrick Metat) (App.1, item 4.6., p. 190)

The one thing that all responses have in common is again that the land was given to us by the Creator. However, you cannot 'own' land, you can only look after it and use it responsively. Ownership becomes a task, a duty in this interpretation. Ownership interpreted in a non-Native way refers to God. He made the land, and He is the owner of it. The claim of Native people on this particular land is, however, underlined by the indication that God gave land to all four races to use and to be responsible for. This particular 'Ministik' (Island) is for the use of our people, the animals and plants, everything that was put on this land. As we were put here, being the first ones in this land, this responsibility lies with us. The conclusion to this question can only be that the Native people are the 'owners' of this land in the sense that they are the ones put on it and given the responsibility to look after it. The saying I often heard that we only borrowed the land from our children makes sense. We have to make sure that future generations can still use the land as we do now. Ownership of the land is thus based on two things. First, we were given the land by God to use, and second, we have the responsibility to keep it in a state that future generations, and of course all other beings, can use the land in the same way. The statement of the chief I was discussing above, that we are the people of this land, points towards these two interpretations which can also be summarised in the statement that, being put on

this land, we belong to this land.

Once this concept is understood, the concept of ownership in the sense of usership and responsibility, the answers to the following questions regarding the possibility of giving up the land should be self-evident. In regards to the treaty, this question is important because, in the treaty interpretation of non-Native people, our ancestors have supposedly given up our land, the land they were supposed to look after for the future generations to live on. Following the above concept of land ownership, this notion is impossible, which is confirmed in the elders' response to the question respectively:

> Could you ever give up land you lived off?
>
> No, there is a responsibility for the land. (John Mattinas)
>
> That would be blasphemy because Kitche Mando had given us this land. We cannot reject it. (Shano Fireman)
>
> No! Kitche Mando blessed everything. We must respect it. (James Carpenter)
>
> I cannot imagine refusing or not recognizing the sacredness of gifts from Kitche Mando. (David Tookate)
>
> No! How can we, when Kitche Mando gave it to us? (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 4.4., p. 187)

There can be only one conclusion to this question interpreting it from a Native point of view. As Shano expressed, the giving away of land would be blasphemy, because we had been given the land by God. One can also read the shock of the elders about this question in the answers from Shano, David, and Patrick. Other elders did not answer this question at all. The

blasphemy Shano Fireman is talking about also lies within the refusal of the responsibility for the land given by God. In our spiritual belief, there is a purpose for our life. This purpose includes that we look after the land, that we keep it for future generations. Refusing this duty is like refusing life. Our life is connected to the land, as it is said in the statements above that we were given a certain way of life with the land. In the first paragraph of this chapter I also discussed our relationship with the land, which boils down to the land being our life. This statement is repeated in the answers of the elders to the questions regarding land ownership. To give away land would not only mean blasphemy, to disobey our own values, and arrogance, because we cannot give away something that God had created, it would also mean suicide, because the land is our life and the responsibility for it is in many ways our purpose, why we are on earth.

The belief that the land is our life also surfaces in the responses to the question that referred directly to the treaty signing:

> Did the treaty mean that you gave up your land?

> No. The reserve land was only considered the place where people lived. You can still go out and harvest what you need. That is what we mean by saying we did not give up the land. This is why my kids still go out on the land. (John Mattinas)

> No. There were two bundles of money. One contained $4 per person, and the other $8 per person. Our people chose to take only the $4 bundle because the bigger amount would have meant that we give up our land. The smaller amount meant that we would get assistance. (Shano Fireman)

> No, we cannot give away what was lent to us by Kitche Mando. (James Carpenter)
>
> No, we must only respect the land. (Mary Wabano)
>
> No, Kitche Mando gave us Creation to be part of life. Kitche Mando provided us many things on the land we use and to live on. We were given our own Ministik. Other people were given their land and their way of life. The government did not give us land. Only Kitche Mando did. (David Tookate)
>
> No! How could we sell the land we live on and which Kitche Mando gave us? (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 4.11., p. 185)

David Tookate refers directly to the concept of land being life and that this land here was meant to represent our way of life. The other people were given their own way of life with the land they received from God. Therefore, as also mentioned in the responses of James, Mary, and Patrick we cannot give away land because we have to respect Creator and Creation. The other two elders answered the question more politically, interpreting it with the terms of the 'other' society. John Mattinas pointed out that the reserve is only the place we live now, which does not hinder us to still use the land, and Shano Fireman refers to the annuity payments of four dollars, which was meant for assistance only. This would be the strongest indicator in a political interpretation that the people signing the treaty did sign in the awareness that they did not give up their land. All the elders gave a negative answer to the question if land was signed away. The answers to this question confirm that it was not possible for the people signing the treaty to sign away the lands they are responsible for. It would still not be possible today, due to

our spiritual beliefs. As it was not possible to give up the land, the only alternative left for the Native people to negotiate anything in a treaty would have been the sharing and cooperative relationship. In the opinion of the Native people supported by their spiritual relationship to the land, we were the ones put on this land by God. There is no doubt in my mind that if the elders interpret the facts in the way they are presented above, our ancestors who signed the treaty would have seen it in much the same way. Our perception of life and relations do not change so fundamentally within one generation. Although some of the elders do understand the 'modern' concepts of land ownership, due to their contact with the non-Native people, and they can also explain the concepts of our ancestors using the 'modern' concepts, as is demonstrated by John Mattinas and Shano Fireman, they can still relate to the lives of their parents and are still passing on the values of that time.

The concepts of land ownership as described above are, no doubt, the concepts of the people who signed the treaty. In this way, they would not possibly have been able to sign away the land. The white people coming to this land were the newcomers who asked for 'their share' of the land. This 'share' cannot be understood as dividing the land in any way, as it cannot be divided for the reasons discussed above. All creatures living on the land also have a claim on it. The Indians had not given up their responsibility to part of the land. Responsibility can only be shared, not divided. According to the views of the

elders, for example that God has given land to each of the four races, the decision of how the land should be taken care of would continue to lie within our people, because this part of the world was meant to represent our way of life. Strictly speaking, the outsiders who want to share the land with us would have to follow a life according to our rules, because this was the way of life God wanted to see represented in this part of the world. It is irrelevant whether 'enlightened' Europeans would be able to follow this explanation, or whether they would turn it down as non-scientific. The fact remains that this is the perception of the Nations that signed the treaty. An interpretation of 'extinguishment of title' will always remain a one-sided interpretation based on the wish, not even the belief, that the other Nation would be foolish or primitive enough to actually agree to such a thing. This does not even make sense in interpretations based on the non-Native society. I would have to ask the seemingly ridiculous question of whether the Europeans would have signed away their land to us Americans if we had crossed the ocean.

The conclusion to the original questions asked, the questions about land ownership, is that land cannot be owned, as it comes from God, and the human beings are not the only beings on the land. However, although there is no individual land ownership, there is a communal land ownership or 'shared responsibility' as John Mattinas explained it (App.1, item 4.6., p. 190). This sharing, however, still refers to the way things

were meant to be by the Creator, and in this land it is our way of life. Through this, we are the owners of the land, or its representatives. When it is necessary to defend a claim to the land against claims of the non-Native society, the answer to the question of who owns the land will always be 'the Native people'. Patrick Metat summarises this thought fully, and I will therefore use his words, part of which I have presented already, to conclude this paragraph:

> We were given the sacredness of the land. We must take good care of it, as our future generations will depend on it. As well, **we** were given that gift and that responsibility by Kitche Mando and we must respect this gift and the life Kitche Mando has given us.
> They say that the federal government owns this land. They say that we only have 'surface rights', and the government owns the rest.
> The White man stands on the graveyard of our ancestors who are underground. They were here first. This is a fact. And what they say about it is not true. It was not the federal government that gave us life. Life was given by the Kitche Mando.
> When there is a discussion on land claims, **this is Indian land**. As I said, we stand on the graves of our ancestors. And this circle has continued since time immemorial.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 4.6., p. 190)

Motives for living on reserve - What did we expect from the treaty?

With these set of questions I wanted to find out why people consented to move on reserve, one of the treaty conditions, and by this perhaps shed some light on what the people thought the treaty was for, if it did not mean that they gave up their land. This, of course, is also connected to what was discussed in chapter 2. According to the historical sources it was also the

Indians that sought the treaty, not only the two governments, although their motives, as I have discussed already, were different.

As presented in the historical sources, the Indians were afraid that their way of life would be in danger, due to the white people overhunting and overtrapping in their, the Indians', traditional territories (Morrison 1986:14). Just before the signing of the first treaty in 1905/06, there was also starvation in the Missisnaibi Lake region (Morrison 1986:8). For the James Bay region something similar happened during the late 1920's and early 1930's, according to the account of the teacher I interviewed in Attawapiskat. The reason I will quote from this account is also that the way this historical event was presented represented the Indian way - by using a story. It should show that our way of telling history is as valid as the 'historical' one, because it is indeed based on the same facts, even if it is not always dated properly:

> During the time of the great depression, when there was a lot of starvation, there were some stories.... (teacher, App.2, tape 33/Green, p. 223)

The stories he is relating are about elders sacrificing their lives by giving the scarce food they have to the young people, so that our way of life can be carried on.

Some references to this can be detected in the elders' responses to my questions. I will first summarize the responses to the question if people relocated to the community because of the treaty (App.1, item 3.8.):

> Did your family's relocation to the community have anything to do with the fact that a treaty was signed?
>
> Not directly, because we moved there late. (John Mattinas)
>
> Maybe. We went there for clothing, and I went to school sometimes in Albany. (Shano Fireman)
>
> It was because the church and the HBC store were in the village. .... As we did move there, they should have provided us with the necessities. (John Hookimaw)
>
> We never really relocated, but when we came here it was for welfare or for school for the children. We were eventually tied down in the community. (Mary Wabano)
>
> Yes, it was supposedly done for us to be taken care of. The land of the community was set aside for this purpose. It should not be called reserve land, but a place where people are taken care of. We were promised assistance. (David Tookate)
>
> It was meant that we received welfare and education. But it was understood by us that we would only adapt enough, and that we shall not lose our identity, language and skills. We also believed that we would still live off the land for food. (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 3.8., p. 183)

It is obvious that the people did move to the reserve for assistance. That this assistance was 'just in case' and some other purpose could be interpreted from the answer of Patrick Metat who emphasizes that people still would live off the land for food. The other purpose that is frequently mentioned is education. The motivation to be taken care of could be to avoid any hardships as they were mentioned by the teacher who told the story of starvation. This is also contained in the response of John Hookimaw, who stresses that the people should have been provided with the necessities.

In order to really get a fuller picture I asked the next

question on the same issue, altering the focus, not directly referring to the treaty (App.1, item 3.9., pp. 183/184):

Why did your family move to the community?

As expected, the responses again referred to assistance and education, but they also showed a different side, that of mild force or 'persuasion' to move to the community.

> The purpose was to send children to school and to be with them while they are in school.
> (John Mattinas, App.1, item 3.9., pp. 183/184)

This need to be with the children is also described by Marie-Louise Hookimaw, who moved to Fort Albany for the time her oldest daughter went to residential school there:

> We stayed in Fort Albany when (the daughter) was young, to be near her. We just paddled and sailed to Fort Albany with our boat. When we arrived, (the daughter) barged in the door. Her knees were weak from running. She ran into me and grabbed me hard. She was so happy. I think she was there for four years.
> (Marie-Louise Hookimaw, App.1, tape 49/Red, p. 206)

It is important to mention that the children of the families now living in Attawapiskat first had to go to residential school in Fort Albany. In the case above, this location is far away from the traditional territory of the family, which is on the Attawapiskat river. In order to be close to her child, the elder had to move to Fort Albany. Attawapiskat would have been closer, and when a school was opened here, people moved here:

> It was also because they promised a school.
> (John Hookimaw, App.1, item 3.9., p. 184)

That this school for the children was not always voluntary is documented by people in Attawapiskat. My uncle Toby for example, did not get any assistance because he did not send his

children to school. This can also be read in the statement of elder Mary Wabano who commented that:

> The White man made sure that the children went to school; otherwise no welfare was handed out. My son did not go to school.
> (Mary Wabano, App.1, item 2., p. 172)

A similar statement is made by the elder David Tookate about his motives for the move to the community:

> We came here because we were promised assistance. You only get welfare when you live in the community.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 3.9., p. 184)

It is also testified by elder James Carpenter that the motivation to move to the community was not entirely voluntary, but due to the 'persuasion' of the 'officials' who wanted the people there:

> Because we trusted the person who wanted us to move. We only stayed for a while, and we only came here to purchase flour, tea, and oats about three times a year. Later we sent our kids to school. (James Carpenter, App.1, item 3.9., p. 184)

This elder made a similar statement answering the questions of when he moved to Attawapiskat and what changed:

> Someone came to move us to the village. He was listened to. Now we regret trusting this outside person. (James Carpenter, App.1, item 1.4., p. 170)

> When someone came he was listened to like a father figure who raised us. People then did not resist and were not political. .....
> However, to this day we regret trusting this outside person. .... They took advantage of our kindness and cooperation. The elders said they regretted doing this to their future generations.
> (James Carpenter, App.1, item 2., p. 172)

That the original intention to come to the community was trading is also expressed by this elder (three quotes above) and by the elder I interviewed in her smoking teepee:

> We got money for furs, but not so much. Just enough. We only could buy tea, flour, sugar. (Marie-Louise Hookimaw, App. 1, tape 49/Red, p. 205)

The fact of using 'mild force' as I call it shows also in the fact that the matter of building a community and choosing a reserve was obviously completely in the hands of the White people:

> Life was harmonious and calm in those better days. Then the land surveyors came to look for a place for us to put us into to take care of us. That's all. This should not be called reserve land, only the land where DIA can look after us. (David Tookate, App.1, item 2., p. 172)

He makes a similar statement when he answer the question of when he was moving to the reserve:

> When the people started to receive housing from the government. The government officials looked around the community and started to make plans for the sites for the houses of people. I guess, the people at that time thought our dwellings would be comfortable. (David Tookate, App.1, item 1.4, p. 170)

There was pressure from the government for the people to move to the reserve. They obviously also sent officials to persuade the people, as is testified by James Carpenter. The move to the reserve was in this way surely not entirely based on voluntary action. The promise that people would get assistance was also linked to the people moving to the reserve, and to their willingness to send their children to school.

The reference to the times of starvation the teacher made his story comes out in the response to the question of what the treaty was for (App.1, item 3.10., p. 184), with which I again tried to verify and connect the responses of the two previous

questions:

What was the treaty for?

> People were hungry and we were in need. The treaty was for getting assistance.
> (John Mattinas, App.1, item 3.10., p. 184)

And with the response of James Carpenter the connection to the protection of our way of life and our resources, as it is mentioned in the discussion about the history of the treaty (Morrison 1986:14), can be made.

> ...The Indians got scared. ... The treaty was for protection and support.
> (James Carpenter, App..1, item 3.10., p. 184)

The other elders just repeated what they had said before, that the treaty meant getting assistance, as it is shown in the response of David Tookate:

> The treaty was for us to get assistance. We were promised to be taken care of.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 3.10, p. 184)

It seems obvious that, in the opinion of the Attawapiskat elders, the treaty was only meant for protection and assistance. Their move to the community had to do with that, because this assistance could only be obtained by the people who moved to the community. Although there might have been the wish that the children got educated, schooling for the children was more or less a forced thing as well, as it was also connected to getting assistance. During the time of the residential school in Fort Albany people were still able to live their traditional lives in the territories, if they were not too lonely for their children and moved to where they went to school. That education was only

a half-voluntary agreement on the side of the people here can be concluded from the statement of Patrick Metat who quickly added that

> ...it was understood by us that we would only adopt enough, and that we shall not lose our identity, language and skills.
> (Patrick Metat, App.1, item 3.8., p. 183)

By this he, of course, means that the people who signed the treaty believed that by accepting the assistance of the government they would not give up their land. This is also expressed by John Mattinas who says that

> ...We did not give up anything.
> (John Mattinas, App.1, item 3.10., p. 184)

Thus, assistance was accepted with the only concession that their children could be educated in government schools, and that as soon as there was a school in the community, the people would move there. The move to the community was indeed a result to the treaty signing, but only in order to get assistance and to send children to school.

The first school in Attawapiskat, the so-called Indian Summer School, was opened in the 1960's by Roman Catholic missionaries, and the first government school was opened in 1974 (App.2, tape 32/Red, p. 231). Most of the people moved to Attawapiskat permanently relatively late, in the 1960's. This could also be an indicator that the Indians were well aware of the promises of the government, and that they did not live up to their end of the bargain, moving to the community, as long as the government did not respect its commitments. As the priest

recalled:

> First, the government did not want to do anything, but then they saw a good thing happening with the school run by the missionaries, (App.2, tape 32/Red, p. 232)

which eventually led to the opening of the government school in 1974.

That no rights were surrendered by signing the treaty is also still in the awareness of the chief who says:

> When we signed the treaty with the white people, Europeans, when they came to this country, we understood that we never gave away our rights. We never gave away our culture, our traditions, the way we should live on a day to day basis, or for future generations. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 221)

An interpretation of the treaty signing as extinguishing our claims to the land can not be upheld based on the testimonies of the people, and it is seen as fraud. It is also suggested that the only intention of the White people who negotiated the treaty was to rob our land. This is strikingly described by James Carpenter, who summarizes the intention of the White people for the treaty and the intentions for seeking treaty by our people, our people's honesty and trusting attitude towards the strangers, which finally led to them moving to the community, and their rude awakening that the other treaty partner, the White people, had cheated us. I will use his words to close this section:

> There was a land, beautiful and wealthy. We were born here. Long time ago, people came to this land, which they considered wealthy. The Indians got scared. The treaty making was in Kashetchewan (Fort Albany). We were not given much time to think and decide. ... The treaty was for protection and support. The White Man said: "I will take care of you as long as the sun shines". Now they break their promises.

> The White Man never kept his promises.
> (James Carpenter, App.1, item 3.10., p. 184)

The Role of the Government in Relations with Native People - Can the Government control us?

Beginning with an interpretation of our relations to the land, which is completely based on our concepts and might be difficult to understand, I have worked my way up to more 'white' concepts and how they are interpreted by our people. One important concept is 'government', here the government of the other society, which claims that they acquired our land by the treaty. The question if the Indians signed away their land will here be examined by reference to the related question of whether they signed away their self-determination, which is presented in the treaty text as:

> They promise and engage that they will in all respects obey and abide by the law ..... (Treaty Text)

I have to wonder how this was translated to the Indians, who have always obeyed 'the law', God's law that is. Laws are not made by governments in the belief of Attawapiskat people, as can be concluded from the previous sections.

The chief refers to our law in the interview:

> We have our traditional laws to follow, that are not written down. It comes from being passed down from generation to generation.
> (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 220)

He introduces this statement with the indication that nobody can stop tradition or change a culture. His interpretation that our independence from not "... being restricted or being told what to

do.." is, beside being our inherent right, also based on our treaty rights (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 221), allows the conclusion that this was the understanding of the Indian people who signed the treaty. Our independence extends into all parts of life, which is testified by the chief's remark:

> We had our traditional laws, values, family values and family structure, spirituality. That's what we're practising today.
> (App.2, tape 18/Green, p. 222)

He ties that again into the treaty agreement when he says:

> We don't want people to tell us how to live, how to trap, how to fish. It's our right (when) the treaty was made. It's our inherent right.
> (App.2, tape 18/Green, p. 222)

How these statements can be supported by the feelings of the elders, and how our ancestors must have interpreted their obedience to 'the law' and their relations to the government of the newcomers, will be analyzed with the help of the elders' statements.

My first question referred to the decision what to do on the land (App.1, item 3.4., pp. 181/182):

> Who determines where you go hunting, fishing, or gathering and how much you take?

The elders were immediately aware that this question aimed towards the reality that nowadays the government tries to interfere. John Mattinas therefore gives a long account of how the Ministry of Natural Resources (M.N.R.) tries to establish the claim that they are actually the ones in control, trying to calculate compensation for lost revenue for hunting and gathering in the area where diamond drilling is going on (App.1, item 3.4.,

p. 182). The other answers hint towards the government not having the right to control:

> (laughs) I do that myself. (Shano Fireman)
>
> Kitche Mando blessed everything on earth. We must respect everything, then we will not be harmed. Kitche Mando does not charge for water etc. You will not hear that from Kitche Mando to say that you must live here or pay for each tree you cut. As with the stars. Did M.N.R. (Ministry of Natyural Resources) make them? We are told that we must ask M.N.R., but M.N.R. did not make this Creation. (James Carpenter)
>
> We do that ourselves, because we know the land and we live off it. It is Kitche Mando who provided the food and other necessities. (John Hookimaw)
>
> (App.1, item 3.4., p. 181)
>
> Kitche Mando made all these things, and he gave them to us to use. (Mary Wabano)
>
> The M.N.R. seems to want to determine how much we can take. They cannot do that. There are even stories of Indian people being charged for hunting. This is the Indian way of life! (David Tookate)
>
> It is not up to the M.N.R. or the Federal Government to rule our lives. Kitche Mando gave us this land and our life styles. This is our way of life we got from Kitche Mando. (Patrick Tookate)
>
> (App.1., item 3.4., p. 182)

The claim that the government cannot control us, how we live our lives, is again supported with the indication that the land was made by God, not the government, and given to us. This is also confirmed by Raphael Fireman who was interviewed on video tape:

> Kitche Mando created the earth. It was not man. That is why the ministry does not have any authority to control our food and how much we eat.
> (Raphael Fireman, App.1, tape 22/Red, p. 213)

Seeing it from that perspective, that by interfering in our way of life the government tries to control how much we eat, the

claim by the government that we have to abide by their laws almost looks ridiculous. Beside the interpretation that it was God who made not only Creation but also the laws of how to live, there is also another claim in the responses of the elders, which seems to be logical even in White man's terms, that, of course, the ones who live on the land have knowledge of it, and therefore have to be the ones to decide what is happening on the land, as is pointed out by John Hookimaw. This same concept appears again the response of two elders on the next question I asked (App.1, item 3.6., p. 182):

> In how far are you concerned about government regulations on hunting and gathering on the land?

Two elders answered using the above mentioned concept that those people who know the land best should be the ones to decide:

> I know the land better than the government. I live out here. (Shano Fireman)
>
> Why must there be control? They (the government) do not know about animal life as we do. Kitche Mando did not say for M.N.R. to control us. The White man has to stop control over our life. (Mary Wabano)
>
> (App.1, item 3.6., p. 182)

It is significant that these two elders, one male and the other female, are the ones who still live on the land and represent the thoughts of our ancestors not only through a tradition that was passed down and is now altered although still practiced, but also by still living the way our ancestors did, out on the land and not in the community. The grandmother, mary Wabano, also points out again that living the way she does means to obey God's law.

The other elders express other concerns, but still emphasize that the government does not have the right to control our lives:

> We used to take guns. Now we cannot use guns. There are laws. Should we only use our axes? What about our food and protection? (James Carpenter)
>
> The White man makes rules, and he always excludes Indians. They just come and deliver the rules. They do not know our way of life. We do not trust them. Kitche Mando gave us animals and resources. We have to guard them and respect them. (John Hookimaw)
>
> It was not the federal government that gave us life. Life was given to us by Kitche Mando. (David Tookate)
>
> The government cannot tell us what to do. This is not right. It should not be like this. The government just wants our land. (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 3.6., p. 182)

The statement of James Carpenter refers to gun control, connecting the illegality of imposing this law on us to the treaty right of protection of our way of life. John Hookimaw refers again to God as the one who makes the rules, and he expresses his anger that there was never any discussion with our people, when the government tries to make new laws. We would interpret our laws to them. David Tookate refers to God giving us life **and** by this the independence and the duty to obey His laws, and the Patrick Metat interprets the intention of the government in wanting to grab our land. All the responses have in common the idea that the government does indeed have no control over our life.

In order to get the whole spectrum of the elders' opinion on

this issue I again altered the question and asked directly (App.1, item 3.7., pp. 182/183):

> Can the government tell you where to go or where not to go?
>
> Everyone lived moving around to different areas and respected the land. Now, sometimes people's possessions like guns are taken away. This is not right. White people should not interfere. Native people have their own ways on the land. (John Mattinas)
>
> No, because they do not know the land. I know it. (Shano Fireman)
>
> No! They did not make all this. They do not have the right to try counting and controlling. It is not theirs. It is from Kitche Mando. We can hunt whenever we want. They just make money. (James Carpenter)
>
> No one should interfere in our affairs. We are always asked to pay and pay. They made money out of our land. There were treaty promises of housing and health etc. They are breaking the promises. (John Hookimaw)
>
> The White people did not 'discover' all this. This was made by Kitche Mando. White people should believe in Kitche Mando, not try to control what Kitche Mando had given to us. (Mary Wabano)
>
> The government cannot tell us where we live, nor can they tell us what we can claim. .....
> The Federal Government just wants to be in control, to boss around Native people. We will not follow that. (David Tookate)
>
> No! The government cannot control us. They do not have the right to control our lives. We have our own society, and we live closely with the land and with the animals. (Patrick Metat)
>
> (App.1, item 3.7., pp. 181/183)

All the elders agreed that the government cannot control our lives. The claim to our independence always refers to God directly, and to the indication that it is us who know the land

and therefore have to decide what is taking place on the land. This, of course, also refers to God, as our being here did not happen by accident, but because God had put us here. David Tookate points out that we will not allow any attempt to be controlled by the government, and elder Patrick Metat refers again to the way of life that was given to us, living in harmony with nature, highlighting our claim on the land with our being different culturally. Both statements can only be understood in connection with the discussion in the previous paragraphs, particularly in connection with our spirituality. We cannot allow control over our lives by others, because we have to follow our own laws, being obedient to the purpose we were put on this earth for. The emotions the elders showed to some of the questions include not only anger, but also amusement (Shano Fireman), which also shows in this little statement of Raphael Fireman I interviewed while he was hunting geese out on the land, and who was talking to a European bow hunter who accompanied him and wanted to explain the different hunting seasons to him (for bow hunting, guns, etc.):

> There was a man in Cochrane who shot a deer with a bow and arrow. The M.N.R. was extremely upset. (He laughs)
> The M.N.R. was extremely upset because a deer got bowed. (Raphael Fireman, App.1, tape 4/Green, p. 214)

This example should just show, that many things can be interpreted from different sides. Interpreted from our point of view where hunting is part of the way of life, not recreation, sports or whatever, being upset that an animal got shot with a

bow and arrow instead with a gun is ridiculous.

Although emotions are not deemed appropriate in an academic paper, they are important in this analysis to make people who still have emotions but do not dare to use them for analysis understand the full scale of difference in the perception of reality between our two cultures. Certain interpretations of 'the law' seem ridiculous to us, because we follow a different set of values. A misinterpretation of our perception, or an ignorance of it is, however, a serious matter when it is used to interpret a mutual agreement like the treaty.

In order to make non-Native people understand what Mary Wabano means with her statement that

> ...White people should believe in Kitche Mando,
> not try to control what Kitche Mando has given to us,
> (Mary Wabano, App.1, item 3.7., p 183)

and to summarize why the government does not have control over us, I will use a European example of the concept the elders are referring to when they talk about us being put on the land and therefore being the ones to have the responsibility for it - the concept of 'Divine Right'.

European rulers claimed their right to rule based on 'Divine Right', on their interpretation that it was given by God. This was also used in the so-called discovery of our land. The British and French kings or queen always added 'by the grace of God', basing even their conquest on this concept.

The concept the elders are referring to when they talk about land ownership is similar. In regards to the government, there

is, however, a tremendous difference in the perception of it. Our 'Divine Right' to the land was not given to one single person, it was given to peoples, or interpreted from another angle, each and every person living on the land. In this way, there is no government in the sense the non-Natives refer to it, a government that has the power to introduce laws. The laws, given by God, are passed on to us from generation to generation, to every single person. They are understood by every single person. These laws are in our way of life, in our responsibility for the land. It is impossible for an Indian who was raised in this way to think of a government that tells you what to do, because no government is God, no government created the land, no government gave life to any individual person. With the life given to us by God, we receive a responsibility. We have a purpose to fulfil on this land, and this purpose has always been the same. Life is a circle. We follow that circle. Our life has been the same, since the Creator put us on this land, and it will be the same as long as there are 'Indians' on this land. Nobody can change that, nobody can change feelings about a culture, as the chief also confirmed.

Our way of life, because it is given by God, is as sacred as the land or life itself. In this whole picture, in this holistic view, there is no space for a government that controls life, be it the life of people, other beings, or Mother Earth. Our elders have passed these values on to us, and I presented some of their thoughts in the quotes above. As life is a circle, and as our

values have been passed down, they have been the same since time immemorial and certainly at the time of the treaty signing.

Seeing the facts in this way, through the eyes of Native people, it becomes clear that our ancestors did not sign the treaty in the awareness that it meant we would be controlled by a government. Referring to the treaty text I quoted at the beginning of this section about the laws to be obeyed by our people, if this was conferred to us at all in the negotiations, it was likely interpreted as being the laws we have obeyed since we were put on earth, because, referring to the beliefs presented in the statement of the elders, our ancestors could not possibly have believed that any government was in the position to introduce new laws.

CONCLUSIONS

Spirit and Intent

Basing a treaty interpretation on either the spirit or the intent will lead to two completely different results. Most of the treaty interpretations are based on, as it is said, an interpretation of the treaty text. I interpret this as the intent of the treaty, the extinguishment of Indian title to the land, as the treaty was written by the non-Native for exactly that purpose. Let me conclude first on this issue in order to defend my case for why the interpretation should be based on the spirit of the treaty.

The literal Interpretation of the Treaty

As I discussed in the second chapter, the intention of the treaty partners which were actually three namely the province, the dominion and the Indian nations were not the same for each party. Whereas both province and dominion were making treaty for the sole purpose of extinguishing land title of the Aboriginal people, the Indians made treaty to keep the land and their way of life. These two positions, being so completely opposite, would have required lengthy negotiations in order to be resolved. However, lengthy negotiations did not occur, at least not with the Indian nations. There were real negotiations, however, between the province and the dominion, which were staking their

positions with each other before the treaty commission visited the Indian bands. Another event, that of the land being assigned to Canada in 1870 (Long 1978:ii), had even occurred before that. The whole matter of extinguishing the title of the Native people was thus a done deal already, before the negotiations with the Indians even started. Now, there is nothing wrong with establishing a position prior to negotiations, but later basing treaty negotiations on this position, rather than on what was actually 'negotiated', looks very much like fraud and is more wishful thinking than a fair interpretation.

How did I come to this conclusion?

First, the intentions of the two governments was clearly not to negotiate. This is unmistakably stated by treaty commissioner Duncan Campbell Scott, who justifies this notion with the obvious lack of common sense on the side of the Natives:

> What could they (the Indians) grasp of the pronouncement on Indian tenure which had been delivered by the law lords of the Crown, what of the elaborate negotiations between a dominion and a province which had made the treaty possible, what of the sense of traditional policy which brooded over the whole? Nothing. So there was no basis for argument. The simple facts had to be stated..... (Scott 1947:112)

I declare this remark as rather racist, based on a feeling of superiority on the part of the 'white' race, which was obviously very much present that time.

Beside this unfavourable opinion about our people, this statement clearly reveals that there have never been any real negotiations with the Indian nations in Treaty Nine, because the 'white' commission did not deem them necessary. The simple facts

that had to be stated were, as I supposed before, the intentions of the government, the extinguishment of our 'title' to the land. This is how treaty interpretations are based on the intent. The argument might be now that the Indians did sign the treaty though. However, and that is my second point, what did they actually sign and were the facts Scott is referring to actually stated to the Indians?

The Spirit and Intent of the Treaty

This question will have to be answered referring to the spirit of the treaty. The 'spirit' is interpreted as what was actually 'negotiated' or pretended to be negotiated, and what was said to the Indians to make them sign the treaty. Did they sign an extinguishment to their land 'title'? - No!
The negative response to this questions can even be made on the basis of the non-Native society's understanding of 'the law', because the 'white' commission had never been honest to the Indians. As mentioned in the chapter on the historical context, the promise that Indians can still do on the land what they did before was repeatedly made, which even appeared in the report of the treaty commission who commented on their response to the questions of Indians if they would have to give up their land or their way of life:

> On being informed that their fears in regards to both of these matters were groundless, as their present manner of making their livelihood would in no way be interfered with ..... (Canada 1905/1906:4)

However, what the Indians signed was the extinguishment to their

title, that they had to move to reserves, and that their use of the land would be dependent on the governments' intention over what to do with the land, meaning, when they deemed it valuable for development, it would be taken away from the Indians. How does this fit into the promise that the manner of making our livelihood would 'in no way' be interfered with?

The spirit of the treaty, what the Indians were told what they would sign, was thus completely different from what the treaty text actually says. How valuable then, is an interpretation of the treaty which is solely based on the text?

The Indians' Understanding of Terms and Concepts

All the above discussed points do not include the culturally different interpretations of the concepts and terms that were negotiated in the treaty. This issue was never really raised when people talk about treaty interpretations. The basis for any discussion or legal case has always been the non-Native understanding of these concepts, the non-Native legal interpretation of them. This is still going on even among our own political organizations who still try to argue from a non-Native point of view.

Land, Land Use, Land Ownership, and 'The Law'

With my survey in Attawapiskat I tried to bring out the Native point of view which is based on the Indian understanding

of land, land use, land ownership and 'the law'. Beside a confirmation that land was never signed away by the signatories of the treaty, the conclusion could be made that a giving up of land would not even have been possible based on the Indians' spiritual relations to it. The awareness that nothing changed in this respect after the treaty can be proved by the ongoing intensive land-use of the Indians in Attawapiskat. Neither has the relationship to the land changed, which can be concluded out of statements that the land is our identity.

The most important issue, which surfaced almost in all the answers to the questions I asked, was that of spirituality. This spirituality is the basis to our relationship to the land, and dictates how we use it, how we 'own' it, how we live on it, and how we protect it. An extinguishment of title to the land, as the 'white' society claims was the outcome of the treaty, would not have been possible due to the Indians' interpretation of ownership.

This concept can be looked into from two sides.
First, land cannot be owned by any human being, government or whatsoever, because it was not them who created the land. This would make it impossible for the Indians to give it away, nor would any government have the authority to extinguish our rights to the land.
The second interpretation of this concept is much more complex, but it confirms our claim to the land even though land cannot be owned. Although land cannot be 'owned', only utilized by all the

beings on it, the responsibility for the land was still given to the people living on the land, who were the Native people in this part of the world. We, the Indians, were given the responsibility for the land by God, and it is not up to us to refuse this responsibility. Thus we cannot give any land away, and a treaty asking for land surrender has never been accepted, nor would it ever be accepted based on the above mentioned concept. I have explained the concept as our responsibility to the land being a 'Divine Right', the same concept Europeans had based their own sovereignty on. The full interpretation of this 'Divine Right' also makes it impossible that the Indians would ever have agreed to laws being made by men or a government, and by this they would not agree to abide by the laws of the 'country' (in the sense of government of the country) as suggested in the treaty. Strictly speaking there is no government in the sense of the concept as it is understood by non-Native society. The Indians always agreed to the concept of the King being the 'great father', as he is referred to by Scott (1947:112), or the Queen being the grandmother, but not in the way white people would have understood this. It is not that we think of ourselves as naive, helpless children, but we respect leaders who take care of their people. That is our interpretation of leadership, which is not based on power but on caring. The leader is the servant of the people, and, of course, the leader abides by 'the law' as we understand it, the law of nature, the law of God. That was the understanding of the people

who signed the treaty.

Benefits for what?

We did, however, accept the 'benefits' of the treaty in the form of assistance that was offered to the Indian nations who signed it. This might outrage some people who do not understand, and interpret that we want it both ways. To stop any discussion based on these assumptions I want to point out, that our land has been used by the people who came into this land. We did share the land, and the resources with the people who 'negotiated' the treaty with us. This alone would already justify our acceptance of the assistance we still receive. Actually, the newcomers took much more than we would ever have agreed to and tremendously more than the value of the 'assistance' that is given to us in return. In this way it is not us who are the takers. This title belongs to the government who claims the land as being theirs. Reference to the sharing relationship was made in the treaty interpretations of the Native political organizations I discussed. That this sharing includes the responsibility for the land is actually not an impossible claim by the Indians towards the government, and the government would not have any right to negotiate this. Strictly speaking it is an enormous concession towards the government on the side of the Indians, who are the ones given this responsibility over the land by God. As I pointed out before, this responsibility can be shared, but not

divided, and it has to be fulfilled in the sense of how the land should be treated. In our interpretation of life, the take-over of the government in this field is illegal. As the elders told us in this survey, this land with the responsibility for it was given to us. The other races had received their own part of the world. The 'benefits' we receive are therefore not benefits but, in a non-Native sense, the payment for what we are sharing.

Who owns the land in the Attawapiskat River Basin?

To make everybody understand, I will answer the ultimate question I asked in the title of this thesis bi-culturally. From an Indian point of view, land cannot be owned, at least not in the sense that you can buy it and sell it. However, the land was given to the people, the Indians in this part of the world, to be taken care of. This responsibility refers to each individual on the land. Although, for example, the elder (e2) living on the land some 30 miles up the Monument Channel, does not personally own the land, and would not be able to sell it to anybody, he and his family are the ones that have the responsibility to look after the land, to make sure that the rights of all beings to the land are respected and that 'the law', that is passed down to us from generation to generation is obeyed. The sovereignty to this part of the land is now the elder and his family and later his grand-children and great grand-children, whoever looks after the land. This is a circle

that will never end.

In a non-Native interpretation it is of course us Cree who own the land, and I want to conclude with the statement of the elder David Tookate that

> ...when there is a discussion on land claims, this is Indian land. As I said, we stand on the graves of our ancestors, ... , and this circle has continued since time immemorial.
> (David Tookate, App.1, item 4.6., p. 190)

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APPENDIX 1

Elders' Questionnaires and Interviews

I. Questionnaires (Interviews with Interview Schedule)

Age (Year born): John Mattinas: 71 / (1925)
Shano Fireman: 77 / (1919)
James Carpenter: 72 / (1924)
John Hookimaw: 71 / (1925)
Mary Wabano: 95 / (1901)
David Tookate: 74 / (1922)
Patrick Metat: 84 / (1912)

gender: John Mattinas: male, native, status
Shano Fireman: male, native, status
James Carpenter: male, native, status
John Hookimaw: male, native, status
Mary Wabano: female, native, status
David Tookate: male, native, status
Patrick Metat: male, native, status

1. Origins

1.1. **How long have you lived in Attawapiskat? (the village)**

John Mattinas: 23 years
Shano Fireman: (never really lived there; still in the bush)
James Carpenter: 50 years, off and on
John Hookimaw: permanently since the mid-1960's
Mary Wabano: on and off; lived mostly in the bush

1.2. **Where have you lived before?**

John Mattinas: about 70 miles up the river, in different regions, around that area, permanently in the bush.
Shano Fireman: Up the river, at different places, wherever there was good, straight wood for cabins and plenty of hunting; (15 miles from Mattawa), permanently in the bush.
James Carpenter: Between Kash River and Attawapiskat River (Mississia Lake). I grew up there with my parents. We only moved to Attawapiskat permanently after two of my sisters died from a measles rush. My mother and father had died in the bush. The time we moved to Attawapiskat was when they had already built houses there.
John Hookimaw: Nawashigig.

Mary Wabano: North of Attawapiskat, Winisk area.

Patrick Metat: North of Attawapiskat (Winisk area). My wife is from Winisk.

1.3. **What did you live from?**

John Mattinas: On jobs, welfare and from the land. First completely from the land. When I was young, I worked on the railroad, laying tracks. Later I lived on welfare. Now I am in Attawapiskat and once in a while I go hunting or harvesting.
Shano Fireman: only from the land.
James Carpenter: From the land. We moved around, harvesting.
John Hookimaw: From the land. Later I had a job with the missionaries on the farm.
Mary Wabano: Still lives from the land. In Attawapiskat, she does not live in a house. She refuses electricity. Welfare is collected and administered by somebody else.
David Tookate: I supported myself by trapping and hunting. The store gave me credit for the pelts I provided. Our ancestors relied on these activities when there was no assistance.
Patrick Metat: Lived on both, welfare and land.

1.4. **When did you move to Attawapiskat?**

John Mattinas: In December 1968. It was painful to leave home (the bush), leaving behind the gifts from Kitche Mando. A lot of older people must feel this grief. I went here for schooling (the children), but it is not quite enough for moving here. Many problems started.
Shano Fireman: Once in a while. People only went to the village to receive clothing and sometimes food. I was happy to go to school, because I could wear nice clothes.
James Carpenter: I don't know exactly. The first time we moved to Attawapiskat we only stayed for two months and then moved back. Someone came to move us to the village. He was listened to. Now we regret trusting this outside person.
David Tookate: When the people started to receive housing from the government. The government officials looked around the community and started to make plans for the sites for the houses of the people. I guess, people at that time thought our dwellings would be comfortable.
Patrick Metat: When we were supposed to get assistance and education we moved here.

1.5. **Where you member of a band before you moved to a community?**

John Mattinas: Yes, depending on the place where we lived on the land. People on the Attawapiskat River called themselves Attawapiskat Inninew, on the Kapiskau River called themselves Kapiskau Inninew etc.
Shano Fireman: No, there were no bands like today, only people.
Mary Wabano: did not understand this concept.
Patrick Metat: There were no bands as there are today. When we came to this place here, we were band members.

1.6. **Where did your parents live when you were born?**

John Mattinas: Same places
Shano Fireman: Up the river. People only came to where Attawapiskat is now for fishing. It is a bad place to live.
James Carpenter: I grew up with John's parents and John Hookimaw. My family lived at the Kash River, all over from the Albany River. My father and brothers moved there.
Mary Wabano: Winisk area.
Patrick Metat: Same places as I lived.

1.7. **If they moved to different regions between the seasons, where were their territories?**
Explain the activities done on land and season.

John Mattinas: They moved around in different areas to give the land time to regenerate. Depending on what they were doing on the land, they looked for the appropriate spot (like for gardening). The land was respected.
James Carpenter: Kash River, Albany River up to Attawapiskat River. We did everything on the land. People had skills. They knew how to build cabins (carpentry skills). We did not depend on skidoos or trucks like now. We did hunting and snaring and getting berries. Even the medicine we took from the land. We moved around where there was food. No official was there to control, no illness. We were strong people.
Mary Wabano: wherever there is something to harvest. They looked for food like caribou. There was no store at that time. We also trap animals.
Patrick Metat: We moved around at the same places for a while. When harvesting was not so good any more we moved away a bit and came back later. We lived on the land.

1.8. **Did they consider themselves member of a band?**

John Mattinas: Yes, Tastatsho. The band name depended on the region. The term 'Attawapiskat First Nation' came with

the treaty negotiations. The White Man called us this. Politically it belonged to the NWT first, then to Ontario. Non-Native people used different names. Even the name of a person changed with baptism. We were told, that we could not change our names as we used to, e.g. an adult name (like after the eagle). When I wanted to do something about my name, the lawyer told me I could not do anything, because the Island in James Bay I was born belonged to NWT, not Ontario.

Shano Fireman: No. (He is laughing at the question)
I consider myself Inninew (person, part of the people = Cree), not member of a band.

Mary Wabano: This concept was unknown.

David Tookate: no answer

Patrick Metat: could not answer this question

2. What changed when you moved to the community and why?

John Mattinas: We were always adopting white man's way, but this doesn't work. You cannot be half white and half Indian. There is no faith in ourselves anymore, no self-esteem. People are always doing as the whiteman does, but we cannot do that.

Shano Fireman: There were no houses first, only tents. I have an old age house in Attawapiskat now, but I live out here most of the time (Monument Channel, about 30 miles upriver from Attawapiskat).

James Carpenter: When someone came, he was listened to like a father figure who grew us up. People then did not resist and were not political. Then we were paternalized. Then laws came and people went to work, too. However, to this day we regret trusting the outside person. We were like dogs tied in chains. I am just stating the facts. They treat us like little kids and boss us around. They took advantage of our kindness and cooperation. The elders said that they regretted doing this to their future generations.

John Hookimaw: We are still lonely for the land, to live there again. If I could, I would live on the land again. But I cannot leave my children behind.

Mary Wabano: The people had to come to the community to collect welfare, when welfare started. The White Man made sure that children went to school; otherwise no welfare was handed out. My son did not go to school.

David Tookate: Yes, there had been many changes. There seems to be an epidemical increase of social problems. It was not like that before. Life was harmonious and calm in those better times. Then the land surveyors came to look for a place to put us into to take care of us. That was all. This should not be called reserve land, only the land where DIA can look after us.
The Chief and Council work like the white government.

What would be, if that was not the case? As you see, we are starting to pay for everything.
My life consisted of traditional activities. When I am in the house I can just breathe. I cannot see the creation.

Patrick Metat: Life was good and peaceful on the land. There are many problems now that were unknown before. There are lots of people living here. We are dying slowly in the village. There are so many social problems and no harmony.

2.1. **In terms of housing**

Shano Fireman: There are houses now. There were only tents before

John Hookimaw: In the tents it was warm. We used moss as insulation. The houses are cold.

Mary Wabano: Does not live in a house. In Attawapiskat she has a cabin without running water or electricity. She stays in Attawapiskat only a little while during the year.

David Tookate: We were promised a place to be taken care of. One promise was housing. However, the houses are not standard. They are more or less like box houses, and I can just breath in this house. I do not see the beautiful creation.

Patrick Metat: We had built our own houses the way we needed them. We could build migwams wherever we were. I miss being out there. It is organized differently today.

2.2. **In terms of how family was supported (Life style, food etc.)**

Shano Fireman: When we lived off the land, we were healthy. When we kill animals, the animals are strong. They live off the land, too. We kill in a way that the blood, the juice of life stays in the meat. It is healthy. White men chop off the head of an animal, draining the blood. (see also 2.5.)
Nowadays people buy bacon and chicken at the store. It is unhealthy food, because the animals did not live outside, but in stables, and they are killed the wrong way.

James Carpenter: Life was free before and we were not controlled. People knew how to live and where to find food. There were rare cases when rabbits and fish decreased, but there was other food too.
The HBC introduced alcohol. They were also the first fur traders and had the monopoly. We never got our money's worth. When the ships came, the problems started. They had home brew. There were deaths. Christmas and New Years were especially the times when they used to be drunk. I don't know if they ever talked about spirituality.

John Hookimaw: Out on the land, fish and wild food, like rabbit was readily available. We used dogs for transportation. Around the village there is not so much fish and game, but now it is easier to go out with the skidoo.

Mary Wabano: not relevant, as she still lives a traditional life. In the village she only stocks up on flour, sugar, tea and gasoline.
In general: Children were never disruptive on the land as they are here on the reserve.

David tookate: We only used to kill as much as we needed to live on and to be able to share some food with people we ran into. We took care of our families. Now we see our youth just sitting around and not having the skills to live off the land. Elders and experienced people should teach the traditional activities also. I see little kids running around, not being taken care of.

Patrick Metat: Life was good and peaceful on the land. We had enough to eat, wild meat etc., and we were very rich. We took good care of each other.

2.3. **In terms of family life and child rearing**

John Mattinas: When the sun was down in the bush, the kids had to be home. They obeyed their parents, because they respected them. The kids were also breastfed. There was a bond with the child. In the 60's, people started to use baby bottles. The parents can take off any time. That is why the kids don't respect their parents too much any more.

Shano Fireman: It was the parents and grand parents that taught the children and took care of them. Nowadays, in school, they are only taught the white man's way. Parents do not take care of their children any more.

James Carpenter: In the land there were not many problems. Our parents trained us in traditional activities.

John Hookimaw: The children did a lot of activities on the land, like tobogganning in spring. There was calmness in the families and a lot of harmony. We also prayed together. Children listened to their parents. They could not go about their activities if they didn't. The parents were still attached to older children (over legal age).

Mary Wabano: nothing changed as she rarely comes to the village.
In general: Long ago, when a child had problems, parents would just talk to and counsel the child. Nowadays, kids harm themselves by sniffing gasoline. There is no guidance by their parents and no relationship with their parents.

David Tookate: There was disruption and family break-up. Alcohol was one of the contributing factors to our breaking social structure. People drank and caused disruption to the family unit.

Patrick Metat: Parents looked after their kids well. When the sun had gone down, children were at home. Nowadays kids are not looked after any more. They are on their own.

2.4. **In terms of education of children**

John Mattinas: When I wanted to know something, I went to older people to go back and back, instead of always looking to the future.
You have to be patient and have time with the education of the children. Always trust your relationship first. When I hugged my grandmother, I was asked by the priest: "What are you doing?" After that this (hugging) stopped.

Shano Fireman: Kids learn from TV. Any social that is held is about money. Education is only about white man's way. Life is only seen as material life with commodities. They only want money.

James Carpenter: Priests and nuns came with their boats to pick up children for school in Fort Albany. They were gone for a long time. There was too much harshness in penalizing our kids. Superiority also existed. We had good intentions when we put our kids in these Residential Schools. I do not understand why there had to be these harsh treatments. It seems it caused a lot of damages.
I only went there for 2 years, but when my dad realized that we were taught the opposite way, he took me out of there telling me that I could not know how to live on the land any more, only how to live inside a building. My Dad trained me traditional skills. In Fort Albany I was taught the Bible and housework duties.

Mary Wabano: It seems that the children started to change when they started to go to school here on the reserve. Our way of life is not taught there.
Traditionally, parents would start to teach their children at young age. They would teach how to survive and the traditional activities. The parents were around their children all the time. They had a tight relationship and could talk to and guide their children while growing up.
Nowadays you see that parents do not guide and watch their children. Children are running around late at night and are harming themselves and damaging other people's property. Kids are sniffing gas. They are roaming around. There is no guidance and no relationship to the parents.
We were trained at an early age and we were also taught spirituality.

David Tookate: We used to have traditional education taught by our parents and elders, about philosophy, hunting etc. We learned by watching/observing. Western education

seems to take our youth away, especially when they go to high school. They come back different and not understanding our ways any more. I do not have anything against school, but our ways should not be forgotten in the process.

Patrick Metat: Our parents taught us many things so that we could survive on our own. We were always with our parents and could learn a lot. What do parents teach their children today?

2.5. **In terms of health care**

John Mattinas: The afterbirth was considered sacred. It used to be hung in the tree and treated with respect. I wonder, if the hospital just throws it away. You are not supposed to do that.
There is also another dilemma. The transplant of organs is blasphemy. It is not mentioned (in the Bible) to take organs.

Shano Fireman: Because we lived healthy lives, we were strong and healthy. When you cut your finger, using the medicine from the land, it heals within several days. Women who gave birth, were back to work one day after birth. Nowadays, when you go to the hospital, it takes forever to heal. People have become weak.

James Carpenter: We had taken all the medicine from the land. There is medicine in the ground, not only in the hospital. We had medicine for cuts, etc. There were a lot of teachings.

John Hookimaw: There were no major deceases before we moved to town. We could cure ourselves from the land. Nowadays, you buy cold remedies from the store. Out on the land we treated tooth ache with medicine from tree gum, severe cuts with other traditional remedies. When a woman delivered, it was not complicated. We had ash in a bag for the woman (for warmth).

Mary Wabano: Our grandfathers used herbs and roots from nature, which has been provided for us to use. There are all sorts of medicine on earth.

Patrick Metat: We used our traditional medicine that Kitche Mando provided for us on the land. We had medicine men who had the gift to know what herbs to use. I still use my own medicine. Western medicine only makes you worse and you don't really know what's wrong. I wonder if the nurses know. We always knew what was wrong with us. We had sweatlodges, which we also used for cures.

2.6. **In terms of spirituality**

John Mattinas: You are not supposed to cut down a tree. You have to respect Creation. Hunted animals were treated with respect. Their Organs were also hung in clean places.

Shano Fireman: Kids are not taught enough spirituality. They only learn from TV. When they grow up, they lose the connection. The kids are losing their values.

James Carpenter: We were told the sacredness of animals. Water, snow etc. was blessed by Kitche Mando when he created them. He provided us with things we needed from His creation.

John Hookimaw: People sometimes think we did not know Kitche Mando before the missionaries. But we knew Kitche Mando. We prayed a lot.

Mary Wabano: Our forefathers prayed a lot, even before the man in the black long dress came. There were medicine men that used their powers in good ways, and sometimes also in bad ways. The good shamans were like doctors and they could cure people that were sick. Our grandfathers had drums when they prayed a lot. Nevertheless, St. Xavier wrote in the Great Book that our ways were mandocheo (satanic) and that our people did not know Kitche Mando. The use of traditional rituals was said to be pagan in the book. We had a priest who used to meet the community regularly to talk to the people and to advice them, when the children had to be home. From then on,the kids were whipped when they did not listen.

David Tookate: We prayed all the time, day and night, before the Missionaries came. Now it seems in the village that people only go to church once in a while. For us each day was sacred.

Patrick Metat: We prayed to Kitche Mando and we had fasting ceremonies. A person who went into the bush, not eating or drinking for 10 days, came back knowing. We could connect to the spirits.

2.7. **In terms of survival skills**

John Mattinas: The longer we stayed in the village, the more the children forgot how to live off the land. These skills should be taught to the children, and also to the White people living here. There would be less accidents.

Shano Fireman: Children do not learn how to live on the land any more. People lost these skills. The leaders at least should know how to trap and live off the land. Then they would understand.

James Carpenter: In school you aren't taught survival on the land

John Hookimaw: Out on the land, older people were still hunting and trapping.

Mary Wabano: These skills are not taught in the school.

David Tookate: We were taught survival skills long ago. Now I worry about our youth for their future. We have cuts by the government. How will we survive if we do not receive any assistance in the future?

Patrick Metat: We lived in close harmony with nature. There is so much to learn from the land. We lived with the

water (the river) and we understood the tides. Kitche Mando gave us life within this land, and we are to deeply respect it and take good care of it. He gives us food every spring and summer when things grow.

2.8. **In terms of relations among the generations**

John Mattinas: People lose their values; their respect for parents and elders. It was lost, when parents lost their bond to their children. When you breast feed, you have to be around the child all the time. When you use the bottle, you can take off. Kids feel that. That's why they lost their bond.

Shano Fireman: Relations deteriorated, because generations were separated. They do not work together any more. Children are educated in a way that they do not understand the elders any more.

James Carpenter: In my youth days, elders were gentle and caring when we lived on the land. There was love and we were strong. There were no distractions, and we lived a humble life. We were breastfed, which made a strong bond to your mother. Then this was destroyed, it was broken down. The sky was clear in my time. Then these terrible clouds came and lives were ruined. What should be the compensation for that?

John Hookimaw: Out on the land we lived together with the in laws We hunted and fished together. When we came to town to shop, we came as families. And we returned as families when spring came.

Mary Wabano: Long ago, when a child had problems, parents would just talk to and counsel the child. There was no form of corporal punishment, like the whip, which was brought by the priest.

David Tookate: There is not much of a relationship nowadays. You see little children run around outside. They will have a hard life when their ways of life are not taught to them.

Patrick Metat: We were very close when we lived on the land. Everybody contributed to the whole and we respected each other, shared everything with each other. Now, the children are on their own.

2.9. **In terms of language**

John Mattinas: The use of our language goes down dramatically. We were given a language by Kitche Mando. Even the geese still communicate the same as before. Our people speak too much English. I do not object to English or French but amongst ourselves we should use our own language.

Shano Fireman: Language goes back. Children get frustrated sometimes because they do not understand us any more. They speak a different kind of Cree, which is too English.

James Carpenter: Kitche Mando gave us our language. I do not wish to forget and abandon what was given by Kitche Mando. However, there is our a movement now that the youth wants to come back but they cannot communicate with their elders, due to a language barrier.

John Hookimaw: Long time ago, people could speak proper Cree, even the young. Nowadays, due to school, the young are losing their language slowly.

Mary Wabano: The children are losing their language, because they go to school at an early age.

David Tookate: We have a sacred language given to us by Kitche Mando. He had given many languages to people, and we were given our own. How can we not respect the sacredness of our language. I am dismayed when people do not respect the sacredness of our language.
It is even written in the Bible that language was a gift from Kitche Mando. When I see a priest speaking English to the kids, does he not know the sacredness of our language?

Patrick Metat: We spoke our language. It is Kitche Mando's gift and we have to respect that. People nowadays are losing their language. They do not live as we lived before.

2.10. **Any other comments**

John Mattinas: People went to Kashetchewan to collect annuities. They might have been considered members of the Fort Albany band. The people from here then decided to elect their own Chief and Council.

Shano Fireman: There should be a chief who does not speak English. Then s/he would only represent our ways. But the chief is only educated in the English way.
I highly doubt that Chief and Council represent us. There are no Native Ways in the band office. If our political leaders would take the Native way as a basis, there would not be so many problems.

James Carpenter: Why do we lose our language? When our youths go to school and later high school, they learn a different behaviour and they speak in a different language.

Mary Wabano: T.V. is socializing the kids into a different society. They learn things from there as well.

David Tookate: I believe that T.V. contributes to the changes. Many young people get influenced by T.V.
We started receiving assistance from the government when there was a settlement here. After a while, there was a liquor store put in place in Moosonee. It seems to me that the reason for the government for making settlements was to make them drink and buy booze. You know, the money we get as assistance goes to that liquor store. We do not really make a living with that assistance in this community where we just sit around. The money goes back to the government.

One of the factors for the increasing social problems is alcohol. People also start to sell drugs to our youth. These substances come from outside our culture. They are not our way.

Patrick Metat: I still would like to go back on the land, but I think, it is not possible any more the way things are running today. I am stuck here in the community.

3. Expectations from the treaty

3.1. Do you or your children still go out on the land?

John Mattinas: Yes.

Shano Fireman: Yes.
27 km up the Monument Channel. I live my life here; I get food, fire wood etc. I am happy to live here. My grandson lives with me. He learns the way and supports me.

James Carpenter: Yes. I do not go so often any more, but my sons go with John's (Hookimaw) youngest. They go hunting.

John Hookimaw: Yes. They go up the river for moose and caribou, and down the river or north of here for geese. My daughter and my wife go berry picking close by.

Mary Wabano: Yes, my son and I still live on the land.

David Tookate: Yes, my children do go out still.

Patrick Metat: Yes. Depending on what they are taking, they go up or down the river.

3.2. Where do you go and what is the purpose?

John Mattinas: They go hunting, in winter with the skidoo. In winter they hunt caribou and deer.
Depending on where the animals are, the hunters find good spots. That's where they go.

Shano Fireman: Around my camp at the monument channel.

James Carpenter: When they go moose/caribou hunting, they usually go up the river and up north. Goose hunting is done at the bay and sometimes also up the river.

John Hookimaw: They go Moose hunting up north and goose hunting at Akimiski. Fishing up the river.

Mary Wabano: The greater part of the year I am out, up North, to go trapping and hunting. We harvest our food there.

David Tookate: They go up north and up the river for caribou.

Patrick Metat: Moose and caribou hunting up the river and north, sometimes also south of the Lawashi.

3.3. Is the interest of your children and grand children to go on the land increasing or decreasing, and what is the difference in this between your children and grand children? Explain!

John Mattinas: decreasing with both, children and grand children.

Children do not know any more what to do on the land, and how to do it. There is education needed foe skills on the land.
They still have interest, of course, but what keeps them are their jobs. My children are almost the last generation who still know how to live on the land. My grand children have almost lost this skill completely.

Shano Fireman: decreasing with both, children and grand children. They to not have much time any more to come out. Nobody in the village teaches them. I have one grandson with me. He did not go to school, but he healed out here by living with me.

James Carpenter: Cannot say. They are out not so often, but they go each year.

John Hookimaw: It is stable. Even the grand children are still interested because their parents still take them out.

Mary Wabano: So and so. One son is with me, living on the land; the other one lives in Moosonee.

David Tookate: It is decreasing in the grandchildren, particularly those who go to school. My children and one of my grandchildren still goes out.

Patrick Metat: They still do what they did before. Of course it is decreasing to a certain extent because they live in the community.

3.4. **Who determines where you go hunting/fishing or gathering and how much you take?**

John Mattinas: In 1946 - 50, MNR asked where we were going to hunt and gather, for the number of food and material we took out. Now we hear that Whitemen want to measure the value in $ per year.
They are digging for something in the ground (diamonds). They measure $30,000.00 per couple as compensation for lost revenue. They just measure everything in $-value.
We will be pushed aside. They asked for the number of dependents for calculating their quotes, but the Native people did not like that.
The MNR made a map where they had jurisdiction (Moosonee District). They just stated that they had control there.

Shano Fireman: (laughs) I do that myself.

James Carpenter: Kitche Mando blessed everything on earth. We must respect everything, then it will not harm us. Kitche Mando does not charge for water etc. You will not hear that from him to say that you must live there or you must pay for each tree you cut. As with the stars. Did MNR make them? We are told that we must ask the MNR, but MNR did not make this creation.

John Hookimaw: We do that ourselves because we know the land and we live off it. It is Kitche Mando who provided the

food and other necessities.

Mary Wabano: Kitche Mando made all this and gave it to us to use.

David Tookate: The M.N.R. seems to want to determine how much we can take. They cannot do that. There are even stories of Indian people being charged for hunting. This is the Indian way of life!

Patrick Tookate: It is not up to the M.N.R. or the Federal Government to rule our lives. Kitche Mando gave us this land and our life style. This is our way of life we got from Kitche Mando.

3.5. **Are there any other people going to the exact places you go? Explain!**

Shano Fireman: There is only me out here. The chief's cabin is up that trail. His family only comes sometimes.

John Hookimaw: This land is for everybody. Gabriel only lived there and did trapping. Peter W. lived there because he refused a house and still refuses electricity.

Patrick Metat: They are now, because they all live here.

3.6. **In how far are you concerned about government regulations on hunting and gathering on the land?**

John Mattinas: Native people did not like that. They were concerned about running into legal problems if they disclosed everything. So they just did not tell.

Shano Fireman: I know the land better than the government. I live out here.

James Carpenter: We used to take guns. Now we cannot use guns. There are laws. Should we only use our axes? What about our food and protection? Guns are very valuable.

John Hookimaw: The White Man makes rules and he always excludes Indians. They just come and deliver the rules. They do not know our way of life. We do not trust them. Kitche Mando gave us the animals and resources. We have to guard them and respect them.

Mary Wabano: Why must there be control? They (the MNR) do not know about animal life as we do. Kitche Mando did not say for MNR to control us. The White Man has to stop control over our way of life.

David Tookate: It was not the federal Government that gave us life. Life was given to us by Kitche Mando.

Patrick Metat: The government cannot tell us what to do. This is not right. It should not be like this. The government just wants our land.

3.7. **Can the government tell you where to go or where not to go? Explain!**

John Mattinas: Everyone lived moving around to different areas and respected the land. Now, sometimes, people's

possessions like guns are taken away. This is not right. White people should not interfere. Native people have their own ways on the land.

Shano Fireman: No, because they do not know the land. I know it.

James Carpenter: No. They did not make all this. They do not have the right to try counting and controlling. It is not theirs. It is from Kitche Mando. We can hunt whenever we want. They just make money.

John Hookimaw: No one should interfere into our affairs. We are always asked to pay and pay. They made money out of our land. There were treaty promises of housing and health etc. They are breaking the promises.

Mary Wabano: The White people did not 'discover' all this. This was made by Kitche Mando. White people should believe in Kitche Mando, not try to control what he gave to us.

David Tookate: The Government cannot tell us where we live, nor can they tell us what we can claim. The White Man's government does not have a strong claim to their theory. Native people have a stronger claim. The Federal Government just wants to be in control to boss around Native people. We will not follow that.

Patrick Metat: No! The government cannot control us. They do not have the right to control our lives. We have our own society and we live closely with the land and with the animals.

3.8. **Did your family's relocation to the community have anything to do with the fact that a treaty was signed?**

John Mattinas: Not directly, because we moved there late.

Shano Fireman: Maybe. We only went there for clothing, and I went to school sometimes, in Albany.

John Hookimaw: It was because church and HBC store were in the village. The HBC and the priest should have come to us, instead of us moving to town. As we did move, they should have provided us with the necessities.

Mary Wabano: We never really relocated, but when we came here it was for welfare or for school for the children. We were eventually tied down in the community.

David Tookate: Yes, it was supposedly done for us to be taken care of. The land of the community was set aside for this purpose. It should not be called 'reserve land', but a place where people are taken care of. We were promised assistance.

Patrick Metat: It was meant that we received welfare and education. But it was understood by us that we would only adopt enough and that we shall not lose our identity, language and skills. We also believed that we should still live off the land for food.

3.9. **Why did your family move to the community?**

John Mattinas: We did not move here before the 1960's. The purpose was to send children to school and be with them, while they were in school.

James Carpenter: Because we trusted the person who wanted us to move. We only stayed for a while and we only came here to purchase flour, tea and oats, about three times a year. Later we sent our kids to school.

John Hookimaw: Because of the HBC store and the priest. It was also because they promised a school.
It was a mistake. We did not have booze before. They just make money out of us. Many people die from alcohol. The liquor store should be held responsible.

David Tookate: We came here because we were promised assistance. You only get welfare when you live in the community.

Patrick Metat: For education and welfare.

3.10. **a) Did your parents or grand parents ever talk to you about the treaty?**
b) What was the treaty for?

John Mattinas: They predicted our future. There were stories about the treaties before, in the 1800's. I was told a story that the people would be on a land with little food, in a little canoe with little food left on the leftover land - the reserve.
On July 3, government officials (10 people) came to the Albany river. They met at the HBC post. The negotiation process went on for three days. There were 8 signatures in syllabics in the end.
People were hungry and we were in need. The treaty was for getting assistance. Before the treaty, there were missionaries already that prevented people from living on the land. We did not give up anything.
The Attawapiskat people went to Kash to collect annuities, but later they decided to have their own chief and council.

James Carpenter: There was a land, beautiful and wealthy. We were born here. Long time ago, people came to this land which they considered wealthy. The Indians got scared. The treaty making was in Kashetchewan. We were not given much time to think and decide.
The treaty was for protection and support. The White man said: "I will take care of you as long as the sun shines". Now they break their promises, after they had made a lot of money with the land. The White man never kept his promises.

Mary Wabano: Our words would float away in the river. We wanted a chief to represent us and look after our interest. The chief appointed by the commission did not represent us.

David Tookate: The treaty was for us to get assistance. We were

promised to be taken care of.

3.11. **Did the treaty mean that you gave up your land?**

John Mattinas: No. The reserve land was only considered the place where people lived. You can still go out and harvest what you need. That is what we mean by saying we did not give up the land. This is why my kids go still out on the land.

Shano Fireman: No. There were two bundles of money. One contained $4 per person, and the other one $8 per person. Our people chose to take only the $4 bundle, because the bigger amount would have meant that we gave up our land. The smaller amount meant that we would get assistance.

James Carpenter: No, we cannot give away what was lent to us by Kitche Mando.

Mary Wabano: (Note: she was shocked at the question if we can sell or give up land. The interpreter Leon Kataquapit (58 years old) explained that the grandmother cannot understand these concepts as she still lives like she used to live before. She spoke of fear when the White man was seen here and that lives would change).
No, we must only respect the land.

David Tookate: No, Kitche Mando gave us creation to be part of life. He provided us many things on the land to use and to live on. We were given our own Ministik (Island). Other people were given their land and their way of life. We must respect what was given to each of us in life. The Government did not give us land. Only Kitche Mando did.

Patrick Metat: No! It was meant to give us assistance. How can we sell land we live on and which Kitche Mando gave us?

4. Relations to the land

4.1. **What does the land mean to you and your life?**

John Mattinas: We were grieving, when we left the land to move here. We received it from Kitche Mando. It's our life.

Shano Fireman: Kitche Mando gave us this land. It must hurt Him when we reject or abuse it. Everything on the land was given to us by Kitche Mando, so that we can survive (like food, shelter etc.) We have to honour this gift.

James Carpenter: Kitche Mando gave us these sacred things. Life on the land is peaceful. We are strong and healthy on the land. Life is sacred on the land. There are lots of beautiful creatures. There are flowers that smell good when the wind comes. You come on the land, wow! Beautiful, and it smells good. It has healing powers.

John Hookimaw: I would still like to live on the land. I am grieving for the loss.
Mary Wabano: Our people lived a good life on the land. There my grandfather and grandmother used to tell me stories.
David Tookate: It is Kitche Mando's creation which provides us many good things. I see the beautiful creation and it makes me think, and I feel how much sacredness we have been given by Kitche Mando. The land is a reminder of that. It is a place where you can heal and feel the calmness of your soul.
You heard the story of God's creation of the Garden (Eden). You see white people as farmers. As with us, Kitche Mando did not give us farms or cities. He provided us our own style of garden. This 'Island' here is our garden and it is our kind of city where we travel to gather all the necessities for life. Kitche Mando provided us animals and we harvest them.
Patrick Metat: Land is precious, rich and very important. Without the land we will die.

4.2. **Do you own any land around here?**

John Mattinas: Every being born in this area has been set aside a piece of land by the Kitche Mando. He gave land to all 4 races to cooperate. No single person can say: "This is mine". Individual ownership creates jealousies.
Shano Fireman: (laughs) No!
Mary Wabano: (see 3.11.; this concept is not understood by her.)
David Tookate: No. We were given an Island to live on and we have to respect the land.
Patrick Metat: Yes!(interpreted the 'you' collectively). Kitche Mando gave us the land, Ministik (the Island), where there is food and medicine, and we should take care of it and respect it.

4.3. **Who is responsible for the land you live off? (Who looks after it?)**

John Mattinas: I am. It is us that have to look after it. We have to think of our future generations.
Shano Fireman: I live on the land that was given to us by Kitche Mando. Everything I need I get from the land. That is what it is for. I cannot waste it. To live on the land and from the land means to obey Kitche Mando. That is why He put us here.
The one who lives on the land is responsible for it, and that is me.
James Carpenter: Kitche Mando blessed it all. We must respect it.
John Hookimaw: We were given the land to protect and guard. The land provides life. It provides food, medicine, etc. It was given to us by Kitche Mando.
Mary Wabano: Kitche Mando gave us the land to use, not to

control. But we have to look after it.
David Tookate: We should be responsible for the land we live on. We must show respect for Creation and we have to continue to pass it on to our future generations.
Patrick Metat: We are responsible for the land, as it is part of sovereignty given to us by Kitche Mando.

4.4. **Could you ever give up the land you lived off?**

John Mattinas: No. There is a responsibility for the land.
Shano Fireman: No. That would be blasphemy, because Kitche Mando had given us this land. We cannot reject it.
James Carpenter: No. Kitche Mando blessed everything. We must respect it.
Mary Wabano: (shocked about this question)
David Tookate: I cannot imagine refusing or not recognizing the sacredness of gifts from Kitche Mando.
Patrick Metat: No! How can we, when Kitche Mando gave it to us? We are dying slowly in the village and there are so many social problems and no harmony.

4.5. **How does land relate to**

family life and child rearing

John Mattinas: Parents were there for their children. Nowadays children watch TV. They see all this violence and think it is okay. On the land you feel content.
Shano Fireman: Children grow up close to their family members. They learn how to care for each other by the tasks, everybody fulfils.
James Carpenter: Kitche Mando told us to love and help each other. On the land we have a strong bond with each other. We are together.
Mary Wabano: Parents used to be around their children all the time. Children behave different now. Now they are influenced by T.V. We were not brought up like this. In nature you only learn the good things in life.
David Tookate: The land provides us good basic things in life, and we can take good care of our children in order to make sure that they are fed, looked after and taught our ways.
Paatrick Metat: Life on the land is rich and peaceful. We took care of our children well.

education of children

John Mattinas: There is not enough guidance here. There should be more. If you are on the land, there is no violence. You feel Kitche Mando.
Shano Fireman: Children learn how to live a healthy, good life.

They learn by living with their parents and helping with their chores.

James Carpenter: My father taught me how to survive on the land. We have stable, natural laws given by the Creator. We learn out there. The government's minds are not stable and they are jumpy with their laws.

Mary Wabano: It is important to know the traditional life style. You only learn that on the land. On the reserve, there are too many children in one place. There are problems.

David Tookate: The land reminds us of the sacredness of Creation. It makes us feel good and we can feel the awesome beauty of the gifts from Kitche Mando. Children should know that.

Patrick Metat: It is important that kids know how to live off the land in order to survive. Nature is very calming and it would help calm the troubled youth.

health and healing

John Mattinas: On the land you are strong. You feel the presence of Kitche Mando. You can heal. In the village we are weak due to poor self-esteem.

Shano Fireman: When we came to the village, there were only two houses there, the priest's house and the HBC house. We lived in tents. But we became very sick. The doctor told us that it was from the ground. It was not made for us. It was too cold.

James Carpenter: We were strong and healthy on the land. There is medicine in the ground.

Mary Wabano: Everything was clean and peaceful on the land. We find all the healing plants on the land.

David Tookate: The land is where there is much tranquility and calmness. Your mind and soul is at ease and you feel the goodness of the Great Spirit. There is a lot of good medicine on the land from plants and roots.

Patrick Metat: We used traditional medicine for medical purposes. We used sweatlodges and fasts. Nature is healing. You feel like a different person.

spirituality and mental health

John Mattinas: On the land you are strong. You feel the presence of Kitche Mando.

Shano Fireman: Nowadays, people do not teach their children spirituality any more. Thus, the children don't understand what the purpose of life is. Parents do not even read the Bible to their children. Children do not feel the spirit in the land any more. You are always close to Kitche Mando on the land.

James Carpenter: There were no serious social problems on the land. We were told the sacredness of the animals, who

are there to support us.

Mary Wabano: Everything is peaceful on the land. It was good. Only now it is bad. There is calmness and clean life in the bush. Life on the reserve increases problems.

David Tookate: You feel the goodness and power of the spirit when you observe nature, how it comes back even from the harshness of winter. It is also provided for. Snow is covering plants etc. Even the birds and animals feel that there is a powerful force looking after them.

Patrick Metat: Life was peaceful and we prayed a lot. People were strong, healthy and in harmony with each other. There were no extreme social problems.

relationship among people

John Mattinas: We do not understand the world as it is now. We would ask: "Why are there wars? Why do governments do this? Out on the land, you do not think of war.

James Carpenter: On the land you live a strong and healthy life. We live a humble life and people care for each other.

Mary Wabano: People were peaceful. Our ancestors lived a good life.

David Tookate: The land teaches calmness and harmony with relations to plants, trees etc. We used to share food and have respect for everything on the land.

Patrick Metat: People used to be in harmony with each other. We greeted each other and helped each other a lot.

any other suggestions

John Mattinas: If we went out on the land, we would be grateful. You know that Kitche Mando is there.

Shano Fireman: We still maintain our ways because we only accepted the $4 bundle. The government cannot tell us how to live. When there was a treaty commission, there was a poster with a sun and a river. It meant that we would use the land as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow. The sun still shines and the rivers still flow.

James Carpenter: We should not always use police to solve our problems. Kitche Mando did not mention police to solve our problems. He gave us life to use well. Let's work together and help each other.

Mary Wabano: Kitche Mando gave us the land to use, not to control. No company could sell or buy land, or subsurface rights, or mineral rights. (She was obviously referring to diamond drilling on our lands). There have been many changes that altered our ways, and things are used, that are not part of our lives.

David Tookate: The treatment centres down south only pose a great challenge to our kids who go there. It does not help in any respect. Perhaps the environment is too

different as well. You cannot learn traditional activities just by sitting in classes. You must experience it and be in the natural environment. Children should be looked after. Children that are not looked after in their growing-up years will have problems later.

4.6. **How would you interpret land ownership? (Can land be owned, or who owns the land?)**

John Mattinas: No single person can say "This is mine". You are given the land to live off. There is a shared responsibility for the land. You look after the land that future generations can still live from it.

Shano Fireman: You cannot own land. This is all a man made law. Kitche Mando did not give the land to any one person. Wars and laws are man made. Land comes from Mando. We cannot own it or give it away. We have to honour it.

James Carpenter: It is not the land of the government. It is for us to use, given by Kitche Mando. It creates problems and cultural loss, when they take away our rights.

Mary Wabano: Kitche Mando created the land. He wanted that there were animals, plants and human beings on the land. We belong to the land. Land was not 'discovered', it was made by Kitche Mando. He did not say for MNR to control, and he did not say for us to be controlled.

David Tookate: We were given the sacredness of the land, and we must take good care of it, as our future generation will depend on it. As well, we were given that gift and responsibility by Kitche Mando and we must respect this gift and the life Kitche Mando has given us.
They say that the Federal Government owns this land. They say that we have only surface rights and the government owns the rest. But this is not the case. The White Man stands on the graveyard of our ancestors, who are underground. They were here first. This is a fact, and what they say about it is not true. It was not the federal government that gave us life. Life was given by Kitche Mando.
When there is a discussion on land claims, this is Indian land. As I said, we stand on the graves of our ancestors who are under the ground. And this circle has continued since time immemorial.

Patrick Metat: Kitche Mando gave each different race different life styles. Native people lived with nature and we are to treat land and animals with deep respect.

5. Contents and methods of healing and learning

5.1. Interpret the youths' solvent abuse problems in relations with Life in their homes

Shano Fireman: There were also adults sniffing. When parents drink, their children turn to sniffing.

James Carpenter: These kids feel that nobody cares for their actions. They feel abandoned and there is a lack of caring, hugs and kisses. They are also treated too harsh and they became resentful and self-destructive. As the years went by, kids were not hugged, loved and this created an attitude to suicide. It is a combination of abandonment, family break-up, and alcohol.

Mary Wabano: Parents are not around their children any more. The children are free to roam around. The problem is around only now. There has not been a problem before.

David Tookate: Alcohol is one contributor. Also gambling. Parents are not home to take care of their children. Children are left alone.

Patrick Metat: Parents are not really looking after their children. Parents do not show their children the traditional way of life and kids have nothing to do.

Family life style and child rearing (relations)

John Mattinas: It started in the 1970's. Kids used it (gasoline) when they had problems at home. The kids say they sniff, because they were not given money for buying material things, like jackets they see. Some parents spoil their kids. Parent leave their home for playing bingo. Kids are left alone at home.

Shano Fireman: Children are not cared for any more by their parents. Then, children do not respect their parents. Children are not properly brought up. There is too much love for material things. When they see too much TV about things they are supposed to have (in commercials), or when they see their parents play cards or bingo, they only want money.

James Carpenter: There is no guidance, no counselling no values. This was there long time ago. No, there are no more values.

Mary Wabano: Parents had close relations to their children. Now there are no more relations.
Before welfare came, we had control of the basic necessities. Now, people depend too much on it.

David Tookate: Due to abandonment of children, and not teaching children our ways, children start to sniff and join peer groups who do the same.

Patrick Metat: Parents don't look after their kids. They are left alone, even at night, because parents are not at home.

school and education

John Mattinas: High school kids were starting with sniffing in the 1970's. Nowadays, there is only school to teach children - not their home any more. The elders' input would be important.

Shano Fireman: They only teach the 'white ways'. There is not enough spiritual teachings.

James Carpenter: Sniffing starts from depression. Now we do not know what to do. It's like a skidoo that needs repair. There is too much harshness. Kids keep this treatment inside and become revengeful. We must work together in all fields to work for the betterment of our youth.

Mary Wabano: It used to be the parents that educated their kids. At school they do not learn our traditional life style. They start at a too early age.

David Tookate: I did not go to school. I had a different kind of education. Maybe I would have shot everybody down, if I had gone to school (he laughs).
I have learned so much. It is unfortunate that we do not consistently go to our elders for knowledge but always to western institutions.
This contributes to the problem. There is too much depending on the western world, which does not contain Native knowledge. There are many problems adopted from the hectic of the other society. Our ways were not so disturbing.

Patrick Metat: The school takes too much of our Indianness. It was still meant that we know our way of life and the other way. There was supposed to be balance.

Spirituality

Shano Fireman: Children have lost their spirituality. They are not taught spirituality by parents.

James Carpenter: Kitche Mando blessed everything on earth. We must respect everything. Then it will not harm us. Let us ask Kitche Mando for help. We must keep up hope.

Mary Wabano: Spirituality used to be part of life. Now it is not part of life any more. Lifestyles are changing and the religion is changing, too.

David Tookate: If you went out on the land for one year, you would be amazed how much you learned about the teaching of the Great Spirit. That is Life. If we want to heal, we should look at it as healing. Spirituality is part of it. The problems start when we only look at it the White Man's way.

Patrick Metat: Spirituality is lacking. Parents do no really teach their children spirituality any more.

Influences from outside

John Mattinas: Materialism came from outside, and the prices are too high. Kids are upset, and they turn to solvents and other things.

Shano Fireman: TV, commercials, and institutions that are not based on our philosophy.

James Carpenter: In the 40's and 50's there were no serious social problems. Alcohol was a starting point of problems to this day. There are laws passed against guns, and welfare is cut. There are no laws or cut on alcohol. But that is where the economy is built.

Mary Wabano: T.V. influences the children. In the bush they only learned the good things in life. On T.V. they also see the bad things. Life is becoming chaotic with the white life style.

David Tookate: Television has a negative influence on our youths and children.

High School also robs our youths away. They are not taught our ways. A lot of problems are adopted from the hectic of the other society. Our ways were not so severely disturbing.

Alcohol is also a factor. People start to sell drugs to our youths. These substances come from outside our culture. It is not our way.

Patrick Metat: There is no balance. It is always only the other way.

Other comments

John Mattinas: It was not like that before. Now, children do not call their biological mother "mom" any more, but that person, that plays a mother role in their lives, like an aunt. There is a lot of family breakdown.

James Carpenter: We destroy our brains when we sniff. When someone dies we gather. We should do this when we see our youths harming themselves. A community effort would help. Let us not stop to be gentle to our youth. No hand cuffs for sniffers. Of course, we cannot stop gas. We use it for skidoos etc.

Mary Wabano: We used to breastfeed our children. It is important that the children get the milk from their mothers. When you feed them cow milk, they will behave like little bulls. It breaks the relationship with their mother.

David Tookate: The school takes away our children when they are little, until they are grown up. But they are not taught our ways. They are losing their language and their traditional way of life.

Patrick Metat: There is a lot of peer pressure from others. The kids do not get jobs after.

5.2. **What did you parents/grand parents do when there were youths having problems within the community or family?**

John Mattinas: We had guidance from our elders. Elders or community members would talk to the children and take care of them.

Shano Fireman: They were talking to the children. They lived in places where there were not so many problems. I wonder if we could relocate from Attawapiskat. The sniffers have to live in a different environment to heal. The place Attawapiskat is no good. We should relocate. The people knew the good places. There were no problems there.

James Caarpenter: 1972 the police told us we cannot talk to kids. Long time ago we were advised at any age.
When I did something wrong, my dad used to sit and talk with me and tell me: "Do not ever do that. Respect your brother". The value of listening is very sacred and it will help you in your life.

Mary Wabano: They did just talk to the child. They would counsel the child. There was no punishment. We helped each other. Elders also played a role in counselling.

David Tookate: The children were just talked to by their parents or elders. There was no harsh treatment of the children.

Patrick Metat: There were not these problems. The children were cared for, and they were talked to.

5.3. **Was there punishment for any kind of mischief?**

John Mattinas: No
Shano Fireman: Yes. It is in the Bible that you have to discipline.
James Carpenter: No.
Mary Wabano: No.
David Tookate: No. There was no harsh treatment.
Patrick Metat: No.

What were the alternatives and what was the purpose of these measures?

John Mattinas: A community member would report to the parents. Parents would talk to their kids. When damage was done the parents took care of it. They said it would not happen again. Teaching was to respect. That's what is missing today.

Shano Fireman: To make me think, my parents either sat with me to talk to me, or they took my boots and toys away so that I could not go about my daily routine.

James Carpenter: (answered above) Love, hugging, caring and counselling.
Long time ago, when kids were seen hurting, anybody,

not just leaders, took initiative to help. Then the kids realized what would happen if they continued the harmful behaviour.

Mary Wabano: The parents were in contact with their children all the time. There was trust between them. There was counselling only, no abuse of the child.

David Tookate: Children were counselled. When they did something wrong they had to be shown how to do it right.

Patrick Metat: The children were talked to and the parents took care of them.

5.4. **Do you think that solvent abuse should be handled as a criminal offence?**

John Mattinas: No. Talk to the child gently. Tell him what is happening to him, about the consequences.

Shano Fireman: No. Children should be talked to. They should also be given some work or learn Native ways to think about what they are doing.

James Carpenter: No. I feel it was handled too harsh. This will not stop until we as a community work together to help our kids. We have to care when we see them cry. I see a lot of harm coming from alcohol to our young people. I lost a son. Now it is sniffing starting. It hurts me when I see kids sniffing.

Mary Wabano: No. It is because the children do not have a relation ship to their parents. You cannot blame the children. There should be counselling only.

David Tookate: No. It is not the children's mistake.

Patrick Metat: No. What did they do wrong? They are lost.

5.5. **What do children and youth mean to the community?**

John Mattinas: To teach them and to know one another, to help one another. We grow together. That is strength. Strong values. Not listening to values means trouble.

Shano Fireman: The children are our future.

James Carpenter: They are our future.

Mary Wabano: We live on through our children. It is important that they learn the traditional ways.

David Tookate: They are part of the circle. Life has to go on.

Patrick Metat: Children should learn traditional activities. They carry on our lives.

5.6. **Is this role (goal) represented by the education offered in the community?**

John Mattinas: Only in part.

Shano Fireman: No.

Mary Wabano: No. They do not learn our ways in school.

David Tookate: No. The natural environment and the opportunity to experience the lesson are not integrated. This

would be important for learning. Also, our ways are not taught in school.

Patrick Metat: No. There is only one way taught. There is no harmony.

Which parts are missing?

John Mattinas: We must reclaim the lost youth, to aid in healing and forgiveness. We must create help for our youth to change the situation. We have to target the younger children. They are easier to reach. They should have a knowledgable person at school that can help (counsel) our youth. Children have to feel that you care for them. Whatever faith (belief) people have should be accepted in the school (traditional, Pentecost, Roman Catholic).

Shano Fireman: It is only White ways taught in the community. The school does not teach our ways. If children are our future, the future is taken away from us because our children do not learn our ways any more.

James Carpenter: At school you are not taught how to survive on the land. Residential school started in 1942. Priests came by canoe and picked up the kids. It was called kids canoe. Kids were abused there. It started there, too harsh treatment and bureaucracy.

Mary Wabano: They don't learn the traditional life in school.

David Tookate: (see above, Native way of life, Native kind of learning).

Patrick Metat: Our way of life is not taught.

What effects does this lack have on the youth? (identity, self-esteem)

John Mattinas: That is really the issue. I once heard from a person who did not learn anything about himself at residential school. He lost himself. My father told me that I have to live in harmony with the White men I would meet, but I have to keep my identity.

Shano Fireman: The children get too materialistic. They start sniffing because they do not get the things they see on TV, or because they cannot live the way that is taught to them at school.

James Carpenter: This is where the social problems started, due to the harsh treatment of the kids.

David Tookate: They are lost because they do not know who they are. This modern society is too materialistic and only encourages to buying and buying. This is too hard for our youth. They only want money and they get spoiled. It also contributes to the loss of culture. I see that a lot of people do not go woodcutting any more. Let's say the economy turns really bad and there will be no jobs and little welfare. How will the youth be

able to turn to alternatives of subsistence if they do not know how to do these activities. Even hunting seems to be declining amongst the younger generation.

Patrick Metat: They don't know who they are and who we were. They are nit able to live like we did.

5.7. **What should be the purpose of a healing program in the healing lodge? (Check whichever boxes you think answer the question.**

[1] to punish the abuser
[2] to lock the abuser away from peers and community
[3] to give the abuser a safe environment to heal
[4] to have the abuser catch up on the school program
[5] to help the abuser to find herself/himself
[6] to awake or strengthen spiritual awareness
[7] to awake or strengthen cultural awareness
[8] to teach survival skills
[9] to heal body, mind and soul
[10] to heal the community

John Mattinas: checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10
To keep the abuser away from the community will not be good for them. They must be told why. When you separate a family you create pain. People who are locked away will be angry when they return. There will be no healing.
[4] First people have to heal, then they are ready to grow and understand. When you see light, you walk on the path when you are healing.
e.g. the AA program. You educate yourself to find yourself. Then you become aware - one day at a time. This is a delicate, slow process. You look back at things you have achieved. If you go too fast, you'll lose it all. The person needs time to understand and to heal. The bad cycle would continue if we do not heal.

Shano Fireman: checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.
Sniffers are neglected in town. They should be given little jobs, like to clean up the village if it is dirty. They feel dirty themselves.

James Carpenter: checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.

Mary Wabano: checked boxes 3 - 10.
The solvent abusers harm themselves and their families. They have to be healed.

David Tookate: Checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.
The land is the place where we can heal. When you are out there you are reminded of what the Creator has given to us and we will be taught spiritual values.

Patrick Metat: Checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.

Contents of the program

5.8. **What do the following have to do with finding oneself?**

the land

John Mattinas: The land is filled with beneficial creation. When you are out there, you can feel and learn the values of respect and kindness.
Shano Fireman: You live on the land and honour the gift of Kitche Mando. That's what you are here for.
James Caarpenter: Life is sacred on the land. There are flowers that smell so good when the wind comes. Gas smells different. You say, it stinks in the house.
Mary Wabano: The land is clean and peaceful. We only learn the good life on the land.
David Tookate: The land is spirited and like a sanctuary. When you look at the beauty of Creation you are reminded of the powerful force. When you live off the land for a year, you will learn a lot and you will heal.
On the land, there is tranquility. It helps to really think. There are many things you can do on the land like fishing, snaring, hunting, all traditional activities. Everybody should go out there for one or two years.
Patrick Metat: Life is peaceful on the land. Nature is very calming and it would help calm the troubled youths.

the plants

John Mattinas: contained above
Shano Fireman: They belong to the land. Some we use for medicine, shelter etc. But they also have to be where they are.
Plants live in certain environment. They belong there.
James Carpenter: contained above
Mary Wabano: contained above.
David Tookate: The plants are protected by the same higher power as we are. Like us, they can even survive in winter. They are like us.
Patrick Metat: We lived in harmony with nature. Plants and animals were given to us. We have to look after them and respect them. We also use plants for healing.

the animals

John Mattinas: contained above
Shano Fireman: They support us. Also the domestic animals like dogs. I do not have dogs any more since I use a skidoo.
James Carpenter: God blessed everything on Earth. We must respect everything. The animals are here to help us,

to feed us.
Mary Wabano: contained above.
David Tookate: You can learn from the animal. The birds, for example, build their nest, which is round. Birds also feed their babies.
Patrick Metat: (same as above with the plants).

the spiritual world

John Mattinas: We must learn and know that Kitche Mando gave us these sacred things on earth. You cannot see the spirit, but you can feel and hear.
Shano Fireman: You can only find yourself through spirituality.
James Carpenter: We come from the Kitche Mando, the Spirit.
Mary Wabano: The spiritual world was part of life on the land.
David Tookate: When we lived off the land, every day was a holy day. We prayed day and night, not just once a week since we moved to the village.
Patrick Metat: We used to pray a lot to Kitche Mando. He has given us all you see.

history/way of life

John Mattinas: We had gifts, but they were considered witchcraft. The gifted people were lost. We should know about these people and about life as it used to be.
Shano Fireman: Children have to learn our ways. This is what we are and why we are here.
James Carpenter: People here knew how to built and survive. They did not depend on machinery. Life was free when we were not controlled. People knew how to live.
Mary Wabano: You can only learn the way of life on the land.
David Tookate: Our parents were teaching and guiding us, and they showed us our traditional life. That is us.
Patrick Metat: It is important that children learn how to survive off the land. Kitche Mando has given us our way of life

relations to other people

John Mattinas: You can lead and teach. We have to respect other people, but at the same time keep our identity.
Shano Fireman: When you see your relatives, how they are, that is how you are.
James Carpenter: (answered somewhere above - respect your brother)
Mary Wabano: People were peaceful and lived a good life on the land. There were no wars.
David Tookate: We were peaceful, and we shared with everybody we ran into. That was part of our life.
Patrick Metat: We were caring with each other. There has to be harmony.

5.9. **What is important for finding oneself?**

[1] personal achievement
[2] achievement with others (cooperation)
[3] both (balance)

John Mattinas: checked box 2
People who were gifted sometimes got arrogant.
Strength is only in doing things together.
Shano Fireman: checked box 3.
But you do not boast that you are better than others.
When you have skills you share.
James Carpenter: Kitche Mando told us to help and love one another.
Mary Wabano: We used to help each other (box 2).
David Tookate: checked box 2.
Persons with experience and knowledge of the land and activities on it should help the youth.
Patrick Metat: checked box 2. No other comments.

5.10. **What significance do the following have for life?**

nature

John Mattinas: It is part of creation. We are part of it.
Animals and plants are our brothers.
Shano Fireman: Provides what we need.
James Carpenter: It's Mando's Creation. Everything is sacred.
Mary Wabano: Kitche Mando created all this for us to use.
David Tookate: You learn from nature by its beauty. The life forming process shows how to deal with your own family.
Patrick Metat: It was provided for us by Kitche Mando. We also used traditional medicine provided for us. Kitche Mando gave us life with the land. Without land we would die.

seasons

John Mattinas: They guide your life.
Shano Fireman: Organize activities throughout the year. This was put in place by Kitche Mando.
Mary Wabano: We organize our activities by the seasons.
David Tookate: Plants and animals survive even in harsh winters. There are certain times in the seasons when you can go hunting, fishing trapping etc.
Patrick Metat: Kitche Mando gives us food every spring and summer when things grow.

spirit world

John Mattinas: Everything has a spiritual purpose.
Shano Fireman: Life is based on it. That is where we came from

and go to.
James Carpenter: Life is sacred. Kitche Mando blessed everything on earth. They are all our brothers and sisters.
Mary Wabano: Spirit is part of life.
David Tookate: It belongs to life. Every day is a holy day, not only Sunday.
Patrick Metat: When somebody went fasting in the bush, he came back knowing.

circle

John Mattinas: They (circle to sweetgrass) are all useful. We ask Kitche Mando for help.
Shano Fireman: Migwams and Teepees are shaped in circles. Life is a circle.
David Tookate: Life is a circle. Everything in nature is circular. Even the birds build their nests round.

sweatlodge

John Mattinas: see above
Shano Fireman: I don't remember any more. I heard stories about praying in shaking tents or sweatlodges. But something like that was there.
James Carpenter: In a sweatlodge, you sweat out your sickness. There were no surgeries. I do not allow anyone to cut me.
I want to share a story with you:
I used to have intensive pain in my body. While the healing from Residential School was going on, there was a resource person, a medicine man, who said: "I am here to help. I am an instrument, and the gift was given to me". Of course there was fear and chaos. Nurses and nuns wanted to flee. The nurses stayed.
I sat with the medicine man. He had a glass covered. That was his x-ray on you. He offered a prayer and then diagnosed the pain. Do not be afraid. The pain left.
We also had shaking tents. In the shaking tent, people saw the White man coming in from afar, holding a gun.
Mary Wabano: There were shaking tents. We went there when we wanted to know things, and then we got scared of the future. Even the Bible says that there will be chaos. We were scared when we saw all the things that are here now.
Patrick Metat: We used sweatlodges and fasts. Nature is healing and you feel like a different person after.

drum

John Mattinas: see above
Shano Fireman: Is spiritual, too. The drum is us. We talk to

Kitche Mando by the drum. We also dance. Our people used to drum.
James Carpenter: Where did it come from? Long time ago Indians were given this gift of drumming. It was condemned, however. Now, it is still here today.
People had drums in the past.
Mary Wabano: Our grandfathers used the drum when they prayed. They prayed a lot.

migwam

John Mattinas: see above
Shano Fireman: also a cabin, where we live on the land. This is good for us. Women were sitting in teepees teaching each other what their roles were.
Patrick Metat: We built our own houses, which were right for us.

sweetgrass

John Mattinas: is important for praying
Shano Fireman: I cannot say. But I heard stories that they used to pray differently, with the sweetgrass, before contact.

religion (which one?)

John Mattinas: Whatever the youths or their parents believe in is good.
Shano Fireman: The Bible teaches what you have to know.
John Hookimaw: We have known Kitche Mando before the missionaries came.
Mary Wabano: Spirituality is part of life. It used to be part of life. Now it is changing. It is important to know traditional life style.
David Tookate: We used to pray day and night before the missionaries came. We treated animals with great respect.
Patrick Metat: Parents do not teach their children spirituality any more. We prayed every day to Kitche Mando.

any additions

Shano Fireman: You have to be careful. First give the youths what they are used to. The first sniffers camp did not work out because there were no beds. The kids wanted to go home. You have to provide what they want, and then teach them our ways.
James Carpenter: When we break a window, we are to carry the consequences. It should be the same for people who broke our sacred ways.
David Tookate: We now have skidoos etc. to use and can go far

out into the bush. The youths should go out with an elder or an experienced person so that they can be taught the knowledge of the land. Then, in turn, these youths could teach their peers.

5.11. **Which of the above should be part of the healing program? (explain and add what you think is important)**

John Mattinas: All of them are useful.
Shano Fireman: All of them. In the White world they think they are spiritual. In court, for instance, there is a Bible where people have to swear on to tell the truth. But they do not pray before court begins. It seems, they are not really spiritual people. They only use the Bible for justification.
James Carpenter: all of them.
Mary Wabano: all of them
David Tookate: We should teach the kids all traditional skills. You cannot, however, learn so much by just sitting in the classroom. You can only learn in nature. It is hard to teach students without them experiencing and seeing the teachings. We learned by seeing and observing from our parents.
Patrick Metat: Everything that is in our culture. There is nothing wrong with the sweatlodge. We used it for medical purpose. Everything that teaches our way of life is important.

5.12. **Who and what can the youth learn from?**

John Mattinas: Somebody who is knowledgable about philosophy and healing. They can share and teach to people who are lacking awareness.
In nature, you feel the sacredness. Both is important.
Shano Fireman: From my parents and the people I went with. From animals and nature and from spiritual teachings.
When a child was 5 years old, s/he was placed in the bush at a clearing for 3 days to fast. In these three days s/he learned much about life so that s/he could come back later and help the people.
James Carpenter: When you look around you learn.
David Tookate: You can learn from older, experienced people, from nature and from each other.
Patrick Metat: You can a lot by nature. The land also has a healing process. You also learn from life (our life), how to feed yourself. My wife is still smoking and preparing food in the tipi.

5.13. **How did you learn?**

[1] by looking/observing,
[2] by doing/imitating
[3] by getting instructions for every single step (like a teacher telling you every detail)

John Mattinas: checked boxes 1 and 2
First we were talked to, then we started to look and see, then we started doing, becoming more and more practical. Then we had learned it good. At school we just learn theory.
That is what Indian education is about.
Shano Fireman: checked boxes 1 and 2
James Carpenter: checked boxes 1 and 2
In school you learn to break everything apart. It takes forever to put everything together again.
Mary Wabano: checked boxes 1 and 2
David Tookate: checked boxes 1 and 2
We learned by observing our parents.
Patrick Metat: checked boxes 1 and 2

5.14. **Where and how would you teach solvent abusers?**

John Mattinas: in the bush for the afore mentioned reasons
Shano Fireman: I would teach them on the land. When they learn our ways they become calm and balanced. They also have to become closer to Kitche Mando again.
James Carpenter: You sit down with a child and teach him at the location where you do the activity. In school there is too much theory.
Mary Wabano: Out in the bush.
David Tookate: I would teach them on the land. You can show them things and they can watch and learn. It is also tranquil on the land, and they get peaceful minds. It helps to really think. There are many things you can do on the land, traditional activities.
Patrick Metat: Out on the land.

5.15. **When you teach about let's say trapping beaver, what would you teach the students/solvent abusers about the techniques (how) and the animal?**
How important is it to know stories about the beaver, what the animal means for survival of people and possible spiritual explanations?

John Mattinas: The people should know the importance of the animal they are about to kill. e.g. Moose hunt. People do not waste the hides. Parents teach what you use the parts for (like mittens, tools etc.).
The hunt is to make a living. That is sometimes forgotten nowadays.

Spirituality. If you kill and leave parts behind, you do not respect the animal. The animals are your brothers and sisters, put on the earth by God. The nuns used to say, they have no spirit. That is not true. The animals are our brothers and sisters.

Shano Fireman: About why the beaver is here. God placed him here for a reason. Also about what the beaver is doing and about how to trap him. You do not trap all the beaver, all his relatives, because there have to be beaver always.

James Carpenter: You sit with the child. You tell the child that you will be trapping and show him/her what material to use. We prepare matches and we also take tobacco for offering. We have a leader too. We take our bag. Do not forget the matches. We look for a site. Do not wet your things (axe, chisel, matches etc.).

II. Interviews on Video

These interviews were done without interview schedule at the workplace of the elder (in the smoking teepee or in the bush during goose hunt). They are part of the documentary "Attawapiskat - Between the Rocks" by Rhino Film/Video, Vienna, Austria.
The colour of the tapes indicates the season the interviews were done. Red = Spring 1996, Green = Fall 1996)

Tape 49/Red (Rhino film/Video) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 7, 1996

Marie-Louise Hookimaw: 67 (born in 1929)
female/Native/status

(skinning a beaver in a smoking teepee in Attawapiskat; teaching her daughter how to skin beaver)
It's good to eat this when it's juicy. Now I will cut it out. This (knife) is sharp.
My mom did not teach me how to do this. My uncle Matthew taught me, but not my mom (**to quest. 5.12. and 5.13.**)
My uncle would show me to skin the beaver so I would learn.
My mom did not have a chance to teach me, as she passed away very young.
(My husband) killed many (beaver) but I do not know how many.
(**to 1.3.**) We got money for the furs, but not so much. Only enough. We only could buy tea, flour, sugar. But that's

all. We lived off wild meat. We only lived of wild game like beaver, moose, rabbit, fish.
(**to 2.**) It is noisy in town, yes, very. Only healthy people can endure such noise.
(**to 4.1.** and **5.8.**) Life was very peaceful on the land. Nobody bothered with booze and such. It was very peaceful.
(**to 4.5.**) We only prayed all the time.

(Did your kids go to school?)
Yes, we stayed in Fort Albany when ..... (her oldest daughter) was young, to be near her. (to **3.9.** and **5.1.**) We just paddled and sailed to Fort Albany with our boat. When we arrived, ... barged in the door. Her knees were weak from running. She ran to me and grabbed me hard. She was so happy. I think she was there for 4 years.

I can nail the fur on a board. That's what I know how to use. Of course, I can also make the other frame from branches, but I just like to use the board.
(to **1.3.**) Beaver was an important part of our food, and it was fresh.
This beaver looks small. It tastes better when it's fat.

(Does your daughter know how to skin?)

(to **3...**) I'm not sure. The last time she didn't know where to cut properly and she cut the fur a bit.
(to **4.1.**) I would still like to live on the land. I really wish this, but it is hard to leave my children and grand children. We could do so much like hunting and snaring rabbits.
I miss the land very much. Like I said, I do not want to leave our family. During break-up (evacuation), too, (my husband) did not want to leave his children behind.
You can prepare smoked goose in the bush. It is nice and clean.
(to **3....**) It's cute when (my daughter) tries to skin the beaver. She cuts the fur crookedly. But I guess, she just wants to use the fur herself, not to sell it. She only wants to use it. It's the same with me, too. I want to use the fur myself.
This is a starving beaver, hahaha!
(to **3....**) (The oldest son)killed a beaver when we were out in the bush for break-up. It was very fat. I prepared half of it.
It is best to take the beaver when it is fat. I like to use a big knife. Do you see this fat here? It is easier to skin when it is fat. Do you see it?
You should wash the beaver. That's what you do. I will clean and wash the pelt.
(to **3.1.**) You can use the fur for making mittens or slippers. The fur can be prepared for that.

I always use a knife to split the beaver here.
You rinse out the blood.
You just hang it (the beaver) by the fire, like this.
That's how you do it. You hang it by the fire.
Unfortunately my teepee is not fully made up yet. You can smoke chicken like that also.

Tape 50/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 7, 1996

Marie-Louise Hookimaw: (cooking the beaver tail by the fire)

(to **3.2.**) It is good to eat wild game. It is fresh. I feel healthy. I don't like to eat food from the store, and sometimes my daughter (the one that lives with her) is upset when I don't eat up the 'white' food. I only like wild food and it is much healthier.
People have their own ways of preparing the beaver. This is how I like it to do.
(to **2....**) You clean your teepee all the time to keep it clean like in the house, When it is clean, you will have no bugs in the teepee.

(Marie-Louise and her daughter start to pluck geese)
(to **3.2.**) It is very hard to pluck. This is how I do it when I do not want it too rich (pulling part of the skin)
You can eat those also (beaver feet).

Tape 51 and 52/Red (Rhino Film/Video)
Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 7, 1996

Marie-Louise Hookimaw: (plucking geese with her daughter and smoking them.)
This is evidence for **3.2.** that the family still goes out on the land harvesting).

Tape 25 and 26/Green (Rhino Film/Video)
Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: October 7, 1996

Marie-Louise Hookimaw: (smoking fish with her daughter and grand daughter (5 years of age)).
This is also evidence for **3.2.** (still using the land) and answers question **3.3.** about the interest for traditional life with the young generation).

Tape 20/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: May 30, 1996

Raphael Fireman: age 72 (born 1924)
male/Native/status

(Interview in a smoking teepee in Attawapiskat). (to **1.2.**)
What you see here, that's how Natives have lived from the beginning of time.
When winter came near, people prepared for the cold season.
What you see now, this game and fish, which is smoked during summer, will be put into a cool room during winter.
Even before goose hunting season ends, we try to smoke as much as possible that we can eat during winter.
That's how the people from the coast (Mushkego-Cree) prepare for winter. We don't only smoke geese and game, we also preserve meat in fat and smoke it just before eating.
That's how we have always lived, and we are pretty content.
Of course, there are also other kinds of preserving food.
(to **3.2.**)
During summer, we eat geese. We go out in the Bay in spring and fall looking for geese. We try to get enough so that we can eat. Thus we have enough to eat throughout winter, and sometimes it is even enough until the next hunting season, when the geese return.
These geese we have here are very nourishing, and they are an important part of our life, what we get for our life out of the Bay.
I have heard that even the whites who come here to hunt with us eat geese as well. They roast them at the fire, as you see it here in the teepee.
I also know, as I heard from two locals here, that these hunters also drink our Tea Bloss (Labrador tea with lard and flower), and they seem to like it when they prepare food like we do.
I am sure that this man here (the cameraman) would like to eat now as well, if he had the opportunity to do so. (he laughs)
Another important part of our diet is fish. We go net fishing up the river to complement our provisions for winter.
I also go hunting in winter, at the upper part of the (Attawapiskat) river. I hunt caribou, moose and deer there.
When I come back to the community with meat, people always want meat from me. From the money they give me I cover gas and other costs that I can go out again.
We also go up the river in fall to hunt moose.
(to **3.6.**)
We are always admonished (by M.N.R.) that we take too much game. When I went out caribou hunting, I came back with four. But there are always people who need meat, and I end up having less than I would need.

(to **3.2.**)
This meat you see in this teepee is so important for our diet. We depend on it for survival. We preserve enough of it that we can also eat in winter.
The geese are well nourished when they move along the coast. They are all fat and well fed when they prepare for the flight down south. And when they come back in fall, it is the same. That's why we try to get many, that we can also eat in winter. That's what we call "nehenemun", contentment.
I can give you an example:
When you go to the supermarket, you also store your food in the freezer for later.
That is all I have to say in terms of game. It is an important contribution for our survival, as is the fish we catch or the rabbit we snare and the other food I was talking about.

Tape 21/Red (cont. of tape 20) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: May 30, 1996

Raphael Fireman: (to **3....**)
I will say a few words about the beaver. We also depend on the beaver for survival, and when I bring many home, I give them to people who ask me for it. All people on the coast are dependent on this food.

(to **2....**)
Other than you see in this teepee, there were no tarps long time ago. I also know we did not have canvas. As far as I remember, we used hides. These hides we used instead of canvas to cover the teepee, and we put snow on it as insulation and that the teepee was warm.
We also had open fire as you see here.
And then there was another technique to build accommodation. We used moss and twigs. Moss was used for the cover, but for that teepee you did not use snow but twigs for insulation.
That far I still remember. I have seen and experienced that myself when I was a child. My grandmother told me that they had used caribou hides as tarps, as they did not have had canvas at that time. I have also heard this from other elders.
When canvas got known, we used it first for teepees, and later we also had tents. We also made our own tents out of canvas, once we had seen an example.
(to **1.2.** and **1.3.**) Assistance/Welfare
We did not get any assistance long time ago, not even family allowance. We were trapping and hunting. By trapping, we were able to purchase guns, and boats, and that's how we

could go hunting.
(to **3.9.**)
Then, eventually, we got assistance. We received family allowance and later welfare also. Nowadays you just go to the band office to get your assistance. We also get old age pension. And then, there are also houses provided by the government.
(to **1.2., 1.3., 1.6.** and **1.7.**)
What I am talking about is the time before social welfare, long time ago. I have still experienced that. I saw this side of life, too. When my father took me out in the bush hunting, we used only twigs to sleep on, and we used deer hides as sheets. We made a fire and slept at the fire to keep warm. But we also had warm sleeping bags, filled with down feathers.
Most of our people lived like that. Well, I also heard that our ancestors used rocks. They used rocks they called "Peawanuck" to make fire, before we had matches. The Hudson Bay Company introduced matches, and I myself don't know any more how to make fire with flint.
I sometimes still think about how we used to live in those days, and about what I experienced. I am, however, much more amazed about the stories I heard about my grandmother's grandmother. Stories how people had lived.
When you think how extremely cold it is up here, and our ancestors were still able to survive. That's how they lived up the coast here. Life was very hard, and people used bow and arrow for hunting. It was easier with the bow, when the caribou were in deep snow, so they could not flee.
(to **3.10.**)
My father said that then the whiteman came and introduced the rifle. Our people first did not know how to use the rifle. Of course not; they had never seen a rifle before. That's how the whiteman gave us support, as we were told by our grand parents.
Now we are always told that we were 'discovered' on this land.
(to **1.3. etc.**)
Well, what concerns transportation, for example a plane, long time ago we, of course, did not have any engines for our vehicles or boats. Our ancestors used canoes for transportation, and they used paddles. They paddled a lot, and they even covered large distances, way far south. That's what I was told about my people, and it must be true.
I cannot say anything in detail about that, only what I have seen my self, or my father or mother had told me about living. I have also told you about game and caribou, and that's all I can say about it.
(to **1.3.** and **3.1.**)
Trapping was important, and we depended on it. My father had learnt how to trap and I as well.
I heard stories about trapping from older people who still

experienced the fur trade. Now they are all gone.
The price for the pelts depended on the length of a rifle. In those days, rifles were long. The furs were piled up until they reached the length of a rifle. Fur trade was done by the Hudson's Bay Company, and they had come with ships I saw in the museum in Winnipeg. I was told that they had wooden barrels on their ships. And there was alcohol in them. They gave alcohol to our people, and they made them drunk. When they then brought their pelts, they were told what their value was. That's how it was done in Kashetchewan (south of Attawapiskat). Later, there was a trading post here also, close by, and people went there. (this could explain band membership in **1.8.**)
And then there was another company also (Freres Revillon in Moosonee), and prices seemed to have been different with them.
I hear from my people that we got cheated because of these negative circumstances. Since we had contact with this company (HBC), fur trade was done like that, and that's how it is still done today.

EDUCATION (to **2.4., 2.9., 3.3., 4.5, 5.1.,** and **5.6.**)
About education, my wife went to residential school in Fort Albany, but they did not learn English there. I also heard that people who went there feel that they did not really get an education, but they were abused instead. Some children were left hungry (for punishment). I think, the school we now have is different, compared to what I have heard about Fort Albany.
Nowadays I think that children, since they go to school, have lost their interest in traditional life (also **5.6.** and **3.3**). They just prefer to live the way they were brought up in these houses.
You (the interpreter) may be married to a whiteman, but you still respect (our way of life) and want to keep your identity (also to **5.6.**).
I hear that other kids are not interested and that they are even ashamed to speak their language.
I have, however, also heard from children, who find it important to keep their Native way of life, which was given to us by the creator (also to **4.6.**), and they want to learn how to hunt and snare.

Tape 22/Red (cont. of tape 21 - EDUCATION)
Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: May 30, 1996

Raphael Fireman:
As I said already, children are not really interested in traditional life any more, or they are losing their skills

for it. They seem to be very attracted to the dominant culture. They seem to be more interested in speaking English.
I think, although you do live in the community, but you only go to school all the time, that contributes to losing interest in traditional life.
I have seen students from high school (**5.6.**) once, who wanted to go out with a boat. And I saw that the boat was drifting away. You see there already that they do not know anything any more. They don't even try it. It is not enough to know how to pull a boat ashore.
I have also heard that when they go camping, although they do know how to pitch a tent, they do not prepare the floor with twigs to sleep on. There you see again that they lost their traditional way.
Even young women don't know any more how to prepare food, or how to smoke food. Or youth don't know any more how to cut geese like these here. This is almost like as if a whiteman comes up here from the south, not knowing how to survive up here, as he was never taught.
We have to integrate at least part of our traditional life at the school. Of course, it is also important that youths know the other side as well.
Parents are upset about that. It is important to know how to live off the land, and being able to survive. And beside that, youth get in contact with other damaging things when they go down south (drugs etc). (to **5.1.**)
That is what we understand by 'being Indian', that we do not lose our way of life (identity **5.6.**).
Before residential school, kids were taught how to live a traditional life. They learnt it, and they were interested in it. It always depends on how you are brought up.
I have once worked with a young man who had finished his high school, and who wanted to learn traditional life as well. He had learned the white way, but he also respected our way, and he wanted to learn it.
It is important to offer this kind of education to the kids in school. I am aware that kids here also learn Cree at school. I'm sure they would be interested (in Native way of life) if they were shown. We learned traditional life in the past.

(What did your parents teach you?) (to **5.12.** and **5.13.**)
Everything you see here in the teepee, preparing food, smoking food, and how to put up the teepee. In high school you don't learn these things. The children would be able to learn everything by observation, but some even don't know that any more. How did we lose our way?

TREATY (to **3.6.**, **3.7**, and **4....**)

What I'm also worried about is that the ministry wants to limit us in how much food we take out of nature, what we need for survival. Everything you see in this teepee, every

little rest of the meat, we use. The ministry also says that we hunt too much. But we need that for survival. They just don't understand our way of life. The other concern is that they tell us we have too many guns.

(who owns the land? to **3.7., 3.11., 4.2., 4.3., 4.4., 4.6.**)
Kitche Mando created the earth. It was not man. That is why the ministry does not have any authority to control our food and how much we eat. It was Kitche Mando who made all this and who provided us with animals. This is like a garden. Kitche Mando made everything you see in this creation, and He stands above everything.

Tape 34/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 6, 1996

Raphael Fireman: (trapping beaver, about 10 km upriver at a side channel of the Attawapiskat River).

(to **3.1.** and **3.2.**)
Here is where I trap. This is how it looks like. It is called a pond. When you want to trap a beaver, this is where you trap, where it is shallow.

(the rest of the scenes show how the trap is set and an actually trapped beaver. This is just an example of that the land is still used).

Tape 36/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 6, 1996

Raphael Fireman: (to **3.7.** and **4.3.**)
Native people did not make these tools (traps for martin etc.). White people don't like us to use them nowadays. The Native people were given these traps; they did not make them.
Then the people also say you will not get paid, that you furs would be thrown away when you use these traps. We are told to anyway, as I heard it from other people expressing the same concern. We were told that the value of the fur would be more if we used these other traps that was recommended. This was told to us, too. But nothing happened. It seems that (white) people's decisions are inconsistent when they come here to make rules for us.
.....

Tape 4/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: September 22, 1996

(This was during goose hunt. The hunting party with the elder was accompanied by a white bow hunter. The scene relevant here, to explain the elders' opinion about MNR controlling the resources, was shot when the bow hunter was explaining the bow to the elder. The figures indicate the time on the tape where you can find this scene)

Raphael Fireman: (to **3.7.** and **4.3.**)
10:32:32:04 There was a man in Cochrane who shot a deer with a bow and arrow. The MNR was extremely upset.
(he laughs)
The MNR was extremely upset because a deer got bowed.
(he laughs) 10:33:07:00

Tape 27/Red (Rhino Film/Video) language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 2, 1996

John Mattinas: age 71 (born 1925)
male, Native, status

(the interview was held in the muskeg north of the Attawapiskat airport, where the elder picks his Labrador Tea leaves. The elder himself picked the topics he wanted to talk about; he was just talking and we were recording)

00:10:18:04 (to **1.2.** and **1.3.**)
I will tell you some stories about past times, the last 67 years. I have always gone with my grandfather. He taught me a lot and also how to use things that are on earth.
(also to **5.12.** and **5.13.**) He told me to use the resources on earth very wisely, and to respect all creatures, because Kitche Mando has provided them for us.
We have always gone on foot and we slept outside, even in winter. We had snowshoes and we dragged everything we needed behind us.
(to **2....**)
I have seen that life here has changed since contact with 'the other world'. Outborders and skidoos have been introduced meanwhile. I am eventually forgetting about my traditional way of life, and I am sure that many of us are going through the same.

(to **5.1.**)
Now, youths are suffering because of that, and they are more

interested in the so-called progress instead of looking for their roots.
As I have experienced traditional life for 63 years, I can tell you some things about I know, and how the natural resources were used, and what they are for. I was taught that, and I know how to use these things.

(to **2.5.**)
For instance, medicine plants we used long before the hospital was established. There is medicine for cuts, when you cut yourself, or for accidents when using a gun.
Long time ago, there were no doctors. We only used what was growing on earth for medical purposes.
(also to **5.13.**)
I know that all and I know the plants from what I have seen.
00:16:11:06
There are 12 main medicine plants Kitche Mando makes grow. We are forgetting more and more.
(to **2....**)
There are many other things we have forgotten already, unfortunately, things that were provided for us by Kitche Mando

THE SEASONS (to **5.10.**)

00:16:44:14 I can tell you that there are six different seasons a year:
(1) Emi nis ka mek (the thawing season)
(2) Eme gwa - ni pekh (when summer starts / growing season)
(3) Eta gwa - gwakh (when the leaves fall / gathering)
(4) Eme gwes gwakh (when it starts freezing)
(5) Eme gwa - po pokh (winter)
(6) Ete si gwokh (spring)

I have seen many medicine plants grow (to **5.13.**). When they are fresh, they are weaker, like a newborn who is not strong yet. That's what I've learnt.
Or, some are also too strong, as modern medicine might be strong. That is also possible. We have to know the exact amount we are using, not too strong, not too weak, not too much.
(to **5.1.**)
That's how it is with everything on earth. There is a lot to say about the resources, but I will only quickly summarize what is harmful, e.g. in an engine. You need gasoline for that. You have to use that with a lot of sensitivity and respect (also to **5.3.** and **5.4.**)
(to **2...** and **5.1**)
Nowadays, nobody has respect any more. Children just take gasoline, and they are harmed by it, because they don't use it right. There are also other chemical solvents they abuse. Alcohol is abused as well, and that is harmful if

you don't use it right and respect it.
I could not say that these things are bad. When there were things growing on this earth which we don't know, and which we therefore leave alone, then they could not do us any harm.
00:22:55:20
Only when we use them, and we don't use them wisely, are they harmful.

HUNTING (to **1.3.**)
00:25:23:14
I was taught some basics in hunting. I always went at a time like this, in fall, looking for tracks. That's what you do when you hunt caribou. Now, people are driving around with the skidoo looking for tracks. That's how they hunt.
Long time ago, what I have seen, people went out on foot to look for caribou. They would look for tracks or other marks on the ground, what you see here.
I myself did not have so much opportunity, but I'm sure I would have been able to kill some.
(to **3.3.**)
Nowadays, youth do not know these traditional activities any more, because they are in school the whole day (also **5.6.**).

(to **5.13.**)
You cannot really learn when you don't see or experience what you are taught.
00:27:33:00 That's how it is with me. When I just hear about something I haven't seen myself yet, I have trouble understanding it; until I see myself.

SOME MEDICINE PLANTS (to **2.5.**)
00:28:31:06
When you take this plant, for instance (he picked a labrador tea twig), I saw that people used it as medicine and they drank it. Now they make their tea with it.
There are some more we are using, but they grow at different spots. This tree here, for example (he points to a tamarack). We make snowshoes and sleighs out of it.

Tape 28/Red (cont. of tape 27) Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 2, 1996

00:30:45:07
John Mattinas:
These here are some of the plants I learned about. I do have deep respect for these treasures.

(to **1.4.**)
In 1968 I left the bush to live in the community. I regret to have left the path I have learned before. I could have shown it to my children and other community members (also to **2...**, **4...**, **5.10.**).
I know there is a lot to teach to children about physical and spiritual life. I was taught both aspects of life, the physical and the spiritual. Here, I have only mentioned in short the physical aspect of medicine plants. 00:33:49:04

HANDLING PLANTS (to **2.6.** and **5.10**)
00:35:05:00
The plant I had shown you (Labrador tea), I shouldn't have treated like that. I was told that you do not misuse or mistreat plants, as they have to be here still for future generations (also to **4.3.**). 00:35:30:14
00:36:01:00
That here is a third medicine plant I see here, the only three that grow on this spot. This willow branch I take when I cut myself with a knife or axe. I was always told not to play with the axe, but I was not always listening.
00:37:41:06
This tamarack here is also used for crafts. It is a beautiful tree. Some people, when they want to show something, they break the twig. I would not do that, as I was told not to do that and to treat plants respectfully, so that they would not die. If I had broken off the branch, it would look like I didn't respect the plant.
People use tamarack to build decoys they place in the water.
00:38:29:00
You cut out the good part of the moss and use it as a cover for a teepee. 00:38:48:23

LIFE IN THE VILLAGE (to **2...** and **4.5**)
00:40:45:00
It was peaceful as long as we lived on the land. The only sounds you heard were from the birds, the wind in the air when it moved the branches.
People could hear from the noise of the wind how the weather would be....
first, I didn't know that, but I started to understand when I observed myself (to **5.13.**)
... or even by how the twigs looked like.
This twig here, when it is soft, I would say the weather will be mild. Sometimes they are so dry, even the whole tree, that they break off easily. That would forecast a hard winter. After about two days, the actual weather would come. 00:42:25:12
00:42:26:00 (to **4.1.**, **5.8.**, and **5.10**)
Long time ago, it was really peaceful on the land. There was no other sound than the sounds of nature. I think, it was about 1929 that I heard the sound of a plane for the

first time, and I also saw one. Long time ago, people did not have such things.

(to **3.10**)
However, there were people who saw what future would bring. Now it has become true when you look around and when you hear the noise. 00:43:41:15
00:43:47:59
People got a culture shock when they got exposed to these things, holy man.
(In the background you hear the beep...beep sound of heavy machinery working on the dyke project)
Now, here you hear a moose, for instance (he laughs).
People long time ago would say: "Moose is ever noisy today".
00:44:18:22

APPENDIX 2

Professionals and other Community Members

Interviews on Video

(All these interviews were done with the camera. They were also free interviews with the people just talking what they wanted to talk about. The bold figures will again indicate where the talk would fit into the interview schedule in Appendix 1. The other figures (e.g. 10:00:00:00) indicate where this part can be found on the video tapes. Only the parts relevant to the research are printed here.)

Tape 17/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 2, 1996

Interviewee: **Chief** (male, Native, status)

Interview in the goose camp of Chief Ignace Gull

(Traditional way of life and passing it on)
(to **3.1., 3.2., 5.8., 5.10., 5.12., 5.14.**)
15:58:02:22
I just want to talk about the tradition we have every year from September to October. We come here to spend four weeks to be on the land. I take my family with me, my kids, (to) show them how to live on the land. At the same time I teach them how to respect the land, everything that comes with it. I guess, the main reason why we do this every year is that it's important for us Native people to live on the land and use whatever means to live on.
We come out to goose hunt and we teach our kids to respect. We show them how to hunt and some time show them how to survive, by using tools we use in the bush.
15:59:29:00 (why land is needed, **4.1., 4.6.**)
The most important thing is what we take from the land, such as geese, ducks. We use it for food (to **4.1.**), as we eat the meat. And we don't waste, nor do we throw away anything we take from the land, which Creator provided for us (**4.6.**). The main thing that people understand is to keep the tradition going, to be passed on from generation to generation.
(to **4.1.**) It's unfortunate that people misunderstand about Aboriginal people, what they take from the land. It's not sports to take. We use it for food. .....
15:59:37:13 (significance of land, to **4.1.** and **5.10.**)
They misunderstand and are misinformed about our way of life.

You know, when you live in this place, Attawapiskat, in the James Bay area, you have to look for other means of food what you can't take and afford from the store. You cannot afford it, you know, with the situation of being unemployed. There is a high unemployment rate of 85% in our community. So people come out to take what they need for winter. .....
16:01:32:15 (control of resources)
We're not overhunting, we don't take too much. We only take as much as we need to last for winter.

IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE (EDUCATION)
And one of the things I wish to express is, when you live the culture, tradition of the [Natives], such as our way of life, it's important that we pass it on to future generations.
16:01:59:23 (to **1.3.**)
That's the only substance means to live on and feed your family. At the same time we teach our kids (**5.12.**) how to hunt, and also to respect, such as when we use guns. We teach 5 year olds how to handle a gun, to respect it, to know it is dangerous (also to **5.3.**), only used for hunting, not for sports. We teach our kids many ways to grow up and understand our tradition. .....
(to **1.3.** and **3.3.** practising traditional life)
16:03:20:40
We want to keep our life style, and many people do that. A high majority is practising traditional activities and you can enjoy the land.
16:03:47:08 (spirituality, family life)
It's not to hunt only, but also to renew your spirit (**2.6.**). Your spirit needs to see the different times of the seasons (**5.10.**). You watch the difference you see out there.
We share the chores within out family (**2.2., 2.3.,** and **2.4.**). Everyone contributes (**5.6.**). Everybody does something to help. That's important, not only for sports, but to survive.
16:04:35:07 (history / way of life , to **4.1.** and **5.8.**)
It's our tradition, our culture. And it's a way of life that we practice, and when people talk about aboriginal people overharvesting, ... well, it's not true.
A lot of people in Europe or in Canada, or down in the States, they don't understand. They are misinformed.
16:05:01:20 (land maintenance and control, to **3.4., 3.6., 3.7.**)
They don't really have the experience. They've never been in this situation. They've never been in this land. They only look at themselves, how they live. They don't understand the Aboriginal people, how they survive.

16:05:24:06 (responsibility for land, treaty rights?)
(to **3.11., 4.3.,** and **4.4.**)
Nobody can stop tradition. Nobody can change a culture. .....
You know, we try and preserve what's in the land. We have our traditional laws that we follow, that are not written down. It comes from....being passed on from generation to generation (also **5.12.**). We have protecting, protecting the resources for future

generations. .....

16:06:20:01 (treaty, to **3.11.** and **3.4., 3.6.**)
When we signed the treaty with the white people, Europeans, when they came to this country, we understood that we never gave away our rights. We never gave away our culture, our traditions or the way we should live, on a daily basis or for future generations. You know, it's to share (**3.10.**), and to have the resources we can use, without being restricted or being told what to do, when to take something. You know, it's our treaty right. It's an inherent right for a people to have their culture being passed on from generation to generation.

16:07:25:07 (land ownership, to **4.2.** and **4.6.**)
And that's the important thing we have to tell the world that we are the people of this land, and we are the custodians of this land. And we practice our traditional laws in this life. And we see that we need to protect animals .....(also **4.3.**)

16:08:11:07 (importance to keep aboriginal way of life, **4.5.**)
It's not the Aboriginal people who are responsible for what's declining or what's disappearing. ..... The white society is destroying more land. There are no more animals, where they can survive. ... When we talk about mining, forestry, and things like that. It affects wildlife. It affects everything. And I think that is why, at the same time, we try to preach (to) the world, and it's important to keep this (aboriginal) kind of life style.

16:09:03:18 (relations to education, to **4.5.** and **5.1.**)
Although,... I understand the importance of education, which is a fundamental tool for survival in the future, at the same time... we have to make our children understand the way we were brought up. The way that we should be custodians of the resources that were put on the land from the creator. .....
..... So far as hunting is concerned, you know, that is something that will never stop, something that we will always practice, our future generations will practice. .....

Tape 18/Green (cont. of tape 17) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 2, 1996

Chief
(relations to the land, spirituality, giving up land, control)
(to **2.6., 3.4., 4.1., 4.3.,** and **4.5.**)
16:11:43:10
When I talk about the importance of way of life, such as hunting, this is very important as far when we talk about the balance of nature. Because, when we take something, it balances nature. It is not overharvesting or overhunting. ... It includes the same thing with trapping.
Trapping is important for our people as a source of income. We

take from trapping the money to buy what we need .... even the meat from the beaver, muskrat. The meat is important for us. ... .What happens is, when there is no balance in nature, the animals are destroying themselves. The animals overpopulate. ... 16:13:52:29 So, what happens when the beaver overpopulate? They are just destroying the land for waterfowl and trees. So, that's what happens if there is no balance in nature. That's why it's important that the people understand why we have to trap. ..... 16:15:38:22 So, the Native people see this to be important as a source of control. Trapping is a way of control. So when we do trapping, we don't clean one area. We always leave something behind to give the beaver the chance to multiply, for future generations. This is what I mean, where we have our conservation laws. We have our traditional laws that are not written, we practise them (also **5.12.** and **5.13.**)

16:15:52:08 (can government interfere? to **3.7.**)
No matter what the government says, no matter what other groups say, such as animal welfare, trapping will always be practised. Hunting will always be practised.
16:17:05:12 (treaty, who owns the land, land maintenance)
(to **3.4.**, **3.6.**, **3.7.**, and **3.11.**)
That's something people must understand. It is something that was given (to us), an understanding that was given to us when we made the treaty with the Europeans, when they came to this country. Because we had everything under control before whitemen came to this country. We had our traditional laws, values, family values and family structure, spirituality. That's what we're practising today. We revived that. And to make our future generation understand that it's our right, based on fundamental human rights to live the way we are as Native people. Nobody can change that.
But, at the same time, we understand the importance of what people think. But it's important that people have to understand and respect our culture, our spiritual beliefs, traditions we practise. .....
.... no matter what happens in the future, if the government wants to change laws, to restrict Indian people in hunting, fishing, trapping. That will never happen (to **3.7.**).....
....And this is part of self-government, an ongoing discussion, the dreams that we have to control our own destiny. We don't want people to tell us how to live, how to trap, how to fish. It's our right, the treaty we made. It's our inherent right. ... 16:21:25:02
We have to be the people making decisions. We don't want people order us around to do what they think is right, without them respecting the Natives and their rights. We want to be those who decide what happens in our traditional land, in our land. We don't want to go to the government and negotiate.
16:22:03:23 (land ownership, to **4.2.** and **4.6.**)
I think, this is the land of our people, the Natives. They own the land. And they are the ones that lead negotiations what

happens in their land.
So, that's basically the importance of conserving and maintaining resources. They know the difference.

16:22:33:12 (education, determining the future, to **5.12.**)
And we have the resource people that have knowledge. And we can determine our own destiny without being controlled from outside.

Tape 33/Green (Rhino film/Video) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 11, 1996

interviewee: teacher
age: 45 (born: 1951)
male, Native, status
(This session was a teaching session in the Safe House in Attawapiskat we recorded. Sniffers were present, listening to the words. Altogether, this session took an hour and a half.)

22:15:53:00
My name is ..... . I grew up in the James Bay area, and I grew up with the elders. I never new my grand parents. Therefore I adopted the elders to replace my grand parents I never knew. And I'm going to talk about the very traditional value, going back to the late 1800's and 1900's that old people used to follow.

22:16:45:10 (relations between generations **2.8.**, outside influence, language **2.9.**)
The traditional values are gradually disappearing because there is too much technology, and generation gap between the young people and the elders is very wide (**2.3., 2.4.**). The elders of today don't know how to communicate (with the youth) because they don't speak the same language. They still speak traditional language. ..... The young people do not understand the language of the elders, and the old traditional values before technology came.

22:17:41:17 (traditional education, how to learn - **2.4., 5.12., 4.13.**)
A lot of the things that young people did were outdoors activities. Everything that we did was learning process, experimenting about realities of life. And I used to listen to the stories the old people used to talk about.

22:18:29:00 (relations among generations - **2.8., 4.5.**, what youth means to community - **5.5.**, education - **2.4., 2.7., 2.9., 3.3., 4.5.,5.1.**)
During the time of the Great Depression, when there was a lot of

starvation, there were some stories that were not heard, that even the elders won't talk about today. ....
22:19:35:00 They do not know how to relate with the stories. I've learned from listening to the elders since I was 4 years old. There were a lot of tragic stories that were told by the elders. Stories, they are gone now. They passed about 30 years ago. They tell about the starvation in the 1930's, as far as 1935. The elders during that time in the 20's, there was a lot of starvation (among them). A lot of elders passed away, starved. There was little food to go around because the big animals were scarce. Food was scarce, and they ate whatever they killed, whatever was available - mouse, small birds - because there was no big game. Whenever there was big game, e.g. a moose, that moose would be shared within the community so that everybody would eat.
But the elders of that period, they were thinking about the young people. So, when they were given scarce food for themselves, they would give it to the children of that period. They wouldn't eat because they felt that the young people were more important. The young people were to carry on the tradition (**5.5.**). They were able to teach whatever they could to the children of that time. So, a lot of elders starved. They gave all their food to the young people, so that the young people would continue. .....
22:22:11:00
At first, I did not understand, but now I am really able to understand the sacrifice. The elders during that time period died for the benefit of the children, who are now elders, today, in order to continue on with the tradition.

22:22:43:17 (traditional values , how to learn - **5.12., 5.13.**, spirituality - **2.6., 4.1., 4.5., 5.1.**)
The elders of that period, they accepted. They accepted part of the reality. They accepted what was going around (in) their environment. So, their death was part of life. They accepted that, 'cause whenever there was mourning for the person, the elder, the child, that is the experience .....

Tape 34/Green (cont. of tape 33) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
teacher date: October 11, 1996

22:45:15:00 (spirituality etc. - also **5.1., 5.8.** and **5.10.**)
They had the experience and understanding. They supported each other. They supported each other in many ways.
When I look at (it) today, there's not that much support today (**2.2.**). Whenever there was a tragedy in the family situation, there wasn't that much stress, 'cause the old people accepted their surroundings, the realities around them, 'cause that was part of life. Life is a learning process (**2.6., 5.12.**)
22:24:54:10
And in terms of the <u>medicine wheel</u>, the medicine wheel was the

very basis of their surroundings. The medicine wheel was the one that brought families together. The medicine wheel is based on the teachings of the seven grandfathers. The seven grandfathers consisted of wisdom, bravery, trust, honesty, humility, truth, and to do the best you can.
As you grow up, the circle has to be balanced. The balance is based on those seven teachings. You can't live a life with just one teaching. You have to live with all seven within your life. If you just learn wisdom, and you're not sharing that wisdom, then what is the use of having wisdom, if you're not going to share it? So, you're losing the balance.

22:26:34:10 (Spirituality and substance abuse)
In our physical being and mental body, we cannot abuse ourselves. The creator gave us a purpose, gave us a body to look after, to be responsible for. Not to abuse it.
22:27:00:09 (Causes for substance abuse, Residential school, violence, outside influence)
Then, the Residential School in the 30's and 40's, they bring in different teachings. These teachings were to integrate the Native people into mainstream. That was the whole purpose of the Residential School, to integrate Native people into mainstream, into the society. So, they were changing the Native people. And the Native people that were going to Residential School did not want to adapt, 'cause of the changes that were taking place in the Education system. And because we were at school for 10 months at the time, because of the teachings, and that (there) were outsiders teaching that system (**5.1.**), they were bringing their own education. Because they were told that this is what the system is going to be, based on the mainstream. "Cause we had to get into the mainstream.
22:28:11:20 And a lot of elders try to keep up with their traditions. And because the missionaries were strong influence, telling that with their (the Natives') medicine men that lived in that time were evil. What was taught in Residential School was that Native Culture was put down. Christianity was more important.
Christianity was the main focus of integration of Native people into mainstream. To become farmers, priests, teach the young, to teach religion, that was the whole education. I've seen that, as I went through that in the 50's. Religion, catechism we called it, was the main thing that was taught to us.
It was used as a way to put fear, to fear death. They would use it in a lot of ways. If we committed an 'original sin', we were going to be in fire. It's so hot, you will be screaming, yelling all the time. When you tell that to a young person, a 6 year old, it becomes psychological, because it's a fear of death. To the Native people, death was a natural part of life.
22:30:10:17 And putting fear into a child, to eventually fear to die, that's a different psychology.
22:30:25:00 (causes for abuse today)
And a lot of us, 'cause of the abuse that the priests did in

Residential School, we began to lose focus on the teachings of our elders. At least, most of us did lose focus on the elders, the teachings of the elders. 'Cause there were a lot of emotional scars that came out of Residential School, psychological scars. Those of us that came out of that problem, we did not want to listen to our elders. Why do we have to learn our traditional values, when we have our own problems?
So, what we did that came out of Residential School, is taking up substance abuse. Substance abuse to hide our problems.
We talked it (the problems) amongst ourselves, when we were under any kind of substance. But we did never really bother to heal ourselves.
22:32:00:00
And it hurts our elders. A lot of problems that Native people have today came out of Residential School. Psychological problems. And we passed on our problems to our children.
We're losing focus on traditional values of the seven teachings. Everything is in a circle.
We learn our values through observation (**5.13.**) of the animals.
You look at Wolf. The wolf is a very shy and timid animal. It is not very aggressive, only when it is starving.
Only when it starves, it's aggressive. You look at the wolves. When they mate, they bring out their young, the pups. The little puppies of the wolves are very playful. And the Native people, they look at the wolf environment, and they see they are part of that environment. So, they adopted some of those values, through the observation of the wolves, or any other animal (**5.13.**).
Playful, the wolf is teaching its young. And this is how Native traditional teaching of elders used to focus, on us, through the observation of animals.
Look at the animals. Look how they behave. They don't take anything else. They look after their young. .....

22:34:34:04 (About stress - handling stress)
If somebody has a lot of problems, it's stressful.
"Oh, I've got so many problems. I don't wanna...
I think i'm going to do this. I think, I'm going to abuse"
I think I'm going into something to really forget
about my inner .... my problems"
22:34:54:04
For substance abusers, they cannot really deal with their problems, using any kind of substance. .....
22:35:08:12
Dealing with stress, we use water, the river. You walk along the shore, you look at the river. The river is very smooth, flowing down very slowly. And as you walk further and further down, you begin to see the ripples. The ripples are there. You walk further down. The ripples become bigger and bigger, until you get to the rapids. The rapids, that's where the water is really fighting and roaring.
You passed the second rapids. It went to little ripples again, and it went to smoother water.

22:35:58:09
Life is like that. As we walk along our lives, first, we are young. We were just like the river, very smooth. Flowing very smoothly. But then, when we become older, we begin to have little problems.
As a teenager, we don't know how to deal with them. And when we don't know how to deal with it, we start using substances.
You see, the river. The ripples become bigger and bigger. So are our problems. They become bigger and bigger. Until, eventually, we hit the rapids.
And life is like that. We hit the rapids. We are right there. We have more problems we don't know how to deal with. So, we do a lot of things in our lives when we have problems.
Some of us don't come out. We stay there, because nobody is there to help. The person has to find himself (**5.6.**)
But once you find yourself, and you come out of that, your big problem, just like the rapids, eventually the water happens to go through, and it becomes little ripples again. And it becomes smooth.
22:37:25:15 So, when we are at the stage between teenager and adulthood, it's only when we become elders again that we begin to find the smooth waters. And that's why we are able to teach to the young people, because they are all coming through that stage (**5.12.**). And that is the way of teaching how to relate to stress. (also to **5.15.**) 22:38:00:00 .....
22:38:08:19 (Relations among people, how to learn)
The other teaching was using the cedar. Cedar Tree (is) very tall, sturdy. Now, you look at the top of the cedar tree. It is narrow. But down, the branches become bigger and bigger. They are wider. They spread out.
In the cedar tree, the branches spread out. They touch everything in their surroundings. It could be shrubs, it could be thorns, grass. The branches touch everything.
You see the cedar and you notice that (**5.13.**). What is it trying to tell me? What is the cedar tree (telling) when it touches everything around it?
Life is the same. There are all kinds of people around us. Black, yellow, red, white. The cedar tree is telling us not to discriminate against any colour, that we are all equal. And the cedar tree keeps touching things around it. A lot of us have different life styles. Some of us are drunks, some of us are whatever we may be. The cedar tree is telling us:

> "Do not judge a person by their looks, by their life style, by their appearance.

Tape 35/Green (cont. of tape 34) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
teacher date: October 11, 1996

22:41:16:13 (Relations among people, understanding one's situation)

So, this cedar tree is telling us not to judge or prejudge anybody by their appearance. .... When we are judging anybody by their appearance, we are putting them down.
You know how you feel when people call you names because they are judging you. There are negative feelings. And those negative feelings are going to be part of your life that you're going to carry when you judge somebody. 'Cause negative feelings, they hurt a person emotionally.

22:42:04:22 (Understanding the pain of the parents / Residential School)
And that's exactly what happened in Residential School. We were judged, because the society didn't like our traditional values. They wanted their values. They wanted us to adopt their values, that they values were much better.
But look at what happened to that generation of Native people across Canada. And even across the States and in South America. There are so many conflicts and it destroys the community, the communities.
Because we were judged. And we ourselves, some of us, have adopted these values that were given to us, <u>through the education system</u>. And yet, the great traditional teaching says: "don't judge, don't judge anybody". If you're judging anybody, you're only judging yourself as a person. And if you judge yourself as a person to another person, then you pass that on to your children. And eventually you destroy the family. That's what old people used to tell me when Ii listened to their stories. We all are part of human nature. It is a difficult struggle for all of us, a difficult struggle.
We look at ourselves. We look at the many times we had been hurt. <u>The abuse, the lack of understanding</u>. That's what we're doing to the young generation people of today. We don't listen any more. And how can we, how can the young people listen to us, when we don't want to hear what they have to say? **(5.2., 5.3.)**
.....

22:48:02:17 (Outside influence, T.V.)
Some of the programs that are on T.V. have no value. That's all aggressiveness. And that's what the young people perceive, aggressiveness, because nobody tells them that it's just acting.
.....

22:49:04:12 (situation in the families - **2.3., 5.1.**)
I persume there were some young people of the family who thought:
"Why do I have to listen? All I'm being told is
Go and watch T.V., don't go outside and play."
And whenever they have a problem, or they want to say something that they learned at school or they enjoy,.... it's a new experience for them, some of us will say:
"Go play outside. I'm busy right now".
That seems to be the thing nowadays, that we are busy. We don't even give that kid a few minutes **(5.2., 5.3.)**, just don't listen

to what they have to say. It's always: "I'm busy". ....

22:53:01:06 (Relations)
And the other kind of teaching, through stories (**5.12.**), you begin to respect the elders who gave their food for the benefit of the young people to survive. Now, that's what I call a sacrifice (**5.9.**) Because they were not looking after themselves. They were looking at the young people . They knew that their time was getting short, and there were enough elders, other elders available, that were coming up to pass on the teachings they had already passed on to someone. ....
22:59:00:16 (Relations changed nowadays - **2.8.**)
And the only thing that I heard of some elders of today is that they seem to be negative. And they seem to have that tendency to say:

> "Oh the young people of today, they don't know that much about anything today".

Instead, they should be out helping, instead of criticising (**5.2., 5.3., 5.4.**) .....
23:01:05:20 (Breakdown of the family - **2.3., 2.4., 2.6., 5.1.**)
The family system, eventually it broke down through the introduction of residential school. That was (also) with the introduction of alcohol in the 1800's.
It took a short time to destroy a family, but it would take a long time to heal a family. And even some of the young people today say:

> "Why do we have to carry on the traditions, when the elders are not giving us the chance to understand".

Tape 36/Green (cont. of tape 35) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 11, 1996

teacher
.....
23:05:22:17 (Traditional teaching and modern education, punishment? - **5.3.**)
The seven grandfathers we were taught from the traditional perspective were very good. ..... Let's talk about truth first:
The traditional value is telling the <u>truth</u>. It's very important to tell the truth, a very important part of you.
<u>Bravery</u> is accepting things as they are. When there is a death in the family, you have to understand that this is part of the process. That's part of life. Because of support by your friends you are able to face that mourning, the grief. That is where bravery comes in.
The teaching of <u>humility</u> is to treat everybody equal, whether they are retarded, or substance abusers (**5.3.**), 'cause they are

still human beings. You know how it feels when you get put down. Humility teaches that other people (also) have emotions.
Honesty, to be honest, if you want to borrow, don't take it. Return it. Don't keep it. That's the basis of honesty.
Wisdom, listen to the elders. Look at yourself. What are you learning? What kind of experience have you learned, even when you got hurt? Learn from those. You can pass (it) on. That's part of wisdom.

In Residential School, I did not go through the 7 Grandfathers, just a few. In Residential School, it was just the opposite of the teachings. Where truth is concerned, in the Residential School setting we were taught to lie, i.e. whenever we told the truth, the nuns would not believe us. But when we told the story a little bit different, which is lying, then they would believe us. That was the opposite of the traditional teaching. (to **5.9.**, personal achievement).
Honesty, in Residential School to survive, you have to steel from each other. That's negative teaching! (**5.9.**)
Humility. We used to tease each other. We put down our own friends, 'cause they looked funny (**5.9.**). We didn't treat each other as equal (**5.9.**). That was the teaching of the residential school. That was the opposite of what the traditional teachings were teaching us.
The wisdom that we learned by experience was different from what we learned at Residential School. It was all negative (**5.9.**).
So, that's the Residential School. .....
.....
.....
23:14:51:13
I want to thank the person for giving me a chance to express myself. I know that I did not get everything in perfect order, but my mind was going back and forth. But I think, the things stand for themselves. This is the last question:
What has four legs, has stripes, black and white?
Think about that one. Thank you

23:15:33:08

Tape 32/Red (Rhino Film/Video) language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: June 3, 1996

Priest (Roman Catholic) of Attawapiskat
non-Native
age: (born), in Attawapiskat since 1973

(interview in the rectory in Attawapiskat)

01:29:10:02 (history - **1.2., 1.3., 1.4.,**
spirituality - **2.6., 4.5.,**
education - **2.4.**)
The first missionaries came here around 1850. They came from Montreal through the Ottawa River. They came to Fort Albany first, and then to Attawapiskat.
The (Native) people went to Attawapiskat for trapping, and the Hudson's Bay Post was in Fort Albany. The manager would sell them flour and buy fur.
The missionaries came up here in summer, by canoe, with guides. The people from Attawapiskat only came to Attawapiskat in summer, as they trapped and hunted for food in winter. There was no welfare or jobs at that time. The community was not permanent, only a meeting place.
In winter, the missionaries met them at their trapline with their dog teams. Around 1893, the first old people stayed in the village, and with them the first priests and nuns.
The first church is now the garage. To cut the logs, they used axes, and the logs were then floated down the river to build the church. The church was built in 1930. The brothers carpenters, and the local people cut wood. It took 8 years to finish the church. .....
01:33:30:21 (spirituality, education, treaty)
Later, accommodations, a kitchen and an office was built.
When the missionaries came, the Indians were told by their own people that this had been in the prophesies, that people with long, black robes would come.
01:34:57:01 There were other missionaries (Methodists) who had come before. They came 200 miles down the river to meet people here. It was like in the times of Jesus, when everybody came to hear the good news.
The Indians were eager to help the missionaries survive, and they helped out as guides with their dog teams.
01:35:00:03
The first school was built by the missionaries in the 60's). It was only 1000 squarefeet. As the people were on their traplines in winter with their families, the school was only run July to August. The priest did not want to interfere with traditional life.
They were taught to read, so they could do things themselves.
The chief used to come to this office and asked me to help translate his letters.

Since 24 - 30 years (ago), they can do that now themselves. In this way there were changes by education they got bit by bit. That was first only in one classroom.
The government first did not want to do anything, but then they saw a good thing happening with the school run by the missionaries. First priests were teachers. Eventually, the government started to built a school.
They put four portables here in 1974. Now we have a school with 400 to 500 students.

01:41:45:00 (about life in the bush - looking at old photographs)
Look here. This man had lost one leg, and he went trapping nevertheless. He made three snowshoes, one for his (good) leg and two for his crutches. Then he went out again, trapping. It is really amazing how they could survive.
I think it happened when he was in the bush cutting trees. One tree fell on him and he could not get free. He was alone. So he chopped off his lower leg. But it was frozen, eh. He could only survive because it was frozen.
.....
01:53:41:16
The migwam (teepee) there! There were many people in there. Often they put moss (on it) and covered it with snow in winter time. It was very warm, and there was warmth from the ground. The snow was good insulation.
.....

Tape 33/Red (interview with **priest** cont.)

01:56:20:02 (spirituality)
The Native people have always been religious people, even before the missionaries came. They were believers in God. Their belief was not only when they stopped, in order to pray in what you call official services, but God was part of their lives .
One old man told me whenever he used to put a trap in the water, he prayed to God to send him an animal to survive.
One old woman also told me that she was walking on the lake with her snowshoes. Beautiful, sunshine, and the lake was beautiful there, snow and so on. She felt so much the presence of God that she stopped, went down on her knees and prayed, right there.
01:57:07:00 (spirituality, outside influence)
God was part of their lives, and when the missionaries came to talk to them about God, they were really open to receive the message of God, to know more about the son of God, who came down to redeem them. They were really open to it.
And also, if you see today, the old people are really religious people. That's deep down in them, passed down from their ancestors into them. It's part of their lives.
01:57:42:14
Plus, the missionaries, all of them, always learned the language of the people, not only to be close but also to understand their

culture, the way they lived, they way they are and the way they think and so on. This is a big part of the people.
Instead of using French or English along with a translator, the priest can talk to the old people and understand them, and being understood. It makes a very different kind of relation with them.
01:58:21:16 (changes, spirituality, outside influences)
The young people, they were influenced quite a bit. What they see on T.V.
See, that's a very big thing. They have a new cable in town, plus there's three stores where they can rent all different kinds of movies and so on. They are not so religious as these old people are.
But there's a great need for it. You see, some families are still religious, and they make sure that their children receive what they themselves received. To pass down to their child what they received.
01:58:59:00
And I remember one man, not really old, he was about 40 years old. He was at the hospital. The nurses were trying to fly him out to Moose Factory hospital, as there is no doctor here. For them it was stress, as it was a life and death situation. They tried everything. There was no telephone, so they tried with a (C.D.) radio. And radio communication was absolutely no good. The nurses didn't know what to do. They were all very worried about what was to happen.
But the man in the hospital was not worried and said, it didn't bother him:

> "If God wants me to live, I will live. If he wants me to die, I'm going to die".

He was not tormented on the account of they would not get the plane to reach that hospital. You see, way down, deep inside of them, God was part of their lives.
01:59:54:14

Tape 15/Red (Rhino film/Video) Language: English/Cree
interviewers: Norbert Witt, Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: May 28, 1996

interviewee: **former deputy chief**
age: 35 (born 1961)
male, Native, status

(interview in the Safe House in Attawapiskat)
18:09:44:02 (Cree)
Hello, my name is ..... . I want to talk a little about the healing centre which will be built in Attawapiskat, and also that it should work according to the teachings of the Creator, and

that we should listen to our inner voice in our daily lives. I am happy to tell you how I contributed to this vision.

18:09:44:02 (English. Relations to government, treaty - **3.** ...)
They have changed our names so often. First is was 'A-sheesh-geesh. Then the Ministry of Indian Affairs came to our land, and they could not pronounce "a-sheesh-geesh", and they made "Mudd" out of it.
Now we use 'Shisheesh', what actually is a wrong word, but I think we got used to giving our signature with this name.

18:11:58:05 (solvent abuse)
What I want to talk about, mainly, is the treatment centre we want to have in our reserve. That was one of our dreams, one of our visions for our community.
First priority in my life, I think, is to honour my people and to honour myself (**5.9.**), what the Creator,... what was given to me as a natural person.
I still remember, when I was torn away from this community for the first time, when I was taken out to go to school down south. Somehow I was ashamed being an Indian (**5.9.**). I couldn't speak my language at school (**2.4., 2.9.**). I would have been ashamed to say: 'wa-chee-ay'. I wanted the people to believe I would fit into this white society, but I didn't fit in (**5.6.**).
And then I started to talk to some people, elders, about these things that happened down south and in my community.
After I had received knowledge from them, I realized that the Creator had made me to become a Mushkegowuk, a Cree-Indian. So, that's why I'm not ashamed any more to be Native (**5.6.**).
I am grateful for that. My mother tongue is Cree. I speak it fluently, but I'm still learning from my elders to speak my language (**2.9., 5.12.**).
(Causes for solvent abuse)
We have a lot of problems in the community, a lot of hurt, a lot of pain. And I think, that was given to us when the first whiteman came <u>to our territory</u> (**3.11.**).
They have caused a lot of emotional harm in our ancestors, and <u>I can still feel the pain of my ancestors</u>.
.....
I also want to be healed. And I want to honour my ancestors and the elders of today (**5.9.**). That's why I have the strong desire to talk about the healing centre.
I think, we thought about the healing centre when we had so many problems with alcohol in our community, so many problems with gas-sniffing, so many problems with drugs, that came from the south (**5.1.**).
And we took substances, I guess, to ease our pain, until we will really understand what healing means.
But I am getting to it, and I'm not ashamed to admit that I also took drugs in this way.
I remember, when I first came back from the south where I went to school. I came back, and I saw that children went without food,

and I saw parents drunk. I saw marriages breaking apart, and I saw people not being able to work. I saw pain in the community, and I saw it was not our fault (**2.....**).
That was passed on from generation to generation. We just did not understand it. Now I know that Attawapiskat has made the break through, Attawapiskat wants to heal itself, and healing comes from the Creator.
I committed myself to the community, because I love my people (**5.9.**). I love my people very much, and I care for my community.

(Relations to the land - **4. ....**)
That is my home, the water, the birds, the animals. That is part of me (**4.1., 4.4.**), and I am very happy to say that I am a Native, a Cree, a Mushkego. That is my identity (the land!! - **5.6.**). That gives me some hope and the belief I need to be able to live.

(Programs, effectiveness, relations)
I have first coordinated the peace-keeper program, where people work voluntarily to ban alcohol from the community. The program worked well.
It has worked well as long as we were responsible for it ourselves (**2..., 4.3.**). That's the difference I see today. When I was responsible, I did what the community wanted. Even when the resources from outside demanded the program to be changed, we didn't change it, because it was working the way it was, the way we wanted it (**3.4., 3.6., 3.7.**).
.....
I decided to run as a deputy chief and councillor in the election to help the chief and council, and to do what the community wanted.

(Treatment Centre Program)
So I was elected, and I worked hard for the community. And I tried to listen to the heartbeat of the community. I have also listened to another heartbeat, the heartbeat from outside.
We had public meetings to hear what the community wanted. The community wanted a healing centre.
They had a vision that we could teach our young people how to be hunters, trappers, to use their language and spirituality (**5.8.**);
To get that back through our elders. To be proud as a people.
.....

(Treaty, relations to government - **3.....**)
I think, we could get everything (money) immediately, if we surrender to White society, when we give up our rights, our treaty, our language.
I guess we could get everything if we did that, but I think, this is not what the people in our community want.

(How to stop sniffing)
So, I committed myself to young people who were under the

influence. I myself remember when I was 12 years old, I was sniffing gas for 5 years. At this time, things were not that bad, and we learned to stop with it by our commitment to the community. (**5.9.**)
I remember an elder talk to me, and so I gave up sniffing. I am pretty familiar with that. I heard the young people in our community say that it is boring here - nothing to do and so forth - how they felt being trapped here.

(Treaty - **3....**)
We are in a trap. We are trappers, but we don't want to be trapped ourselves. I guess that came with the influence from outside (**5.1.**).
So, we had community consultation.
The community wanted a healing centre and therefore I worked in a committee for two years. I was determined to fight for my people looks at its leaders. The leaders honour their people.
And after two years of consultations, we finally put a proposal together.
After this hard work, we had to fight another battle ... with government and agencies. At times it was pretty frustrating. Sometimes I wanted to give up and say "forget it", but something in me told me that it was possible to get our own vision through, and that we had the right for it (**3.6., 3.7.**), the right to get what we wanted in our own land. That made me continue.
.....
I remember when a young man died because of sniffing .....
He took his life. That made me continue. I know, this young man died because of the pain, the agony.
I don't want other people to go through that. That's why I have the strength to say my opinion that we need the healing centre here.

18:24:31:24 (Treaty, causes for sniffing)
I think the fights and battles I experienced since I worked for the proposal for the healing centre were due to the fact that the system confined us too much. The people are still told what to do by this system of the ministry (**3.6., 3.7.**).
According to the so-called Indian Act, we can only be elected for two years. After that there will be a set-back, and that was for me a painful experience. Some of my people do not know what kind of system they are dealing with. Some have surrendered already. But personally, I will not surrender. ...
.....

18:27:42:15
I remember that nothing happened. People from outside were hired, that means of course Whitemen who are not sensitive enough to understand our feelings or to comprehend our vision.
That hurts me, now that I know what happened long time ago.
I am 35 years old now. 35 years of painful experience! I got my painful experience for 35 years, and then there are also the 500

years. I carry the pain of 500 years, and I am proud to carry the pain of my ancestors.
And I would do everything to make sure that I will get healed and that the community finds peace.
.....
Agencies from outside cannot solve our problems. We only need their support (3....), not their rules, not their way they treat us. It has to come from ourselves, from our inside. That's why I believe so much in healing.
There's a lot of denial in this community. I have also denied that I needed help. Sometimes I still say that I do not need help.
But I'm getting close to opening up to the problems, to admit that I have problems. I need help, and I will get it. That's my dream.

(To the ethical review)
And you people, who came to us with a camera like this, I say that you are welcome. We practice our freedom of speech by that. We raise our voices; we express how we feel as a people, not the way other people think about us. We are First Nations.

Tape 16/Red (cont. of tape 15) Language: English/Cree
interviewers: Norbert Witt, Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
former deputy chief date: May 28, 1996

18:31:18:03 (Treaty - 3....)
I remember when I was young, I sometimes wanted to get out of this reserve for some reasons I did not know. Even as a teenager I wanted to get out of here. Now I know why.
There is a saying among our people that tells about a prisoner in his own country.
What happens when I want to have a hunting camp, I have to go to the government (3.6.). They want me to buy this land, to buy the gravel, to buy...whatever to be happy.
But in our history it wasn't like that. That's what I am told by my people.
Everybody who sits in jail wants to get out for a while - just for a while - and then he can go back to jail.
My spirit, my thoughts are in jail, by the system (5.6.) that was forced into us. That's a painful experience. I have so much to live for, so much I can live for in this land, in the community called Attawapiskat.
.....
I want to live here and I want to die here. I said earlier I had to live here.
I don't always want to ask the government if I can build a camp here, maybe 20 miles of here. Or about the amount of fish I can catch, or how many geese I am allowed to kill (3.7.). I want to be able to tell this to my people or to other peoples. I want to

be able to share, to give.

18:33:47:07 (Identity - **5.6., 5.9.,** CREE)
That is who I am, what I think about the life I have in Attawapiskat, <u>because it was planned like that from the Creator</u> (**3.7., 4.3., 4.4.**), there where my ancestors have lived already.

18:34:04:17 (ENGLISH)
This is where my forefathers lived. I want to honour them. I don't want to give them up like that (**4.4.**). I want to live and die here.

18:34:14:10 (CREE)
I feel like a prisoner here because the government controls our lives (**3.7.**). So I cannot build a hunting camp or fishing camp where I can just hunt and fish (**3.1., 3.3., 3.4.**) and share my food with others, offer food or just live on it.
I pray and hope that one day we can be free in our own land.

18:34:45:18 (ENGLISH)
To be free in our own land.
Thank you.

Tape 12/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: May 28, 1996

interviewee: **director of health and social services,**
Attawapiskat First Nation
age: 44 (born: 1952)
male, non- Native

(interview in the band office in Attawapiskat)

The Attawapiskat First Nation would like to eventually take over all health services in the region.
My job here is to help the band in the development of an action plan, a strategy plan for the development of a health board.
.....
The band itself is responsible for the community health program. They have two community health representatives who work out of the hospital and cooperate with the Public Health Nurse.

(Causes for solvent abuse)

It has always been a problem here that the youth is abusing solvents. <u>They are those who have very little to do in the community</u>.

17:09:12:03
During culture leave in Spring and Fall (goose hunt), a lot of problems show with the abuse of solvents, triggered by violence in the family, and the other things that are widespread in this community. That is pretty serious, as the people do something, and they do something they want to do, that at the same time takes away stress and pressure from the family environment. Another big cause for stress in this community is that 18 - 25 people live together in a house without a basement. It is pretty difficult to have a ordered family life in crowded houses. Where are the children doing their homework at night? When you only have three bedrooms, and a doctor prescribes bed rest for an elderly person, where does this person get his rest?
.....

17:10:14:00 (Treatment Program)
What I will talk about now is the Treatment Centre, the reasons for this centre, what the plans contain, what the program aims to, who will be the partners, and why we need a treatment centre in Attawapiskat.
The Youth have hidden problems we don't see. There is abuse at home, or what the youth think is abuse. It doesn't necessarily have to be actual abuse. It can also be that there are problems at home the youth, in some cases, cannot handle, and that hurts. The healing centre is designed for the youth who have difficulties dealing with their many problems and their identity. The group who had the idea for the treatment centre, the Solvent Abuse Committee, found it necessary that the treatment centre offers a traditional healing process, and that this process, although it does not only aim at traditional culture, is a major component for the Indian development and growth of the abuser. What will happen is that elders will be included. The Mental Health Worker, psychologists, psychiatrists will we those who provide their programs, and that will be somewhat connected to aftercare.

The healing component of the centre will be educational. There will be academic education. There will be assessments first for the people who go for treatment. When a patient is assessed that he needs treatment for 6 - 8 or 10 months, then this is what he gets. We want to be sure to get to the roots of the problem, and not just treat solvent abuse superficially.
What we mostly concentrate on are the White and Native societies and the way they are different.
We have to help these young people, and make them adjust to the global reality, and the only way we can really do that is to give them a feeling of self-worth.
And this self-esteem comes from their traditional life as a people. They will have to start feeling good about being Native. It is difficult for a lot of young people because we have so much influence from outside.

17:13:32:00
T.V., for example, maybe the best that can happen, and it can also be the worst that can happen, because the people looking for their roots, identify often with what they see on T.V.
There are few realistic programs dealing with Native Life. Even 'North of Sixty', which is a well-known program, seems to only show the problems of a Native community, and not the successful activities as they happen in a community like Attawapiskat.

(Evaluation of the kind of program needed)
It is sometimes difficult, even for someone like me, although I have worked for Natives for more than 3 years now. It is even difficult for me to forget about my cultural upbringing, to lean back and say :
"Okay, I now have to look at things differently",
and try to see (the problems) through the eyes of Natives now.
Obviously I cannot do that because I did not grow up as a Native.
Only Natives themselves can see and feel what they had gone through.
So it will be important that the Natives themselves play a major role in the design of the healing process for their people.

(Healing)
The healing component will deal with things that happen in the treatment centre. We will hopefully have a family atmosphere there, and we will have a so-called house couple there.
Now, hopefully the house couple will create a family atmosphere there in the treatment centre itself.
17:15:22:05
This traditional, Native-cultural family atmosphere will also contain a bit of the world out there.
The young people will be given tasks. They will hopefully take this tasks and find joy in their work.
Of course, it will be difficult, as a lot of these young people do not work well as a group. We will have to work on them, so that they will gain self-confidence, before they get a sense of community. That will make them proud.
The other part of the healing program will be a kind of program that is based on life in the bush, where the young people will get in contact with their roots by doing traditional activities on the land with their elders. There are, for example, harvesting, fishing, trapping, or making wood.
That is all part of their cultural sensitisation or re-sensitisation, because we want them to build pride in what their ancestors were, and
17:16:42:00
that they understand at the same time that there is a global village out there, and they have there place in that global village as themselves.
If we can make them understand that, that's the first step in the healing process - a feeling of wellness, a feeling of self, a feeling of pride in what they are, and how this individual fits

into the global community. I don't mean the Native community, but the whole community in the global picture.
17:17:24:00
After a short time on the land, where they can learn simple concepts and skills for survival, like trapping, hunting, and traditional kinds of skills, they now have to learn how to tan and prepare the hides.
They will learn part of these skills in the treatment centre. They will learn all different kinds of crafts, how to work animal skins, and how to make shoes, moccasins and whatsoever. At the same time they will learn how to prepare the game they bring in. Wood for heating they will also bring in themselves to the treatment centre.
The next step, after this acclimatising to their own culture, will be the longer therapy, and group therapy, where they learn to work better as teams or in groups.
Then, there will be the prevention component, where they return to their community. What we hope to establish is a space called 'New Life Homes'. This home is basically a functional family, and we will have to base it on the foster parent model to get the licences, especially when we are dealing with 12 - 16 year olds, where (Children Aid Society) Payukotayno has strict regulations which are imposed by the province of Ontario.
In addition it is important to understand my major point, when I said that the program would be geared to the need of every individual client after the introduction period to the centre. Perhaps, they will be re-assessed. When they are re-assessed, they might have to stay in the treatment centre for another 2 months before they can go home.
It is also important to know that, while they are staying in the treatment centre, their families will be integrated in the program. We cannot just go ahead healing the child, when the problems are at home, even if children only imagine the problems, as I said before.
The problems with the children don't always base on problems, or imagined problems, at home. Then we have to somehow talk to the parents and say:

> "Okay, your child thinks there are problems in this family, and we would like to get to the roots of these problems, and we would like to include you in this healing process".

In cases where the family needs help, Payukotayno has promised to find family healing centres. There is one of those at the coast, in Fort Albany, which in my understanding is very effective. And we will certainly adjust our procedures with them in some cases.
.....
17:22:27:00
Education is by far the most important component in a lot of cases. These young people feel useless, and we can give them something that makes them into useful citizens of their community, and in some families. I think, it will be a long way to establishing this program.

Tape 42/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 14, 1996

interviewees: **Attawapiskat White Bear Singers (Drummers)**
3 drummers from the Attawapiskat drum

d1: age 24. male, Native, status
d2: age 36. male, Native, status
d3: age 24. male, Native, status

(interview in the Attawapiskat Safe House during a drumming session for sniffers)

22:07:38:00

d1: We are the White Bear Singers, originally from this community, and why we are here is because we want to help young people. They're in gas-sniffing. We would like to teach them how to drum, why the drum is here, and why we have a problem here - gas sniffing.
As White Bear Singers we would like to teach them and show the traditional way of life that our ancestors have lived. And that's our purpose here, as drummers in this community; (it) is to help the youth in this community.

Tape 43/Green (**drummers**, cont. of tape 42)

13:14:09:00

d1: After practising so long, you can sing. It doesn't take just one day to learn. It takes weeks, months. And I was hoping that the sniffers that quit or are still doing it, to see them in here, sit with us, give them something to do, to keep them busy.
(drummers start to drum and sing)

13:19:27:17

d2: It took us almost a week to use this hide. .... This hide is caribou and it was given to us by an elder. He said:
> "Keep this Caribou going for us. Keep our elders' song. Keep it going and teach the young people songs".

I want to teach you to sing. The reason why the drum is here <u>is for healing</u>, to help out the gas sniffers.
When we pound this drum, it makes a sound (.....). That's the heartbeat of our Mother Earth. It's the heartbeat of our people, to get them together, (from) all 4 directions.

13:21:07:01

d1: Also you can feel when someone sits here, in here (heart), like something inside of you; like what makes you want to be part of this drum. Like (d2) said, the drum is the heart beat of the Nation, heartbeat of Mother Earth. When we say Mother Earth (we mean) everything that grows. It starts the way it was given to our people. This hide is still used spiritually. Everybody that sits here feels the emotions inside, or somebody outside will feel it also. When we had our Pow Wow gathering this summer, there were nurses that told me:

> "I can feel something happening when I heard the drum. I felt it",

she said, and that's what the drum is for.
This is not our drum. It is the people's. They can say:

> "We want to hear the drum".

Then we take the drum over here and we sing for them (**5.9.**).
It is not for us. It is for the people.
Tobacco is used when someone wants this (**5.10.**). They'll offer us tobacco: "Could you sing for us?" We accept the tobacco and we sing for the people in our area.

13:23:07:00

d2: Another thing is when someone dies. I would put the drum away for a week. And I will offer tobacco. I will offer tobacco and sage (**5.10.**). After supper, I put food on the plate and put it outside to feed the person, to go in peace. When You use sage, it is used to purify yourself. And when you use tobacco (for) praying to the Creator. I use sage, tobacco, sweatgrass, eagle feather (**5.10.**). When an eagle feather is given to me, I use it in a good way. And what represents the eagle is to fly high in the sky.

13:24:19:05

d1: This was given to us a long time ago. Our people had these for sacred ceremonies. They (the drums) were taken away by the missionaries, long time ago. They told our people that it was the evil thing that they were worshipping. The missionaries were telling that to our people. Now, slowly it is coming back to us again. That's what the elders are saying: now, everything that happened a long time ago will come. And eventually, the drum was here in this community. And we have graduates every summer. That's important to us. It's our culture, our tradition, because that's our way of life. That's how we lived for long.

13:25:20:16
d2: The first time I see a drummer when I was 10 years old. An elder from Alberta (was) teaching me to sing with the drum.

His name was Earnest Totoosis. ..... The first time I see a drum. And that's how I learned. He teach me for two weeks, and I learned how to dance to the drumbeat.
(drummers play a round dance)

13:44:12:22
d3: Balance your Medicine Wheel weekly. See where you're going wrong or where you're doing right. Or if you're walking a happy walk inside or walking angrily. You have to understand the Medicine Wheel.

13:44:32:08

IMAGE EVALUATION
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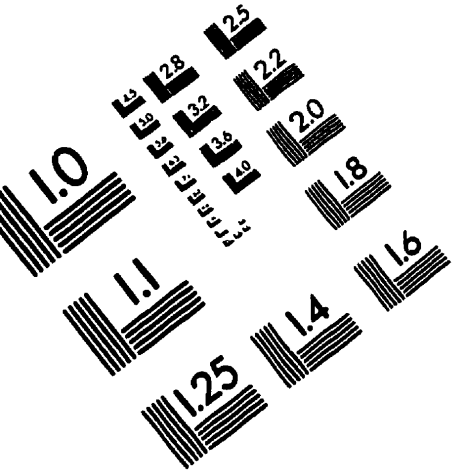

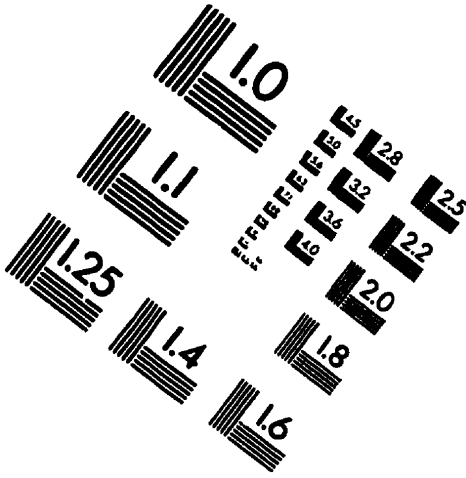

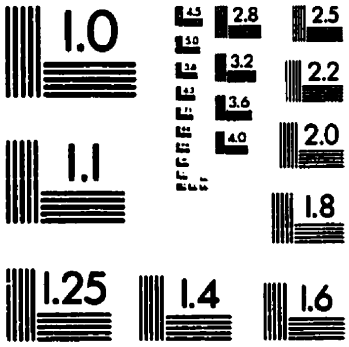

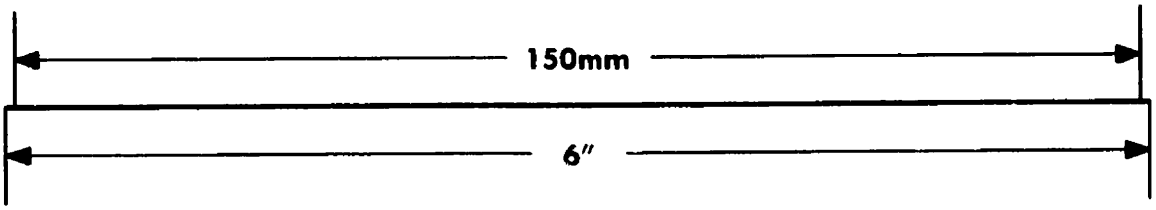

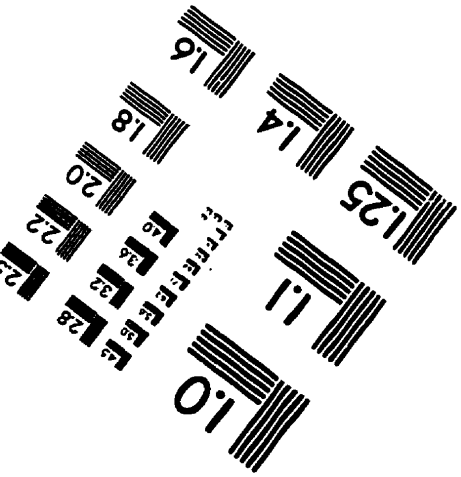

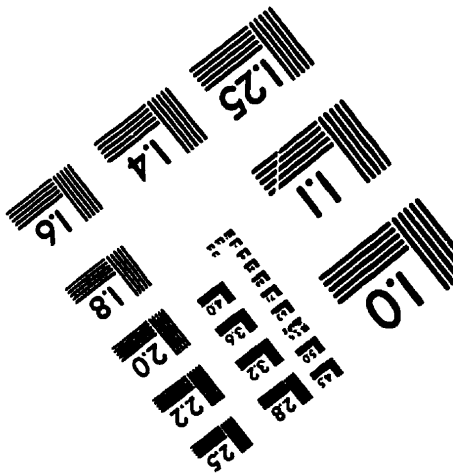

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