

WORLDVIEWS IN TRANSITION: THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE LAKE NIPIGON
ANISHINABEK METIS

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ABSTRACT

In Northwestern Ontario (NWO) there is a need to assure a more complete understanding of the Indigenous voice. The researcher, who examined existing theories and research methodologies in sociology, determined that these frameworks of the world have difficulty conceptualizing Indigenous-based cultural worldviews. This impedes adequate awareness and understanding of this population. This study was an exploration into the need to develop alternatives to the standard sociological theories. The researcher argued that it is only by exploring alternative theoretical frameworks that we can develop and create awareness and understanding of other cultures. An Indigenous, culturally based theoretical framework was used to explore the personal standpoint of the Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis, as represented by the writings of one of its Elders. The Anishinabek Metis worldview and ways of learning about the world was revealed and described in these stories. This way of learning about the world through stories and story telling has been documented by other disciplines such as anthropology. What is unique about this study is that the researcher is interpreting these stories from her culturally based vantage point. The researcher uses her subjectivity and experience to assist in the interpretation process of the stories told. It is intended that this, utilizing an Indigenous-based theoretical framework and examining it by using an Indigenous voice will create an awareness and understanding of this population in NWO.

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CHAPTER ONE

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to assure a more sufficient understanding of the Anishinabek Metis voice. Many contemporary sociological theories and research methodologies have difficulty with conceptualizing Indigenous thought. Consequently, these ways of learning prove to be insufficient when studying Indigenous cultural groups. This often results in research data and conclusions that may be incompatible with Indigenous thought and communities. This study was an exploration into this issue.

This study offered one such developing theoretical framework based upon the personal experiences, ethics, values, and community knowledge of the Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis. The written stories of one Anishinabek Metis Elder evidenced this. This study focused on these stories of his life: It is his culturally mediated framework of looking at the world. In this study, his daughter explains these actions in a culturally framed manner by. This discussion of this Anishinabek Metis framework is an attempt to create more awareness and understanding of this population in NWO.

This study reflected on the ability of a specific Indigenous culture to change but maintain an underlying Anishinabek Metis essence. The following questions directed the initial enquiry:

1. What are aspects of the worldview of the Anishinabek Metis?
2. How does it relate to ways of learning in the world?

3. Can culturally based frameworks assist in assuring more complete understandings of Indigenous populations in NWO?
4. How can this cultural frame be applied to a specific situation?
5. Is this cultural framework reflective of the Anishinabek Metis ways of being?

This study utilized qualitative data to add to the limited body of information and research of the Anishinabek Metis people in Northwestern Ontario (NWO). This discussion will enable others outside of the Anishinabek Metis culture to consider the social and political worlds that comprise and contribute to our worldview. This it is hoped will lead to more awareness and understanding of this population.

The Problem

There is a dearth of information and research available in sociology about the experience of the Anishinabek Metis in NWO. A culturally mediated framework from the Anishinabek Metis on their past and present changing worldviews is also lacking. This paucity of information means that there is no awareness of how the Anishinabek Metis negotiate and renegotiate how they live in their social world. Exacerbating this situation is the manner in which their experience is transmitted to the world: There is a sense that Indigenous peoples live in frozen and static cultural states and that they cannot contemporize their cultures because to do so means that they would have to change who they essentially are. Consequently, accurate and meaningful information about the Metis in Ontario is scarce and about the Anishinabek Metis it is rare or non-existent. There have been limited attempts to rectify this situation in Canada

(Redbird, 1980, Petersen and Brown 1985, Sprague, 1988, Dunn 1994, Adams, 1999) but more has to be done within academia and within Metis and Anishinabek Metis communities to ensure a more complete understanding.

The lack of information may be a result of the overall invisibility of marginalized Indigenous groups in Canadian mainstream society. This was true for other groups as well. The growth of feminist thought increased the awareness of women's place in society. It certainly opened dialogue and the development of theory dealing with women's experience and their methodical exclusion from the ranks of academia. The postcolonial and multicultural theorists that arose from these critiques by women and Others ensured that people outside of the mainstream have a voice and must have a voice within conventional theory.

The classical theories of sociology certainly do not afford marginalized groups a meaningful way to interpret and comment on their experience in Canadian society. In fact, some early schools of sociology, Marxism, Structural Functionalism, Functionalism, and Systems theories, were reflective of their societal context in that certain groups were studied as objects rather than as active commentators of their respective social conditions. In recent years, there have been a growing number of critiques from women, gays, lesbians, and peoples of colour as well as Indigenous groups, whose unique perspectives and worldviews have not been given a balanced consideration by academia.

Need for the Study

There is a need to assure a more adequate understanding of the Indigenous voice. Contemporary social theories and research methods are

problematic when they are applied to Indigenous cultures because Indigenous worldviews, much like dominant cultural ones, specify how stories are transmitted and conveyed within a cultural milieu. This study will help to broaden the knowledge base of the Anishnabek Metis in NWO. This study will augment existing studies on the Other Metis, (see terminology section for definition) in Canada, and it may provide the foundation for other studies. The Anishinabek Metis has little research devoted to examining their lives and experiences in NWO and Canada. This holds true for both genders: they have been either ignored or unrecognized. The dialogue about alternative epistemologies and a developing framework applied to the stories and experiences of one Anishinabek Metis Elder may contribute to a deeper understanding of this population and add to the body of knowledge about the history of NWO.

The grounding of the resultant research was based on the paradigm that exists on the margins of academia, that is, Indigenous perspectives and theories. Many Indigenous theorists advocate exploring other paradigms (Campbell 1992, Accoose 1995, Geystick and Doyle 1995, Adams 1999, Smith 1999, Battiste, 2002, Little Bear 2002). The perspective used as the framework for this study was unique because it was interpreted using an Indigenous paradigm, as well as having been written by an Indigenous Elder. This study demonstrated that a process of cultural change and social adaptation has continued for a long time, but is not discussed as common knowledge. This is a space that needs to be occupied. Other theorists outside the mainstream, such as hooks (1990), stated:

I am waiting for them to stop talking about the 'other,' to stop even describing how important it is to speak about difference. It is not just

important what we speak about, but how and why we speak. Often this speech about the 'other' is also a mask, an oppressive talk hiding gaps, absences, that space where our words would be if we were speaking, if there were silence, if we were there. This 'we' is that 'us' in the margins, that 'we' who inhabit marginal space that is not a site of domination but a place of resistance. (151-152)

This study is an attempt to fill that "space" that hooks said exists, namely, "that space where our words would be if we were speaking" (p. 152).

The next section is a discussion of the researcher's personal position and how she has interpreted and filtered the research for this study. Feminists have argued that "one is always positioned, and how one observes and interprets is always transfigured through the lens of personal experience and training" (Azoulay, 1996, p. 134; hooks 1990, 1992, Smith 1999). They have asserted that the use of the Self can result in richer, more useable research, the test of which is its truthfulness. With this focus on truth comes a responsibility to reassess the research that is socially produced, reproduced, and distributed, along with the overt and covert messages contained within it.

Personal

When I started university, I searched for any information that could help me reflect upon my experience in the world. I needed to experience something that was familiar in that academic environment that was foreign to my experience. I located some information on the Metis Resistance in the West, but it did not address my contemporary community interests (Howard 1952, Redbird 1980, Peterson & Brown 1985, Sprague 1988). I also found some information on the involvement of the Metis in the fur trade in northern Canada. The fur trade

journals mentioned only mundane aspects of life, such as how much food was bought and sold, how many furs went to the main depot, and so on. If Metis were mentioned at all in these journals, it was to comment on their physicality and their contributions to the meat stores from large game animals, (Thompson 1916, Thompson 1916, Long 1791, 1971, Radisson 1885, Harmon 1920). Social relations were only mentioned if they concerned men in the fur trade and Indigenous women. Disparaging comments usually followed these entries about people "going savage" or "going native."

I knew who I was as an Anishinabek Metis, but I could not find any historical verification of that in my research. My family, my community, and I did not exist as anything more significant than footnotes in the academic historical records. If this was the case, I was determined to explore other fields. Sociology was one that I considered because it is concerned with analyzing social life, relations, and change. A discussion of Indigenous peoples, such as the Anishinabek Metis, must be there. It seemed logical to me as I was in a university that was located in a northern environment. I remembered hearing my father discuss John Porter's (1968) study about the social hierarchy and that Indigenous peoples were at the bottom of it in Canada. This was the first time that I had heard about social research and sociology. It served as my introduction to this discipline.

There were some studies on Indigenous peoples in sociological theory and research, but they only dealt with negative social indicators, such as rates of suicides, violent death, alcohol and drug use. I found some information on ethnic

studies and race relations, but nothing that was real to me. Nothing reflected either my reality in the world or how I negotiated my path. I argued a great deal in university about this state of scholarly affairs. In every class, I made sure that Indigenous peoples were mentioned as part of that body of knowledge and space that should have been there, but was not. I was consciously not silent because silence is often considered to be consent. I was not invisible, even if I wanted to be; I was always representative of Indigenous peoples. I reflect now on my university experience and think that I met my responsibility to ensure that Indigenous peoples were treated in a respectful manner and that the people around me learned about the unique position that we occupy in Canada and why we occupy that space. My parents engrained this sense of responsibility in me.

This study, based on my father's last written work, was a task that I willingly accepted from my parents and other family members. The completion of this study ensures that my community's knowledge, wisdom, and experience will be treated in a respectful, cultural way. It speaks to that space that we occupy and assures that our voices are heard. *nii baba dibaajimo gii gikinoo'amaagozi debewin* This is my father's story of his teachings of truth. These words written in *Anishnabekmowin* specify that it is a story based on a true account as it is told in our dualistic world. These words will become more understandable as this study continues. They are part of the overall frame that is being built in this study. This study will serve as an introduction to this theoretical framework of the Anishinabek Metis community of Lake Nipigon and the cultural mediated ways that they ensure that their stories continue.

Definitions of Terms

Aboriginal: word coined by the federal government and provincial premiers at the First Ministers Conference in 1986/ 1987; legal term meaning the original peoples of Canada.

Anishinabek/ Anishinabekinini/ Anishinabekquek: original name of the people called the Ojibway, Ojibwa and/ or Chippewa, a word, respectively, meaning first man and first woman.

Anishinabemowin: language of the Anishinabek.

Anishinabek Metis: people who originated from the Anishinabek and various European people; this lineage is recognized in their worldviews and practice; they are usually from the geographical area surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior.

Elder: old man or woman who has the community-acknowledged expertise and knowledge of the Anishinabek and/or Anishinabek Metis culture and language.

Indian: legal term written into the Canadian government legislation to represent the Indigenous peoples of Canada; a stereotypical term that is often used.

Indigenous: political concept developed by the international movement for the world's Indigenous populations to specify land of origin and people original to the land.

Other: This word in this study will denote those peoples that are usually those who are studied. These people are usually considered to be the opposite of the dominant majority and are considered in a pejorative manner by them.

Other Metis: term coined in 1994 by Dunn who developed the term based upon the need to have a way to identify people who do not fit standard definitions of the Metis in Canada; that is, all other Metis people outside of the Red River settlement definition; Dunn first used this term while researching a paper for the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples as a way to recognize that the Other Metis were not written about in Canada; it is a term that recognizes the diversity of the Metis population in Canada and the United States (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, 1998, 1999; Paul, 1999).

Red River Metis: Metis who claim historical ties to the Red River; they can be located in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and a small section of NWO; it is an exclusionary term developed by the Western Metis; the people covered by this definition of Metis are part of the historical Metis, a term that has considerable relevance in Canadian courts and legal systems (Canada First Ministers Conference, 1984; Indian Affairs, 1979; Red Bird, 1980).

Teachings: life story that can specify lessons in learning for other peoples; a traditional story informing one how to behave in the world; specific instructions given to individuals to hold sacred stories (Hale, 1991; Johnston, 1976, 1990, 1995). These stories are usually based on personal and/ or community truth.

Truth: In *Anishinabekmowin*, the word is *debewin*. This means that you are telling the truth. The way the concept of truth is used in this work is one that recognizes that there are many levels of truth. Nelson (2003) raised this issue as he was explaining to me his work on epistemology. He described it as comprising

differing layers such as individual, community, academic, sociological, historical,
etc.

Research Design

This study was experiential in its design. The researcher attempted to develop a theoretical framework and epistemology based upon an Indigenous framework of looking at and learning about the world. A specific case was examined, namely, the personal experiences of an Anishinabek Metis Elder of Lake Nipigon as expressed in his written stories.

Limitations

The results of this study cannot be generalized to include others. The study was based on a specific case. However, the information on theory and story telling can be applied to other studies that are based within the cultural group of the Anishinabek Metis.

Assumptions

- Existing conventional sociological theory does not reflect Indigenous ways of being and learning about the world.
- By exploring alternative theoretical frameworks and epistemologies, a more accurate picture of Indigenous groups will emerge.
- A culturally based paradigm accounts for changing aspects of Indigenous culture(s).
- The documentation of this story will contribute to the body of knowledge of this population(s) in NWO and Canada.

Overview of Thesis

The focus of this study was the Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis and their attempts to ensure that cultural knowledge becomes transmitted in a contemporary context. This study was diachronic as it unfolds this story. A more balanced and adequate understanding of Indigenous peoples that is based in their ways of being and learning about the world is needed. Other understandings that are developed to transmit learning are insufficient for this purpose. This study explored this consideration through a literature review that describes how theories and research methods are reflective of social, cultural, and political realities and concerns. Much of the postmodern, post-colonial critiques of modernist research are concerned with these types of discussions about different cultural understandings and how they impact on academic theory development and research, (Collins 1986, Lincoln 1987, Lionnet 1989, hooks 1990, Accoose 1995, Abdo 1996, Daly 1997, Denzin & Lincoln 1998, Fine 1998, Goulet 1998, Cary 1999, Smith 1999).

The second chapter of this study is a discussion of the Anishinabek Metis worldview and epistemology that posits that these are based on dynamic and flexible frameworks. The basic premise is that Indigenous cultures change and adapt ways of transmitting necessary knowledge to the next generation. This ability to change is an inherent part of the worldview presented. The third chapter elaborates on this premise. The developing framework is applied to the thematic stories in the fourth chapter. It is discussed, summarized and analyzed in the fifth chapter. Chapter six then concludes with a discussion of how this study

demonstrates that a more balanced understanding of the Indigenous voice results when alternative theoretical frameworks are developed and epistemological frames based upon them are explored and interpreted within a culturally mediated manner.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

The literature review explores contemporary social theories and methods as being reflective of unique social, cultural and political realities. It attempts to show how these ways of learning about the world are insufficient when considering other cultural groups. It also demonstrates the need for the development, exploration, and examination of alternative epistemologies to expand our knowledge and understanding of the changing aspects of Indigenous worldviews. Theoretical frameworks and methodologies are centred in unique societal environments and reflect the concerns that exist within the societies in which they are based. Much of the post-modern, postcolonial, and multicultural critiques of theory and methods are concerned with these types of discussions. The ideas of such theorists as Abdo 1996, Accoose 1995, hooks 1990, 1992, Said 1979, Smith 1999, and Denzin and Lincoln 1998 are highlighted in this literature review. Their thoughts are scrutinized because they are representative of the critiques of conventional theory and methods such as ethnography, life history, insider and outsider perspectives, and autobiography.

The postcolonial and multicultural critiques act as an introduction to new and appropriate theories and epistemologies. This section begins with a discussion of social theory's creation, generation, and transmission to introduce the main arguments of this study, namely, that alternative epistemologies reveal changing Indigenous worldviews from a more balanced perspective. The

researcher offers a developing experiential approach that uses a cultural framework as a platform for allowing one to speak from personal experience. The researcher will be using this framework as this study is presented. There will be a level of informality that is usually not present in scholarly studies, which is an underlying argument of this study. This study reflects the ways of being and learning about the world of the researcher and the level of informality of the narrative tradition that she has been exposed too. This study presents praxis for this type of story telling. Following this will be a presentation of the various critiques that have contributed to this study and the reasoning underlying how it is being told.

Contemporary Social Theory

Social scientists are primarily observers of the social world. The term scientist is key to understanding the growth of sociological theories and research methods. An early scientific movement in sociology sought to emulate the theory used to study the natural sciences. This impacted the development of sociological research methods. Sociology developed as a social science, similar to the perceived hard sciences, with their scientific neutrality, rigor, and distance.

During the last 30 years, this influence on methods has been questioned and critiqued by various theorists. As Clifford and Marcus (1986) pointed out, social scientists are observers of the social world that they participate in. They make their observations within a socially mediated framework of their own cultural meanings and symbols: their reality. Social scientists describe and make sense of their world within their reality to develop their theories. Denzin and

Lincoln (1998) expanded on this critique and concluded that the chosen research methodologies impact researchers' work as they help in the process of "making sense of experience" (p. 501). Other people, feminists, postcolonial, and multicultural theorists, such as Said 1979, hooks 1996, Denzin and Lincoln 1998, Smith 1999, have argued that this theory and method process was developed to rationalize and extend a distinct cosmology on all societies and with all peoples. These kinds of concerns lead to a questioning of how is social theory generated, and by whom?

The researcher took a pragmatic, experiential approach by using the cultural framework that is the most familiar to her, which is her own. I am Anishinabek Metis, and I have been taught that one must speak from one's personal experience. Teachings and learning have to be personal and integrated into one's life as it is unfolding. I also included a discussion of the various critiques that have contributed to this story being told as it is. The underlying premise is that theory generation and creation is a human endeavour that takes place within a social context for different subjective purposes.

The completion of this study presented challenges to me because it is not based on how I have been taught to speak. This study is a hybrid of how I was taught to speak culturally and how I was taught to speak academically. In my family and in my culture, I have been socialized to speak from my personal experience. In order to finish this study, I had to ensure that the end result followed my community's cultural protocols and my own values and beliefs about the world. I had to ensure that my father's story was told, as *he* wanted it told. I

had to ensure that this family and community obligation and responsibility, which I willingly accepted, was based on Anishinabek Metis truth and respect. I had to ensure that this study would create an awareness of my community and generate a curiosity that will enable others within this community to write their life stories. I wrote from a subject position that includes my "self" and who I am in this world: my reality. As Rogers (1996) noted:

"I" announces a biographical creature whose experiences grow out of and beyond an array of social roles and subject positions. Its presence presses against the traditional boundaries of social theory and raises awareness of the multiple sites of consciousness where theory originates and takes shape. (p. 13)

Some academics may refer to this study as the subaltern speaks, as this supposedly specifies that the people who are usually studied, the Other, has developed the capacity to speak for one's community. I differ. In this study, there is a recognition that this story and other similar Indigenous based stories must be told. If we are to meet our responsibilities to future generations, we have to use available contemporary tools to ensure that these stories, told from our perspective, live on. They can offer a counterbalance to the historical record and add to the development of Indigenous-based written theories and methods. Given the oral tradition of Indigenous storytelling, this may seem a contradiction, as is my writing in English. As Lugones and Spelman (1996) argued:

You and we do not talk the same language. When we talk to you we use your language: the language of your experience and of your theories. We try to use it to communicate our world of experience. But since your language and your theories are inadequate in expressing our experiences, we only succeed in communicating our experience of exclusion. We cannot talk to you in our language because you do not understand it (p. 21).

Ritchie (1995), a postcolonial theorist, was even more pointed:

When we speak the language of the oppressor. We must be aware of how we are being swallowed up by concepts we did not create, and that as members of a non-dominant community, we must exercise caution and restraint in our attempts to develop our communities and enter the multi-cultural arena. (pp. 314-316)

I am a realist. I recognize that there will be no return to a time when we were living on the land, surviving in our own environment, and practicing our cultural ways. My father taught me that much, for he was a realist who often surprised people with his views. In deciding to tell this story, I realize now, how true is it: What I have been told within my cultural framework is that your truth and your "self" within a community context results when you are telling a story based upon your subjectivity. You begin to see the connections and interconnections that exist within your community and other communities by speaking from your experience and using that as your foundation when telling a story. The descriptions and explanations of my social world are based "in the originator's culturally anchored selfhood [and subjectively occur with the] dynamics of history, culture, social structure, and... life stories" (Rogers, 1996, p. 13).

This study is subjective; it is neither neutral nor scientific. Esterberg (2002) contended that "theories are just stories about the world, and if they are stories about the world, then they are constantly in a state of revision and there is the possibility that there is multiple alternative stories that could be written" (p. 9). He, further, noted, "In this sense, we are never really done theorizing, and we can

rarely reject theories out of hand. Instead, we need to think about the multiple stories that might be told." If we follow this reasoning, then Richardson's (1991) comments are not surprising:

When we begin to acknowledge that theories are at some level personal stories that need not be privileged, we also begin to question whether we should or need to call it science at all. When we allow science as a domain of truth to be contravened, then the scientists voice becomes part of the broader public discourse. (p. 352)

The process of telling a story is very different than the process of arguing that one paradigm about the world is privileged and, therefore, more believable because it is based on scientific fact. Scientific facts are generated in a social context; they are not neutral. Behar (1993) discussed her attempts to consciously frame a story by stating, "I have had to cut, cut, and cut away at our talk to make it fit between the covers of a book, and even more important, to make it recognizable as a story, a certain kind of story, a life history" (p.12). Clearly, Behar has an acute awareness of what she is attempting, and she understands how difficult social editing can be. She has a privileged position as well as a social scientist to ensure that her story about these people is told, as she wanted it told.

Another challenge that presented during the writing of this study was the required format mandated by academia. I was expected to use either an existing theory or to develop one. Theories are not just descriptive. They are "a form of explanation that is grounded, testable, and includes conceptualization" (Daly, 1997, p. 349). Postmodern thought supposedly ushered in an era of openness and willingness to explore other world viewpoints. This has led to a proliferation

of writing by some groups that either agree or disagree with the scholarly works written *about* them rather than *by* them. The notion that someone from another cultural perspective can represent your reality more accurately than you can is disappearing in some scholarly works. Daly noted:

Post modernity would suggest that we could no longer go merrily along presenting theory as an objective account as if it represented the reality of the participants. However, we continue to do this when we do not account for the theorist's self as a thinking, imposing, reflecting and participating member of the social reality being presented. (p. 349)

The post-modern works that exist and have been written by the Other bear a striking resemblance to extant works. As Daly (1997) concluded, as academics, "we are there to organize, select, and construct explanation" on the phenomena presented to us, (p. 350). As Other scholars and potential ones who are schooled in Western universities, we are aware of the criteria for being accepted and offered full membership into the exclusive club of Western academia. The concern that I have is what we must sacrifice to join this club. Do we risk giving up our "self"? Our family? Our community? Do we continue to use existing theory and generate more that resemble and fits with theories already developed in and from other cultures? Do we do this, even if we know that these theories are dichotomous to our way of being in the world and to our ways of looking at the world? If the goal is to organize, select, and construct explanations rather than merely describe, do we put the "self" aside and do what is required? Do we write as if we agree with Western theory? Do we ignore our "self" and our experience and act as a dispassionate voice when we offer explanations? If the cultural group that we are part of, such as the Anishinabek Metis, requires us to use our

experience as a way of determining truth, do we respect this requirement, or do we generate theory and act as if our experience is not relevant? How do we present what we create so that it is true to academia and our community?

These are the questions that I pondered as I undertook this scholarly venture. I have thought about my reasons for writing this study, and I have prayed for guidance. This is a prohibition as well. In Western social theory, one is not allowed to show or admit to having spiritual base for one's work. My spiritual nature is a large part of who I am, and it helps me to make sense of my world. I cannot ignore it when I am explaining something. My parents raised me in an environment where I knew that another world existed in my dreams and visions. Should I now forget this part of my identity of "self"?

Lugones and Spelman (1993) commented that theorizing in order to be meaningful means "not divorcing life from the telling of it or talking about it" (p. 22). They explained that theory, if successful, means that we recognize ourselves in it. Spirituality must be part of this writing. It is an integral part of my "self." It frames how I exist in my world, and it is a large part of life for other Indigenous groups in NWO and Canada. This includes all spirituality, Christianity based or otherwise, and the related practices.

Rogers (1996) stated:

To theorize is to engage in abstraction for the sake of understanding. Theory gives us a place to stand beyond the boundaries of our thoughts and feelings, beyond the limits of our observations, beyond the interactions constituting our connections with other people. No matter where we stand, though, we remain agents embodied in social space and history. (p. 11)

Theory does not enable us to step outside either our situated lives or ourselves. Theory moves beyond the descriptive into analysis, a higher level of thinking. If this does not happen, the work is judged to be less worthy, less scholarly, and less scientific. What occurs is that the “personal tends to be removed from public statements (i.e., theory); these are full of rational argument and careful discussion of academic points” (Stanley & Wise, 1979, p. 361). They also commented on the difficulty that no person (i.e., researcher) could separate her or himself from person-hood and then attempt to derive “second order constructs from experience” (p. 361).

Schultz (1971) articulated this tension between scientific and everyday reality when he distinguished between first- and second-order constructs. Schultz argued that all knowledge involves constructs, including both commonsense and scientific knowledge. According to Daly (1997), these are “abstractions, generalizations, formalizations and idealizations” (p. 347). Scientists study second-order constructs, which are “constructs of the constructs made by actors on the social scene, whose behaviour the scientist observes and tries to explain using the procedural rules of his science” (Schultz, p.6). It is at the nexus of these two constructs that “we encounter the irreducible dilemma of reconciling two spheres of meanings” (Daly, p. 347). Daly also noted:

The influence that is not well accounted for in the literature is the way that the individual characteristics of the scientist shapes the way that theoretical meaning is imposed on everyday experience. Although, there has been a good deal of emphasis placed on how professional, (i.e. theoretical, methodological or paradigm) leanings affect how we create social scientific products, we have placed less emphasis on how our personal characteristics shape the product. (p. 349)

People create theory, but the history of theory building has been “to deny, disclaim, and subvert this fundamental reality” (Daly, 1997, p. 350). This denial is present in quantitative and qualitative, positivist and post-positivist, and interpretive methodological domains. “The theorist’s interests and social position routinely shape the contours and content of his/her work” (Rogers, 1996, p. 11). Yet, we are not told this during the writing; if we are told, it is usually either a couple of pages at the beginning or at the end of the document. We usually do not receive sufficient information that would enable us to be offered a grasp of how the academic writer thinks, believes and *is* in the world. The social location that is present in the world is usually located within the work, beginning and/or end but not throughout the work. This then counts as presenting the social location of the author. The problem that I am identifying is that throughout the actual academic work, it is written as a dispassionate observer of some phenomenon. This is the usual practice that is expected in academic writing and which I had to learn.

There have been some changes to this situation with postmodernist, postcolonial, and multicultural critiques, as well as other emergent theories. Daly (1997) acknowledged this situation, although “there is greater acknowledgement of the role that the self plays in the research process, the self is usually left out of the final theoretical product of the research endeavour” (p. 350). The critique that Daly asserted remains: the self is not party to the final product.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggested that the researcher is a *bricoleur* who understands that research is an interactive process shaped by personal

history, biography, gender, social class, and ethnicity for both the researcher and the people in the research setting (p. 3). It follows, then, that research would be written in a certain manner.

Denzin (1978) wrote that theory is necessary in science because if we fail to move beyond just observation of particular phenomenon, then we risk leaving the research report at the level of descriptive empiricism. Others theorists have made critiques of the writing process based upon the nature of the enterprise.

Foucault (1977) noted:

A private letter may have a signatory, but it does not have an author; a contract can have an underwriter, but not an author; and similarly, an anonymous poster attached to a wall may have a writer, but he cannot be an author. In this sense, the function of an author is to characterize the existence, circulation, and operations of certain discourses within a society. (p. 124)

He continued:

Discourse that possesses an author's name is not to be immediately consumed and forgotten; neither is it accorded the momentary attention given to ordinary fleet words. Rather, its status and its manner of reception are regulated by the culture in which it circulates. (p. 123)

Foucault and Denzin asserted that writing reflects the culture(s) in which it orientates and circulates. Writing focuses on what is important in a culture; some cultural stories simply do not need to be explained within that culture.

Some theorists have implied that the story or narrative that results from respective studies is "couched and framed in a specific storytelling tradition" (Daly 1997, p. 349). Daly argued that researchers have specific reasons why they want to distance themselves from the theoretical story:

Personal accounts and influences threaten legitimacy. In the interests of marketing the theoretical product, there are a variety of residual positivistic forces that encourage the explanation to be framed in positivist language so as to create and maintain the commonly accepted pretence of accuracy, precision, relevance, and rigor. (p. 350)

Gatekeepers such as scholarly journals, publishers, etc. insist that real academic work must be written and presented in a way that is positivistic or quasi-positivistic so that there is a healthy distance of the self from the end product. Yet, when discussing the research process, an irony arises in that one is expected and encouraged to maintain a close, intimate relationship with one's respondents. It is only in the written work that this mutual relationship must end.

Including personal experience in your work is to be considered by one's colleagues as an emotional exhibitionist (Ellis & Flaherty, 1992). It is suspect. When the work is critiqued, the danger is that the self also may be critiqued. We make ourselves vulnerable and subject to criticism. Tierney (1997) explained that the empathy that is expected of researchers while doing research should not end when writing the text:

In effect, we make ourselves, rather than the Other, vulnerable; we reveal ourselves in the text as a narrative character, not as a act of hubris but as a necessary methodological device to move us toward a newer understanding of reality, ourselves and truth. (p. 56)

Tierney argued that it is only when we include ourselves in our research that we become real. He noted,

In relating these experiences, individuals help to define the ideology that drives their lives and the image that they have of their own lives and the lives of others. It is only when we put these two views together, researcher and researched, [that] we can achieve some limited understanding of one another and of our multiple realities (p. 58).

Because subjectivity is seen as not being central to theory, if we do include affective experience, then “we lessen the power of our voice [and] deprive the authority of the objective account” (Daly, 1997, p. 351). This is especially true when one is trying to gain credibility or authority in one’s field. Human beings and subjectivity are excluded from theoretical accounts by emphasizing the rational nature of the story. “Logical consistency and coherence have always been the championed criteria for evaluating good theory” (Daly, p. 351). In this scheme, there is no place for emotion. Esterberg (2002) concurred with Daly when she argued “social scientists who work within this tradition argue that social research must be value-free and objective...(they)...must free themselves from the social and cultural values that govern other kinds of human activity” (p. 11).

By definition, subjectivity is the antithesis of scientific: It is not objective in nature. Emotions are not seen as a base for doing theory but rather an obstruction that must be overcome. However, as feminists and other theorists stated earlier in this paper, science is not neutral, and there is no neutral theory or methodology. As Kleinman and Copp (1993) said, “In the name of wanting to present ourselves as objective and neutral social scientists, we still seek to leave out our identities, ideologies and political views” (as quoted in Daly, 1997, p. 351).

The positivist traditions within the social sciences are still very much in practice, in spite of the fact that social research methods involve studying multifaceted human beings who have “the capacity to reflect on their actions” (Esterberg, 2002, p. 11) and who can and do change their behaviour as they are

being studied. This facet of human nature has contributed to another critique and change in the way research has been told.

Stoller and Olkes (1987) described what they considered to be a crisis when their expertise and methods failed them with the *Songhay*. These two researchers were studying the Songhay and their lives. It was during this process that they found that the information that they were gathering was inaccurate. Stoller commented in their study that he found that "everyone lied to me and...the data that I had so painstakingly collected were worthless. I learned a lesson: Informants regularly lie to their anthropologists" (p. 229). This led him to change the way that he did his research practice and his writing as he began to write himself into the story he was telling. Stoller and Olkes found out that changing behaviour often is a conscious act and that people being studied provide the information that they think the researcher wants, rather than what is true. Some of this preceding discussion on ethnography was prompted by the Others: The people who were being studied, who were assumed to be passive participants in the research process, revealed their active involvement. This contributed to the crisis of representation as people began to challenge older models of truth and meaning (Rosaldo, 1989).

I was told a story about a social scientist who went into the Armstrong, Ontario, area about 15 years ago. This was before Whitesand First Nation got reserve land from the federal government. The Whitesand community was actively working to receive compensation because their community had been flooded as a result of the Hydro dam. The community was forced to move from

the shoreline of Lake Nipigon because this flooding had caused a severe erosion of the shoreline.

Negotiations included ensuring that research was done on what had happened. Anishinabek people in this area were skilled at knowing what the research process involved. The people also knew that they had to get a land base for their community because they were considered to be squatters on the land that they currently resided. Considered to be squatters, they could not access federal funds to develop a community infrastructure and services. It was imperative that if they could not live on their land near Lake Nipigon, they had to negotiate for other land.

A man came from a university and told the people that he was undertaking an important study about the Ojibwa. He wanted to study male behaviour among the Ojibwa peoples in that area. He wanted to know the rites that a young man coming of age must undergo. He wanted to talk to the Elders in the area about traditional culture and human behaviour. Some people talked to him: One old man told him the kind of story that he wanted to hear about manhood rites. It was an impossible physical feat involving a moose. This social scientist diligently recorded what he was told, in spite of the laughter and language used. I was told that the community did not receive a copy of the study, but people knew that one had been written.

There was a great deal of laughter when this story was related on many levels: the enjoyment of the telling, the humorous nature of it, and the teaching of practicality. The man did not use his common sense when he was recording this

story. If he had, he would have realized that the people were joking with him and that the story was not true. Lake Nipigon Anishinabek people have a highly developed brusque storytelling tradition that includes telling stories like this one. The notion that a researcher can understand and interpret what their research participants think is a lesson in futility and ignorance.

If this man had been serious about conducting an important study, it would have been more worthwhile for him to study the people's pursuit of an adequate land base. He may have had a meaningful experience rather than a research study that was based on frivolity and lack of candor. Research in the social sciences is full of situations similar to this one and these are starting to be discussed and critiqued. These stories contribute to the nature of the critiques against doing research in what is called a modernist-positivist tradition. These critiques are considered in the next section with an examination of the research method, ethnography. This story about one community on Lake Nipigon reveals the premise of the early development of this research method. Later ethnographical studies would respect community needs and attempt to balance them with research needs as discussed by Rosaldo 1989, DeVries and DeVries 1996, Azoulay 1997, Goulet 1998. These innovative ethnographic studies will be interspersed throughout the next discussion.

Ethnography

Naturalism is part of the research tradition in the social sciences. As Esterberg (2002) commented, "In naturalist inquiry, the researcher attempts to observe as carefully and accurately as possible and to present the story of those

being studied in their own voices” (p. 13). She explained that the researcher must establish close, personal relationships with people and must attempt to become fully engaged in their social world to represent an accurate portrayal of the social world being studied. Criticisms of this method have been based on the argument that researchers really do not capture the way people look at the world; they only write studies that describe what they think (their interpretation) about the world that they have under study (Geertz, 1973).

Geertz’s (1983) challenge was that he stated that all anthropological accounts are essentially interpretations of interpretations; he argued that because the person observing has no privileged voice, the resulting story is a story crafted by all people involved. How can a researcher accurately describe and explain a social world to which he or she does not belong? The methods based upon naturalism assume that this social research is possible and plausible. Researchers, Esterberg (2002) maintained, “select what they think is important about the social world and creates their own version of reality” (p. 14).

Rosaldo (1989) called this idea of a naturalist ethnographer, the story of a male scientist who went off in search of his native in exotic lands (p. 30). Four beliefs and commitments are the basis of this type of research: objectivity, imperialism, monumentalism, and timelessness (Rosaldo). These beliefs and commitments, as well as neutrality and Eurocentricism, are the foundational criticisms of modernist-positivist research.

DeVries and DeVries (1996) argued that the standard definition of ethnography as a “portrait of a people” (p. 484) is problematic. They contend that

this idea of capturing a picture of any people implies a static and unchanging concept of research and the Other who is being researched. This is a postcolonial criticism of positivist research. The danger in writing about and researching one's own family, as DeVries and DeVries emphasized, lies in authority and power: The greater is the intimacy, the greater is the potential for error and misuse of power.

Simultaneously, DeVries and DeVries (1996) also argued "one must know one's audience" (p. 489). I would argue that one must also know one's reasons for undertaking the research. On an academic level, I am completing my father's manuscript to meet the requirements for a graduate degree; on a cultural and family level, I was chosen by my father to complete this text; on yet another level, my family expect that I will complete it soon. I am also completing it because I want the children in my family to retain a memory of my father. These are the underlying rationale for completing this study and they must remain clear as this process unfolds.

Regarding the research process, I do not feel any need to follow existing guidelines to ensure that I am accurately portraying another culture. I plan to follow my experience in my social world. The supposition that one can immerse oneself into another culture and remain separate is a concept that others have struggled with. As DeVries and DeVries (1996) noted about a study that they had completed on Cape Breton:

It meant establishing and developing relationships with neighbours, getting to know people and allowing others to get to know us. It also meant that this had to proceed in a way that was more or less compatible with local customs. (p. 488)

They also stated, "In sum, before one can actually begin collecting information considerable acculturation to local culture and its many nuances must take place. It also means fitting into the structure of community relations" (p. 488). Their Post-modernist case study of Cape Breton utilized an ethnographical approach to examine the intersection of class and culture. It was completed with a view to go beyond "only imagining what is happening to real social actors caught up in complex macroprocesses" (DeVries & De Vries, 1996, p. 484).

Early ethnographies were presented as "authoritative representations of the worlds represented" (Meyers, as cited in Daly, 1997, p. 347). Researchers then used their power to represent their story about the individuals whom they researched. Foucault's (1980) notion of power was envisioned as a process constantly moving in differential patterns circumscribed by context, individuals, culture and society, (p. 59). This compels us to be aware that anything that we attempt is never ideologically free. We cannot, like the hard sciences, move back into the lab and simply record data. As Foucault noted, research is inherently infused with power. Daly commented that the resulting theory, if any, is a product of the researcher and "that account is hegemonic" (p. 347).

Daly maintained, "with the post-modern turn... new epistemologies, paradigms, and discourses have resulted in more reflexivity and concern about the products of the ethnographical endeavour" (p. 344). Ethnography as a method is reflected in the writings of Azoulay 1997, Cruikshank 1990, and Goulet 1998. These writings situated their authors in their research as they are in the process of observing social realities of either their own culture or another culture.

Goulet (1998) sought a particularly ambitious task, that is, a comprehensive description of the *Dene Tha* ontology, epistemology, and ethnics. He completed his study by gleaning what he had learned from observations made over 12 years of working with the *Dene Tha*. He spent approximately three years in the community. The result is a narrative ethnography in which he is situated as fully experiencing that which he is studying. It is a work that takes ethnography into a whole uncharted area. Goulet discusses how the relationships that he made the *Dene Tha* extend into his own life and have helped in changing who he thought that he was. This approach of "thick descriptions," as Geertz (1973) suggested, results in "thick interpretations." This is precisely what Goulet was attempting. He offered a descriptive analysis in which he was one of the central characters in the story that he wove from his extensive fieldwork. This is an improvement over past research and is one of the recent examples of postmodern methods.

This recognition that we must deal with social and cultural contexts as we navigate the world is an important development in how research is conducted, by whom, and for whom. To conclude, Daly (1997) commented:

Specifically, there has been a call for the final public texts of ethnography to reflect various levels of interpretation and meaning, to be socially and culturally located, and perhaps more importantly, to not make any privileged claim to represent the truth or reality of the experiences being described (p. 344).

This sense of ethical regard of the people studied will be elaborated in the chapter on research methodology.

Life History

Social science research assumes that understanding is possible in social realities extant in the different worlds that we as human beings construct. The Chicago School of Sociology had a huge impact on the early life history approach. As Denzin and Lincoln (1998) explained, "With its emphasis on the life story and the slice of life approach to ethnographical materials... (they)... sought to develop an interpretative methodology that maintained the centrality of the narrated life history approach" (p. 15). This emphasis, they continued, "led to the production of texts that gave the researcher-as-author the power to represent the subject's story" (p. 15). The use of power and power to represent people as data is the main critique for this method.

Tierney (1997) stated that "who we are and how we relate to those with whom we work circumscribes our daily research interactions" (p. 52). Tierney and other researchers (Lincoln 1997, Page 1997, Wolcott 1997) have asked who the researcher is, what the dynamics that one builds with one's informants are, and what explanation must be given to the reader. Tierney raised the question:

Do I record lives as if there is an inner logic that makes sense to me, or do I try to come to terms with the differences and inconsistencies and in doing so risk creating a text that may not be understandable to readers and that may not be publishable in academic journals? (p. 53)

He continues by noting that "no book can simply give us an inside glimpse of a hidden universe. We are complicit, involved, and framed in the making of the book and the definition of how we think about constructs" (p. 54) in the world we live in.

This struggle, that Tierney raises in the preceding paragraph, of how we present where we, (as writers and creators) are in the text and how we influence what we do has been a constant struggle for me in doing this study. Part of me, considers the critiques identified thus far in this review and realizes that there is such power in being a researcher and in being a writer. In my view responsibility and power often are two sides of the same issue. In the case of this study, my family offers me the expectation that I will be true to both my family and my community and that I will ensure that my father's story is told the way that he wanted it done. He wanted a record of his life that detailed what he wanted emphasized; this is why he started to write it. It was his story and I have to ensure that it remains his story. These are the concerns about power that Tierney discusses when examining authors and authorship.

Tierney (1997) attempts to consider how the story is crafted and by whom. He identifies three points that help to shape the author and/ or researcher role: reflexive culture, reflexive subject, and empathic identity. Reflexive culture ensures that one's social and cultural assumptions are described as to how they frame the nature of the undertaking. He argued that these assumptions are examined so as to understand differences and to avoid painting all with the same brush. He continues by stating, "Cultural relativism certainly has a noble streak to it, but when we avoid discussing issues of power, we inevitably mark cultures in relation to stabilizing norms that privilege some and marginalize others" (p. 55). Power is a continuing dynamic in the discussion of research.

Tierney argues that a discussion of culture is important in this exploration of research because cultures *are* different. The researcher's role is to identify and catalogue these differences. The reflexive subject means that researchers must be aware of the differences in culture so that they can work across and with them in an inclusive process and in a dialogue. The reflexive identity adds to this, as one must be aware of their own identity and how this may impact on the research process (Tierney, p. 56).

Tierney commented that he undertakes life histories so that he can come to terms with how people see the world and how their stories of their histories have shaped the world in which they live. He believes that the "life story is a personal narrative whose ontological status as a spoken interaction between one or two individuals helps to create, define, and hopefully change reality" (Tierney, p. 59). He prescribes to a postcolonial critical perspective, and he acknowledges the need for social research to help in creating social change with the populations that they work with. He stated that when "we undertake such research (we must) challenge the oppressive structures that create the conditions for silencing" (p. 4). Tierney admits that there are inherent dangers in using this approach, such as either over-sympathizing with our respondents or attempting to save them. He noted:

Postmodernism teaches us, however, that we must shake up our realities and not settle back into easy roles of power and domination in which I ask questions, and by my frames, you respond. If you are from a group with which I hold sympathy, then I can claim solidarity- an all too easy word to assert in the 20th century- and we reinsert in our relations not only who is right and who is wrong but also that the researcher maintains power, voice and authority. (p. 56)

In spite of Tierney's concerns about using empathy, he continues to advocate this as an essential organizing framework for research. The portal approach of life history will now be presented. This approach differs from the life history approach advocated by Tierney.

Linde (1993) focussed on the portal approach to life history. This "approach attempts to use the life history to learn about some reality external to the story, which the life history is presumed to mirror" (p. 48). As he explained, "From this perspective, we study someone's life so that we might gain insight about not simply that life but also an objective account of the way that people live" (p. 56). This is the perspective that Linde takes in looking at the portal approach to life histories: It is possible to glean an objective accounting of other people's lives, no matter how different. He continued,

"We seek to understand a world different from our (sic); such understanding will not merely enlighten and enthrall us but perhaps will also enable us to come to terms with a particular social phenomena" (p. 58).

This approach was in direct conflict with Geertz's (1983) support of a process approach. He emphasized a narrative process that says that to assume that we can "present a life history that enables us to understand the Other is flawed" (p. 58) Geertz contributed to the discussion of life history research by exploring interpretation. He stated, "What do we claim when we claim that we understand the semiotic means by which, in this case, persons are defined to one another? That we know words or that we know minds" (p. 68).

Linde (1993) asserted, "We assume we know our world, and the intent of the study is to understand other worlds" (p. 57). I am not assuming that I know my social world, nor am I assuming that I know my father's world. His world and the issues that he dealt with are very different. I am merely ensuring that what he wanted done, that is, having his life history written and published, is completed. In doing so it helps me to meet my obligations to him, my family, and my community. "Without equally strong-willed attempts to reframe the undertaking by the people whose life histories we collect, we end up reinforcing social relations that inevitably privilege the researcher. I ask the questions; the native gives the answers" (Linde, p. 57). My father ensured that he was the one writing on his life and that he would choose what was going to be said and when it would be said. He chose who would do it and when it would get done.

Tierney's (1997) critique of the portal and process approaches to life histories is that "research ought to do more than merely describe a situation or enable readers to gain partial understanding of alternative realities" (p.58). Life history research should tell us something not so much about the real but about how individuals remember what they perceive to be real (Tierney 1997). Lionnet (1989) outlined the idea that by writing life history texts, that it is "the defining of one's subjective ethnicity as mediated through language, history and ethnographical analysis" (p. 99). Tierney noted that autobiographical texts create the opportunity to "represent reality in our own ways and in our own categories, [hence] confronting dominant forms of representation and power in an attempt to reclaim, through a self-reflexive response, representational spaces that have

marginalized those of us on the borders” (p. 60). Researchers have to remain mindful that power is always present, so they must circumscribe their relationships within the research process.

The *Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP, 1996) assumed the task of completing life history research for at least three Indigenous generations. It was done to present an alternative to the standard views of historiography in Canada. The next section examines two of these reports.

Blumhagen and Andersen (1994) concluded that while they were doing their research, they needed “insider savvy” to interpret and make sense of the shared, everyday knowledge among the peoples they were studying. They stated that the “incredibly dense web of shared knowledge from ordinary conversations” (RCAP 1996, CD ROM) ensured that they had to attempt to achieve a more *insider* perspective in the community that they were studying. In addition, they found that the complexities and contradictions of lived experiences must be presented in terms of the life histories that they had gathered. The process of “remembering and the recollection of memories are social practices as much as psychological processes; so is forgetting” (RCAP, 1996, CD ROM). Blumhagen and Andersen noted that the “shaping, storage and retrieval of memories is experienced within a cultural milieu” (RCAP, 1996, CD ROM). The middle ground can be achieved through the telling of stories within this milieu and audience.

Marcott (1995) focussed on the life history approach. She wrote about three generations of francophone Metis who explained the strategies that they use to maintain their Metis identity. The purpose of Marcott’s study was to

strengthen the understanding of the unique Metis identities across Canada. Marcott noted that “research on the Metis has been insufficient and is particularly lacking on Metis women” (RCAP, 1996, CD ROM), so she investigated the French Metis and their descendents. This study was an attempt to address the imbalance of previous scholarship on the Metis. It attempted to “express the events and sentiments” that the francophone Metis view as important rather than portray a “conventional history.” Marcott presented the Metis persona as common yet distinct in Canada.

The bulk of research and scholarship on Indigenous groups is concerned with life history stories. A key component of this research deals with autobiographical stories, which are addressed in the next section.

Autobiography

This section examines the “confessional narratives and autobiographies” that Grande (2000) referred to in her criticisms of recent “essentialist theory” (p. 345). One part of this study described an Anishinabek Metis man’s experience in his social world: an autobiography. According to Krupat (1985), an autobiography is a European invention and its principal elements are “egocentric individualism, historicism and writing” (p. xvi). He explained that an autobiography is the antithesis of so-called “Indian concepts of selfhood, time, and literary expression” (p. xvi). He argued that this form of written expression could only arise from cross-cultural contact and that this model had no prior models within tribal cultures (p. xvii). Krupat maintained that “Indian literature is not textual [and that] Indians...did not write” (p. xx).

Krupat (1985) noted that the production of autobiographical texts involves a degree of alienation that in Native American works of this nature reveals "a further dispossession the already dispossessed" (p. xvii). He explained that most text of this nature is "an account of white [*sic*] ideas about the Indian" (p. 6). Indians, he argued, were deemed unworthy of textualization until 1833, when an autobiography of Black Hawk was published. In Krupat's account, "No aspect of Native American autobiography escapes the shaping power of the discourse of the dominant culture: character, plot, culture, history- the influence of white culture is pervasive" (p. xix). This statement assumes that there is an underlying, essential Indian culture and that these cultures do not change; in fact, we can find them if we remove all aspects of White culture.

Krupat (1985) commented, "the advent of the real Indian in text would only occur, ironically, with the demise of Native American autobiography itself and the end of bicultural collaboration" (p. xix). The concept of the real Indian in texts assumes a stereotypical, static, natural, disguised person. Who determines what and who a real Indian is? The number and diversity of Indigenous cultures in the Americas belies the enormity of the task.

The term *Indian* itself is problematic on many obvious levels. The genre that Krupat (1985) discussed is that of an Indian autobiography in which an author spends time with some notable Indigenous person and then writes either about or in collaboration the person. Krupat, similar to but different from Grande's approach, discussed the underlying premise of doing this is. He asked, "The

claim of Indian autobiography... (is)... that the white man is silent while the Indian, no longer a mute or monosyllabic figure speaks for himself?" (p. xx).

Other problems arose in the way in which this genre developed.

Representation was one of them. As Hymes (as cited in Krupat, 1985, p. 2) conceded, it is difficult to know what Aboriginal peoples think about their world because in many written works about them, the interviews were often not transcribed or not preserved. Hymes stated, "The problems of understanding what Native American narrators have intended and expressed is difficult enough. It is far more difficult if, in a certain sense, we do not know what they said" (p. 2).

Krupak (1985) recognized that to experience Native American literacy art, both Native American and American, it would be in textual form exclusively. He concluded that it would not be the "presence of the voice" but just a trace of the culture, "a pale trace of what their voices performed" (p. 4). Krupat expressed his belief that "there simply were no Native American texts until whites [sic] decided to collaborate with Indians and make them" (p. 5). He argued that Americans defined themselves against the Indians as wholly Other. In doing so, they made the Indian a figure that is simultaneously heroic and tragic. They also ensured that they would control the images and the way in which Indigenous peoples are viewed. The privileged, authoritative voice would not be Indigenous in this schema.

Brandon (1971) and Rothenberg (1972) revised and rewrote Indian materials, thereby claiming to have achieved a more authentic Indian version than literal transcription and translation could provide (as cited in Krupat, 1985, p.

7). There are many questions about how these texts were made. The process and form of historical reconstruction was questioned. Krupat asked how are Indian texts made, by whom, and for what purpose(s).

Three Canadian representative texts in the genre of biographical accounts written in collaboration with indigenous peoples are Cruikshank et al., 1990, Geystick and Doyle 1995, and Vanderburgh 1977. These individuals attempted to capture oral history. Geystick was a respected Ojibway teacher and medicine man. Before his death, he wrote his experiences and the stories passed on to him. He detailed sacred stories interspersed with stories from his life in a modern context. He depicted women and men as participating equally in the many ceremonies that occur during the yearly cycle. He discussed being careful in ensuring that roles and responsibilities are met.

Vanderburgh (1977), in collaboration with Verna Patronella Johnston, an Ojibway woman, produced a text that focused on changes in Johnston's community over a period of time. Johnston was presented as a cultural broker interpreting Ojibway society in relation to the outside world. She was a woman held in great respect for her role in her society.

Another form of narrative account produced in cooperation with Indigenous peoples and academics is one that involves working in collaboration with one another and sharing power and authority. A recent example is that of Cruikshank et al. (1990), who worked in collaboration with Athapaskan and Tlingit Elders to produce a narrative account of the women in these tribes. Cruikshank was asked to complete this work by the women and included herself

as a part of the qualitative research. This ethnographical work was done to ensure that the culturally embedded stories that were necessary to interpret the past of the communities were continued. It captured, in the women's own words, their descriptions and depictions of the history of the area. The recurring theme in these stories was one of relationships to self, family, community, tribe, and environment.

Cruikshank et al. (1990) noted that this theme of relationships acted as a frame for the stories. She noted that women's stories of their lives rarely present a coherent synthesis, and she maintained that the form of presentation is often discontinuous, which reflects the nature of women's experience in the world. Cruikshank argued that this is doubly so for writings dealing with those women who are marginalized in society. The nature of their experience is not a coherent whole and it cannot be related as such.

The comments expressed by Cruikshank et al. 1990, Geystick and Doyle 1995, and Vanderburgh 1977 raised some interesting issues for me. The level of collaboration and friendship that Doyle appeared to have for Geystick is apparent in the book that they wrote. Vanderburgh obviously respected Johnston, and their book appears to be a joint effort.

Cruikshank et al.'s (1990) work with the Elders resounds within this study on my father's narrative. Cruikshank discusses how their lives are not one narrative but many narratives. My father's work is written as one uninterrupted narrative: There are no headings, breaks, or introductions. His focus was on his life in the North and how he saw and participated in many of the developments

that occurred. The manuscript that he left behind depicts his family, community, and developing nation. It explains how one exercises responsibility and determination in one's life. As Cruiskhank et al. maintained, women's form of presentation is discontinuous, which reflects their experience. This is true for men and women who are perceived to be in a marginal position in society.

In this study, I attempted to examine in the wider social context of NWO the story that my father wanted told. In doing so, I hoped to enhance what he had already written. I did not bracket my thoughts and emotions in a way that others who have looked at, examined, and explored similar studies have done. When I told people about the subject of my thesis, they asked me how it could be construed as being academically significant. For Indigenous peoples, the response was, "How can I do the same in my family and community?" Clearly, all of these comments were significant but for different reasons. For people who asked about the academic basis of my thesis, I replied that if I were a Canadian student who discovered an unpublished work by an Indigenous Elder and decided that I was going to base my thesis on it, what would their response have been?

I make no assumptions of objectivity or neutrality in this work. This would require me to bracket my whole life. I believe that it is not possible to bracket or partition oneself from an emotional response. I recognize that doing so can create some discomfort, especially with academics that argue about the inside/outside perspective. This is the next subject of discussion.

Stanfield (1998) wrote,

“People of colour, women, and others traditionally outside of the domain of research authority have argued that only those researchers emerging from the life-world of their ‘subjects’ can be adequate interpreters of such experiences” (p. 335).

This viewpoint has provoked controversy, particularly from researchers outside of the groups that they are studying. Stanfield maintained that dominant researchers have argued against outsider scholars' claim to have an insider monopoly on the production of knowledge regarding the life-worlds from which they hail.

These concerns, of outsider/ insider status have not been considered from the outsider studying ‘the other’ that is studying the subject, that is, White cultures. White culture is the dominant subject and it is not studied as it is privileged. Stanfield noted,

“The ethnic hegemonic character of American and other Eurocentric traditions in the social sciences has made it quite problematic the legitimation of competitive, empowering research questions and strategies in work with people of colour” (p. 337).

The hegemonic character is apparent in “the historical Euro-American dominance in defining and constructing the organizational configurations of social science knowledge production and disciplinary public culture” (Stanfield, 1998, p. 338). Stanfield’s thoughts introduce the next section, which investigates multicultural, feminists, and postcolonial critiques on social theory and social methodologies. His comments on the hegemonic nature of Eurocentric social knowledge, creation, production, and dissemination serve to highlight the main criticisms.

Multicultural Critiques

The development of feminist thought, as well as postcolonial and multicultural theory, has helped in ascertaining other ways of viewing the world. The feminist critique of how knowledge of the world is constructed and reproduced to exclude people is insightful. In particular, the analysis of standard ways of looking at the participants in research and the accompanying criticisms has offered a new perspective on Western scholarship in relation to its study of "Other" peoples and cultures. The writing of texts, narratives, and literature about Aboriginal peoples has largely been interpreted through a Eurocentric, paternalistic worldview of progress and civilization. Aboriginal peoples in this framework have been perceived as less than, childlike, closer to nature, uncivilized, savage, as the "other."

Collins (1987) argued that the inner logic of the Eurocentric systems should be analyzed to discover what purpose(s) such frameworks served. The objectification of the "Other" has served clear purposes in the framework of colonialism. Recent scholarship, such as Hall 1991, hooks 1992, Abdo 1996, Fine 1998, Smith 1999 on the "Other" has revealed that the "Other" was constructed as a measurement, a gauge; the "Other" is an invented tool. Hall (1991) argued:

History changes your conception of yourself. Thus, another critical thing about identity is that it is partly the relationship between you and the Other. Only when there is an Other can you know who you are. To discover that fact is to discover and unlock the whole enormous history of nationalism and of racism. Racism is a structure of discourse and representation that tried to expel the Other symbolically – blot it out, put it over there in the Third World, at the margin. (p. 16)

Fine (1998) suggested that this binary opposition helps to prevent the exploration of what is in between, which is the critical task for researchers. She called this “working the hyphen” (p. 134). In the process of doing so, researchers invent themselves and the “other.” Fine discussed how the

“Self and Other are knottily entangled. This relationship, as lived between researchers and informants, is typically obscured in social science texts, protecting privilege, securing distance, and laminating the contradictions” (p. 135).

Another critique about this issue of “Other” is centered on discussions about Orientalism, Eurocentrism, and the social sciences. Abdo (1996) began by defining these invented concepts that help to show other peoples the hegemonic nature of social theory and methodologies. She explored how this concept has provided a foundation for the dominant social discourses occurring in European society to ensure their broad transmission to society.

Orientalism is broadly defined as “an epistemological construct designed to study, describe, analyze, and understand the Orient (e.g., India, China, Arab Near East, Egypt, and North Africa)” (Abdo, (1996, p.1). She suggested that Orientalism has provided the philosophical and political foundations for colonialism because it is linked to the hegemony of Europe and the United States over the ‘Orient’. Dominant religions also have played a role in providing the moral and philosophical basis for colonialism as well.

Abdo (1996) argued that Eurocentricism is intimately tied to Orientalism. “The notion of a culturally and scientifically superior society with strong roots in Greek civilization is coupled with a need for links to the democratic tradition of the Greeks” (Abdo, p. 9). Social science inquiry was constructed to measure the

"Other," which required alternative methodologies distinct from the ones used to study privileged societies. Abdo contended that Oriental and Eurocentric notions of society are, ultimately, a discussion of power. She critiqued the tenets of Orientalism and Eurocentricism that the world is polar and oppositional, namely, that a binary exists between "Us and Them," and that one has cultural superiority over the other. She discussed the concept of "Othering" and the Orient, whereby the "Other" has fewer redeeming qualities and is lacking in a number of different areas. The "Other" is perceived as having no history, no civilization, and no science. This focus on oppositional binary terms prevents one from seeing that the relationship between the "Other" and the "Self" is one of mutuality and interdependence. The relationship is symbiotic.

In a similar vein as Abdo's criticisms, hooks (1992) presented a argument for those considered less dominant to take control of their own social discourse. hooks asserted that throughout their history, Black people have shared their observations of White people with other Blacks. In a White supremacist society, whiteness has meant "a location where black [sic] folks associated whiteness with the terrible, the terrifying, and the terrorizing" (hooks, p. 170).

The fascination with the differences between White people and Black people has generated measurements on each, "details, facts, observations, and psychoanalytic readings of the Other" (hooks, 1992, p. 65). That Black people consider White people in this manner is surprising to White people. This is itself a form of racism. hooks argued, "...racist thinking perpetuates the fantasy that the

Other who is subjugated, who is subhuman, lacks the ability to comprehend, to understand, to see the workings of the powerful" (p. 168).

Stereotyping is a form of representation that is projected onto the "Other" to make them less threatening (hooks, p. 170). She examines stereotypes about white people in her experience as well as others. She posits that it is necessary to rediscover the past, the shared history that we all have. hooks commented, "To bear the burden of memory, one must willingly journey to places long uninhabited, searching the debris of history for traces of the unforgettable, all knowledge that has been suppressed" (p. 172). This journey, hooks maintained, will assist in the theorizing of black experience. Said (1982) noted that theory can "threaten reification, as well as the entire bourgeois system on which reification depends, with destruction" (as cited in hooks, 1992, p. 172). hooks commented that "the hegemonic experience of travel can make it impossible to articulate another experience or for it to be heard" in White supremacist society (p. 174).

Abdo (1996) examined the impact of feminism and how a concept such as "Othering" as a form of social domination and subordination is not confined to just one group. The assumption that both sides of the equation have imaginary visions and accumulated myths of one another can be seen in hooks' (1992) discussion. Perhaps a more balanced discourse would enrich rather than detract from scholarly discourse. A plethora of voices and social discourses can only add to the social discourse of society.

Other theorists, specifically Indigenous theorists, continue to critique these modernist and social scientific perspectives, (Campbell 1992, Accoose 1995,

Abdo 1996, Adams 1999, Smith 1999, Frost 2001, Battiste 2002, Little Bear 2002). The global research that has focused on Indigenous peoples has contributed to the review of modernist research and the way that it has been conducted. This is due to

“the centuries of intellectual hegemony and academic colonialism where whites defined Indian history and American Indians served as the objects of definition” (Grande, 2000, p. 349).

Smith, (1999), in *Decolonizing Methodologies- Research and Indigenous Peoples*, explores scientific research as a key tool in the arsenal of European colonization of Indigenous Peoples and communities. In a section on imperialism and history, she presents a summary of common elements of history as it is currently presented.

- 1 History as a totalizing discourse that includes a classification system of what knowledge to include and what to exclude.
- 2 History as a universal that has fundamental values and characteristics that applies to all societies.
- 3 History as a chronology of events and developments that occur over time that are recorded, usually written. This makes them real and factual.
- 4 Related to the above, is history as developments. The whole notion of progress and stages of moving from a 'savage ' state to 'civilization'. Writing and books are related to this.
- 5 History as one narrative that contains all the 'facts' so that we can have a good idea on what the past was. This assumes that a 'true' history can be gathered.
- 6 History in recording all the significance facts is neutral. 'Facts' can be discerned with no interpretation. History is innocent.
- 7 History is constructed around binary categories; this is related to history as chronology. There must be a beginning and criteria for determining when something occurs. Everything before belongs in the realm of myths and is outside the domain of history.
- 8 History is patriarchal. Women did not make history. They were outside the main activities that did, that is those who developed the underpinnings of the state, (Smith: 30- 32).

Smith argues that colonialism demanded tools that would ensure that it was successful. These four concepts are imperialism, history, writing and theory. In her work, they are examined, discussed and conceptualized because they are problematic.

“They are words which tend to provoke a whole array of feelings, attitudes, and values. They are words of emotion which draw attention to the thousands of ways in which indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures have been silenced or misrepresented, ridiculed or condemned in academic and popular discourse” (Smith: 20).

Smith maintains that colonialism is present in the ways in which aboriginal societies was examined, research methods used, agendas behind the research and the philosophies underpinning the research. The sole purpose in these practices was to present aboriginal societies to the world as less civilized, savage, less human, and, most importantly, as primitive with no understanding of land tenure. This would further the colonial agenda and ensure that it proceeded in a predictable fashion. It would also ensure that aboriginal peoples had no basis for claims to the lands and that public opinion would be against them, as these practices were widely dissimilated throughout colonial society as well as the imperial center.

In spite of this idea that Indigenous peoples are peripheral to the mainstream academic project, Indigenous scholars continue to analyze intellectual projects emanating from academia and being written in academic journals. As an example, Grande expressed the view that American Indian intellectualism has been shunted in favour of discussions about identity:

In the moment of late capitalism and cultural postmodernism, the central questions regarding American Indian intellectualism and the academy

continue to be defined in terms of identity: Who counts as American Indian and who should be allowed to speak from the authority of that voice? Who can conduct research on behalf of American Indian communities? What counts as real history and who determines what counts? (p. 343)

Like many multicultural theorists, she argued that research should include some form of social transformation. She suggested that the end result of American Indian discourse being centred on questions of identity is an obfuscation of the “real sources of oppression, substituting the possibility for radical social transformation with a politics of representation” (p. 343). She stated:

A subsidiary effect of defining rights issues in terms of identity is that the work of American Indian academics raising the difficult questions of Native rights is passed over for the more marketable and seemingly more relevant confessional narratives and autobiographies. (p. 348).

This comment is a synopsis of Grande's central argument. She maintained that the impact of essentialist discourse and its misperceived struggle “over authenticity is best seen in the myriad of turf wars currently playing out among subaltern scholars of colour and Whitestream academics” (p. 348). She continued by stating that questions of who is Indian enough, Black enough, or otherwise subjugated enough to write and speak for the marginalized seem to dominate such circles” (p. 348).

Indicators such as the categories of race, gender, and other social groupings are viewed as stable and homogeneous as if the members possess some unique or innate set of characteristics that sets them apart from ‘Whites’ (Grande, 2000). These indicators of authenticity spell out the differing degrees of purity that exist. Grande explained the main problem of this approach:

... Racial groups are not stable or homogeneous entities and racial differences are equally unstable effects of social and economic contradictions, the matter of drawing lines becomes equally fraught with the same power-politics inherent in the system of Whiteman imperialism (p. 349)

Grande (2000) stated that because Native American academics are so caught up within relativistic issues of authenticity and legitimacy, the underlying reasons of sovereignty and land-based struggles have been forgotten. In the last section of this literature review, I discuss the impact of identity on the completion of this study. This discussion was attempted with an awareness of essentialism and how identity contributes to essential types of discussions.

Identity

This section does not focus on the varied nature of Metis identity in Canada, although it is an interesting topic. When my father was writing his narrative, he did not include any areas that could be construed as a discussion of his identity as an Anishinabek Metis person. Regardless, there is a need to comment about identity as it pertains to this study. Grande (2000) noted that these concerns about identity and Indigenous peoples detract from issues that are vital for our communities, such as cultural survival and integrity. My father was concerned with issues that dealt with his and his family's survival in the North. He had no time to think about how identity impacted his worldview. He knew who he was. A general discussion of identity issues is offered merely as a conclusion to this section.

People have shifting identities and shifting memories. Identity is not fixed; it is dynamic. We use the way that we perceive ourselves, that is, our identity, to

make sense of our world(s). There is not just one version of the past. Norquay (1990) expressed it as:

Feminists and poststructural theorists have argued against there being a single narrative of a unified self, but rather several tellings with which we present and represent ourselves within different contexts and configurations of our locations in our gender, race, and class. Both feminists and poststructuralists have suggested that identity is multiple, shifting and contradictory. (p. 291)

In other words, we have different subject positions from which we engage with the social historical contexts in which we live our lives. The social differences that result from our social relations are not a consequence of either biological or inherent characteristics (Norquay, 1990). Through this study, I can relate how my father changed and his life changed throughout his lifetime. In this story, multiple and contradictory selves is apparent. It is acknowledged in the views of aboriginality and self. For my father, there was no contradiction between his being Anishinabek and Metis at the same time; this was true for others in his social group. This idea assisted in the establishment of unique social and political organizing and eventually organizations. Norquay (1990) explained that the belief that identity is shifting, changing, and contradictory arises from a post-structural position:

The post-structural insistence on the influence of historical and social structures in the formation of subject positions is integral to this position. Identity is constructed, not by genes or personal interactions with universal truths but rather by the interplay of changing historical and social structures with individual subject positions. (p. 291)

According to this view, "each telling of the past is an ongoing renegotiation of the past" (Norquay, 1990, p. 295). When I think back on my life to this point, I

can see that I am not the person I was 20 years; in some cases, I am not the person I was last year. When we relate our lives and our experience, we choose what to relate and how it impacts on the situation at hand. This is the whole process of learning about one's "self." When I relate my life experience, I reconstruct "the social and ideological world in which those memories were formed" (Norquay, p. 294).

There is a complex interplay among the categories of ethnicity, race, economic location, class and gender, operating to construct a past as contradictory and an identity as shifting, that also must be considered (Norquay, 1990). As Goodson (1999) stated:

To establish a broader picture we need to locate the stories and collaborate in the discussion and understanding of stories and narratives. A life, it is assumed, is cut of the whole cloth, and its many pieces with careful scrutiny, can be fitted into proper place. But this writing of a life... is constantly being created as it is written. (as cited in Cary, 1999, p. 415)

Goodson demonstrated clear insight into the way that people perceive, think, and feel about their lives as they are living them. When my father was writing and finishing his manuscript, he was preparing to leave his life. This record of his life and worldview is his legacy.

The framework discussed in the literature review is based upon the contention that standard social theoretical frameworks and research methods do not convey an accurate picture of Indigenous worldviews and experiences. Consequently, they are insufficient in presenting Indigenous thought and cannot adequately discuss the changing aspects of these worldviews and experiences.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argued that theory should assist in the process of making sense of experience for people in society. Daly (1990) noted that social theories exist to organize, select, and construct explanations for society. This study maintained that conventional theory does not do these tasks for Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups in society because they are not part of the broader public discourse of academia and society. Lugones and Spelman (1996) asserted that theorizing must be meaningful to lived experience for people to recognize themselves in it.

Attempted in the literature review was the beginning of the use of a social theoretical frame that is based on the worldview of the Anishinabek Metis and their ways of being and learning in the world. This paradigm is centered on teachings of truth and how one presents one's truth in Anishinabek Metis society. It is important to remember that this truth is based on an individual's experience in the world. For the Anishinabek Metis, it is the starting point for any discussion of learning about the world.

The discussion of the Self in relation to the story being told enables one to reflect upon the story and apply it to one's situation or to perceive it as evidence of one's learning. This focus on the self ensures that one is included in the story and ensures that the family and community are treated in a respectful and honest manner. The inclusion of self acts as a guarantee that this will be done. Also understood is that a proper and respectful manner means that reciprocity will occur in the same way.

Subjectivity and spirituality are large segments of the social world of the Anishinabek Metis. They are key to ensuring that truth at all levels is part of the stories being told. It was noted in the literature review that the self has to be included in all aspects of a study, not just the final product; Anishinabek Metis teachings are a part of this process. The focus on the subjective elements, namely, spirituality and dreams, implies that cultural protocols will be met.

Summary

An overview of the salient issues dealt with social theory: development, transmission, and critique. The discussion began with an exploration of theory: How is it generated, and by whom? I utilized the pragmatic experiential approach of a cultural framework in which one speaks from one's own life experience. The underlying premise is that we must accept responsibility for our own learning. Following was a discussion of various critiques that have contributed to this study and how it is told. The supposition is that the generation and creation of theory is a human endeavour that occurs within a social context for different, subjective purposes.

This review explained that theory and research methods are reflective of social, cultural, and political realities. The postcolonial and multicultural critiques demonstrated the need for the development of alternative ways of learning about the world. They also underscored the need for the development, exploration, and examination of alternative epistemologies to portray the changing aspects of Indigenous worldviews. It is only then that we can expand our knowledge and understanding of other cultures in more balanced ways.

In the next chapter, I discuss the development of a framework based upon the worldview of the Anishinabek Metis of Lake Nipigon. This inner world informs the epistemology of this cultural group. It dictates how learning occurs, and within what context. It explains how one evaluates and transfers knowledge to others. I also investigate the importance of storytelling as an epistemological method of gathering and retaining knowledge.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to explore an alternative theoretical framework and epistemology that more accurately portrays the changing worldview of the Anishinabek Metis. What follows is a discussion of the research methodology that is divided into three main areas: Anishinabek Metis theoretical paradigm and epistemology. The first area of discussion is the Anishnabek Metis worldview. This framework is a useful way to appreciate the changing features of Aboriginal peoples by examining the personal viewpoint of the Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis. I used it to consider the narratives left by an Anishinabek Metis Elder, my father, who died in 1987. This paradigm assures a deeper understanding of the changing nature of the Anishnabek Metis because it reflects their world experience. Contiguous to this discussion is the subjective interpretation that is provided throughout by my personal standpoint.

Research Design

The literature review communicated the need for more Indigenous-based theoretical and methodological frameworks. Throughout the literature review, I argued that standard social theoretical frameworks and research methods do not convey an accurate assessment of the Indigenous world experience. Because these frameworks and methods are insufficient in expressing an Indigenous perspective, they cannot adequately articulate the changing aspects of this

experience. The development of alternative frames and epistemologies could provide more meaningful and culturally appropriate theories and methods.

This section focuses on gathering information in a culturally based manner, which allow for the discussion of an alternative information-gathering methodology. Related to and flowing from their own descriptions, explanations, and analysis of the world and their way of being and place in it, the Anishinabek Metis would accept a research methodology that is based on information gathered through storytelling. Stories are the foundation for creating, recreating, valuing, and transmitting key community relationships (Hungry Wolf 1980, Cruikshank et al. 1990, Johnston 1990, 1995, Dunn 1994, Geystick and Doyle 1995, Von Gernet 1996, Goulet 1998, Frost 2001). In this account, I elaborate on the experiential approach discussed in the literature review as the starting point to developing an Anishinabek Metis-based theoretical framework and epistemology. Subjectivity plays a large role in this exploration of the inner life of this community, and experience-based learning is the basis for this discussion. This means that in order for this to be considered a truth based story, one must ensure that they are speaking from their own experience and teachings of the world.

Anishinabek Metis Paradigm

This section focuses on the Anishinabek Metis people's interpretation of their world by exploring a paradigm that forms the basis for a distinct Indigenous based framework. "A paradigm may be viewed as a set of beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimate or first principles" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000,

p. 26). It comprises the worldview, which defines for the individual or the collective, the relationships that can be established in the world and their place in it. An inquiry paradigm defines something similar for the researchers: It specifies what the research process is and considers where they are in their social world, and it sets the parameters for legitimate inquiry. It is based on one's personal experience, that is, how the world and others respond to a person as well as how intimate familial and social relationships define one's place in the world. It is how one learns about the world.

In this part of this study, I took an experiential approach to gathering information. I used an Indigenous, culturally based framework of speaking from one's own experience. The underlying premise is that one must accept responsibility for one's own story as well as one's own learning.

My name is *Kishshekabayquek*, the woman who stands in the snow whirlwind. I received this dream after I had been sick for a long time in 1993. I have been told that my *dodem* is *Baysou* (Lynx/ Cat), even though my mother is from the Bear *dodem* and my father may have been from the Cougar or Jackfish *dodem*. I understand this to mean that family members may not have all been the same *dodem* within the Lake Nipigon area that I was raised in, namely, around MacDiarmid, Ontario. Not having the same *dodem* makes sense in small communities because it ensures that the community and accompanying relationships and responsibilities, rather than family relationships, are the primary relationship. This means that the social glue, the *dodem*, holding the community together is and remains strong. In 1987, I became a registered treaty Indian

under the *Indian Act*. I was involuntarily registered by the *Indian and Northern Affairs Canada* into the Sandpoint Indian Band at that time.

Another name that I have is *Nokomisans* (little grandmother). I received this name after I became a grandmother for the first time at thirty-two. This is who I am. In the winter of 1994-1995, I had recurring dreams of an animal. Often, these dreams kept me awake all night. They weren't nightmares, just different kinds of dreams. I talked to my mother about these dreams. She listened and told me to pray for a teacher to come and tell me what to do. She told me to trust myself during this time.

Meanwhile, I moved from Thunder Bay, Ontario to Fort Frances, Ontario to take a new job. These dreams continued. I told a friend, Albert, that I needed to speak with an Elder. Albert said that he was going to Lac La Croix First Nation and that an old man lived there. I asked if I could accompany him. I took some gifts and tobacco as an offering of respect, just in case I had the opportunity to speak with this Elder.

We visited with Ron Geystick, whom I liked immediately. He was a good person whom I could trust. He invited us to eat; after supper, he said, "Okay," got up, and went into his room. I followed him. I gave him the gifts that I had brought. I proceeded to tell him about the dreams that I had been having. He listened intently to my story. When I was finished, he sat silently for a while.

He then proceeded to tell me that the spirits are awake in the winter and that they sometimes try to communicate with us. We have lost the ability to understand what they are saying, so we must participate in a ceremony. A year

to us is one day to the spirits. They eat twice a day. Perhaps if I gave them some food to eat to fulfill their need and the need for reciprocity, they might help me to explain my dreams. Prayers must accompany this simple ceremony and this offering must be left in the bush. He told me that a shaking tent ceremony would happen in *Nickacouseamanacaning* First Nation, soon. If I wanted to, I could come and ask my questions to the spirits directly.

After we finished discussing these matters, we sat and talked. I told him about the gossip at work and asked what to do about it. He said that he did not know what to do about gossip either. We had a good laugh and went back to the kitchen to visit. This story will be examined in a culturally based context that might assist with the understanding of why it is being told.

Little Bear (2002) asserted, "culture comprises a society's philosophy about the nature of reality, the values that flow from this philosophy, and the social customs that embody these values" (p. 77). He further stated,

"Individuals within the culture will have their own personal interpretation of their collective cultural code; however, the individual's worldview has its roots in the culture; that is, in the society's shared philosophy, values and customs" (p. 77).

This personal interpretation of the collective culture is apparent with the Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis, whose worldview involves personal experience foremost. You must say who you are when you tell your truth. When discussing whatever phenomenon you are concerned about, you have to speak from your own experience. This is done so that your truth is apparent.

I was taught to speak from myself: what I say, do, feel, think, and experience. This is the starting point of any exploration in my culture. Subjectivity in the forms of dreams and intuition guide us in our reality. The spiritual nature of our environment must always be considered and respected. These needed relationships, to human beings, in the physical and spiritual world are paramount and have to be maintained. According to Little Bear (2002):

In Aboriginal philosophy, existence consists of energy. All things are animate, imbued with spirit, and in constant motion. In this realm of energy and spirit, interrelationships between all entities are of paramount importance and space is more of an important referent than time. (p. 77)

Spirits exist in another reality, but it does not restrict them to that reality. They are animate and travel in the way that spirits travel through time and space. They have connections with this world of physical senses, and we are able to contact them, when we honour the sacred relationships given to us by the Creator. Multiple realities surround us, and responsibilities and obligations exist that we must respect. Ron was telling me to renew my relationships with the spirits around me.

These spirits must be respected, and the balance given to human beings must be maintained. The sacred cycles of the seasons act as guides. This is what Ron meant about a feast in the spring and winter months and a ceremony. Our lives follow this circular path. All of us are connected to all parts of life.

The worldview of the Anishnabek Metis is subjective; that is it is based on intuition, feeling, and spirit. Reciprocity and renewing one's responsibilities and relationships is part of this as well. One needs to meet one's obligations in this

world of the senses and of the spirit. The teachings that I received from my mother and Ron reinforced my understanding that we are spirit first in this reality. Elders hold the expertise and knowledge of the Anishinabek Metis culture and language: They are the old women and men of our communities. However, not all old people are Elders, for Elders are recognized by the way in which they live their lives. They are humble and honourable people. They do not ask for gifts for their teachings. One brings gifts because reciprocal relationships exist in the universe: You give to receive.

This is like the Earth, which must be nourished as the cycle of renewal and rebirth continues. This is the teaching that the Elders follow. They do not separate themselves from those who come to them for assistance. Although they are the acknowledged experts of the Anishinabek, they are not all knowing. If they do not know something, they will say it. Our guides appear, as we need them and when we can understand them. We must be patient: We cannot force the universe to act. Everything happens at the appropriate time. Trusting yourself and your intuition to know when this time comes is paramount. My father died in 1987, and he requested that I finish his story for him. The time to do so is finally here.

Epistemology

The knowledge that flows from the ontology is based on learning "through subjective experiences and introspection" (Ermine, 1995, p. 102). In this view of the world, there is no separation between the metaphysical and the physical aspects. The relationships in the world, and in us, are holistic in nature. "It is the

mysterious force that connects the totality of existence- the forms, energies, or concepts that constitute the outer and inner worlds” (Ermine, p. 103). The assumption that all life is connected and has spiritual elements allows human beings to access these forces. Ron was telling me how to do this so that I could receive understanding.

Transformation and renewal are elements of the Anishinabek epistemology. The starting point for any transformation is the self, which subsequently radiates outward to the world. This is a key component of transformation. Our relationship to the environment is reciprocal and is based on respect. It must be renewed each time we ask for guidance and understanding. The spiritual nature of the world must also be recognized and respected. As Deloria (1995) explained, “The personal nature of the universe demands that each and every entity in it seek and sustain personal relationships” (as cited in Battiste, p. 107). The knower and the known are part of the same process. They are involved in a relationship that mirrors the workings of the universe. This is equally true in the inquiry process. Subjectivity allows us to gain insight into the world. Consequently, the knower and the known are intimately connected (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p.26).

Methodology

What theoretical framework flows from the worldview and epistemology that have been presented? It is apparent that culturally based ethics must be presented and respected in any form of inquiry that is undertaken. This should be done; as the Anishinabek Metis believes that all knowledge derives from the

Creator and that it is primarily spiritual in content and essence. The Anishinabek Metis are put on the earth to live their lives in *Menobimadizenwin* (i.e. life in balance, the Good life, respectful life). The ultimate goal is respect for all life. Seven teachings that have been passed down from Elder to Elder are the ethical foundation of Anishnabek and Anishinabek Metis society:

- *Aakdehewin* - Bravery
- *Nbwaakaawin* – Wisdom
- *Zaagidwin* – Love
- *Mnaadendmowin* – Respect
- *Gwekwaadziwin* – Honesty
- *Dbaadendizin* – Humility
- *Debwewin* – Truth

(Note: The source for this is a personal communication with Barb Riley, a Elder in 1996, although, these are not her or anyone else's teachings of the world. They belong to the Anishnabek and Anishinabek Metis peoples).

Inherent in this view is that social and subjective connections exist between people. Human beings are active and equal participants in their worlds; hence, they are active and equal in any endeavor that impacts them.

Researchers who adhere to this view must be aware of themselves and their history. As Denzin and Lincoln (1998) discussed, researchers must be aware of their unique social location, gender, class, racial, cultural, and ethnic perspectives. They must also appreciate other ways in which the world is viewed. Knowledge of one's self before beginning any inquiry is crucial.

Vizenor, an Ojibway Metis scholar and writer, called for new approaches to the tribal discourse. He stated, "Social science theories constrain tribal landscapes to institutional values, representationism, and the politics of academic determination (as cited in Payne, 1999, p. 363). The ethnic hegemonic character of Eurocentric traditions in the social sciences has made it difficult to develop alternative ways to view the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 337).

The risk in attempting to present alternatives to standard research paradigms is "a reduction to consumable artifacts, quaint but not really legitimate" (Vizenor, as cited in Payne, p. 337). In spite of this risk and the criticisms of lack of objectivity, as well as being too close to the study participant, or object, as the case may be; too parochial; too subjective; and so on, I focused on storytelling as a method of epistemological research in an oral-based society. This method of gathering and transmitting information is familiar when used and discussed in an oral-based context; it is less familiar when used in a written English format. I chose this method because the ways in which stories are told is changing, which is a reflection of the changing worldviews and epistemologies of Indigenous groups. This can be demonstrated by a well-known, traditional story about *Nanabozho* that has been told and written in different formats, such as children's stories and traditional stories. It is a story of hunger and famine in the winter months:

Nanabozho, a trickster and cultural figure of great power, could not find any food for his family to eat. He went to visit different animals. The first he visited was the woodpecker. The woodpecker had built his home around an old

pine stump. Knowing that Nanabozho was watching, he took his bird form and flew to the pine stump and started catching worms. These worms he dropped into his lodge, where they turned into raccoons. He prepared them to be cooked and asked his wife to cook them. He gave Nanabozho meat to take home and feed his family. Nanabozho went home and thought about what he had seen and heard. He decided that he would imitate the woodpecker. He moved his lodge by an old pine stump. He then proceeded to do everything the woodpecker had done. He made himself a beak out of wood and proceeded to hammer the stump with his new beak. His wife shook her head and laughed when he hurt his nose, and it was all big and red. He was not successful. He could not either imitate the woodpecker's hammering or produce the food that the woodpecker had. After this, he then traveled to other animals in this story and received other lessons.

Wisdom and knowledge are found in good stories. In this story, Nanabozho teaches us that we cannot be what we are not. He also teaches us that in order to learn, we must be silent, listen closely, and observe the environment and interactions around us. He also tells us not to be serious and to appreciate the humour in everyday life.

These same teachings can be applied to the qualitative inquiry process. Johnston (1976) a respected Anishnabek storyteller commented that a story well told should have at least four levels of meaning: enjoyment, moral teaching, philosophy, and the metaphysical. He stated that stories are humorous in that they reflect the skill of the storyteller and the element of absurdity in all aspects of life and living. In his view, stories are much more than simple legends of the past.

They offer teachings that can guide us in the present. Narratives provide us with a sense of who we are and what we can do in the world. They can be “viewed a way of knowing or remembering, and as a means of shaping or patterning emotions and experiences into something whole and meaningful” (Bourgeois, 1994, p.11).

Within most Indigenous societies in Canada, there exist long traditions of oral performance and storytelling. This form of oral transmission was important in transmitting and retaining past knowledge. The culturally based historiography that orientates and flows from it ensures that past events, traditional stories, land-based stories of origin, ancestor stories, and so on, have been preserved for future generations. The method of transmission has delineated the types of stories told and has specified when and how they should be told. Related features are teaching stories, which are primarily philosophical in nature but offer practical lessons on how to live in the world and, more importantly, how to relate to one another. For Anishinabek peoples, the principle values of reciprocity, sharing, responsibility, and maintenance of relationships in the world are rarely absent from these stories.

There are different words for telling different types of stories within the Anishinabek language. These words dictate the protocol for telling the story. In Anishinabek and Anishinabek Metis societies, some story categories include the following: When someone is telling a traditional story, *aadizookaan*, the Anishinabemowin word for doing so is *aadizooke*. When someone is telling a story, *dibaajimowin*, the word *dadibaajimo* specifies that they are telling a story. A

traditional storyteller is known as *aadizookewinini*, and a storyteller is *dadibaajimoowinini*.

How these words differ in meaning is in the manner in which the stories are related. For example, I was told a teaching story, *gikinoo'amaage dadibaajimo*, about my family. The story involved *Maennontwke*, a man raised as a son by my grandmother. *Maennontwke* was found when my grandmother and my paternal aunts were traveling across Lake Nipigon by canoe. He was found, crying and dirty, on an island. He was just a young boy. His mother and stepfather had left him on this island, which was a stopping place when going across the lake. They left him because when they were traveling, he was not listening and was acting as a child does. The woman did not stand up for her son against her new husband; she abandoned her child. She knew that other people would be traveling and would be stopping at this same island.

Some members of my family, including my paternal grandmother, were going across the lake. They took pity on this little boy. My grandmother realized what had happened when she saw him running back and forth on the island, crying. They stopped and realized that they knew the boy's grandfather. They waited for him because they knew that he would soon be traveling across the lake. While they were waiting, they made a fire and some tea, prepared a lunch, and cleaned up the little boy.

After the boy's grandfather arrived, my grandmother told him what they had witnessed. The grandfather was angry with his daughter for leaving her son. He told my grandmother that they did not deserve to have this child any longer.

He then asked my grandmother to raise his grandson. This is how Maennontwke came to be called my uncle. My grandmother took Maennontwke as another son and favoured him because she pitied the boy and what his mother had done to him. My other uncles were jealous of Maennontwke. When this happened to Maennontwke in 1916, he was only 5 or 7 years old; he is now about 86.

This story has many layers. It is a powerful teaching story about respecting and protecting children. It is a cautionary story about the consequences of not doing so. It reveals the worldview that said that children were considered a gift from the Creator. This value still exists in some Anishinabek and Anishnabek Metis communities and areas. Children are sacred and are a gift from God. This is a *debwe aajim gii Maennontwke*, a true story about *Maennontwke*. This old man, who is still alive, is a lesson in the treatment of children. He was raised as an adopted brother to my father. My parents related his story to me.

Stanfield II (1998) discussed the need to develop alternative research paradigms from the perspective of those who are usually studied. He called for "qualitative methods epistemology to be grounded in holistic rather than fragmented and dichotomized notions of human beings" (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p.393). In this view, oral life histories (i.e., narratives) can capture how people construct their realities. All holistic aspects of human beings—spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual—must be considered. The environment, family, and community also must be included. The key is to remember that relationships exist in different spheres of the world. The

researcher is merely one small part. Obligations and responsibilities exist to present an accurate and truthful account of the exchange.

Questions and Process

This study reflected on the ability of a specific Indigenous culture to change and adapt over time yet maintain an underlying Anishinabek Metis essence. The main research questions of this study were:

1. What are aspects of the worldview of the Anishinabek Metis?
2. How does it relate to ways of learning in the world?
3. Can culturally based frameworks assist in assuring more complete understandings of Indigenous populations in NWO?
4. How can this cultural frame be applied to a specific situation?
5. Is this cultural framework reflective of the Anishinabek Metis ways of being?

These questions directed the initial inquiry and acted as a guide as the study progressed.

This focus of the study was an Anishinabek Elder, my father. He died in 1987 at the age of 70 from complications related to various chronic illnesses. The community considered my father to be an Elder because he had initiated community development in his hometown of MacDiarmid, Ontario, and in other Metis communities throughout Ontario. He founded two Metis organizations: the *Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association*, now called the *Ontario Metis Aboriginal Association*, and the *Northwestern Ontario Metis Federation*,

forerunner of the *Metis Nation of Ontario*. Ironically, these two organizations now complete with one another for members.

About a year before his death, my father began writing. My sister Cecilia, Paulette Desmoulin, and I typed his story. Writing was a difficult feat for him because he had severe rheumatoid arthritis in his joints. This disease crippled his hands. When my father was dying, he gave me permission to tell his story. He had initially given his manuscript to his friend Jim Stevens, a local author, to complete. He later told him that I would be completing his story. It was a responsibility that I neglected for about 13 years. My reasoning had to do with how his death was difficult for me to accept. It took me a long time to heal. It was during this process that I realized that my own experience would have to form and frame the telling of his story. It was for this reason that I avoided it for so long. Ironically, it was this realization as well that enabled me to start figuring how this story should be told and why it should be told as well.

Informed Consent

My father chose me to finish what he had started. This was the protocol. I did not have to ask his permission because he had freely given it to me. I followed what he told me when I typing and proofreading his manuscript. He wanted his book to be called "My Life in the North." He wanted it to focus on his life's experience and how he was raised around Lake Nipigon, Ontario. He wanted to ensure that his unique life experience informed people and educated his grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and so on. He wanted his story to be told, but he knew that he could not complete it. By completing what he started, I am

fulfilling the obligation that I accepted when he asked me. I have met my responsibility to my father, family, and community by doing this study.

In 1993, I was very ill and had to be hospitalized. The dreams that I was having told me how sick I really was. One of these dreams was about my father. I was told, "You must show respect to your father." This dream told me that I should finish telling his story. Nevertheless, I still hesitated. Recently, I had another dream of my father. We were smiling and laughing together. He was giving me advice, and as I walked away from him, I continued on my journey. I was happy to receive this dream because it now feels right that I am completing his story.

I think that higher education should be a mutual undertaking and a family effort. My children, grandchildren, parents, siblings, and other family members supported my post-secondary education. By undertaking this study, I am giving back to my family all of the assistance and encouragement that I have received from them. I am also giving back to my community of origin. The dominant idea that Metis peoples in Canada do not have distinct and diverse cultures must be challenged.

There are many Metis communities across Canada who exist outside of the exclusionary definitions of national Aboriginal organizations. These communities are marginalized by the dominant society and by their own peoples, based solely upon political will and power. The concept that "we are all the same" must be challenged. My father challenged this view in his life. By his example, I

ensured that this view was part of finishing his story as it impacts on our community.

Research Design

Telling a story is a personal journey. Telling a story about my family and community is more difficult than relating a story as a dispassionate observer. We have to be conscious of the responsibility we have and the possibility that we may misuse the power that accompanies it. Campbell (1992) wrote of her need to relearn the rhythms, the language of her people, the history of storytelling, and the responsibility of storytelling before she was able to tell a story the way that she was supposed to. Johnson (1976) discussed the wisdom and knowledge in good stories.

Previously, I related the story about Nanabozho and how this story can help in the research process. This story teaches us that we cannot be what we are not. I am not my father, so with his story, all I can do is travel in my memory and talk to my family about how his story should be told. I can only place it into the context that he wanted and was familiar with. This story about Nanabozho also teaches us that in order to learn, we must be silent, listen closely, and observe the environment and interactions surrounding us. The environment enabled and supported my efforts to finish this story. The academic environment is ready to hear stories other than the ones that they have been privileged to tell.

Trustworthiness and Data Collection

The narrative that follows is valid for a specific, localized setting around Lake Nipigon, Ontario; however, the experiences are familiar to other Indigenous

communities in NWO. This study is as valid as others written about the Lake Nipigon area by academic researchers who have studied the Indigenous populations there. This study is reflective of my worldview and how I was socialized. It also considers my social location in my history, much as it considers my father's. The data is as trustworthy and as exact as my father wanted. He collected the data because he wrote the story. This follows what one is taught in Anishinabek Metis society.

The ethics that I followed were ones that I learned in my community. If the Anishinabek Metis trust that all knowledge derives from the Creator and that it is primarily spiritual in content and essence, then dreams or ceremonies are the way to approach life. When I had dreams of my father giving me advice, I knew that I should continue with this study.

The Anishinabek and Anishinabek Metis believe that we are put on Earth to live our lives in *Menobimadizenwin* (life in balance, the Good life, respectful life). I have tried to include these teachings in this study in a contemporary environment. As I prepared to undertake this study, and was thinking about ethics, I realized that Anishinabek ethics are more exacting and demanding than any others that I am aware of. These teachings forced me to look at my self and how I related and interacted with my social world. They did not allow for academic distance. Bravery, wisdom, love, respect, humility, and truth guided this study and contributed to its trustworthiness and validity.

As discussed earlier, inherent in the Anishnabek Metis view is that social and subjective connections exist between people. Human beings are active and

equal participants in their worlds; hence, they must be active and equal in any endeavor that impacts them. I have tried to act in a way that is respectful and mindful of the responsibility and obligation that I had assumed when I decided to do this study.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis occurred over the summer of 2002. The manuscript was examined and broken into possible sections that reflected the overall theme of the history and development of NWO from an Anishinabek Metis perspective. The manuscript data were entered into the computer to allow for easier manipulation. In 1987, this work was written by my father and then typed into report form. It had no chapter headings and was one continuous narrative. It was important to separate the work into sections that reflected its content and aided the interpretative process. A number of specific themes arose from this process. These formed the basis of the interpretation and analysis in this study. There were other themes that emerged as well. These, Anishinabek Metis development, political consciousness and social development will be addressed in future studies and these serve to highlight the need for additional research on this population.

Limitations

This study cannot be generalized to other Indigenous communities because it is based on a specific case. However, the theoretical framework and epistemological methods can be applied to other peoples within this specific group.

Assumptions and Research Design

A number of assumptions formed the foundation for this study. These include:

- Existing conventional theory does not reflect Indigenous ways of being and learning about the world.
- Exploring alternative epistemologies allow a more accurate picture of Indigenous groups to emerge.
- A culturally based paradigm accounts for changing aspects of Indigenous culture.
- This story will contribute to the body of knowledge of the Anishinabek Metis population(s) in NWO.

In Anishinabek Metis society, storytellers are held in high esteem because they are the conveyors of language and culture. The different words that are used to identify genres of stories, such as sacred stories and everyday stories, specify the protocol for telling a specific story. Some stories are told only at certain times of the year. Stories can also generate other stories when either listened to or read, as in the modern era. They can be metaphoric; "they lead you, as readers, to patterns of association in your own experiences, combined with which you will generate your own unique meanings" (Cleary & Miller, 1998, p. 3).

By their nature, stories must be respected. As a researcher, I must be aware of the nature of the stories that are being generated. The resulting stories contain two perspectives of people choosing to interact with one another. Both perspectives are equally valid, and both versions must be synthesized into the

one that is presented. A reciprocal relationship must exist between the two people involved: One does not just take without giving something back. Both participants in the inquiry process are transformed and renewed by the nature of what they are creating.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to consider how alternative theoretical frameworks and epistemologies could present the changing worldviews of Indigenous peoples. I explored how the personal viewpoint of one Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis Elder, my father, will be presented within a story that is based within a culturally mediated framework. Examining salient and relevant features of Anishinabek Metis ontology and epistemology assisted me in the undertaking of this study. I discussed storytelling as a culturally specific epistemological methodology that assures a deeper understanding of the nature of the Anishinabek Metis people. The latter part of this chapter dealt with specific academic requirements to complete this study: research design, research questions, process of consent, storytelling as a methodology, interpretation and analysis, and key assumptions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Presentation of Data

Introduction

The first part of this chapter will offer descriptive information about my father and explain how he negotiated his way in the world. It is in the second part of this chapter that the stories that my father wrote about his life are found. I have attempted to provide a context to enable an awareness of what he was discussing for audiences outside of my immediate community. These stories are divided into themes that emerged through analysis of this process and of the story. After consideration of my father's stories, it became evident that there were a number of thematic issues that would assist in providing some explanation of why he chose this way to record and tell his stories. This chapter will present the data, that is, the stories that my father chose to write in his narrative account of his life.

Description of Participant

My father was a complicated person. He held many contradictory opinions about the world and about who he was as an Indigenous person; he then passed these opinions on to his children. That Metis people are a separate nation from either Euro-Canadians or Aboriginal peoples was firmly established early in his life by his community. This belief also holds true for the rest of his family. The McGuire's of Lake Nipigon had a strong sense that they were different and they were treated as being different by other peoples in the area, which included their Anishinabek relatives. Some of this may be due to being the children of the

Hudson's Bay Factor; they were raised in a material privileged environment for the people of Lake Nipigon. Yet, they were raised to survive and live off the natural resources in their environment as well. This duality is a recurring theme in these stories. It is part of the multiple realities that comprise who they were and how they existed and survived in the world.

My great uncle, Michel King, and his wife, Susan, taught my father. He spoke highly of both individuals over the course of his lifetime. They were significant to his upbringing and how he behaved and they guided his life. This fact of his life distinguishes him from his other siblings as well. He was the only one to be raised outside of his immediate family. His grandfather, Patrick McGuire, asked my great uncle to foster my father. No other children in his family were fostered out in this manner. It is an Anishnabek and Anishinabek Metis tradition to do this with certain children.

My father was well versed in knowing how to survive on the land and the environmental ethics about utilizing the land in an Anishinabek Metis tradition. He knew old stories that related to the environment; he knew stories about how to approach and regard medicine peoples; he knew how to protect himself and his family from harm. He taught his 16 children, one traditionally adopted son, grandchildren, and great grandchildren many of these narratives. It is evident by the nature of some of my father's stories that he and his siblings were very successful at the traditional fur trade based life style.

My father was a spiritual person but would not attend an organized religious church. He called Catholic priests hypocrites if their behaviour

warranted it; they had no privileged position with him. He met with various prime ministers of Canada, and he treated them the same way he treated everyone else. I was with him once when Prime Minister Trudeau walked over to speak with him. The Prime Minister said, "Hi, Paddy." My father, who was sitting in his wheelchair, looked up and replied, "Hi, Pierre, you old bastard." The Prime Minister laughed, sat beside my father, and talked to him about the Constitution. I was amazed that these two people could even relate to one another, much less be at such ease with one another.

My father was invited to dine with Queen Elizabeth in 1974. He took my mother and shared many stories with us about the actual dinner. In the 1980s, he was invited to have an audience with the Pope, head of the Catholic Church. By this time, he was sick and reluctantly, in a wheel chair so he sent my brother Michael to represent him and the Anishinabek Metis peoples to ensure their inclusion in the Canadian Constitution.

My father had severe rheumatoid arthritis and its related conditions. He became disabled when he was in his 50s, although he would never concede that he was disabled. He continued to write, despite the fact that his hands and back were bent and twisted. He continued to force himself to do exercises and the daily tasks of living. He continued to make Anishinabek Metis foot ware, moccasins and mukluks; he also made winter mitts for his family and friends. He exercised his hands by doing this type of work.

At his funeral, my mother received more than 1500 people who had come from across Canada and from all walks of life to pay their respects to our family.

She had to do an interview with the newspaper about my father. It was a major event, not just for my family. At his funeral, an old lady came up to my mother and said, "Annie, I think that it is shameful how your children are acting at their father's funeral." My mother said that she looked at us laughing and telling stories and replied, "If their father was alive, he would be over there with them. Who do you think taught them?" My father taught us not to take the cycles of life too seriously. Death is just another part of life and another cycle of life as well.

Findings

These stories in this study describe how my father saw his world in his time. He chose to call his manuscript, "My Life in the North." He presented his life in written format so that it would be known and his story would carry on. He did not focus on his accomplishments and any acknowledgements or honours that he received. I think that he considered these to be incidental to his life; he was not big on pomp and circumstance. Instead, he focussed his attention on his life around Lake Nipigon and the stories that he heard about the land. He focussed on place, environment and the traditional use of resources. He focussed on the personalities and people around the lake and the relationships that he maintained. He focussed on his connections with different peoples including settlers that were in Northwestern Ontario. He focussed on how he and others participated in the development of this area. Ultimately, his attention was on his family relationships and how his and his community stories would continue into other generations. It was the stories that needed to be passed on. The need to contemporize the transmission of knowledge about our world, passed on

traditionally by oral performance, is vital. My father recognized this trend and started to write so that his stories and stories about our environment would continue.

A number of predominant themes emerged from this study. The seven main themes that formed the basis for the stories in this study are: Lake Nipigon, land-based stories, traditional land use, Hudson's Bay Company, boarding school, MacDiarmid, and the developing wage labour economy in NWO. I used these narratives to present my findings in an understandable manner. There were other themes that emerged in the data that will not be addressed. They are the Metis movement in Ontario, identity and membership issues, and economic and sustainable development and the Anishnabek Metis. These themes will not be addressed in this study.

Lake Nipigon

The area that these stories come from is Lake Nipigon. It is the feeder lake for the water flowing from Hudson's Bay. At one point, all the water in the Great Lakes had its origin in Lake Nipigon. Sometimes, it is referred to as the sixth Great Lake because of this fact. It is also the second largest inland freshwater spring fed lake, Great Slave Lake being bigger.

Aboriginal peoples have been living in and around Lake Nipigon for a long time. The oldest story that I know is about one of the islands on the lake, now called Barn Island. The old people used to tell a story about a Thunderbird that lived on this island. This bird was so large that a shadow would pass when he flew by. His beak was long enough that when he wanted to eat, he would swoop

down and pick up an entire moose in his talons. He would be able to fly with the moose in his mouth. This is a synopsis of the oldest story that I have heard by my father.

In many ways, people of my father's generation held contradictory opinions about their heritage. This bifurcated identity determined how they lived in the world. The Anishinabek Metis of Lake Nipigon perceived themselves as unique because of their mixed Anishnabek lineage. They would tell stories about their environment. These stories would be teaching stories and lessons about how to behave. This was and is a special way of teaching that the Anishnabek still use today. Yet they clearly distinguished themselves from their own relations, they were not Anishnabek; they were Half-Breeds, the Anishnabek Metis. In spite of this culturally, my father, as a Metis of Lake Nipigon, followed his Anishnabek maternal line for guidance. My father related some legends, *aadizookaan*, that is, traditional stories that he had heard about the Lake Nipigon area. The reader should note that none of these stories has been abridged, amended, or edited. These are my father's words as he wrote them.

Lake Nipigon has some legends. About a mile from my old home, Nipigon House, is Echo Rock, a steep rocky hill right by the lake. The hill is straight up and down. The hill continues down to the bottom of the lake, and the water is about 180-200 feet deep. The story about this place is that the Indians made a Catholic priest walk up a hill then pushed him over into the lake. If you look close, the markings on the face of the hill resembles a black-robed figure about halfway up the face of the Gros Cap, an island, is the home of the thunderbird. Indians paddling their canoes always made sure they never pass this island in the evening or early morning. This is the time the thunderbird has been seen carrying moose in its claws. The Indians claim this bird is at least 30 feet high, standing on the ground. The wingspan is around 100 feet; the Indians claim that this bird has to be a thunderbird. Then say that when this bird comes in for a landing, flapping his wings to stop, sometime sounds like distant thunder. At one time the

Indians had a large camping ground at Gros Cap Island, but they started to lose sleigh dogs, then one day, after they heard a rumbling noise, they saw this big golden coloured bird with a moose in its clawed feet, the moose looked about the size of a cat compared to the size of the bird. The Indians moved out the same day.

Then there is Snake Point close to Gull Bay. A snake was seen swimming by this point and it was going faster than two men could paddle a fast, small canoe. The snake got out of the water cross this point and you could see the marks on the ground. I guess, you could call them snake tracks, if you want. The snake was around 100 feet long and rounder on the body than a freighter canoe. The Old Chief told the young men that saw it "Don't be afraid, the snake won't come back. He was just taking a shortcut from one big water to get to the next big water. Ocean to ocean.

Mermaids have been on First Rapids on the Gull River. On First Rapids of the Onamon River and on First, Second, and Third Rapids of the Sturgeon River. Anyone seeing a mermaid lives a long life and a mermaid can speak any language. They are very friendly. They can tell your future and they can tell you what to expect to happen.

In Orient Bay, there is a place by a rocky hill, by the lake that has a smooth rocky surface on the face of the hill, this is where the Indians come to pray. This was and still is, a holy, sacred place for the Indians. At this place, the Indians say a small people live in the rock. This is the place that Indians come to from miles away, to pray. Indian relics have been found here for years.

Jack McCullam, who has a tourist lodge close to this praying place, found Indian arrowheads, bracelets, copper pots, copper axes, and copper tools, at a place he was preparing to pull out his boat. I believe a lot of Indian relics could be found if you were to dig around the Indian prayer rock, but the Indians warn, taking things could be bad luck.

Traditional stories that my father told not only taught moral lessons but also featured geological features about the landscape where we lived. The reciprocity that was needed in our environment has to be attended too. My father believed strongly in the spiritual nature of our environment around Lake Nipigon.

There were other kinds of stories based on personal experience that he shared. The following stories have to do with Anishnabek people who were powerful medicine peoples around the lake. This first story concerns my maternal great great grandfather, *Walnut*.

Old Wally also known as Walnut was a medicine man and could tell the future and could foretell what may happen. One day, my dad and this old fellow were out hunting and fishing on a lake back of the post (store). Before they got home it started to get dark and they could see their Northern Lights. "Paddy," Old Wally said, "See those lights up there in the sky?" "Well," he said, "Someday not to far away the white man will leave his tracks up in the sky for all to see just as plain as you can see our tracks coming across the lake." Now, one can see the smoke from the jet planes as they fly. Old Wally also told my dad someday if you live long enough, you will see the White man singing and dancing in a box, all you have to do is turn this box on and off. I guess the old fellow meant T.V."

Their medicine powers were not restricted to foreseeing the future; they could also foresee and prepare for their own deaths. This next story has to do with the same Old Man.

Across from Nipigon House, like I said, was Dog Island. This island was owned by some rich guy and he didn't mind the dogs. He was too busy fishing and having a good time. We visited him a lot and he would be at our place half the time. He was a real nice guy, who liked fishing alone. When the ice was forming on the lake, this fellow went for a visit to Jackfish Island and picked up Old Wally, whom we called Mi-sho-mis, meaning Grandfather. He was a medicine man. When they got to my place, they stayed for a while, then headed back to Jackfish Island, they were taking Dad with them. Now, Old Wally told my dad and their friend, "Paddy, me and this fellow will die tonight, you will live and you will never find us." That night the ice cut the canvas on their canoe and the canoe was sinking close to the island shore. The Indian from the reserve came out to save them and Old Wally told them to take Paddy because his time was not here. When the Indians went out to get Wally and the other man, they could find no trace of them or the canoe. Cedar canoes don't sink. It cleared up the next day and the Indians went to look for the canoe but found nothing. Old Wally's wife said, "You might as well give up, Old Wally's been prepared for this for a long time."

Events such as Treaty Days in Whitesand Indian Reserve prompted the presentation of ceremonies such as the *jiisakaan*, Shaking Tent, and the demonstration of another teaching about how to live.

Now what I saw happen on this reserve at treaty time is unbelievable, to say the least. Like I said, Indians came from miles away and two of these Indians had special powers, my mother told our kids. She also said to never show disrespect if one of those Indians happened to speak to us. All of my brothers and sisters could talk Indian. Here is what happened.

My dad, Mr. Burk, the Indian agent, Mr. Bruce, the storekeeper from Mud river, and the R.C.M.P., said, let us have these two Indians who can call on the spirits to tell us our future or just answer some questions. These two Indians were called, Kok-Kok-Ohns, meaning Little Owl, and Old August. They were asked if they would oblige and they said they would, but they needed help, as they had to build two wigwams. My dad said there was no problem, so he got some young Indians to get the material needed to build these wigwams. They used poles, about 3 or 4 inches in diameter and about 12 feet long. These poles were placed 2 to 3 feet in the ground and about 16 inches apart to make a circle, I would say, about 6 feet around. They then tied together all the tops and covered it with birch bark and when finished, four men couldn't move it.

Now, Old August was the first Indian to go into this birch bark wigwam. Before he went in, he said, "Please, no money, just tobacco to please the spirit, Mi-can-ock, who will talk to you in any language. When I call, be ready." Old August then went into the wigwam, that some people call a shaking tent. When this tent was built, I had noticed Old August tie some tin cans on top and a bunch of feathers. When the old man went into the tent it started to sway from side to side and the birch bark looked like it was rags, the way the bark was stretched out without breaking, the tin cans started to ring and sound like bells, and you won't believe this, the feathers looked like a big, black bird. Then the old man called on Mi-can-ock. He asked the spirit, are you there, and the answer came from the top of the tent, "Yes, I am". A lot of people asked questions, like, would they have a good summer, some people asked about loved ones that had gone ahead and how they were doing, and would the trapping be good this coming winter. To answer, the spirit had to leave the tent to travel, when the spirit left, he made a noise like a jet plane. The R.C.M.P. officer wanted to know about his wife at Nipigon. Mi-can-ock, speaking English, said, "Do you really want me to tell you?" and the Corporal said, "Yes." Then Mi-can-ock told him, "Your wife is going into a place that shows

pictures on the wall with a young man, in time you will lose your wife to him." When the Corporal got back to Nipigon, he found out that his wife had gone home, taking the young man with her.

Someone told Old August that he must be really strong to pull that Wigwam and bend it to the ground like he did. Old August told this man, "Not really, just watch and hold my hand," then Old August threw his hat into the tent and the tent started to sway like before and Mi-can-ock said, "You should all believe in Old August." What I have told you here is true, others who have seen the shaking tent have also wrote about the mystery from the old Indians. I must say here the shaking tents was never used to hurt people, only to help. If someone placed a curse on you, the tent could find the person and find out what it took to lift the curse. It was used only on a very special occasion, when needed."

The Shaking Tent ceremony is still practiced in NWO, although the Tent Shakers come from others areas, such as Treaty 9 and Treaty 3. The need for them still exists within our societies. Tent Shakers were and are powerful people. The healing tents are the kind that my father referred to in these stories.

This series of stories continues. People traveling or working on Lake Nipigon would often encounter others in the same pursuits. My father related a story that shows that he did not perceive himself as Anishnabek and that he was not seen as Anishnabek. It concerned the community protocols that needed to be performed and adhered too. Medicine people were a social force in the Lake Nipigon area. It was important to know how to protect oneself, so if a member of the family was a medicine person, so much the better. My great-grandmother was acknowledged to be a powerful Medicine woman who was adamant about protecting her family.

These Indians lived in a tepee, this is like a tent but they have no roofs. It is build from the ground up a point just like a V turned upside down. There were four families of Indians living in this tepee and the old man had four

wives. He was supposed to have some sort of magical powers; he was a psychic. He could shake the wigwam and tell the future, so they said. My grandmother, Old Gigish, knew this Indian; his name was Mijanda Goose. My fishing partner, John King and I, both could talk Indian, when we lifted our nets, they would come and watch. When we were finished lifting our nets, before we went home, we would put our waste fish high on the snow. The next day, when we started to work, all this waste fish would be gone and we would find moccasin tracks by the net holes. Waste fish is good eating fish. At that time, we would not ship Northern Pike also called Jackfish, then of course, there were suckers and eel, a kind of fresh water ling.

I told John, "Enough of this, if these guys want this fish they might as well help us. So come John, let us talk to these guys." So, we went to see them and as we got closer, they turned and walked away from us. When we got up to them, we said, "Hold on a minute, we want to talk to you." When they found out we could speak Indian, they stopped running away from us. We said, "Hello, we want to make a deal with you." I said, "You know that fish you want?" Before I could finish what I wanted to say, one of them said, "I didn't mean to steal that fish, we thought, it was all right to take it. We thought that you were throwing it away." I said, "We are. You are not stealing; you're welcome to it. What we want to ask you is this; can you help us lift our nets? You can have the fish that we don't want and me and my partner will get done early, and maybe come and visit you if that is all right." These guys said, "We don't mind you coming but our old man may not like it, you see he has four wives, two of them young." I told them guys, as a joke, "Tell the old man, his young wives are safe, my partner here only like old stuff." These fellows laughed as they looked at John and one of them said, "He's in luck, one of his women is over eighty years old." So, we all had a good laugh and after this Indians got to be friendly with us. A little bit of humour did the trick.

Polygamy was a feature of some Anishinabek communities in NWO. This is the last story that I have heard about this cultural practice, although there are *Anishinabekmowin* words that specify and point to this as a cultural feature. My father's next story relates that it was still common for a man to have multiple wives in the time around 1932 to 1937. He never expressed an opinion about the appropriateness of this aspect of Anishnabek culture. He would sometimes joke that he, too, needed another wife. One feature of polygamous relationships that

is conveyed in my father's stories is that a man with many wives is perceived as being a powerful Medicine person. In this *minwaajimo* (good story), he is a shape-shifter, one of the most powerful and extraordinary that could come from the Lake Nipigon area.

These young Indians told us, if we came visiting, to bring a gift for the old man. I said, "What can we bring?" "A little bit of tea or tobacco, he likes tea." I said, "O.K., we will someday, when we get done early." Winter fishing is seven days a week from daylight till dark. About a week later, John and I went visiting. We didn't want to seem anxious and that gave us some extra time to send for some tea and tobacco. We also sent for some snuff because we knew all Indian girls up north, chew snuff. We also got some gum and candy for the kids, might as well play the big shot.

When we went to visit, what we had said we would do, we seemed to somehow say and do the opposite. Anyway, we had a good visit and ended up having a lot of fun. When the old man found out I was Old Gigish's grandson, we got to be good friends. When we got there, the fellow was singing and playing his drum. This was homemade. It was a hoop with a pure deer hide pulled over the hoop and another hoop was pulled over, just a hoop inside a hoop. When the old guy hit the drum, he hit it very lightly, but it had a sound like it was loud and coming from far away. We asked to come in. We were told, "Sure, the old man is waiting for you. He knew you were coming today." Well, this tee-pee was something to see, it must have been about forty feet across, thirty feet high and round. But, looking at it from the outside, it looked small because it was under a lot of snow. When we went in, we had to stand still for a while until our eyes got focused and used to the darkness, there were no windows. There was just a fire in the middle of the teepee, no stovepipes, but there was no smoke inside. The smoke went up and out of the opening at the top. On the floor there were moose, bear, and deer hides, all with the hair on everyone. Inside, they had their shoes off, so, we did the same. Little kids were running around naked, it was warm inside, I was surprised at how clean it was, and they must have burned something, as there was a nice smell to the air inside. When I first went in, to be honest, I thought, "I'll bet this is a stinky place." They sure had me fooled. Their blankets were all piled up neatly around the side of the teepee. I asked the old man, "Mi-sho-mis," I said, "Can I give these kids some candy?" He said, "Yes." So, I looked at the women and said, "Who are the mothers?" I gave the candy to them. Then I asked, "Can I give snuff to the women?" Again, he said yes. Then I said, "Mi-sho-mis, we haven't forgotten about

you, we brought you tea and tobacco." He said, "Thank you. I will speak to the Great Spirit to take care of you."

When I reflect on this story, I think how carefree and happy these people were, not a care in the world, it seemed. After our first visit, I used to visit and talk with this old guy. One day, I asked him directly, "Is that right, you have four wives?" He said, "Yes." Then I said, "Is it alright if I asked you something?" I don't want to seem disrespectful, but I want to know how you can have four wives when everyone else can only have one." He said, "Some of my wives were given to me to look after me, as I am getting older. You see, I am not just an Indian. I am also a spirit and can take another shape if I want to." I said, "Like a bear or wolf?" He said, "That is right." I said, "What would happen if someone took one of your wives?" He looked at me for a long time and said, "That all depends. I may kill him right away or just place a curse on him." I said, "What would you do or what could you do if some young man was to fight you, beat you up, and then take one of your wives? You're an old man, you can hardly walk, you could never stand up to a young man. You only have your medicine and it might not have time to work." He looked at me for a long time, "I know what you are thinking, you are Old Gigish's grandson, she has great powers. I don't want to fight her. If you fancy one of my wives, take her, but leave something for her. I know the one you want, she has been looking and can't stop talking about you." I said, "Mi-sho-mis, I don't want your wife, I was asking you just what came to my mind. You got me all wrong." After that, we kept out of the old man's teepee.

Some of the stories seem unbelievable and amazing when one considers today's sterile world and environment. Some natural occurrences, such as childbearing, are not the domain of woman anymore. If one uses common sense, this next story has a certain logic that ensures the survival of a child.

I am going to tell you something you may not believe. That spring, we used to see these Indians run non-stop across that lake. In the spring, the ice on the lake is free of snow and at this time of the year it is called, good going. That morning, we saw three young women running on the ice. We had given them two nets they could lift for us. They took the coarse fish and left the good fish for us to pick up. They had a sleigh with a box on it that they used to pull.

That morning, we noticed the young woman, who was pregnant, with them. We got closer to them, lifting our nets, we noticed all the women kneeling down together, then they all got up and started heading home. They had to pass us on their way home. The first thing we noticed, no woman had a belly like she was going to have a child. As they got closer, we stopped to give them a smoke. What we saw, you won't believe, and they showed it to us as proud as could be. The woman had a baby when she was lifting nets and just put it in with the fish in the box to keep it warm. Talk about your tough woman. Here, one has to see the doctor everyday, it seems, because she is going to have a baby.

That evening, we took what milk we had over to the teepee and told them we had ordered more, to help. I couldn't help remarking about the baby being born on the ice. The old man said, "Women are made to have babies, it is only normal. Now, if a man had a baby that would be something. Dogs have babies, moose have babies all alone, our women were made by the Great Spirit to reproduce. Our women are taught to have babies, (it) is normal. A women's purpose on this earth, is to remake the people we lose by dying.

My father taught his children and other members of his community that women are sacred and should not be abused. He and my mother related stories about our paternal and maternal grandmothers. I used to wonder why I knew more stories about the women rather than the men who lived around Lake Nipigon. Their stories dealt with the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual power of women. The stories told of strength, transmission of culture, and respect for life. I was raised to believe that women should be respected because of their life-giving power. Women possess the ability to bridge this world and the spiritual world. These stories explained how women ensured that their children would continue to survive as Anishinabek and Anishinabek Metis. Women need these skills because they have to know how to protect their families. This next story has to do with this aspect of life around Lake Nipigon.

The herbal medicines found in the area around Lake Nipigon have been used for a very long period of time to ensure the survival of the people. The time of organized health care services in this area is a relatively short one. People living near the lake had to rely on the medicinal knowledge that their parents possessed. In my father's case, the family relied on the knowledge of his mother, grandmothers, other relatives, and community people.

I must tell you this, as I said my brothers and sisters all had large families, so one year all the kids in MacDiarmid and in fact, Lake Nipigon, all got sick with the whooping cough and no one seemed to have a cure for it. People were hiring planes to take their kids up high, hoping the thin air may have some effect on this cough. Nothing seemed to work. I used to stay up all night to make sure my kids wouldn't choke. One morning, I went to visit Nate (my father's elder brother) and see how his gang (family) was making out, Nate had a visitor, an old Indian friend, who's name was Jid-Moo, meaning squirrel, in Indian. He told Nate, "I won't make the medicine, I will show you how to make it, then you will know yourself. Bring Paddy along too." This Indian lived down the track away, so we went along. He pointed to a big white pine tree and said, "Take your axe and take off the outside bark, then scrape off the thin layer next to the tree. Scrape off about a pound each; take it home and boil it for about half an hour or until the water turns red like wine. You let your kids drink that stuff and nothing else." In a day or two, no more coughing, and that's just the way it happened."

He continued by relating a story about the Spanish Flu epidemic. On Jackfish Island is a mass grave of people who died from the epidemic. The grave is about 15 feet long and 7 feet wide, with a 2-foot trench dug around it. I first heard this story when I went to Jackfish Island in 1984 and saw this grave. When I got home, I told my parents about this trip and they told me what occurred. My father talked about the number of people who got sick and died during this epidemic.

Now, the same thing happened in 1917, the flu that killed a lot of people. Our family had it and it left its mark on all of us that had it. My sister, Amelia, still limps, my brother, Jim, couldn't walk until he was ten years old, my brother lost all of his hair, and I have a heart murmur for the rest of my life. I had that flu when I was one year old. My great grandmother got some medicine out of the bush and cured us all, and the ones that didn't have the flu, never got it.

My mother also recalled certain herbal remedies that she used when my father was sick with rheumatoid arthritis. My father remembered other medicines for this as well. I used to go and get it for him in the bush. This leaf, which grows close to, the ground with red berries was prepared by being put into the oven until the juice ran. The leaf was put in the oven and was then placed on his knees while warm. He said that his grandmother taught him. He said that his grandmother taught him about the benefits of this bush medicine.

I have had arthritis for fifteen years. At one time, I couldn't walk, my knees were swollen big and my doctor gave up on me. Then my wife said, "Patrick, why don't I try my grandmother's medicine on your knees?" I said, "Sure, why not." So, she went and got some and put it on my knees like a *pulthus* (a covering with hot herbal mush smeared on it, applied to skin). The next morning, you should have seen the yellow stuff that pulthus drew out of my knees, the swelling started to go down, and in a week I was walking. The next time I saw my doctor, he said, "I see your sickness is getting better." I said, "I know, my wife fixed me up." He said, "How?" I told him that she got the medicine from the bush. The doctor said nothing, just looked at me. "I think I'll x-ray your knees." He did and told me the swelling was starting to leave my joints, then he gave me the same pain killers.

There were consequences for not listening to grandparents and other old people. My father and mother ensured that I would remember them distinctly.

This story was, it appears, based on his father's personal experience.

My brother, Nate, knew some medicine he learned from our grandmother. She used to have me go with her when she was picking herbs. She tried

to teach me about some herbs, but I guess I wasn't paying attention because I don't know about any now. Well one or two, maybe, but that's it.

You will not believe this, the best toothache medicine is the penis from an otter. After an Indian skins the otter, they cut out the penis, then this is left to dry. When you get a toothache, just hit the tooth a few times with this dried otter penis and rub it around the sore tooth and the pain is gone, just like that.

I know flowers in the forest that are strong painkillers. Indian medicine men use them to kill pain at childbirth. When a woman takes these flowers, she has a pain-free delivery with no side effects. I also know the bark off a certain tree will force a woman not to have a baby, but being raised a Catholic, it was against my beliefs to use this bark. I also know about, We-Kain, (a common root found in the swamp, this is used for many ailments), the weed used to treat cancer, T.B. and bad colds. This weed tastes just like aspirin and only a few people know how to pick it. My dad used to call it Muskrat Weed. A small amount taken once or twice a week and you won't catch cold all winter... Another medicine I tried on my kids, was blueberry juice boiled with the berry roots, take two cups a day, once in the morning and once at night, and no cold.

Some of the medicinal lore that my father learned from his maternal uncles had to do with survival in the bush. They taught him pragmatic remedies that one could apply alone, if necessary.

To find north, even on a cloudy day you can use your fingernail. Put a knife blade or a piece of wood on your nail and you will see the shadow of the sun. If you're hungry, when lost, look for a porcupine. You can always get him. Even in the wintertime, you can find wild fruit, it may be dried up or frozen, but it will keep you going. I am not sorry that I went trapping with my uncles, I sure learned a lot. I know how to stop bleeding with a certain mushroom. I also know the certain herbs to use when sick, for instance, under the bark of a young poplar, you can find something like aspirin to stop a headache, steams of certain flowers will kill pain, and certain bushes will relieve constipation and hemorrhoids.

The common thread that connects this series of stories is the recollection of life lessons based on Anishinabek Metis traditions and history. The first group

of stories concerned the land and the lake, the environment around Lake Nipigon. These stories dealt with Beings who occupied the lake and land. The dualistic worldview of the people in Lake Nipigon area is revealed in these stories. There is a bridge between the spiritual and the physical. This can be accessed if one knows how.

I remember picking blueberries with my family. I was listening to the old people talk about a man from our area. This man had seen a mermaid. I asked my father if we could go and see the water where he saw this Being. We did not go right away; eventually, my father drove by a lake with a small island in it. He pointed and said that this is the place that they had been talking about. The legends that my father talked and wrote about are based on teaching and learning about our environment. When I would ask about a story that I had heard, my parents would answer fully and tell me if it was about our land and water.

The second series of stories concern medicine people with different spiritual abilities. In the Lake Nipigon area now are very few people who would be thought of as medicine people or herbalists. The story about the old man who could change his being is the last record of anyone considered to be a shape-shifter. My father spoke of his Catholic faith as one of the contributing factors to the demise of traditional medicinal healing. The degradation and fear that was introduced in the transitional period following the introduction of more government and church control ensured that this active practice of medicine would not exist in the future. The next section focuses on the speed with which the social life in Lake Nipigon changed with the trading economy (i.e., the

Hudson's Bay Company), the signing of the treaty later in 1850, and the eventual establishment of Indian reserves under the terms of the Robinson Superior treaty in 1850.

Trading Economy

The trading economy on Lake Nipigon was well established by the time the Hudson's Bay Company began the *Nipigon House* post in 1792 (Bishop 1974, Kellar 1979). As early as 1640, the Jesuits wrote about people in this area as "Kilistinons"; in 1656, the French called the people "Kilistinons," "Christinaux," "Tete de Boule," "Nation de Bois," and "Gens de Terre," (Bishop 1974, Kellar 1979). In 1684, the French established a trading post on Lake Nipigon in the same general area as the later Nipigon House. This French post, which was named "Fort La Maune," is still discussed by the older peoples around the lake. They maintain that it was because of this fort and traders coming from Montreal that people spoke French and English into the 19th century. According to Bishop (1974), the Montreal traders, the *Voyageurs*, were in the Lake Nipigon area in 1780; the Northwest Company established a post in 1783.

Many groups wanted control of this area because it was a critical route to the Albany River trade routes. This is the formal, brief history of Nipigon House. Another history revealed itself when my father wrote about the fur-trading posts around Lake Nipigon. This social history had to do with the great number of fur trade outposts on the lake and trading boats that were outfitted with guns.

Lake Nipigon had at one time, several trading stores or posts, as they were called then. From what I have heard from old people, Ombabika Bay had two warehouses and there were four or five on the Ombabika River and rivers leading North to Pagway, now a section on the C.N.R., was a

trading route from James Bay to Lake Nipigon. Ombabika had two posts, Whitesand had one, Nipigon House came later, Grand Bay Portage had one, Sand Point had one, and I guess there were six altogether, three belonging to the French Company and three to the Hudson Bay Company. The French Company was the Northwest Trading and they joined the Hudson Bay Company. Lake Nipigon, I believe, is and was the only inland lake that had cannons on boats to fight Indians. The boats that carried them are still at Lake Nipigon with just the bow of the boat showing. It is in South Bay. The boat, The Miniva, had two cannons.

The social commentary that my father wrote about Nipigon House and Lake Nipigon present a vivid picture of the fur trade that has stood the test of time. This history had to do with planting, harvesting, farming, and taking care of animals.

Nipigon House post has a history that research should be done on. I know before my dad, there was Donald Murchison and before Murchison, there was Mr. Saloon, and before him, there was the Hudson Bay manager who hid \$40,000.00 in gold so the Indians couldn't get it. At the old store site there are graves that are over three hundred years old. There is a lookout tower that used to be over a hundred feet tall. The Hudson Bay Company land is 90 acres, all cultivated at one time. Wheat, corn, potatoes, and other food is grown. There were pigs, cows, chickens, etc. The local friendly Indians were the farm hands. There was Joe Nawgishik, Old Wally, and others from the Jackfish Island reserve.

My father told stories about Nipigon House that describes this trading fort as a family place, that is, a place where a father raised his children. The early federal government's objective of promoting agricultural development among the local *Anishinabek* can be seen. The results of this federal government objective can be seen by the results that the Hudson's Bay Company factor, my grandfather had. He experimented with farming and agricultural development in these next stories. Vegetable gardens in Gull Bay were still evident in the 1960s when I was a child staying with relatives there. When I was involved in researching lands

claims in 1984, some of the older Twance's, King's, and Wilson's told me that everyone used to have a garden. Some people had even tried farming, but the terrain made it impossible.

My dad tells a story about these pigs. Across from Nipigon House is a place called Dog Island, this is where the trappers leave their dogs for the summer and feed them by putting fish off at about a dozen places on the island also. Pigs eat fish. So, by fall these pigs were all nice and fat, so Dad figured only to kill a few and to see what happened feeding pigs fish. They killed four and cleaned them good. They looked good, so everyone took a piece of meat home. Dad said no one could eat the meat because it tasted just like fish, so those pigs were just dog food. The rest of the pigs on the island had to be fed corn and wheat for over two months, and even then you could imagine the fish taste. So, Dad said the Indians off the reserve got all the pigs. After smoking the meat, it was pretty good, but no more island feeding, (page 14).

Children gathered natural foods such as berries and roots. It appears that this was a pleasurable way to pass the time. Harvesting the garden helped people to survive over the winter. Planning for times of scarcity and having adequate food stores was necessary for survival during the winter months in this northern environment.

Nipigon House was my home when I was a kid; we sure had a lot of fun swimming. My dad had a dock and a small boat; the name of the boat was "No Fooling." We used to take that boat and go picking berries off the islands near home. These islands would be loaded with raspberries, blueberries, gooseberries, and Saskatoon's. My mother had in her garden, red and black currants and rhubarb. So, we had a lot of preserves each year. Picking berries was always something to look forward to. Boat rides were also something!

According to popular historical theory, fur trade forts were lonely and isolated places; people counted the days until they could be with their loved ones

in a more civilized, that is, urban environment. The picture my father paints is one of a busy and vibrant place filled with music and socializing.

Nipigon House was not a lonesome place, everyday someone would show up. All the customers were friends and strangers were all welcome. Prospectors, fishermen, tourists, policemen, game wardens from the Lands and Forest, now called the Ministry of Natural Resources, all stayed at the store some time or another. Sometimes they stayed for a meal and listened to my sisters' play the piano. We had two baby grand pianos at our place that must have cost my dad a fortune. I remember one deckhand off of Alex McKay's fish boat, boy, could this fellow play the piano. Playing like that, I don't know what he was doing fishing; his name was Jeff Warren. He had a brother, Alex, a funny guy. Alex was a steam engineer on one of the boats. When you asked him what he was doing, he would say, "Pulling throttle on the old A.B." The guys I am talking about all used to bring booze and get my dad drunk, and my mother didn't like this too much.

My father shared stories of people and things that he saw while at Nipigon House. The people that were attracted to this lifestyle were a different kind.

The business at Nipigon House was the trading of furs. In many ways, this economy operated as a cashless one. Indigenous peoples were still relatively self-reliant, but this condition was fast disappearing. The economy was quickly changing to a wage labour one. If someone wanted to purchase or trade for items at this Hudson's Bay post, they had to give up some of this self-reliance.

When I was a kid, and my dad was the manager of the Hudson Bay Store, that traded with the Indians, the Gull Bay Reserve, the largest reserve on Lake Nipigon, if an Indian wanted to eat, he either had to be a good trapper or he had to have a good job.

The beginnings of a dependent economy are evident in this story.

Good trappers would live all summer on credit, then pay their bills when they went trapping in the wintertime. Whatever was left over was left at the store. Why take it, there was no place to spend it. Only if the Indians wanted to go some place, like Thunder Bay, which was then called Port Arthur and Fort William, then they would take their money.

Some of my father's storytelling had its roots in his Irish heritage. This can be seen in the following story that his father told about coming across the lake and how cold it gets.

It gets pretty cold on Lake Nipigon some winters. My dad told me, one time he was driving his dogteam home, travelling at night, and there was a clear moon, it was a good going for the dogs, there was no snow or ice, then my dad heard someone ahead and he could hear him swearing. Dad said he sounded like Old Joe, and by golly, it was Old Joe. Dad said he stopped to listen and it was Joe alright. Old Joe had passed that way, in the winter time it was cold, his voice had froze and it was just thawing out. Old Joe was called Joe the Ghost because he found a man who had hung himself and he took a good look, the boots looked good so he took them off the dead man and he wore them. After that, he was Joe the Ghost.

There are many stories of the people who came and migrated to the area around Lake Nipigon. The stories reflect their candor and pragmatic nature.

Some of the stories might be interpreted as being rough, but that was the nature of where they were living. Your self worth was decided by how you lived your life and how people saw you doing it around the area of Lake Nipigon. The Anishinabek Metis ethical value of your truth can be seen in the lives of the people my father talked about. Their lives, whether they were Indigenous or not, were seen as a lesson as well. The ethical value of truth does not just apply to Indigenous peoples but all other peoples in the environment as well

The preceding stories about the Hudson's Bay Company and trading economy around Lake Nipigon centred on Nipigon House. They also focused on an Anishinabek Metis family, the McGuire's. The sense of difference is obvious in the way that these stories are told; this family was different from their Anishinabek relatives around the lake. The Anishinabek Metis population of Lake

Nipigon was perceived as different and saw themselves as distinct early in the recorded history of Lake Nipigon. This is evident from the unique cultural vantage points that developed over time. Visitors to the area saw them as distinct as well and sought to limit their ability to survive as Indigenous peoples in the area. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Robinson-Superior Treaty 1850

Michimuckwa with *Manitoushainse* were signatories to the Robinson-Superior Treaty in 1850. They were both from Lake Nipigon, the area surrounding Jackfish Island at the north end of the lake. My great-great-grandfather was also present at the signing with my great-grandmother, Kigish, who interpreted the proceedings for her father, *Naitawasang*. Oral history records that the Anishinabek who attended the signing were given rum immediately after their arrival but before the negotiations began. In 1954, Kigish died; shortly thereafter, an article appeared in the Port Arthur newspaper detailing the changes that she had witnessed during her lifetime. Estimates of her birth date range from 1840 to 1842. She was 8 or 10 years old when the treaty was signed. This story relates the signing of this treaty.

Mrs. King regaled her descendents with stories of the olden days and the signing of the Robinson treaty which gave Indians the sum of \$2 dollars each. She remembers how their chieftain became inebriated, and in his enthusiasm signed away islands and rivers.

According to the oral record of the people living around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, the Anishinabek Metis were included in the negotiations of the treaty of 1850. Witnesses to the signing came back to their communities, stating

that the half-breed populations had been included in the treaty and that they would be treated in the same way as the Indians were.

My grandmother said all the Metis, also called Half-breeds, were made Indians that day and two White men who were there with their Indian women were also made treaty Indians with the Indian status.

There are oral records that the Half-breeds were certainly discussed in the negotiations leading up to the signing of the treaty. My father wrote stories that he was told by his grandmother about the signing and Robinson's treatment of the Metis.

On my mother's side, my grandmother's father, was one of the chiefs who left Gull Bay on Lake Nipigon to attend the signing of the Indian treaty. She said she was taken because she was able to speak French; she was only eight years old at the time. Her father used her to tell him what the French were saying and he in turn used her for when the Indians would get together before the main negotiations started. Although the army had interpreters, the Indians did not trust them. Indians could not speak French, but some children could. On Lake Nipigon, the French got there before the English did. My grandmother said nobody could speak English and very few could speak French. She learned to speak French because her mother was a housekeeper for a French storekeeper.

The Robinson Superior Indian Treaty was signed at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in 1850. My grandmother said they travelled across Lake Nipigon to Nipigon and then to Sault Ste. Marie. What she remembered about the trip was by a big boat. I suppose by sailboat. I don't know if steamboats were in service in 1850, but my grandmother said it was a long trip and many Indians made the trip. Indians, in those days, in big canoes, could travel long distances in one day. Six men paddling with the help of a sail could cover a hundred miles in a day, weather permitting.

My grandmother said there was a great gathering of Metis. My grandmother was one of the many Metis who became treaty Indians at the signing of the Robinson Superior treaty. In fact, my grandmother figured every Metis who came from the treaty area became a treaty Indian that day. Names that were French sounding, English, Irish, and some other names were now treaty Indian names. My grandmother said before the signing of the treaty, the Indians asked about their half-breeds, they had

been living with them and they trapped and hunted with them, what was to happen to them. "Nothing, said the White Chief, "Keep your half-breeds and they can live with you and they can be paid treaty money. All your half-breeds are now Indians." Then the Chief asked, "How about the half-breeds that will come later?" The White answered, "Only if the Chief and your Council adopted them. If I let all half-breeds live on the reserve as Indians, in the future, you may have a problem. No. I will have my men study the Metis and what to do with them later." From this day on, the Metis can hunt and fish for food, but for now only the Indian people can bring them on the reserve and make Indians, they were told.

My grandmother said all the Metis, also called half-breeds, were made Indians that day and two Whitemen who were there with their Indian women were also made treaty Indians with the Indian status. Some Indians, after they got home, wondered what would now happen to them, but, my grandmother said all the Indians that signed the treaty said they were in a no win situation. They figured it was either sign or be taken and forced to live in a stockade. At least, this way, they could live in peace and maybe not be shot if they happened to meet Whitemen while trapping or hunting. At the time, when the treaties were signed, it was dangerous if Indians met Whitemen, especially if Indians had a good catch of furs. My grandmother said it wasn't too bad after the Hudson Bay Company came. The H.B.C. became depended on, by the Indians, for their trade and work.

I am Anishinabek Metis. I have learned about the signing of the Robinson treaties since I was a child. The family history of the signing has passed the stories on to my generation. This is the value of storytelling in our community. It is a way to convey our unique history and to ensure that future generations remember it. It is also a way to transmit our worldview into another generation. I am cognizant of the need to ensure that my responsibility to my community is met by telling these stories, in particular stories pertaining to promises and obligations made.

The signing of this treaty was an important and significant event in Canadian history. It set the stage in many ways for Indigenous and Canadian legal and social relationships for a long time. The Robinson treaties are

recognized because they were the first treaties that require cession of land in return for certain specified benefits, (Higgins 1979, Ontario Natives Affairs Secretariat 1985, INAC 1986, Dunn 1994, RCAP 1996, Morrison 1996, McNab 1999). In the Anishinabek Metis perspective, it was the first government recognition of them as a unique Indigenous people and ironically, their first formal exclusion as an Indigenous people. They were not treated as their relations were and this affected community relationships up to the current day.

As a result of the signing, there are four federally recognized reserve communities on Lake Nipigon—Gull Bay, White Sand, Rocky Bay and Sandpoint—and three unrecognized—Blackwater, Poplar Hill, and Jackfish Island. Federal recognition means that these communities have Indian rights hence they have reserve status. Reserve status specifies territories that belong to the band, namely, a land base. In addition, reserve status allocates federal monies that were and are held in trust by the federal government. These monies are used for community infrastructure and community programs.

Three of the communities received reserve status in the late 20th century. Gull Bay was the only Lake Nipigon community signatory to the 1850 Robinson-Superior Treaty, so it was the only community to receive federal recognition at that time. Heron Bay and Fort William received reserve lands after the signing. Gull Bay is the oldest community on Lake Nipigon. The last unrecognized Band, Jackfish Island and adjacent islands, is where the majority of people in the existing communities originated.

The signing of the Robinson-Superior treaty and the aboriginal populations who began to live on reserve land established by the treaty started a colonial experiment by the developing Canadian government, that is, the establishment of church-run and government-sanctioned residential schools in the 1800s. Some of these schools remained open until the 1980s. This failed experiment in assimilation and civilization continues to have unfortunate consequences for many of the Aboriginal communities in the Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon areas as well as across Canada. It was a federal initiative.

St. Joseph's Boarding School

Boarding and residential schools were unfortunate experiments of the federal government and various Christian denominations in their misguided efforts to civilize and assimilate the Aboriginal peoples in Canada. This process started in earnest after the signing of the treaties. It was only after the consolidation of the Indian Act in 1876 that they began in full force. It was at this time that the federal government began to exercise full control over the Aboriginal populations.

People had different experiences in these schools. My parents were not forced to go to the boarding school in Fort William. In the case of my father, my grandfather paid for him and his siblings to be there. This was unusual but can be easily explained. They were not considered to be Indians. Boarding schools became an enforced part of Status/ Treaty Indian communities in NWO in the late 1800s. The Anishnabek Metis students attended St. Joseph's Boarding School in Fort William. This school housed orphans and boarding Status Indian

students and Euro-Canadian students. It was an integrated school. Former students from the Lake Nipigon area recall how strict the Catholic nuns were at the school. Students who attended this school were there to learn how to live in the world, and they were given a healthy dose of organized religion in the process.

When I was a young boy, I went to school in the city along with all the other people (kids) from Lake Nipigon. A boat would take us across the lake to Port MacDiarmid, a commercial fishing port, and then we would go on the train to Old Fort William, Ontario, to the St. Joseph's Boarding School. This school was owned and operated by the nuns of St. Josephs, called Sisters. The head sister was called Mother. We stayed ten months out of every year in this school until we passed all of our grades. This took about five years. I started school when I was 8 years and left when I was 12 years old. Most of the kids only stayed for 4 years. We would pass two grades each year, after all, we had nothing else to do but learn.

My father, mother, paternal, and maternal relatives attended St. Joseph's Boarding School when they were children. Their memories tell of the deep, abiding relationships and connections that they developed with the other students. I saw evidence of this throughout my life by my mother and father; they would greet past students like close relations and help them as much as they could. When my father wrote about his residential school experience, he presented it in terms of a shared experience.

One thing about being raised and going to a boarding school ten months out of each year, you got to know the other kids and become very close friends, almost like brothers and sisters. Every time I meet my old school chums I am glad and really have a good visit, and we ask each other how we are doing and if there is some way we can help each other. Boarding school kids are different than open or community schools. You would have to be one to know. Our boarding school was like our home and all other kids were family.

The development of lasting relationships with the other children who attended this school is reflective of Anishinabek Metis ethics. This value stresses the importance of creating and maintaining relationships in one's community. The fact that my father and mother maintained these relationships is indicative of the personal value that they placed on this traditional ethic in this unusual contemporary experience. The physical abuse and labour that the students had to ensure is made evident in this next story. The students supported the school by doing many of the daily chores. The students had to follow the instructions of the nuns.

The nuns or sisters were very tough on kids that did not listen and they did not spare the rod. They would punish you if you had it coming. Some of those nuns had very strong arms when they used the strap.

The sense of loyalty that some students feel about the school is evidenced in the following story.

I have heard that the boarding school was a ghetto for orphans that kids were treated mean, and that Indian kids could not talk Indian. First, orphans went to this school, I went there and I was no orphan and I was treated the same as everyone else. Badmouthing this boarding school is wrong and untrue, kids were treated good and Indians were treated no different. What we need now for our kids are boarding schools. This would keep kids off the street and teach them to be good citizens. I can't think of any of our boarding school kids that have committed a major crime like murder or who are in some kind of a racket to cheat people out of money. I believe most of our boarding school kids stayed out of trouble and jail, maybe the odd one was jailed for being drunk.

My father's comments are representative of other students' memories about this school.

In school, we kids learned to play hockey, baseball, football, boxing and most other sports. Our boarding school players would go out and play

against other schools. When we left school, these sports came in handy for some of us. We also learned to play violin, guitar, piano, and other instruments. This school tried to teach almost everything, even acting, teaching, keeping books, whatever one wanted to learn.

My parents raised us to be independent and self-reliant. We were taught to be who we were and to be true to ourselves. School was secondary to the abilities and skills that my parents passed on to us. My father maintained that compulsory schooling was a make-work project for teachers, and he questioned students having to go to school at such a young age. He questioned the rationale behind what he considered to be nothing more than a government experiment. He believed that children were being brainwashed in school and that the younger the children, the more influence the government would have over this generation.

I can't really write about what happened to me in my early years as a kid because I went to work when I was still a kid. I went to school ten months out of each year and I was home for the summer. This was from when I was eight years old until I was twelve. Nobody left to go to school until they were old enough to take care of themselves, like, able to dress, change clothes, wash up, and to feed themselves. To see kids going to school now when they are four and five years old makes me laugh. This is just a money making scheme on the part of the teachers.

He continued:

My own family, the kids, I managed to start them late in school and they got out of school in less years than those who started when they were four or five. It only stands to reason that a kid has a better chance of learning at eight years old than a kid who is five.

My father taught his family the importance of women in the world and the effect that women have on children. The relationship that exists between mother and child is symbiotic. It was the effects on this first main relationship that

children have that he thought should be strengthened before the children go to school. He disliked young children having to attend school because he saw the institution usurping the role of the mother in the family. He said that this lack of maternal guidance increased the chances of the child not knowing right from wrong and that it could have detrimental effects on society.

When a child is five that is when they need their mother to teach them right from wrong and how to behave. A child is not going to learn that from some other stranger that is replacing his mother. No wonder we have a lot of crime these days, a lot of these people who are in trouble didn't have their mother's loving care when they were a child.

This belief that a mother is responsible for raising the children and ensuring that they are educated in community ethics and morals continues to be an Anishnabek Metis teaching. My father believed this, but he also ensured that he played a significant role in raising his children. My mother and father made sure that we were educated in our Anishinabek Metis ways, as well as being taught in English. My parents talked about their boarding school experience as being difficult but that it taught them how to live in a changing world. They saw it as preparation for life in a new social world, which can be seen in the following discussion about the history of resource use in MacDiarmid, Ontario.

Resource Use in MacDiarmid, Ontario

In the early part of the 19th century, Ontario began to develop its natural resources: ground minerals, water, and trees. Lesser known but equally important was the fishing industry in NWO. Boomtowns sprang up to house the people who harvested this resource. These towns by need had to be close to the water source. One of these towns was MacDiarmid.

MacDiarmid was opened in 1905 for commercial fishing by the Federal Fishing Department to create jobs for commercial fishermen. The town got its name from the man who opened fishing. His name was Mr. MacDiarmid.

These towns, like other boomtowns, had to support a constantly changing population. The locations of Indigenous communities usually determined where the boomtowns would develop because the Indigenous population was initially the primary source of the labour. Immigrants who moved into the area gradually replaced these Indigenous workers. MacDiarmid developed a community infrastructure for the people who worked on the fishing boats and those who worked in this service industry to ensure that their needs were met.

At one time, MacDiarmid had a store, rooming house, restaurant, taxis, and a C.N.R. platform and sub station with a telegraph operator. There also was a big community dance hall complete with a piano. The fishermen built this hall. There used to be a big icehouse, packing shed, and a box shed, now there is nothing where tons of fish used to ship out each day. This has to be because of poor fish management on the part of the M.N.R. I feel sad thinking about it, writing this story. I have much to tell, I just don't know where to start and where to end, but I will do my best and I hope you understand.

When it was booming, MacDiarmid employed and supported a large population. However, boom times do not last forever. My father developed his own theory about the decline of small communities like MacDiarmid, and he felt that the responsibility rested with the federal government, which was responsible for overseeing the fishing industry. My uncle Charlie introduced my father to fishing on Lake Nipigon. They both fished out of what was then called Port MacDiarmid.

You may think I am only praising up my brother, when I say, my brother Charlie, was the best commercial fishermen out of fill his license, and a tugboat licence was eighty tons. Then Charlie would help his partner fill his eighty-ton licence. My brother, Charlie, and Andrew Sutherland worked for the same fishing company, the F.T. James fishing company from Toronto. The fishing season was about five months long. In those days, both sides of the public dock were full of fishing tugs and boats. Every two days, fish would be shipped out by rail. The C.N.R. had a loading ramp and a siding about a half-mile long. It also had a C.N.R. station and a shipping telegram agent. About six or more freezer boxcars were shipped out every two days. Each boat would have one or two tons to ship. These were steam tugs with five hundred pounds to ship, they had three men crews. I am telling you all this because the fishing industry out of MacDiarmid used to employ three hundred people and most of them had families. This was counting commercial fishermen, conservation officers, storekeepers, clerks, rooming house owners, restaurant waitresses, coal dealers, oil and gas dealers, and after the highway was put in, the taxi drivers and the bootleggers. The reason they let the fishing industry die, was because a half dozen tourist operators wanted the lake. These six boat and cabin operators never hire any help, tourists are allowed to do their own guiding. Six people make a living where three hundred used to make their living, but to hear the M.N.R. you'd think they were bringing in thousands of American dollars, and this is all B.S. All these American scavengers have done is over fish all the game fish out of Lake Nipigon.

It is obvious that these policies generated strong feelings in the people who needed the lake to provide their livelihood.

MacDiarmid and other communities around the lake also supported Jesuit priests and Catholic churches at MacDiarmid, Gull Bay, and Armstrong. There were also smaller churches at some of the other communities, for example, Sandpoint. The memories that people have of the older Jesuit priests are good ones. My father recalled his friendship with a couple of them stationed on Lake Nipigon and serving at MacDiarmid. This story tells of their role in the community, and it explains how much respect they had to earn to be accepted by the people.

I must mention two Catholic priests I know. One we called Father Rolland. When we had him alone hunting, I and my friends used to call him Alex. I

used to hunt a lot with Father, Alex Rolland. He was a real nice guy. I first met Father Alex when I was just a kid, I must have been 13 or 14 years old. I helped with his dogteam from Gull Bay to Whitesand on Lake Nipigon. We went up the Mud River so we could get on the train to Armstrong. I looked after the dogs and when he got back we went back to Gull Bay, a distance of about 80 miles. We would stop at Nipigon House and stay overnight, that was a long time ago. Father Alex spent his whole life with Indians of Northwestern Ontario. He was truly a friend, even when he was sick in the Priest's hospital in Toronto, he took time to write us a letter every now and then. I sure a lot of good times with Father Alex. I used to call him old Ki-Walk-Wab-Wag, in Indian, meaning old him that can knock them down... when you shoot a moose he falls.

Father, John McHugh was all together different. He wasn't a hunter, he was more like a holy man. We used to watch him outside of his church, walking back and forth, reading his Holy book. If someone gave him money, he would walk around sharing it. He did not have much of a social life, he was and is a holy man, but not much of a hunter, he was a real nice man. He also spent his life with the Indians in Northwestern Ontario, MacDiarmid was his favourite place.

Father Maurice is also a Jesuit priest like Father Rolland and Father McHugh, but here again, he is different then the others. I would say, he is more like a businessman. Everything has to be in order, and from what I hear, he tries to keep up on Indian culture. One thing I know, if you want to know the meaning of an Indian word or how to say an Indian word properly, ask Father Maurice, S.J.

My father had respect for some of the priests that came to our area because they earned it; others, he had no time for, and he let them know his feelings. He was one of the few people in MacDiarmid who had no problem confronting the priests when they did something wrong. Stories abound of his fighting, verbally and physically, with the priests. This was one of the advantages that being outside of the legislative framework that the federal government had for Status/ Treaty Indians. People living on reserves did not have the same option. They would have had to contend with the Indian Agent, who often worked

in collaboration with the religious orders. In that system, one did not confront the priest.

After the fishing industry in Lake Nipigon started to close down, my father and others in the community questioned their future as well as the natural resources management practices of the provincial government.

Now, there is nothing in MacDiarmid. The government dock has no boats tied to it and the fish house is gone. What happened, why was this fishing industry allowed to die? I will tell you why. The M.N.R. has poor management and they have favoured the tourist operators at the expense of the commercial fishermen on Lake Nipigon. Now that the commercial fishing is dead there are only seven tourist operators on Lake Nipigon and these guys don't hire any guides. Tourists are allowed to fish unsupervised.

The idea that there were other markets closer to center of Canada that made the fishing unnecessary did not occur. What people experienced happening to the lake is what they believed. After single industry towns grow and decline in the North, what are left are empty buildings and the people who were there initially.

Sometimes it makes me think, what went wrong? All the resources that used to keep MacDiarmid and Farlange, a mile away, are still here and there are lots of them, yet, these two towns are now dead. Farlanger's sawmill used to have over fifty men, now there's no one. MacDiarmid used to have over four hundred people, now there is about four families, but there is an Indian reserve.

Some people, including my father, thought that researching the issue would ensure that it would not reoccur.

I believe a committee of people who used to live at MacDiarmid should lobby the Federal and Provincial government to research the past and future and come up with an answer. There should be study done on how much fish was caught from 1905, when the lake was opened. (To) 1960, when the first signs of something ... happening to our fish industry (occurred), and why it was happening. A study also from 1960 to 1986

should be done to see how much fish was caught in that period, then compare the two periods against each other.

When it was booming, MacDiarmid had work for people who wanted to work. It did not matter how old the workers were. Everyone had to be responsible for how they lived their life. This is a key Anishinabek Metis value that ensured that the people were self-reliant. They knew that they had to meet their obligations to survive. My father taught us that learning how to work when we are young prepares us for life.

While I am talking fishing, I am going to tell you about MacDiarmid fishermen. Most of our young people started to work at an early age. My boys started fishing on boats when they were fourteen years old. All boys in MacDiarmid started about that age. They started right after they finished public school. Nobody went to high school as it was too expensive. The high school(s) was in Thunder Bay, then called Port Arthur and Fort William, so, young kids went to work. All those boys and girls who started to work when they were young did not become alcoholics or drug addicts. At least, I don't know any. One more thing I can say for these MacDiarmid people is they are all good workers and good providers after they got married, you never see any of them in town on the bum.

My parents raised 16 children during this time, some of them during and after WW 2. This could not have been an easy time for anyone.

You must remember, when I was raising my kids, there were no welfare and no unemployment insurance. If you wanted to eat, you had to work at anything you could make a dollar at. MacDiarmid was an easy place to make a living. When you were out of work, you could hunt or fish for something to eat. There was always some little job you could get, cutting firewood, mending nets, helping someone to fix their houses, boats, plant a garden, dig a garden, dig an outside toilet, dig a well, anything and everything. Sometimes there was more money doing side work than there was fishing.

My father had good memories of living in MacDiarmid. He wrote, "Working out of MacDiarmid, one was never out of a job. It was small pay by today's standards, but a good living nonetheless. The hungry thirties went by and we never knew it." My family lived in MacDiarmid for a long time. Our family worked together to support the entire family unit. My older brothers and sisters worked and gave money to my parents so that the younger siblings could survive. It is this feature of life around Lake Nipigon that is now addressed, for this need for families to work together was common.

Harvesting Natural Resources

In this area of NWO, my family was known for harvesting natural resources, especially blueberries. With 16 children picking, it was a viable and lucrative business for my parents. The last time that I remember going out to the pick with my entire family was in the early 1970s. My eldest brother, Patrick, still makes a living at harvesting the natural resources around Lake Nipigon. He and my brothers, Michael and Daniel have practiced responsibility their entire lives and they teach others how to harvest resources in sustainable ways.

When I was younger, we stayed out in the bush until after school started. We went in before the berries were ripe to set up camp. My father brought a big white, canvas-prospecting tent for us. He and my brothers built a rough wooden floor and bunk beds for us. At Crooked Green River, we set up our camp by the river in a little hill under the over crop. The river ran by our camp, and the bridge was right beside us.

Other families camped at Crooked Green as well. They came from around the Lake Nipigon area: Gull Bay, MacDiarmid, Whitesand, Jellicoe, Nipigon, and Lake Helen. When I was a child, it was like another community out there. I would visit my friends and relations in the early morning and late afternoon when we were not picking blueberries. The old people would tell me stories and give me tea as if I were a regular visitor. If I kept quiet, my father and older brothers would teach me about survival. My sisters took care of me and taught me about having to obey limits. My father also taught about living in the bush while we were picking. He told a story about food preparation for the winter months by comparing it to the easy life we have today.

To live in the North, in those days, you would have to make your living by harvesting the renewable natural resources. Even today, those of us that live here depend very much on natural resources for a good source of food. Of course, in these times, to keep food, you have a freezer and refrigerator, but in the good old days, you used the Indian way of keeping food, dehydration, (in an) airtight container.

I once went to visit at an Indian camp during berry picking time, but these Indians were Metis. I told them who I was and I said we are picking berries also, but that I also bought a few berries. These people said, "We pick berries each year so we can have some for the winter and we also sell some." I said, "We do the same thing. What my wife doesn't preserve, I make sure our freezer's full." These are blueberries I am talking about. The old fellow said, "We fix our drying rack, they will have it ready in an hour." Then he went on to explain how the berries were dried, under the rack a small fire was made and the hot summer sun was used. He said about ten to eleven baskets of berries dried would fill one basket, and I told him that when I was a kid, my mother would dry some berries about the same way.

The people who taught my father also showed him how to dry meat so that it would last a long time and be compact to carry and store.

About a week later, I went to see my new friend. "What are you doing now?" I said. He said, "We shot a moose this morning. I didn't want to waste the fat, so I made some containers for my berries." He had made containers out of birch bark, they looked like small canoes. These containers had moose fat, about a half to one inch thick all over the inside, bottom, and sides. These birches bark containers, he filled with blueberries, and then he poured hot moose fat over the berries. He said as long as it was airtight the berries wouldn't spoil. I would say he had about thirty pounds in each container. Over a small fire he was drying moose meat. He gave me some (and) it was sure good.

I had my boys bring me some flat stone and showed them how to grind this dried meat into a kind of flour. Then I said, "This is how the old trappers used to go for days on very little food. You can carry five to ten pounds of this dry meat on your belt. You don't need salt because it is already salted. You carry a small teapot and little tea and you're good for a long time. When you get hungry, you make a small fire on top of a dry stump, this a good place, you boil your tea, it only takes a minutes, then you put some powdered meat soup and the tea adds flavour that is hard to describe, but you travel a long way on it.

After I became an adult, I thought that everyone was raised this way in MacDiarmid. When I talked to my cousins living on the reserve, I realized that this was not the case. They did not have the same memories of working the land. I have good memories of being out in the bush with my family working toward one goal. My father concurred.

The happiest time in my life was the 14 years we spent picking blueberries. I invented a blueberry picker and kept it out of sight. No one knows how we picked them, me and five boys would pick for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon and end up with 50, 11 quart baskets of berries each day. The rest of the time was spent swimming in the river, where we were camped. From July 15 to September 30, we stayed at our camp on Crooked Green River; about forty Indian families would camp with us. They never came so early or stayed as long as we did. Blueberries used to go out by the truckload.

My father had approached blueberry picking as a business; with all the workers that he had, it was a lucrative business. My parents earned enough money to support us in the fall and winter. Sometimes, we would pick pinecones in the fall and sell them by the bushel as well. The price of blueberries was not high when my family started. My father changed that.

Blueberry buyers were Godfrey Kenneth from Wisconsin, U.S.A., Zechners' Ltd. from Nipigon, Metro Zerabny from Beardmore and Thunder Bay stores, and also every taxi that came to Crooked Green River. My family, the Ledger family and the Grays picked for Mr. Kenneth Zebner. Zerabny had the Indians picking for them. The price of blueberries was \$2.50 for 11 quarts, 15 pound basket. The price stayed like that until 1960. It was my family that got the price up to five dollars and got it going up each year until it was up to twenty dollars, where it is today. The odd time you might get twenty-five or even thirty, depending on the scarcity of the berries. Picking blueberries was a good seasonal job for the Indians, just as good, if not better, than picking wild rice and a lot less work and trouble.

The land management and land use policies of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) were (and are) a concern for anyone in NWO who depended on the bush for a living. My father and others were very concerned when the MNR began spraying insecticide and pesticide to kill bugs that were supposedly affecting new growth on the trees. My father fought to prevent this poison from being sprayed on the blueberry fields. The MNR still sprayed, in spite of the known health risks associated with these chemicals.

More communities now are saying that they do not want pesticides being sprayed in or near their communities. In the forests in the North, the Indigenous communities have been saying this since they started spraying. Areas that are sprayed kill all the ground vegetation. My father researched the type of pesticides

and insecticides being used and found that they contained 2-4D, a substance that was used in Agent Orange during the Vietnam War.

Some wise guy who makes money-selling poison has sold it to the Ministry of Natural Resources. If the M.N.R. wants the trees to grow fast, they use 2-4-D and poison all of the other plants that grow so the trees would have all of the ground to themselves. The M.N.R. must be stupid and their personnel must know nothing about growing trees. Trees need all the help they can get from the other plants, these other plants are what holds the ground together so the ground won't dry up and blow or wash away from the rain and melting snow.

2-4-D has destroyed all of the blueberries. The Natives no longer pick berries as seasonal work. In the last 2 to 4 years, I have not sold any berries or put any away for the wintertime, and I am one of those pickers. I have travelled from Sault Ste Marie to the Winnipeg border in the summer of 1986 and found nothing but dead plants. Even the bears went hungry, 2-4-D has destroyed and killed what berries and wild plants they use to feed on in the fall. What a shame.

There was and continues to be an active mistrust of the MNR among Indigenous peoples in the North. Much of this distrust is based on environmental events that occurred in the past and on the actions taken by the government.

I was in places where I could smell this poison. I have seen dead birds and have not seen any rabbits. I have read in the paper where the M.N.R. has warned people not to eat the liver and kidneys from the moose because of some poison found in these animals. How did the M.N.R. find out something was wrong with the moose? The M.N.R. doesn't hunt. They had no warnings in 1985, only this year in 1986. The M.N.R. must have suspected that 2-4-D was responsible and so killed a few moose to take samples. This is the same way the M.N.R. warned us about the mercury in the fish, they took samples.

The M.N.R. is responsible for all renewable resources; not only trees but here they are poisoning wild fruit the people and wildlife live on. They poison different plants that the birds, moose, bear, and other animals eat just because some smart talking salesman has sold them some goods. Any damn fool knows that any poison that kills plants will kill the wild animals and birds that eat them. The people that are using this poison are

the same people that will put up signs that say, don't smoke, it's bad for your health. Think about it!

There was a re-organization and restructuring of the provincial ministries responsible for the lands, resources and fish, game, fur management for Ontario. My father considered that combining the two ministries into one impacted negatively on the resources in the North.

At one time, in the days of the old Lands and Forest Department, there was a separate department called the Fish and Wildlife, this department took care of all fish and game and fur management. The Lands and Forest Department was only for the land and forest.

These two Ontario departments would sometimes get into each other's way with different ideas in administration. When cutting trees too close to lakes, the Land and Forest would be questioned by Fish and Wildlife. Poplar trees were Lands and Forest and beaver was Fish and Wildlife. Sometimes Fish and Wildlife and Lands and Forest worked together like on forest fires. So, someone got the bright idea to put both departments under one ministry, the Ministry of Natural Resources. Now they figured that all personnel could be game enforcement officers with the Chief Ranger replacing the Fish and Wildlife supervisor but this is not turning out as planned. You only have to check records to find out.

The land management policies of the MNR have been and still are a concern for people who make their living from the land.

This last group of stories focuses on the development of a wage labour economy in NWO. Conventional history about the development of a wage labour economy in this area does not address Indigenous peoples' working in partnership with settlers to this area to develop our land and environment.

Wage Labour Economy

In the sociology of NWO, the development of the wage labour economy is usually discussed as the main historical feature. The growth of the supportive

infrastructure, communication network, highways, banking economy, and so on, is considered as a pivotal requirement for the raw natural resources from NWO to reach manufacturing plants in other areas of Canada. In order to do this, communities to support these industries sprang up and they eventually declined. This cycle of growth and decline is an inescapable reality in NWO. The latest declines are in forestry and mining towns. The small settlements that supported the fisheries and the railways have either declined or have disappeared: Ferland, Mud River, Allan Water, MacDiarmid, and so on.

The physical landscape that my father dealt with was a very different place. The work world that he entered as a young boy is unthinkable today. What 12-year-old boy supports himself today? The social value that was attached to work is evident in this story.

When I was a kid, labour was the big job; you had to work to make a living. We were taught never to depend on someone else, not even your parents to look for work. Your parents had to work to raise you, now it is your turn to work; everyone must work for a living.

Relatives, especially the extended family, played a role in work preparation. In my father's case, his maternal uncles continued to teach him after he left his parents' home. His training had to do with the fur trade, so he was taught the importance of taking care of animal hides. His uncles taught him how to survive in the bush. The ability to live in the bush, find food, and make fire means survival if a person got lost or separated from their crew. These lessons are as true now as they were then.

When I left school, my first job was with my uncles, I was 12 years old. I was the dog musher and gopher, go for this and go for that, just an all

around trouble-shooter. I was never allowed to skin a fur-bearing animal because I might cut the fur, lowering the value of the pelt. I sure put in some rough times, but that was part of growing up. Now I know how to trap and live off the country. When I trapped with my uncles, I was taught how to live off the land. If ever lost, certain animals are easy to catch if you know what to look for.

The ability to make a fire was important in ensuring bush survival. My father's uncles taught him how to make a fire and how to keep it going. My father, in turn, taught me. He showed me that certain rocks, namely, quartz, spark better than others.

You can stay warm if you know what to do, if you have no matches you can make a fire with your rifle or even two rocks. First, you look for dry fungus that grows on poplar trees, you open this fungus and put some spark to land in the middle, in a short while you'll notice some smoke. You blow on this very easy until you see a red coal, you will not see a fire. Next, you get a fine piece of birch bark and put this on the coal and blow easily, soon you will have a fire. You can keep this fungus fire if you wrap it up or put it in a can. Next time you need a fire just open it up...for the smoke, then blow on it easy. We used to keep this fire on our dog sleigh all the time.

The socialization that my father and his family experienced was very different from today. In my father's generation, boys were expected to work after returning from boarding school; higher education was not an option.

When I was a kid, play was something you did when you had a chance. Looking back on my childhood, I have no regrets. Like I said, I left school when I was twelve and I went fishing and trapping with my uncles. What else was there to do but stay home, no way! I had fun with my uncles Sam and Michael King and their children were my age and we use to have fishing and hunting games. John and Jack were the same age as I was so everything we did together was fun. If we were told to go fishing, we made it into a fun game and we did the same when we were sent to go hunting. Hunting is fun anyway, even in my old age. The King boys, John and Jack, my first cousins, were like my brothers and so was Sam but he was a little younger than us. Michael King had five kids, all boys. Sam King had six kids, four boys and two girls, so I was in pretty good hands and had a lot

of good times. If I tried to write everything about my life, I would be writing for the next five years. So, I will just write some stuff in this story that may get your attention.

My father tried to follow in the family business by working for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was one of the last clerks and one of the last employees for the company in Nipigon House. This story describes the company's obligation to give its employees' children the opportunity to work with them.

When I was fourteen, I joined the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk, to learn the trade. My boss and manager, was Allan Black, who had trained under my dad. He came from Scotland. My wages were 15 dollars a month for the first year. I would get a raise of 5 dollars each year until I got forty dollars a month. I was a good learner, I could get to be out-post manager in four or five and get my full wages right away. My wages included my room and board and a special price on what I bought. I worked for the Hudson Bay Company for about six months one winter, then my brother Charlie came to visit. He said, "Come with me, don't waste your time behind a counter like Dad did. Come fishing with me at MacDiarmid. Why, you can get forty dollars a month there and besides if you don't like it, you can come back here. Remember, you're a Hudson Bay kid, they have to let you have a chance to look around." So, I told Allan Black I was going with Charlie to fish at MacDiarmid and I said I might be back. He told me, "Good luck Paddy, take care of yourself.

My father started working on the fishing boats on Lake Nipigon when he was 13 or 14 years old. It was a lifelong job for him that he loved. It was practical as well.

I tried every job, but I like fishing the best. You worked from daylight till dark but no one seemed to mind, and one more thing, you could eat all the fish you wanted. Later, when I got married and was raising my own family, (to) bring home fish was like bringing home an extra pay cheque.

The fishing life offered him a measure of freedom in his work.

Fishing was a good life. We fished in the summer and winter, in the winter, we fished through the ice, or we trapped off cut logs. There was no shortage of work because there was no union to govern labourers like

there is now. In those days, if you didn't like your job, you quit. If your boss didn't like you, you were fired. You were free to work or quit, you were your own boss.

There were many fishing boats on Lake Nipigon. The fisheries in Port MacDiarmid were booming.

I never had my teen years at home; I left home to go to work when I was fourteen. My first job was as a clerk for the H.B.C., next was commercial fishing boat in 1931 for the Whitefish Company of Toronto under Captain Bob Weaver. The boat was called the Seagull. On this boat were 3 deckhands, the Captain, the steam engineer, and five of us working out of Port MacDiarmid. There were, as I recall, about thirty fish boats. The steamboats all had five men, only two of the steamboats had seven men and they were the Ombabica and the Kingfisher. These boats were about eighty feet long, big boats on an island lake only one hundred and ten miles long and maybe ninety miles wide. The steamboats, as I recall, were as follows, Ombabica, Kingfisher, A.B. Sutherland, Lillie Grace, Seagull, Margaret, and J.T. James. One I forgot was Alex McKay's boat. This boat later became the first diesel boat on Lake Nipigon and then there was Dake. All of these boats had eighty tons fishing licenses and employed on each boat, five men and one shore hand. The shore hand was the guy that looked after the nets, fixing old and getting new ones ready and then there was the cooler to look after. There was around fifty-eight men working on the steamboats and then there was the gas boats.

There were distinguishing features between the Indigenous and Europeans peoples based on the type of boats used. Many people were employed seasonally at Port MacDiarmid to support the fishery; they left when the lake froze.

As I recall, there were about fifteen Indian fish boats each boat had two men. We used to call these guys the 'canoe fishermen'. Each reserve had an eighty-ton fishing license. Of course, we had white gas boat fishermen; each of these boats had what was called a half license, a forty-ton license. Each employed three men and a shore hand would look after two gas boats and a half each. There were about twenty men employed in total. There were one hundred and eight fishermen employed out of MacDiarmid but then there were those who ran services.

The store had two clerks plus the boss for the summer months, the rooming house had a cook and a couple of men there working, there was the government ice house which had one man and a helper, and then there was the packing house that had six men sometimes more, depending on who had the contract. In all, I would say about two hundred were employed by Lake Nipigon fish in the summer months and in the winter there was nothing doing. Only a few stayed around to mend nets, maybe fifteen, and very little winter fishing was carried out. The lake was too big for (that)...type of transportation in those days, dog teams and horses (were the only means of transportation).

In the months away from summer fishing, people took other jobs, including winter fishing in inland lakes. The joy of having the independence to decide what you wanted to do is evident in this story.

I started fishing in MacDiarmid in 1931 and I retired in 1968 when I took sick from arthritis. I fished for thirty-seven years. All those years, I fished steady, every summer, sometimes only for a month or two, but I never missed a season. I fished and worked for nearly every boat but my favourite was the Sutherland, with Old Andy and his sons, Malcolm, Andy, Cliff, and Jacky. I didn't do a lot of winter fishing but when I did, I fished on these lakes, Onaman Lake, Okie Lake, Meta Lake, Ara Lake and Mogigut Lake. I worked for Jack McKirdy, Mrs. Cashaback, Andy Spooner, and Andy Sutherland. I never winter fished after 1940. This was because I got married 1939 and I wanted to stay home because in MacDiarmid there was always something to do like, cutting wood for people, mending nets, and trapping. We never went hungry and were your own boss.

My father recalled the funny situations as well as the practical considerations about living on the fishing boats. The Anishinabek and Metis tradition of brusque humour is evident in many of his stories. Lake Nipigon was the presentation site for many types of boats. Fishing season began in early spring and ended in December. Sometimes, the boats even helped to cook dinner for their crews. Food preparation was a big consideration. The crews preferred steamboats with hot water.

On these steamboats, there was one pipe with an open end with a valve, placed in a position so you could hang a pail on it to cook. You could just put fish and potatoes in a pail with water, hang it on the pipe, turn the valve open a little bit, and in about ten minutes supper for the crew is all cooked. Steam pipe cooking is fast and good. We cooked all food with steam. Boy, we made some good, old Irish stews in a hurry. To cook fish slow, clean the fish, lake trout is good, stuff the fish with onion and potatoes, carrots, celery, or whatever you want, roll the fish in paper, newspaper is good, place on top of boiler for 5 to 6 hours, and then it's finished. A ten-pound trout would feed all the crew. We very seldom cooked alone. Steamboats were good to work on. There was lots of hot water and lots of heat. In the early spring and late fall when the ice would form, that was when the steamboat was good. It was nice to melt, and nice to put your hands into hot water when lifting nets. We used to fish from early spring until the 15th to December. The latest I've fished was on December 23rd. It was with Buddy and Roderick McLeod and Sammy King, also called, Sammy Ketchum. We sure stuck close to the McLeod's. Our boat froze in ice every morning. The steel boat had to break us loose before they left. We fished until December 23rd, the next morning the lake froze up. The center of Lake Nipigon never freezes until about January 15th unless it gets real cold before then. Some years, when there was no snow, we used to drive our cars on the lake.

The Indigenous fisheries on Lake Nipigon built their own boats by copying the boats that settlers brought to the area. The evolution of boating on Lake Nipigon is explained in my father's descriptions of the boats that were built.

Some Indians bought material and built boats, some of these Indians were good boat builders. At the beginning, my grandmother said it was all sailboats and big, oversize canoes, then the steam engines, I heard were made in Parry Sound. You placed your order and if you were lucky, you got one the same year. When I was a kid, it was big, one and two cylinder gas motors, these one and two motor gas lungers, as they were called, could drive thirty and forty foot boat for ten to twelve miles per hour and would run all day and half of the night on four gallons of gas. Then came the Ford model A.B.T., these were four and six cylinder flathead gas motors, and a little later, came the other flathead motors. There were many uses for these motors.

The ingenuity of the local Indigenous population was such that as they built their boats, they utilized whatever other materials were on hand.

The Indians bought cars just to get the motors. There were no roads just boats were used. These engines were change over to run the boats by using a water pump instead of a radiator. These car motors were dependable and easy to look after. In no time, every Indian was a mechanic. These Indians had to work, so, they built their own boats and used these car motors to fish commercially for a living. This was in 1930. Before that, it was steam engines and rowboats. All of these boat builders were from Gull Bay. They are, Henry Wesley, Joe Nanie, also called Joe Thompson, Joe Poile, Michael King, Sam King, Joe Bouchard, and of course there were some who were their helpers. In MacDiarmid, these boat builders were all Metis and they came from other towns. These were Jerry Belanger, Eli King, Alex Jacobson, and Tom and Charlie Dampier. Some of these guys were welders and could repair steel boats when they showed up on Lake Nipigon.

There were many jobs that an enterprising fisherman could have on the area's lakes. One had to learn about all the stages of the fishing process, as well as the jobs that needed to be done on the boats. The fishing life was not an easy one.

I said, I commercial fished on Lake Nipigon. Well, that was no easy life, but it was good. I was fourteen when I started fishing and I fished as a deckhand for the first few years. Then, as a deckhand and engineer on steamboats, and later on diesel boats. I worked on fish boats each summer... In that time, I may have missed a few months some years, to go fighting fire, picking berries, or working on the C.N.R. as a sectionman, but, in those ...years, I always did some fishing. I would get up at four o'clock in the morning and work until ten at night on days that we left the dock, which were Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The days we returned were Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. We'd work from hour a.m. until we got home, about noon, or sometimes a little later, depending on the weather. We had all two-day trips. On the days we'd come home, by the time the icebox, coal, diesel or gas fuel was loaded, we would be done by four p.m.

*Fishing is not a profession without danger. The waters in NWO are dangerous, so it is important to be vigilant about the environment. This caution applies to any situation.

Some days, we would run into open water. A pressure ridge would form, this is when the ice heaves up on both sides, the ice sinks leaving a ridge of ice ten feet and higher running for miles, and there was open water on both sides. If you hear a rumble when you're on the ice, always watch for a pressure ridge to form, Lake Nipigon is bad for this.

Sometimes, danger came in other forms, such as the work itself. Fishing with nets with someone who is unfamiliar with handling nets can be risky.

This guy, instead of throwing the buoy line away from me, (because) I was setting the nets, he threw the line to my right, causing the line to wrap around my waist taking me over with the nets. The boat was going about five miles per hour. If the line had been too short, I would have been anchored with the nets in thirty fathoms of water.

When fishing on Lake Nipigon, one does not want any problems with the equipment or the crew. The lake is large enough that it can be some time before rescue operations are undertaken. It is important to know how to survive until help arrives.

My next close shave was when I was a tourist boat captain. I had my boss with me along with another tourist. The boss said, "Paddy, can you take us home tonight?" I said, "No problem" So, we left and about half way home I could smell gas. I went back to take a look and here was my helper; a fellow named Sam, pumping gas out of our spare gas barrel into what he thought was the boat's gas tank. I said, "What are you doing?" He said, "Emptying this barrel of gas so it is in the gas tank." (I said) "You're pumping it in the boat! Throw that barrel in the lake and start taking down our lifeboat! I will go stop the engine and tell everyone to get off the boat until we get rid of the gas. If we catch fire, it's goodbye." I stopped the engine and told everyone to get on the lifeboat, that we had gasoline in the boat bilge. I said, "It's dangerous to stay aboard, get off the boat fast, don't take anything, we can come back when we rid of the gas." Just about that time, you know what happened? One of those guys lit a match to see how much gas was in the boat. I had to run through three feet of gas flame to get on deck. The guy, who lit the match, burned his face and hands, as did his partner. We were about a mile from an island so we took the lifeboats, went to shore, and tried to make a camp. The next morning, I took one boat and the tourist that was okay and went into MacDiarmid to

the M.N.R. office to get help. My helper stayed with the fellows that got burned, he was to a stop boat, if one came by.

Sometimes, depending on people to help in a crisis does not necessarily work out.

I am writing this so you will not depend on the M.N.R. for help. That tourist and me rode an outboard motor for eight hours over an open lake, at great danger to us, to get help. When we got to the M.N.R. base where they had an aircraft helicopter and a cruiser boat, we told them what had happened and asked for help. They said, "No." We were told their equipment was for fire prevention. We went back to MacDiarmid and hired an Indian fishing boat. They left right away and someone phones the Provincial police and told them that there was an accident. They came looking for us, took us to the M.N.R. and ordered a plane to go and get the tourists who had burned. A nurse went with the plane and my tourist partner. The plane picked them up and took them to the hospital in Thunder Bay. I told the M.N.R. chief, "Remember, we asked you for help four hours ago. If anything happens, I'll witness against you guys. You know how those Americans like to sue people.

The self-reliance and confidence needed to make a living in the early days of a wage economy in NWO is evident in the preceding series of stories. When the boom cycle stops in extractable resource development, it stops. There are ghost towns scattered throughout NWO. My father worked at anything that paid him a wage. The natural resources of NWO gave everyone who was willing a variety of job opportunities. The remarks that he made about nighttime firefighting are common among other people of his age group.

You see, when I was young and where I was, labourer was the big job besides trapping, fishing, cutting logs, or working on the railroad as a section man, or working on seasonal work, guiding or fighting fire for the M.N.R. Fighting fire was the best money, with lots of overtime and long hours. In those days, you fought fire in the evening when the fires had died down, and then you fought fire all night. Ever try to build a fire and keep it going all nights? In rainy weather you were out there fighting fire.

When the sun was out, you went to bed; it was a waste of time trying to put out a fire when the day was too hot from the sun.

In the 1930s, many young men from communities around Lake Nipigon went to war. My father, his brothers, and his cousins volunteered for war duty. My father was rejected because he had heart and foot problems.

During the war years, I worked on iron and metal salvage. To get this job you had to be an army reject. If you didn't go on your own, the army called you. You had a better chance joining on your own, that way you got a good medical and you weren't forced into the army. For the short time that I was in the army, my friends who were with me and went overseas all came back.

The army seemed like a good opportunity to many people from this area. It offered decent wages and job security.

When I started working, wages were 25 cents per hour, 10 hours per day, that was 90 cents a day off for room and board, that is what the C.N.R. and C.P.R. paid for working on the extra gang. Everyone was glad to get a job. There was no welfare and no unemployment insurance, just work, and everyone was happy. If you worked by the month, wages were 3 dollars per month plus room and dollar and board. This was in 1931. When the war started, the Army paid one dollar and 30 cents per day plus room and board and clothes. Coming out of the hungry thirties, the Army sure looked good. There was no trouble to get men.

There were employment opportunities for timber workers at this time. He stated, "During this time, anybody who had equipment could get a timber contract. A lot of small contractors in those days were plentiful; there was no shortage of work. Close to MacDiarmid, there were four small contractors and one sawmill."

Highway construction in NWO continued into the 1960s, when the Trans-Canada Highway was completed. This project meant jobs for many people in this

area, including my father. "During the thirties, the highway eleven was built, this alone created a lot of work, so there was no reason to leave home." My father also worked on the road construction for the highway to Armstrong.

In my time, I worked at any job that I could. I worked on the railroad, for the forestry; after I took sick and could up no longer do hard labour. I worked as a field service consultant of the Federal government. I worked on a contract for the company of young Canadians on their Native program, and I worked on the Metis project.

The original Whitesand Reserve used to be located on the shores of Lake Nipigon on the other side of the Gull Bay Reserve. The current Whitesand Reserve is located just outside of Armstrong. My father blamed the relocation on the people's need to find work. The impact of hydroelectric dams on Lake Nipigon Indian reserves became common knowledge shortly before his death.

Looking for work was what broke the Whitesand Reserve up. These Indians left to find work as sectionmen on the C.N.R. Northline in Nakina, Kowkash, Oden, Jackfish, Ferland, Willet, Wagaming, Armstrong, Collins, Allan Water, Savant, and Sioux Lookout. These places all had Indian sectionmen.

This purpose of this whole section was to illustrate the involvement of Indigenous peoples in many of the developments occurring in NWO, especially those occurring in and around their communities. They were not passive bystanders in the development and colonialism of Ontario or for that matter Canada. These stories that are related here are part of a body of knowledge that is not recognized by the dominant populations in Northwestern Ontario. It is non-recognized because it is hidden and invisible, people assume that Indigenous populations were isolated on their "Indian reservations", not actively participating

in wage labour economies. It is not seen that some Indigenous populations actually participated and contributed to the settlement of this area of Ontario.

Data Presentation

These stories create a space and a voice for the Anishinabek Metis, in spite of the stories being concerned with one person's life experience. The need for these and other stories to continue in Northwestern Ontario is vitally important. These stories say many things about the world and how one person negotiated his way through it.

As was argued previously in this study, epistemologies are used as frames to explain the world. The framework explored for this study is one based on Anishinabek Metis views and experiences in the world. It was done to create awareness of this group and its efforts to ensure survival into the next generation. It is hoped that this study will add to the existing body of knowledge and add a new dynamic space for discussion of Anishinabek Metis cultural ways to be recognized as distinct. It is also hoped that other Anishinabek Metis peoples will add to this emerging discussion of our ways of being in the world. These are some of the underlying reasons why a decision was made to finish this study. I feel that it is important that one's motivations are explained as they affect how you do research and approach academic writings.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis of Data

Introduction

The stories described in this study were one person's experience around the Lake Nipigon and NWO area. They are the stories of an Anishinabek Metis man. I am his daughter. The approach used to share these stories was used to develop a beginning theoretical framework and epistemological methodology. I have attempted to, subjectively, interpret them within a culturally specific manner based upon an Indigenous worldview. This was intended so that some basis for increased awareness and understanding of these peoples can arise.

Analysis

This study presented stories told by a traditional storyteller, *dadibaajimoowinini*. The stories are told in the context of his life's experience so that it is a *dadibaajimoo* (story) based on *debewin* (truth). *Debewin* is one of the Anishinabek ethics; these stories formed the basis for determining the truth being told. A key Anishinabek Metis ethic is truth; this forms the basis for how one is treated in life and by their community. It is also a large part of the worldview of these peoples. This truth is based on one's lived experience in the world.

The method of transmission is secondary to the need for the story to be told. In the case of this story, there are no stories that would be, by their nature, winter stories. These stories must have a specific context and a manner of presentation. The telling of stories strengthens the subjective relationships between people. The stories provide a basis for increased discourse within the

Anishinabek Metis so that there is a reciprocal return to the community and to the peoples.

Analysis

The stories that were presented in the last chapter have a number of main underlying features. These include:

- Subjectivity exists in this physical world. There are multiple realities.
- There are cycles of life that we recognize and respect. The environment sustains us if we take care to remember.
- The Anishinabek Metis principle values of responsibility and obligation are recognized.
- The need to maintain and continue relationships in the world is apparent.
- The recognition that transformation and renewal is a part of life.
- The need for reciprocity to maintain the balance in life is an underlying foundational theme and
- The need to share.

These will now be discussed as key worldview themes that emerged and provide the basis for a culturally framed analysis.

The first theme is that subjective elements are part of our physical world and there are multiple realities. This worldview element is revealed in the *aadizookaan*, traditional stories about Lake Nipigon. The story concerning the mermaids on the First Rapids of Gull River is one such example. My father said, "They are very friendly. They can tell your future and they can tell you what to expect." In this statement, one can see that the extraordinary was part of the

commonsense knowledge of my father's generation of Anishinabek Metis. That there are multiple realities that we can access is apparent and commonplace.

Another story in this series concerned a place by Orient Bay by the hill and lake. As he stated, there is a "smooth rocky surface on the face of the hill, this is where the Indians come to pray. This was and still is, a holy, sacred place..." This story is about the little people who live in the rocks around Lake Nipigon. These Beings must be recognized and respected, as they will help you in your life. It is still like this. It is considered to be improper and disrespectful to remove objects that are left as prayer offerings at one of these places. As he said, "...but the Indians warn, taking things could be bad luck." The obligation of recognizing and respecting these places is evident today. There is a need to, as the principle of reciprocity does not only exist between people but with our environment as well.

Other stories in this series are stories about powerful and rare gifted medicine peoples around Lake Nipigon. The story about my maternal great great grandfather, *Mishomis*, "Walnut" is one such story that reveals someone who could tap into another reality at will. This grandfather was well known as a powerful and extraordinarily gifted man. He could see the future and see and prepare for his own death. In this story, death is seen in a matter of fact manner. He knew he was going to die; yet he still went on the lake. There was no fear. As my father related, "Old Wally told them to take Paddy because his time was not here." This means that Walnut, Old Wally knew that it was his time to die. My great great grandmother, *Nokomis*, in this story says, "...Old Wally's been

prepared for this for a long time.” The pragmatic recognition of the cycle of life continued, which is the second theme identified as being part of the Anishinabek Metis theoretical framework. There are cycles of life that we must recognize and respect. The environment sustains us if we take care to remember.

The story concerning the Treaty Days in Whitesand Reserve and the presentation of the *jiisakaan*, Shaking Tent ceremony reveals the Anishinabek Metis view of that transformation and renewal is a part of life as evidenced by story of the RCMP officer’s question asked of this old man and the unwanted reply that he received. The men performing this supernatural feat were Little Owl, *Kokkokohns* and Old August. The Anishinabek Metis theoretical theme of the need for reciprocity to maintain the balance in life is shown in this story. The old men performed this ceremony and only asked for “tobacco to please the spirit, Mi-can-ock, who will talk to you in any language.” This tent ceremony is performed today and value placed on reciprocity is still present and respected. In this story, my father related how someone said to this old man how strong he was to perform this ceremony. The old man “threw his hat into the tent and the tent started to sway like before and Mi-can-ock said, You should all believe in Old August.” *Micannock* is the oldest most powerful and oldest spirit that is in the tent. This story demonstrates that multiple realities surround us in this world and that some gifted people can access these forces.

The Anishinabek Metis need to maintain and continue relationships in the world is apparent in these next stories, as is the need for reciprocity in these relationships. This story that my father discussed concerned a shape-shifter, the

most potent medicine man known around Lake Nipigon. He and his cousin were fishing on the lake and they met these people who lived in a big tepee. They met these people by agreeing to share their fish with them in return for their help in doing the work. They decided that they would establish a relationship with them.

They took gifts for the Old Man, the women and the children. This man knew that they would visit that day and he prepared his family for their visit. As he said, "we were told, sure the old man is waiting for you. He knew that you were coming today." The social protocols that governed these types of developing relationships were followed, as my father said, "I asked the old man, Mi-sho-mis, Can I give these kids some candy... Can I give snuff to the women...we brought you tea and tobacco." To which, this old man replied, "Thank you. I will speak to the Great Spirit to take care of you." To call an old man, *Mishomis*, is a sign of great respect as this word means grandfather. That this old man, without being asked said that he would pray on their behalf is a sign that he accepted this new community relationship. There is a number of under currents in this story. The need for social protocols to be followed; the need to establish and continue relationships based upon trust and friendship; the need to share; and the need for reciprocity and respect to be shown to a respected and powerful Elder. These features are apparent in the Anishinabek Metis view of the world.

In the story about the women who had her baby while fishing on the ice is a lesson in the Anishinabek Metis framework of the recognition that

transformation and renewal is a part of life. The naturalness of childbirth in this story is evident as is the lessons that the old man told my father.

“...“Women are made to have babies, it is only normal. Now, if a man had a baby that would be something. Dogs have babies, moose have babies all alone, our women were made by the Great Spirit to reproduce. Our women are taught to have babies, (it) is normal. A women’s purpose on this earth, is to remake the people we lose by dying.

My father taught that women are the intermediates between this physical world and the subjective spiritual world that is around us as well. Women’s ability and responsibilities are based on their gifts of intuition, feelings and spirit. It is this transformation and renewal purpose that women possess that must be respected. The gifts that women have were given by the Creator to ensure that the relationship balance in the world is always respected and remembered.

Other stories about women that he related had to do with the need for children to have the influence and nurturance of their mothers. It was this primary relationship that he thought had to be strengthened before children went to school. He said, “when a child is five that is when they need their mother to teach them right from wrong and how to behave. A child is not going to learn from a stranger that is replacing his mother.” The need for relationships in our life begins with the first one, that between mother and child. My father saw the school system usurping the role of the mother and it was the effect on this first relationship that he was concerned about. This is understandable when one considers the Anishinabek Metis ways of looking at the world. Creating and maintaining relationships are vital in this schema.

It was in his stories about residential schools that one can see this most clearly. My father had some good memories about St. Joseph's Boarding School that was located in Fort William, Ontario. He was in this school four years until he was twelve years old. In spite of the fact that he said that it was not that rough in this school, he recognized that the nuns were strict. "The nuns and sisters were very rough on kids that did not listen and they did not spare the rod. They would punish you if you had it coming." The other issue that he raised was that the students who were in this school did not become deviants. Most he said became self-reliant. He said that this fact spoke for itself.

What he talked about was the relationships and sense of shared experiences that he and the students had. This is clear in his comments. "Boarding school kids are different than open or community schools. You would have to be one to know. Our boarding school was like our home and all the kids were family." Both my parents maintained their boarding school relationships all their lives. This is indicative of the Anishinabek Metis value of creating and maintaining relationships. Their relationships with other pupils in this school culminated in having community connections across Northwestern Ontario.

The next theme in this developing theoretical framework is that there are cycles of life that we recognize and respect. The environment sustains us if we take care to remember this. The herbal medicine stories are based on an Anishinabek Metis framework of relationships between family members and reliance on those in order to survive. An example of this is when he talks about the Spanish Flu epidemic that occurred on Lake Nipigon. He says, "My great

grandmother got some medicine out of the bush and cured us all, and the ones that didn't have the flu, never got it." He ensured that his children that wanted to learn about survival had ample opportunity to do so. The herbal remedies that he knew were taught to his children and grandchildren, the ones who were interested. It is this thread of being that runs through these stories, the sense that my father knew that these stories needed to continue in this world because they were needed for remembering. It was this sense of history and tradition continuing that is evident throughout.

The environment and the need to be aware of and conscientious of the cycles of the earth are clearly stated in the series of stories about natural resource use in and around MacDiarmid. These elements as well as the components of meeting one's obligations and responsibilities are manifest in these stories. A high value was placed upon a person knowing how to take care of themselves and their families as well as being about to survive in our unique northern environment. The artificial resource development cycle of "boom and bust" in the north is commented on many times. There was no acceptance of it. How could there be when it shows disrespect and irresponsibility to both the land and the people? There is a feeling of sadness and anger that is apparent in some of these such as when he is introducing the subject,

"...now there is nothing where tons of fish used to ship out each day. This has to be because of poor fish management on the part of the M.N.R. I feel sad thinking about it, writing this story."

This comment is representative of these feelings,

“Six people make a living where three hundred used to make their living, but to hear M.N.R. you’re think they were bringing in thousands of American dollars, and this is all B.S. All these American scavengers have done is over fish the game fish out of Lake Nipigon.”

He detailed the amount of fish and the industrial infrastructure that grew up to support this resource industry. It is this story that demonstrates the level of decline in fish stocks and all related community infrastructure that occurred in MacDiarmid, Ontario.

“The fishing season was about five months long. In those days, both sides of the public dock were full of fishing tugs and boats. Every two days, fish would be shipped out by rail. The C.N.R. had a loading ramp and a siding about a half-mile long. It also had a C.N.R. station and a shipping telegram agent. About six or more freezer boxcars were shipped out every two days. Each boat would have one or two tons to ship. These were steam tugs with five hundred pounds to ship, they had three men crews. I am telling you all this because the fishing industry out of MacDiarmid used to employ three hundred people and most of them had families. This was counting commercial fishermen, conservation officers, storekeepers, clerks, rooming house owners, restaurant waitresses, coal dealers, oil and gas dealers, and after the highway was put in, the taxi drivers and the bootleggers.”

The change in provincial government natural resource policies was obviously seen as a reason for the decline of the town as well as the fish stocks of the lake, although the federal government was to blame as they had the responsibilities for oceans and fisheries.

A related story of this environmental theme is the idea of provincial government involvement in land management policies that were seen as damaging to the environment and weighed in favour of forestry practices.

“Some wise guy who makes money-selling poison has sold it to the Ministry of Natural Resources. If the M.N.R. wants the trees to grow fast,

they use 2-4-D and poison all of the other plants that grow so the trees would have all of the ground to themselves. The M.N.R. must be stupid and their personnel must know nothing about growing trees. Trees need all the help they can get from the other plants, these other plants are what holds the ground together so the ground won't dry up and blow or wash away from the rain and melting snow."

The premise that the natural balance was being affected by these policies and that reciprocity will eventually be affected is apparent in this next story.

"The M.N.R. is responsible for all renewable resources, not only trees but here they are poisoning wild fruit the people and wildlife live on. They poison different plants that the birds, moose, bear, and other animals eat just because some smart talking salesman has sold them some goods. Any damn fool knows that any poison that kills plants will kill the wild animals and birds that eat them. The people that are using this poison are the same people that will put up signs that say, don't smoke, it's bad for your health. Think about it!"

The theoretical themes of meeting one's obligations and responsibilities are understandable in the series of stories about learning to work with his family and especially, with his uncles. The idea that children should be taken care of until their late teens did not exist in this community.

"I can't really write about what happened to me in my early years as a kid because I went to work when I was still a kid. I went to school ten months out of each year and I was home for the summer. This was from when I was eight years old until I was twelve."

Children were seen as people that had to be taught how to work and how to survive in our environment. The training for this life started early, as there was an Anishinabek Metis value of responsibility that had to be ingrained as can be seen in these stories fragments.

"We used to take that boat and go picking berries off the islands near home. These islands would be loaded with raspberries, blueberries,

gooseberries, and Saskatoon's. My mother had in her garden, red and black currants and rhubarb. So, we had a lot of preserves each year. Picking berries was always something to look forward to."

"When I was a kid, labour was the big job; you had to work to make a living. We were taught never to depend on someone else, not even your parents to look for work. Your parents had to work to raise you, now it is your turn to work; everyone must work for a living."

His maternal uncles, after he left home at twelve, taught my father. They taught him both how to work in the developing wage economy system as well as how to survive in the bush.

"When I left school, my first job was with my uncles, I was 12 years old. I was the dog musher and gopher, go for this and go for that, just an all around trouble-shooter. I was never allowed to skin a fur-bearing animal because I might cut the fur, lowering the value of the pelt. I sure put in some rough times, but that was part of growing up. Now I know how to trap and live off the country. When I trapped with my uncles, I was taught how to live off the land. If ever lost, certain animals are easy to catch if you know what to look for."

He tried as well to be like his father working for the Hudson's Bay Company. He recognized that the time for fur trading was slowly changing to a different economy. My uncle, Charlie, taught him how to enter this new economic area.

"When I was fourteen, I joined the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk, to learn the trade. My boss and manager, was Allan Black, who had trained under my dad. He came from Scotland. My wages were 15 dollars a month for the first year. I would get a raise of 5 dollars each year until I got forty dollars a month. I was a good learner, I could get to be out-post manager in four or five and get my full wages right away. My wages included my room and board and a special price on what I bought. I worked for the Hudson Bay Company for about six months one winter, then my brother Charlie came to visit. He said, "Come with me, don't waste your time behind a counter like Dad did. Come fishing with me at MacDiarmid. Why, you can get forty dollars a month there and besides if you don't like it, you can come back here. Remember, you're a Hudson Bay kid, they have to let you have a chance to look around." So, I told

Allan Black I was going with Charlie to fish at MacDiarmid and I said I might be back. He told me, "Good luck Paddy, take care of yourself."

The overarching theoretical themes of meeting one's obligation and responsibilities include a great deal of hard work and sacrifice.

My father continued the practice of ingraining the idea of having to work hard and early in life with his children. He and my mother taught us that we had to be self sufficient and self-reliant.

"...Most of our young people started to work at an early age. My boys started fishing on boats when they were fourteen years old. All boys in MacDiarmid started about that age. They started right after they finished public school. Nobody went to high school, as it was too expensive. The high school(s) was in Thunder Bay, then called Port Arthur and Fort William, so, young kids went to work. All those boys and girls who started to work when they were young did not become alcoholics or drug addicts. At least, I don't know any. One more thing I can say for these MacDiarmid people is they are all good workers and good providers after they got married, you never see any of them in town on the bum."

The family was the economic unit that was needed in times of scarcity and want.

My older brothers were the ones who helped to support my family, Patrick Jr., Michael, George and Nate. They were taught to work hard and support their family early. When we went to live in the bush to pick blueberries, it was perceived that way as well.

"The happiest time in my life was the 14 years we spent picking blueberries. I invented a blueberry picker and kept it out of sight. No one knows how we picked them, me and five boys would pick for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon and end up with 50, 11 quart baskets of berries each day. The rest of the time was spent swimming in the river, where we were camped. From July 15 to September 30, we stayed at our camp on Crooked Green River; about forty Indian families would camp with us. They never came so early or stayed as long as we did. Blueberries used to go out by the truckload."

This use of the family to support all members was well known in our area. The other Anishinabek Metis family names that lived in the bush and picked with us were Ledger, Gray, Michon, and the King families. The closest community relationships that were developed in our camp were with my father's friend, Fred Ledger and his family. This family had many children as well. These relationships that developed then continue to the current day.

Some of the key underlying premises of this emerging framework are that of responsibility, obligation and sharing. In the stories, these themes are most comprehensible in the series of stories about the signing of the Robinson Superior Treaty in 1850 and the impact on the Anishinabek Metis peoples in the Lake Nipigon area. The sense of obligation of our family history of this signing and the need to ensure that our people will remember when these promises and obligations were made is paramount. My father ensured that he met his responsibility in narrating and recording these stories. The fact that my great great grandmother was at the signing and attended with her father is telling of the role and responsibility of children and women in our society.

"On my mother's side, my grandmother's father, was one of the chiefs who left Gull Bay on Lake Nipigon to attend the signing of the Indian treaty. She said she was taken because she was able to speak French; she was only eight years old at the time. Her father used her to tell him what the French were saying and he in turn used her for when the Indians would get together before the main negotiations started."

The sense of a unique identity with similar Indigenous ties to the land and environment of the Lake Nipigon area is evident in this story as is the sense of obligation to the Anishinabek Metis.

"My grandmother said there was a great gathering of Metis. My grandmother was one of the many Metis who became treaty Indians at the signing of the Robinson Superior treaty. In fact, my grandmother figured every Metis who came from the treaty area became a treaty Indian that day. Names that were French sounding, English, Irish, and some other names were now treaty Indian names."

The community relationship ties to the Anishinabek and the Anishinabek Metis were still strong as this story reveals, as is the need to share.

My grandmother said before the signing of the treaty, the Indians asked about their half-breeds, they had been living with them and they trapped and hunted with them, what was to happen to them. "Nothing, said the White Chief, "Keep your half-breeds and they can live with you and they can be paid treaty money. All your half-breeds are now Indians." Then the Chief asked, "How about the half-breeds that will come later?" The White answered, "Only if the Chief and your Council adopted them. If I let all half-breeds live on the reserve as Indians, in the future, you may have a problem. No. I will have my men study the Metis and what to do with them later." From this day on, the Metis can hunt and fish for food, but for now only the Indian people can bring them on the reserve and make Indians, they were told."

The need to sign the treaty is divulged in this fragment of this story. The fact that there were half-breeds and settlers that became status treaty Indians is discussed in terms of preventing an unreceptive audience at the treaty signing.

"My grandmother said all the Metis, also called half-breeds, were made Indians that day and two Whitemen who were there with their Indian women were also made treaty Indians with the Indian status. Some Indians, after they got home, wondered what would now happen to them, but, my grandmother said all the Indians that signed the treaty said they were in a no win situation. They figured it was either sign or be taken and forced to live in a stockade. At least, this way, they could live in peace and maybe not be shot if they happened to meet Whitemen while trapping or hunting. At the time, when the treaties were signed, it was dangerous if Indians met Whitemen, especially if Indians had a good catch of furs. My grandmother said it wasn't too bad after the Hudson Bay Company came. The H.B.C. became depended on, by the Indians, for their trade and work."

In spite of the assurance, it was the signing of this treaty that ensured that the Anishinabek Metis of Lake Nipigon would not be treated as their relatives were. This historical event signaled the future social changes that occur in the Lake Nipigon area and the whole area of Northwestern Ontario.

Concluding Comments

The analysis of these reveal that they offer pragmatic advice on how to live in the world, and they offer a frame in which to view a world that was rapidly changing. My father did not mention the cultural framework of his world and this makes sense in this framework. He was not writing and explaining for an academic audience; rather, he was writing his stories so that they would continue to be read by future generations. This is the difference between talking about how to live a life and actually living a life in a way that is based upon traditional principles (*Menobimadizenwin*). The story describes how one man viewed what was happening in his life. He attempted to make sense of it as he participated in a world of social change in NWO. My father's stories have now been told. This study has ensured that they no longer remain hidden and forgotten.

Cultural transmission occurs within a culturally mediated framework that is dynamic for this community. The Anishinabek Metis are not static, one-dimensional entities incidental to someone else's march towards a future. They are an integral feature of that future. They have a history based on movement and change. They adopted, valued, and adapted their Indigenous background and lineage to create a social place that they could occupy that has roots in Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian societies. It is a space that they created and

continue to maintain. It is a space that has dynamism and change as its undercurrents. It is also a place that most people in mainstream society are unaware of. They have no basis for awareness and understanding. This is ironically true for other Indigenous groups as well. The Anishnabek Metis cultural traditions and history remain hidden and unrecognized from both mainstream society and Indigenous groups.

This last chapter focused on the interpretation of these stories according to the Anishnabek Metis paradigm discussed previously. The stories are analyzed according to this emergent theoretical framework that portrays this community and its people in a more comprehensive manner as well as provides a basis for understanding. In this social world, the social and subjective connections between people are highly valued. The transmission of these stories ensures that the relationship ties amongst Lake Nipigon Anishnabek, Anishnabek Metis and Canadians and communities will continue, as these stories form a basis for gathering community based knowledge and for the stories that will accompany this process.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and Conclusions

I can't teach anyone the way I was taught. My grandmother took me out to the bush in the morning and showed me. I can't teach anyone that way. The world is too busy. No one has time. (Jeff Chief, 1993, Wabigoon, Ontario).

This quote was Jeff Chief's response to questions that I asked him about his knowledge of herbal medicines and how he was taught. He acknowledged that he could not teach the same way that he had been taught: The method of learning had changed. This conversation prompted me as to consider how social change continues in Indigenous communities and what responses people have to these changes. It encouraged my curiosity about the related processes of change and traditional worldviews. That Indigenous communities maintain their traditional identity in the midst of change is apparent. Their stories are maintained and transmitted to the next generation and the stories that need to be known are, indeed, known. If this did not happen then we would not have unique Indigenous ways of looking at and learning about the world. My query has to do with a specific case that of the Anishinabek Metis who began to adapt and use the contemporary tools available to them to accomplish this. The stories are what had to continue as they establish who the people are and offer some understanding of the way that they are in the world.

Storytelling

This study was the exploration of a theoretical framework and epistemology that can portray more accurately the changing nature of the

Anishinabek Metis of Lake Nipigon. The epistemological method was based on information gathered through the telling of a story. It was argued that the process of telling a story is a personal and reflective journey that must be done in a responsible and attentive manner.

Telling stories about one's family and community is more difficult than relating a story as a dispassionate and objective observer. One has to be very aware of the responsibility and power that accompany storytelling. Stories in the Indigenous context serve to create and recreate key community relationships. These relationships are made, valued, and transmitted through the telling of stories. The approach used was an experiential approach that had at its core an ethical principle of speaking from one's personal experience. The underlying premise is that we all have to accept responsibility for our own stories and our own learning.

Epistemological Thoughts

This theoretical framework was supported by the view that there is a way to determine story-telling truth in Anishinabek Metis society. It was based on one individual's life experience in the world and how they demonstrated and transmitted this experience to their community. The discussion of the Self in relation to the story being told enables one to reflect upon the story and apply it to one's situation. This focus on the self ensures that a community's cultural protocols are followed and respected by the people telling the story. This assurance that family and community are treated in a respectful and honest manner is key in telling truth-based stories. The inclusion of self acts as a

guarantee of this respect. It was implied that by honouring these protocols, reciprocity would occur naturally and in the same way.

Subjectivity and spirituality are integral components of the social world for the Anishinabek Metis. They are key elements in ensuring that truth is part of the stories being told. In my study, I described the dreams that I had about my father and how he is still acting as a guide for me on my journey through this world. The research drawn from the literature review contended that the self has to be part of all aspects of the study, not just the final product. My family stories comprise a large part of this study, and I play a large role in this study. I am included as part of this study. I am included as this ensures that Anishinabek Metis teachings are a part of this process. My focus in this study on the subjective elements of spirituality and dreams meant that my community's cultural protocols were met. I fulfilled my obligations and responsibilities to my Self, my family, and my community as I fulfilled my promise to my father.

Theoretical Framework

The framework for this study was based on an Anishinabek Metis Elder's views and experiences in the world. This study was an attempt to generate a culturally based theoretical framework. I presented a cursory overview of some aspects of the Anishinabek Metis culture to create an awareness of this group and its efforts to survive. Throughout the literature review I discussed the social and political context in sociology that enabled theory creation, generation and transmission by Other groups. Groups considered to be on the periphery of the discipline have not attempted to do theory the way that I needed to for my own

understanding. It was this lack that prompted this inquiry into Anishinabek Metis worldviews, theoretical frameworks and epistemological methods.

This study reflected on the ability of a specific Indigenous culture to change and adapt over time yet maintain an underlying Anishinabek Metis essence. The following questions directed the initial enquiry:

1. What are aspects of the worldview of the Anishinabek Metis?
2. How does it relate to ways of learning in the world?
3. Can culturally based frameworks assist in assuring more complete understandings of Indigenous populations in NWO?
4. How can this cultural frame be applied to a specific situation?
5. Is this cultural framework reflective of the Anishinabek Metis ways of being?

This study utilized qualitative data in addressing these initial queries. These questions were considered and addressed throughout this study. This then adds to the limited body of information and research of the Anishinabek Metis people in Northwestern Ontario (NWO). That this discussion occurred in a culturally mediated framework enables others outside of the Anishinabek Metis culture to consider the social and political worlds that comprise and contribute to our worldview. This approach leads to more awareness and understanding of this population.

To summarize, the main theoretical themes that arose from this study were as follows:

- Subjectivity exists in this physical world. There are multiple realities.
- There are cycles of life that we recognize and respect. The environment sustains us if we take care to remember.
- The Anishinabek Metis principle values of responsibility and obligation are recognized.
- The need to maintain and continue relationships in the world is apparent.
- The recognition that transformation and renewal is a part of life.
- The need for reciprocity to maintain the balance in life is an underlying foundational theme and
- The need to share.

These theoretical elements will now be briefly overviewed and discussed as a way to complete this discussion.

The worldview of the Anishinabek Metis begins foremost with relating one's experience in the world. You must say who you are, when you tell your truth. When discussing something, you have to speak from your experience, that is, in relation to whatever phenomenon you are concerned with. The knowledge that flows from the ontology is based on learning through the subjective. In this view of the world, the metaphysical and the physical are not separate. What people need to understand is the holistic nature of the relationships in the world. These must be explored in a personal manner. They are directly related to ourselves and the choices we make about how we live our lives. The proposition

that all life is connected and that all life has spiritual elements mean that human beings can access these forces and learn from them.

Transformation and renewal are paramount in the Anishinabek Metis epistemology. The most important starting point for any transformation is the self, which then radiates outward to the world. The relationship to the environment is based on reciprocal respect. This is true for any inquiry process. It is only through subjectivity that we can gain insight into the world. Inherent in this view is that social and subjective connections exist between people. Human beings are active and equal participants in their world, therefore, they must be active and equal in any endeavour that impacts them.

This study and the stories contained within it have met the requirements that Johnston (1976) discussed, that stories should have four meanings; enjoyment, moral teaching, philosophical and metaphysical. He also contended that stories are humorous in that they reflect the skill of the storyteller and the element of absurdity in all aspects of life. They offer teachings that can guide us in the present. Stories help us to understand who we are and what we can do in the world. The culturally based historiography that flows from stories ensures that past events, traditional stories, land-based stories of origin, ancestors' stories, and so on, are preserved for future generations. For the Anishinabek Metis, the principal values of reciprocity, obligation, sharing, responsibility, balance, and maintenance of relationships in the world are rarely absent from these stories.

The stories presented in this study are my father's worldview. They are based on his life experience. My father chose to call his manuscript, "My Life in

the North.” He presented his life in written format so that it would be read by future generations.

My father focussed his attention on his life around Lake Nipigon and the stories that he had heard about the land. He focussed on place, environment, and the traditional use of resources. He focussed on the personalities and people around the lake and the relationships he maintained. He focussed on his personal, employment, and business connections with the people who had settled in NWO. He focussed on his and others’ participation in the development of this area. Ultimately, his greatest focus was on his family and future generations. He knew how important it was that his stories be passed on.

The need to modernize the transmission of knowledge about our world is vital. The oral tradition of storytelling must adapt to more modern methods. The proliferations of writings by Indigenous authors and scholars in the last 20 years attest to this acceptance. My father recognized this trend and so chose to write so that his stories and the stories that he had been told about our environment would continue to be known by future generations.

This study may precipitate new and dynamic discussions of Anishinabek Metis culture as a distinct and proud entity. Other Anishinabek Metis peoples may add to this emerging discussion of our ways of being in the world. A developing Anishinabek Metis framework will broaden the academy’s knowledge and awareness within sociology and other disciplines about this cultural group and add to changing society’s ways of viewing these people.

Implications for Further Research

This study demonstrated the need for Indigenous peoples and other peoples in NWO to record the history of this area. It is a responsibility that we should assume collectively. I was fortunate that my father chose to write his stories. His foresight made my task more difficult yet easier. Additional research should be done to continue this process of writing and recording the Indigenous stories of Northwestern, Ontario:

- The stories and history of the Metis experience in Ontario should be written and discussed.
- The stories and experiences of Indigenous Elders should be recorded in culturally framed and appropriate ways.
- Attempts should be made to describe, present, and explain Indigenous ways of being and learning about the world.
- Stories should be written so that they can be transmitted to the next generation.
- Stories about historically significant responsibilities and obligations, such as the signing of treaties and agreements, must be written.

Additional research in these areas will augment conventional social theories and add to the ensuing dialogues that are needed.

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