

MUSHKEGOWUK FIRST NATIONS



Community and
Life Experiences Volume 4 (North)



Attawapiskat Band Office

JOHN PAUL JACASUM



Ojibway and Cree
Cultural Centre

**MUSHKEGOWUK FIRST NATIONS Community
and Life Experiences Volume 4 (North)**



JOHN PAUL JACASUM

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Preface

The purpose of this book is to highlight the past and present life experiences of elders and youth in the **northern** most Mushkegowuk communities. This book identifies the aspirations of these communities and reserves as described by the participants. Information found in this book may then be used by these communities and reserves for the future development of cultural, educational, social, and economic activities. This information may also be used to promote greater understandings between the Mushkegowuk and surrounding non-Native communities.

Information on life experiences and aspirations was gathered through audio-taped interviews collected from five elders and one youth of the Attawapiskat, Fort Albany, and Kashechewan First Nations of the Mushkegowuk Council.

These interviews were developed around three general statements given to the participants:

- (1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.
- (2) Describe your life in your community today.
- and (3) Describe what your life might be like in your community or reserve in the future.

Following these interviews, community information was researched from a variety of sources. This information was used to complement the collected elders and youth stories and frame their words in context.

The opinions expressed in this book are those of the participants interviewed and not of the Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre or the Chiefs and Councils of the Mushkegowuk First Nations.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the following people and organizations who made this book possible. The elders and youth of the Mushkegowuk First Nations who participated by contributing their personal stories and sharing their individual and collective hopes and dreams.

Second, the support of the Chiefs and Councils of the Mushkegowuk First Nations, who provided their support and commitment for this book, and in making their communities a better place to live.

Third, the staff of the Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre, particularly Diane Riopel who provided administrative support and took the community photographs, Angela Shisheesh who co-edited the Cree manuscript, Kathy Perreault who researched the community profiles, and Jim Hollander who co-edited the English manuscript and prepared the maps.

And, last but by no means least, the Archives of Manitoba (HBCA) for permission to publish their photographs.

Finally, to all those who worked and contributed to this book a sincere *meegwetch*.

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Introduction

The Mushkegowuk Council is the senior representative for seven First Nations in the western James Bay and Hudson Bay. These include Attawapiskat, New Post, Kashechewan, Fort Albany, Moose Cree, Chapleau Cree, and Missanabie Cree.

The Mushkegowuk Council can trace its origins back to the late 1970s. At that time the Chiefs of the James Bay communities formed what is known as the James Bay Tribal Council to work together addressing common concerns. In the early 80s, the organization was renamed Mushkego Cree Council. In 1984, the Council became federally incorporated and shortly thereafter, during an assembly in Kashechewan, it was again renamed Mushkegowuk Council.

The Mushkegowuk Council is governed by a board of seven directors. These members include a chief or councillor from each First Nation, plus the chair of the council. Their goal is to ensure the member First Nations work together to meet the needs and aspirations of their citizens.

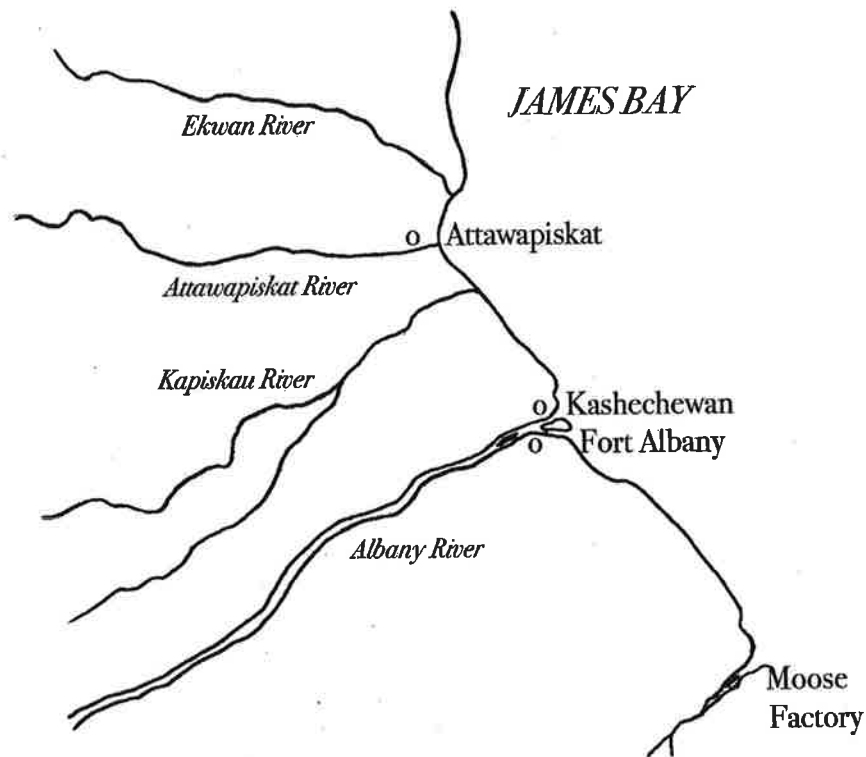
We have a general mandate to carry out the collective will of our members in exercising self-government through: promoting self reliance and local control, providing for our members in such areas as health, education, fire protection and community advisory services, and enhancing their unique cultures, traditions and languages.

The Mushkegowuk Council is accountable to its members through the directors and through an annual assembly of chiefs, councillors, elders, women and youth delegates.

Mushkegowuk can mean two different things. One refers to the Mushkego. The people who lived there were very strong and powerful and that is the reason we are given the name Mushkegowuk. Our grandfathers unloaded the Hudson Bay Company ships when they came in. The word Mushkegowuk is [also] a reflection of our traditional religion, where we used powerful spirits to protect ourselves. It is said that there are two kinds of Polar Bears, the greatest Polar Bear was used for spiritual help in our traditional religion.

So these are the reasons why our elders have chosen the name Mushkegowuk Council for our organization. When we are talking about the people we say Omushkego, and our territory is called Mushkegowuk Aski.

– from *Mushkegowuk Council: A Brief Overview*



Northern Mushkegowuk Council First Nation Communities

For more information on the past life experiences of elders in the **northern** Mushkegowuk communities (e.g., Attawapiskat, Kashechewan, Fort Albany, and Moose Factory), the following materials may be useful: Jacasum, J.P. (2000). *Omushkegowuk Women's Traditional Practices Project: Restoring the Balance*. Timmins, ON: Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre or Jacasum, J.P. (2002). *Omushkegowuk Men's Traditional Practices Project: Restoring the Balance*. Timmins, ON: Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre.

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Attawapiskat First Nation

P.O. Box 248
Attawapiskat, ON
POL 1A0



The Attawapiskat First Nation is located on Attawapiskat Indian Reserve 91A approximately 500 kilometres north of Timmins, Ontario. This reserve is about 236 hectares (approximately 1 square mile) in size. Most of the population lives on this reserve in the community of Attawapiskat. The original reserve, Attawapiskat Indian Reserve 91, set aside as part of an adhesion made to the James Bay Treaty (Treaty #9) in 1929, lies 165 kilometres west of James Bay along both banks of the Ekwan River. This reserve is 27,040 hectares (104 square miles) in size.

Population: 2,875 registered band members with 1,455 people living on-reserve (March, 2007)

Languages: Cree and English

Schedule of Reserves—Treaty No. 9—1929

Attawapiskat

Situated at the junction of the Little Ekwan river with the main Ekwan river, to start on the main Ekwan river at a point $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the said junction and to comprise a width of 6 miles, or 3 miles on each side of the river, and a depth down the river approximately 17.4 miles, containing 104.4 square miles more or less.

--from *The James Bay Treaty (Treaty No. 9)*, 1964, p. 35

“Catholic missionaries founded the village of Attawapiskat in 1893 when, due to the number of people hunting in the area, the missionaries decided to build a chapel on the shore of the Attawapiskat River. Since about 1850 the missionaries had visited the area. In 1901, the Hudson’s Bay Company built a store in Attawapiskat.”

“Originally, the people in the area around Attawapiskat lived in the bush along the river throughout most of the year. They only traveled to the mission or trading post for the purpose of participating in religious services, social events, to buy food, and other supplies. By 1930 the village became more of a permanent settlement. In the James Bay Treaty (Treaty #9) of 1905/1906 the Attawapiskat people were included as members of the Fort Albany First Nation. Fort Albany was at the time the north most settlement along James Bay and the treaty commission negotiated that they become Fort Albany First Nation members. It seemed that it was out of convenience for the commission to consider the people north of Fort Albany.”

—from *Wakenagun Community Futures Development Corporation: Attawapiskat First Nation Community Profile*

Alexandra Fireman



(recorded December 11, 2004)

Community or reserve life in the past

1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.

First, I want to tell you from the time when I wasn't living with my parents. This as far as I can remember about how our life was those days living in the wilderness and trying to survive. There were many occasions when we were out of food and my parents tried their best to provide for us. They tried their best to trap so that they can bring their furs such as fox and other fur-bearing animals in order to get money. This is how we lived a long time ago.

We used to get rations. I think that's what they call social assistance nowadays. I'm not saying that people could survive on it but just to sustain them until they got back to their hunting and trapping grounds. They used to divide their rations in half like lard, flour, sugar, tea, and baking powder. Canned vegetables were also given out and those rations were supposed to last you a month. This is as far I can remember. I was still living with my parents at that time.

When I got married, things changed for the better. We spent our winters in the bush. Food was readily available and we only went back to the community of Attawapiskat in May or June. We used to stay on Ekwan River around 200 miles up river from Attawapiskat.

We roamed around the bush to trap and hunt. We didn't stay in the same area for longer periods: just two or three days at the most. That's when we took care of our pelts, skinned beavers, and other fur-bearing animals that we trapped. That's how we supported ourselves. We never received rations or depended on them. I never received any social assistance since I got married. Only after my husband died is when I started to get assistance.

Biographic Information

Name: Alexandra Fireman
 Date of Birth: August 27, 1928
 Place of Birth: Lawashi River
 Present Address: Attawapiskat, Ontario
 Former Name: Wesley
 Name of Spouse: Leo Fireman
 Number of Children: 2
 Grandchildren: 6
 Great-grandchildren: 4
 Number of Years Married: 17
 Education: Fort Albany Residential School 3 Years
 Date of Interview: December 11, 2004

We were very active when we were trapping, hunting, and doing other things. We went trapping and hunting together, wherever we could find beaver – that's where we camped. When my husband prepared a beaver snare, my job was to cut some poles for a wire noose where they enter their house. That's the way life was in those days to survive. When I talked about our life in the wilderness, we were rarely sick, we were in good health, and we were always active so we didn't feel fatigue. In the morning, when we finished breakfast we packed up all our blankets and belongings, took down the tent, and headed out to another location to trap. We never stayed in one area too long. All winter we moved from place to place. We were living a nomadic way of life. We were self-sufficient. My husband knew how to navigate where we could find beavers and food.

Even though we trapped in the same area with our relatives, we had camps located in different areas of the trapping grounds. We had our own family with us. We had two children that we took everywhere with us. They were carried around on a dog sled. Snowshoes were very handy those days. I was leading dogs to our destination, just as long I was told which way to go. They used gestures to show me which direction I was supposed to go after we arrived on a lake. I just followed the shoreline of the lake. I really liked to live in the bush. There was no stress at all. My desire to go back in the bush after my husband died diminished completely. I never attempted to go back in the bush since I was widowed. I've been living in the community of Attawapiskat ever since.

When I think about the future, I think our community is going to go through hard times. I feel sorry for this generation. I'm not talking about myself, just the younger generation. When I think about my grandchildren, great-grandchildren, other youth, and newborns, I feel sad for them. They think they will have a better life in the near future but it won't happen with the way things are going in our community like the high cost of living and social problems like alcohol, drugs, and family separations.

Everything is expensive up there. When you buy \$200.00 of groceries, it only fills up a few bags. That's why I stated that it won't get any better. Maybe we might experience what they experienced during the depression years, where food was scarce and people were starving. I heard stories about those years where people had a difficult time and food wasn't easily accessible. They were unable to provide for their families because they were too weak to hunt or trap from a lack of food.

One time, an old man tried to get to the community but he died on the way. My parents used to talk about those stories. Not everybody is going to be comfortable paying

utilities associated with new houses. Hydro, for example, is a necessity for warming houses and other important uses. To substitute warmth in my house, I use heater because I cannot no longer put wood in the stove because of my poor health. I think that to buy a cord of firewood is more expensive than to pay for power. You pay \$100.00 for one cord of firewood and it doesn't last a week during the cold winter months. Realistically, the younger generation will have difficulty dealing with these issues.



Attawapiskat Spruce Logs, 1987-363-I-86-7, HBCA

When I think about the environment in our community, especially mining activity up the Attawapiskat River, we don't know what's going to occur in the near future. That's what people are saying, especially the older people who never stop complaining about that issue. That's all I have to say about that subject.

You mentioned the depression years, starvation ...

Yes.

Where were you during the depression years? Where were you living?

I can't recall where I was at that time.

Yes.

I don't remember how old I was at that time. We were probably living at Nawashi, I don't really remember. That's when we heard about the old man who died on his way to the community to get help for his family.

Were you born at Nawashi?

Yes, I was born at Nawashi. My grandmother gave me the name I have. Nawashi is not far from here.

Did you use medicinal herbs or edible plants when you were living off the land?

Yes, I used them when we were in the bush. My husband was still living then. I used quite a number of medicinal herbs such as red willow, tamarack, pine cones, and Labrador tea. One time I cut my leg with an axe. Two elderly ladies were living with us at that time. They pulled the bark off the red willow and put it in boiling water. They used a clean sterile cloth to wrap up the bark and put it against my leg that was bleeding profusely. They pressed that cloth on my leg so that it formed a clot to stop the bleeding in which they succeeded. This was the method that they used to stop a bleeding wound. They were teaching me at the same time.

Tamarack was used as an antiseptic to draw out infection to form a scab.

They used the inner part of tamarack bark as well. They scraped the white part, ground it into a pulp, and mixed it with some kind of fat. They put that paste into a cloth and put it on a wound or cut. It was used as an antiseptic kept there overnight. The next morning, the infection had subsided. The tamarack sucked out the infection. They bandaged it until it healed.

Labrador tea and pinecones were mixed together and boiled. They used these when someone had a tooth abscess. I had a tooth abscess once. My mother-in-law was with us at that time and she made a brew of Labrador tea mixed with pinecones: the smaller ones that have white markings on them. We were going down the Ekwan River at that time. I couldn't even stay up, that's how excruciating it was. Finally, I decided to get up when they were setting up the tent. So, my mother-in-law decided that it was time to try to remedy my tooth abscess by drinking the mixed brew of Labrador tea and pinecones. I took a big mouthful of that and when a few minutes had passed, I started to feel its effects inside my mouth. I felt something harden or something opening up, just like how a pike looks like when it's scales open up. That's what it felt like. That's how powerful those medicines were. The people knew how to make them for whatever ails them. I felt better later that day and I was up and around that evening. When

someone had a sore throat, a mixed brew of Labrador tea and pinecones was applied. You gargled with that mixture and started to feel better after a while. These are the herbal medicines that I personally know how to use.

Another story I want to tell you is about an elderly woman who lived in the community of Attawapiskat. There was an outbreak of diarrhea, bloody diarrhea, a painful condition that afflicted many people in the community. Her husband came to visit us at that time and he noticed how sick we were. "You people are really sick," he said. Shortly after, he went home and his wife came to visit. She had a small bottle of a red solution of something. "Drink this," she said, "it won't harm you". She said she had used it on her daughter while they were in the bush. So, I drank it but she warned me that I would vomit after I drank the whole bottle. Then she gave me tea broth to drink so that my blood pressure will be stable.

Right after that, I vomited. It looked like there were some green specks floating around; it felt like someone turned on a faucet. That old lady told me those green specks were the ones that caused diarrhea. I got better after the whole episode. Then her husband came to visit shortly after that and said, "Did the doctor come to see you?" I replied, "Yes, she's a really good doctor." These are the medicinal herbs that I know of and we used them too.

Did you ever use wild rice when you were in the bush?

No, I don't remember.

What about water lilies?

Do you mean the ones that are found in the wilderness?

Yes.

No, I don't remember seeing those. But, I heard people talking about them in a meeting. It was one of those consultation meetings that DeBeers had with the community members. They had different opinions about how they were uses, but a long time ago, people knew which plants or herbs they used for medicinal purposes.

Did you ever have chewing gum when you were in the bush like the ones you buy from the store?

Yes.

Did you have anything sweet to eat when you were in the bush?

No, there was nothing available like that in the bush in those days. As for myself, I don't eat any sweet stuff. I didn't see anybody use them either, not gum or any other sweet stuff. But, I've seen people chew spruce gum that was obtained from a spruce tree. The only problem with spruce gum is it gets harder the more you chew it.

Can you describe the snowshoes you used while in the bush?

They were regular sized snowshoes like the ones they make around here. The Ojibways made theirs round. I used the regular kinds that were made locally.

What kinds of footwear were you were wearing during that time?

For our footwear, we used caribou hide to make moccasins. We prepared the hide while in the bush. It happened quite often that moose or caribou hides were scarce so they improvised by using a thick canvas to make moccasins. First, they dyed that canvas red using red willows. They scraped those red willows and they put these shavings in a bowl. Then they made a paste with a little bit of water and spread it out on that canvas. It resembles a smoky hide after the process is finished. When it's finished it looks exactly like smoked tanned hide. They made canvas mitts with that. This was just temporary until a moose or caribou was killed.

A long time ago when it was springtime, women used to wear dresses. It became the fashion at that time. We also made something similar to leggings but they were made out of canvas. They were worn over moccasins to cover our legs. These were very handy and comfortable when we had to travel long distances in the cold. We also made canvas parkas with hoods. They were very warm when worn traveling in open areas. We put other clothes underneath the parka to stay warm. That's how we lived a long time ago.

Did you make your own clothes?

Yes, I made anything that we had to wear such as canvas parkas.

What about a rabbit fur coat, did you make that too?

I don't recall adults wearing those but the younger children did. Their grandmothers made rabbit fur coats for them.

Were you taught how to preserve food like fish or any other animals while in the bush?

Yes, I did know how to preserve food by watching people when we were up the river. People used to be active preserving and preparing food. They used to dry meat or fish properly and then they packed it in a barrel-like container. They used those dry

products during the winter when it's time to use dried meat. That's what they lived on during the winter. I observed them when they were preparing meat and fish. So, that was life a long time ago. Later on in my lifetime, I continued the tradition. I learned how to skin and dry animal furs great and small.

What kind of methods did you use to catch fish?

I used a gill net. One time when we were coming on Ekwan River, we didn't have a gill net at that time, we got off when we came closer to the rapids, and we looked for a place where my husband could spear fish. First, he went to fetch a pole with the tip bent a little. Then he went to look for fish. I saw him looking down and he looked like he speared the fish in a narrow inlet and threw it towards the shore. He speared quite a few fish that way. There's another method called a fish trap. They used to make that fish trap in the fall and we just picked the fish where they were trapped. This fish trap was built with logs tied together that make it difficult for fish to escape. Usually, it's built in a small creek or river.

Did you make your own fish trap?

I used to help my husband get logs to make one.

How do you make a fish trap?

Logs are laid down in the water to form a barrier. These logs are tied together and they made it so that the water flowed through an enclosed area. They made it slanted a bit so that the fish can't swim back. When they are caught in the trap, we just scoop them up. We pushed smaller poles into the fish trap so that the fish can't swim through.

Is there a different method used to put a gill net through the ice?

Yes.

How do you know how deep the water is when you want to put a net through the ice?

They measured it with a pole that they used to secure the net in one place. I watched my father do that. I didn't set a net during the winter only because we didn't stay in one place for a longer period of time. I watched my father put a net through the ice. He used a pole to find out how deep the water was. They also used a long pole to pull the net through the ice.

With that long pole, they measured how far the holes are going to be. They used a fork-shaped pole to push the long pole with the net tied on it until they reached the last hole. To check their net they just pulled the rope and vice versa. If the net was not

secured with a rope the net could be frozen into the ice that would make it difficult to pull out. This net was complete with floats and rocks to hold it down. It was a long tedious process. That's all I want to say about this project.

What combination of healthy habits allowed you to stay healthy while you were in the wilderness?

I'm not really sure. We were very active in living off the land. We had to get what we needed ourselves and that included animals, fish, and wood etc. Our parents didn't let us sit around. We were asked to work either getting firewood, getting fresh pine boughs to use inside the hut, hauling ice to use as water, or cutting fire wood and stacking inside a makeshift porch made with branches so that the snow doesn't get at it. That's why we were so healthy because we were very active.

Summer activities included fetching water. We used to fill up a barrel with water that was used for drinking and washing clothes. That's what we did when we were living in the community and while in the bush. I really enjoyed living in the bush because it was very quiet and calm. Living in the community is different. The atmosphere is different and it's not peaceful.

Did you use water to wash clothes a long time ago?

Yes, I used water to wash [clothes].

Did you have detergent when you washed clothes?

Yes, we had some kind of soap that we used. It came in twos in a block and it was yellow. The missionaries in Attawapiskat used to sell soap that they made themselves. We used to buy their soap and they were quite large. I don't know how they made soap; I just overheard people talking about it.

When did you come to the community?

We never came to the community during the winter until after the breakup. That would be around June. That was the only time women came to the community. My husband and other men used to sell their furs and buy the necessities that we needed in the bush. I guess they didn't want to burden women and children with travel during the winter.

Were there many community members come to Attawapiskat?

No, there were not that many people when they come to the retreat and the church. When that was done, they just went back in the bush.

Did they have activities during the gathering?

No, they just sat around and visited each other.

Were there no activities at all to entertain the people?

No, there was no entertainment but they had dances. There were no announcements [indicating] that the older people would hold a square dance. In those days, there were no distractions such as alcohol abuse or other substance abuse. Nowadays is different as such distractions are apparent in the community. The older people were having the time of their lives having fun dancing. Things were different then. The dance was over around midnight. Everybody went home and everything went well that evening. They also had musicians like Charlie Fireman play the violin during these dances. This was the only entertainment I remembered during the gathering.

Did you ever make toys out of animal bone or willow sticks?

No, I never did.

Did you remember when missionaries had horses to haul wood or logs?

Yes, they used horses to haul wood. I personally saw them and that was before we returned to the bush to trap. My mother was sick at that time and she almost died. She was brought to the community from Nawashi, so that she could have access to medical attention. She stayed here in Attawapiskat for two years. She had a heart condition and she almost died from it. That's when I saw those working horses you were talking about. The Oblate Brothers used to haul logs from the road that goes up north here. You can't see that road anymore, as it's overgrown.

When did they stop using the horses that way?

I'm not sure when they stopped using horses and cows maybe when they started to have machinery. Cows were nowhere to be seen, so I think they were butchered. I'm not sure what they did with the horses. I think they took them somewhere else. The horses and cows just disappeared one day.

Did the Oblate Brothers travel to the bush to visit people?

Yes, that's what they did. They visited wherever people were trapping. They had guides to take them there with dog teams. They used to go as far as Nakitawesaki. They even came to Nawashi where we were trapping.

How many people lived at Nawashi?

Just our immediate family [lived there]: my uncles Alex Wesley and Thomas Wesley.

Did you hear the elders use advanced Cree when they talked a long time ago?

No, I never noticed or I didn't hear them.

What about the special terms used when they talked?

Yes.

Do you know if people still use them?

No, I don't think so.

What did you use to brush your teeth a long time ago?

I don't remember seeing people brush their teeth while in the bush. They used to rinse their mouths with water. I guess that was their way of brushing their teeth. Toothbrushes and toothpaste were not available in those days or heard of.

What did they use a long time ago when they had a toothache and no choice but to pull it out?

Yes.

How did they extract a toothache or a bad abscess in those days?

I don't recall what they did. But the priest used to extract teeth a long time ago. One of my teeth was extracted and they froze it beforehand. I don't remember what they did a long time ago but they had a way to deal with toothaches. One of the Grey Nuns pulled my tooth out at the old hospital and she froze it first. When the priest came and visited us at Nawashi, that's when he pulled my dad's tooth. He didn't freeze it at that time and my father almost passed out from the pain. They didn't have Novocain to freeze him. It wasn't available then.

What did you use as a source of light inside your house?

Before we turned in for the night, we used animal fat such as beaver fat. When we were in the bush, we boiled that fat to make oil. When we were at Nawashi, we used seal fat to make light but we didn't use it all night. It was only put out when we went to bed. They used to cut an old tin can where they made light. They put oil in there and a use a wick to light it. That's how we lit up our tent or house.

Community or reserve life today

2) Describe your life in your community or reserve today.

... Do you think life is easier now as opposed to the life you lived a long time ago?

No, I don't find it easier; life was so simple in the bush. We didn't have stress to deal with but there are people who think they had a hard time surviving in the bush. I don't think I had a hard time because we were healthy and active in every aspect of our lives. Life was so peaceful. [I was so] happy to live in the wilderness and enjoy good health. There were no distractions. It's just the opposite when you stay in the community. You have to deal with all kinds of ailments such as colds. You're not healthy. There's always something that the medical professionals find wrong.

I have a heart problem. It's been a while since I went to the hospital down south to be examined. They found that I had a blockage in my main artery on my heart. They decided to let me go home but they put me on medication that I still use nowadays. Now, I'm absolutely disadvantaged because I can't do anything for myself. I need assistance in my daily living. I can't even mop the floor. I'm short winded whenever I try to do something. I could sweep the floor and wash the dishes simple chores like that I could do. That's why I mentioned that life in the wilderness was simple and we were healthy. It never occurred to me to go back and live in the community. I enjoyed to living in the bush. It's so peaceful and not stressful at all. Now that I live in the community, things have changed in many ways. The lifestyle is different. It's not simple anymore. My strongest desire was to have someone bring me into the bush to live where life is serene and to enjoy the scenery and animals. Nobody bothers me here but there are many activities going on in this community like alcohol abuse, drugs, and family disruptions because of them. I'm not just talking about myself but other people too who deal with what I have to deal with each day.

What did you use to get firewood a long time ago?

We used a sled. They used to make their own sleds a long time ago when we were living at Nawashi. My father used to make his own sled. He used to make them quite large. They called it an uplifting sled that was made with runners. They used dirt to form the runners so that it will slide faster when pulled by a dog team. For emergency or quick fixes, they just used flour to fix where the dirt broke off. Of course, they had to make a paste with flour and then apply it to the sled runner.

When we were living at Nawashi, we had to go out quite far to get firewood. When we moved to another location temporarily we didn't have far to fetch wood. We used to

stay a couple of days at the most. We used to carry firewood to the camp. Wood was not that far to get in those days.

How far did you have to go to get firewood from this community?

It's quite far. The people who stayed in the community used up all the wood close by. Now you have to go quite a ways to get firewood. I used to go with my sister and get wood with the dog team. People used to get green wood. They're heavy to lift. Dry wood is difficult to get [now]. Lots of gas is used by a ski-doo to get dry wood. People search for dry wood. That's why they charge lots to buy a cord of wood.

Community or reserve life in the future

3) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the future.

I think our community is going to get bigger when additional houses are built and if normal [sized] families live in them. As you probably know, there is a housing shortage and it's overcrowded. The community will be bigger when additional houses are built and as the population grows.

Did you hear of any other exploration companies doing activities in our area?

No, I never heard anybody mention that.

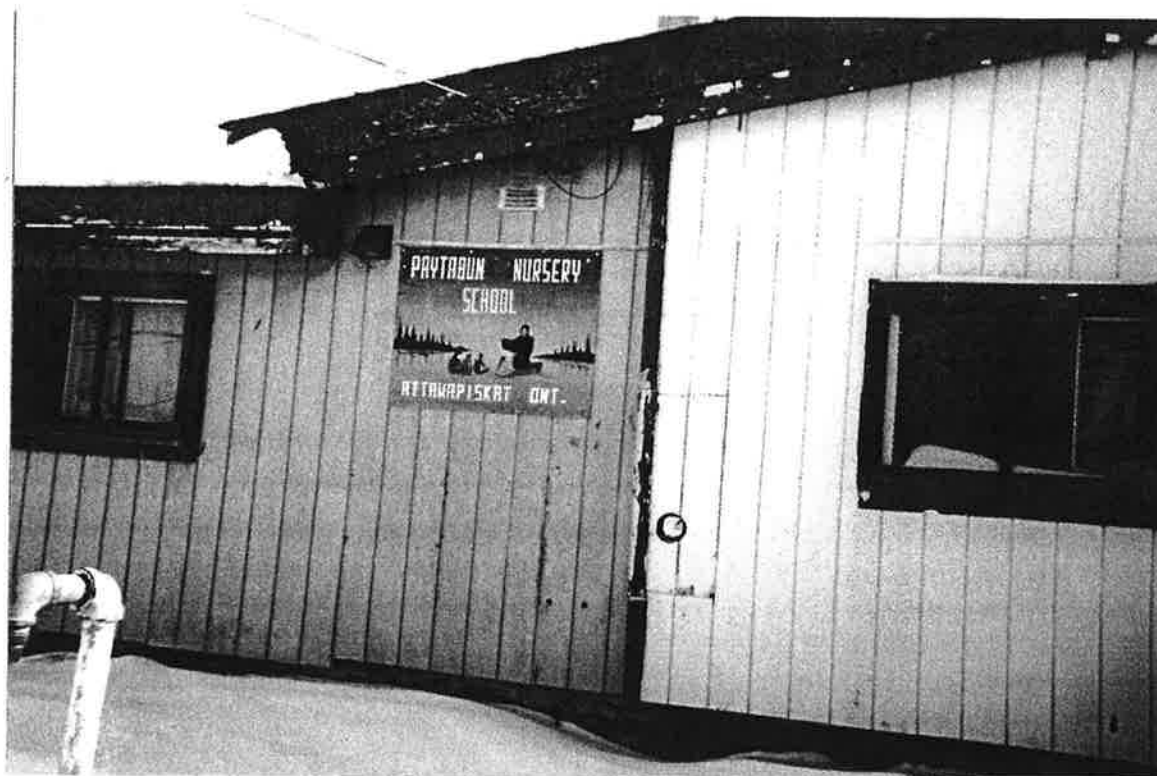
Do you think people are losing their Cree language?

Yes, our language is very weak. Our younger generation doesn't even understand it nor speak it. My grandson doesn't even understand it. He doesn't even react when I talk to him in Cree. I ask him if he could understand me. What he does instead is ask his mom to translate what I just said to him. I heard that during meetings they are urging people to preserve their language. They tell us that the Cree language is included in the curriculum. I don't think the kids are interested to learn our language and it will get worse in the future.

I also went to school for three years. I didn't learn any English because I was only taught in Cree That's why I can read my language. I read the Bible in church and in my home too. I'm glad I can do it. I have almost memorized it by heart. When I hear other people read the Bible, they're not quite experts yet, and where they hesitate, I finish those sentences because I have memorized the Bible. I don't do it loudly, just to myself.

I'm just about finished asking my questions. Do you have anything else you want to add?

I told you my life experiences the way I remember them.



Paytabun Nursery School

Were your children born in the bush?

Yes, my children were born in the bush. There was no medical doctor to assist. My sister-in-law, Mannie Metat, delivered my children. She stayed in the same area. Also, Emile Metat, Shayno Fireman, and Charlie Fireman trapped with us in the same area. They didn't travel with us when we went trapping elsewhere. Two ladies who were midwives stayed with us at that camp. These women delivered my two children. One of them died at childbirth.

I'm just about finished with this subject. Nowadays when a woman is ready to deliver, a nurse attends her. I don't think it's good. Being assisted by a midwife is better but I don't know why that is. Now, babies are delivered by caesarean section and they seem to have a hard time delivering. One time, my mother-in-law mentioned why women are having a hard time delivering and it's because they're not active enough contrary to life in the bush. I notice that pregnant women don't exercise enough. They just sit around the house with no activity at all.

Did you use moss for your children?

We used moss on our babies all the time while in the bush and in the community. Women used to get it during the winter where they had previously. Women used to

hang moss to dry wherever they could find it in the bush and it lasted a long time. We used to dry it inside our tent. When we put it on the baby, we put a flannel cloth on first to protect the baby's skin.

Do you think wild meat that you consumed in the bush had an important effect on your health? What about store bought groceries?

That's why we were so healthy because we ate good food, wild meat that kept you full until your next meal. When I eat store bought groceries, I get hungry really fast. When I eat wild meat, I only eat once a day. Wild meat is very healthy to eat not like the meats you buy at the store. Domestic meats are enhanced with needles to make cow or chickens fat.

Do you still eat wild meat?

Yes, I do.

I'm finished with the questions that I wanted to ask you. I'd like to thank you for your interesting stories.

Yes.

I forgot to ask about presents that they used to give in your days.

Yes.

Did they give Christmas presents a long time ago while you were in the bush?

Yes, they gave Christmas presents during the time when we were in the community. We passed around bags with our names on them. We made our bags and delivered them to people. We would go and pick them up in the morning. That's what we used to do in those days. People would fill them up with whatever they had like candies, cookies, and other stuff.

Did people visit each other on New Year's Day?

Yes.

Are they still doing that nowadays?

Not too much, I don't recall many.

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צ״ו לב װ זױבןױ װ דײַטשע-אױ אױסל?

פֿונען-ב אד אײַע לײַדנישע-אױע, אײַפֿונגען לב אױסל, װוּ לב װײַט ב דײַטש
אױסל-אױט, אױסל-אױט-אױט לב אױסל, װב ײַפֿ װי פֿונען-בײַט. װדעס לב אד אױט-
ב דײַטש אױט-אױט אױט-אױט אױט לב פֿונען-ב אױסל װב ײַפֿ אױט-אױט-אױט
אױסל דײַטשע-אױט.

אזױ א לב אױט זױבןױ װ אױט-אױט-אױט װ אױט?

װװ.

צ״ו אױט פֿונען-אױט, אױט-אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט לב דײַטש
אױט-אױט-אױט?

אױט-אױט לעבעס ב ײַלדען פֿונדעם, ײַלדע-אױט לב דײַטשע-אױט. װ-בסע לע װ
אױט-אױט אױט אױט-אױט, אױט אױט זױט אױט-אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט
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אױט-אױט-אױט.

אױט לב אױט אױט פֿונען-אױט?

צ״ו אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט
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אױט-אױט אױט-אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט אױט
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װװ, אױט א לב אד אױט-אױט-אױט.

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Ja ◀σ ·Δa ∇b ∇ Γa∫∫UΓ∫ασ·Δ\ ◀σL ·∇ρ ΡΛρLb\, βΡσ·Δ\ Λd ζd-
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Raphael Fireman



(recorded December 9, 2004)

Community or reserve life in the past

1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.

Community or reserve life today

2) Describe your life in your community or reserve today.

Biographic Information

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Date of Interview: December 9, 2004

Could you tell me about your life experiences while you were living in the wilderness a long time ago ...

Eh?

... and your childhood while you were living with your parents?

Yes, I will tell you my life story as I was growing up, as you expect, but my story is quite lengthy. It's about my own life story and what I experienced while I grew up with my parents long time ago. Life was hard a long time ago when I think about how my parents struggled just to survive the harsh elements. When I started to go with them to live in the bush, I learned valuable lessons from my father just by observing him do traditional activities. We didn't have a readily available shelter when we were in the bush trapping and hunting. We just made a lean-to shelter out of trees and branches and slept in the open. We just kept the fire going all night to keep warm. That's what my father used to do before he would retire for the evening. I was observing my father and that's the way I learned to do these traditional activities.

Everybody was like that learning how to do these things in the bush when they trapped or hunted. They just made a fire wherever they slept in the open. We only carried around a blanket. Sometimes, it happened that I went too far. So, I just made a lean-to to spend the night there and continued on the following day.

We didn't have anything store bought at that time, not even flour. The only time that we had flour was in the summer when we went to the community of Attawapiskat. We lived in poverty most of the time a long time ago. People in my generation experienced that. I did not experience famine but I heard about it from the old people. That's the way life was a long time ago.

People were resilient a long time ago. The only time they could eat something was by hunting and trapping. If they happened to see rabbit tracks, that's where they camped and set rabbit snares. They checked their snares in the morning. You could get two or three rabbits and that's the only time they ate. Partridge or spruce hens were hunted in the same way. These partridges were snared with a string that was looped at the end of a pole. Sometimes you caught two partridges that way. That's your evening meal.

The non-Natives made their own tea and sometimes it happened that we had some in our possession. But, the Natives boiled Labrador tea when they wanted to drink tea. The other nutritious drink is the broth of whatever meat you boiled. You drank that broth. I recalled that the Hudson's Bay Company had already set up trading posts in our region that time.

I want to talk about trapping in those days. I remember otter was only \$3.00 and mink was \$5.00. The prices for otter and other fur bearing animals fluctuated; one time it was nine dollars, [and another time it was] ten dollars, or eight dollars. Fur prices were very poor. Sometimes I wonder how people survived a long time ago.

There was no social assistance at that time: it came much later. I never had any family allowance when my children were growing up. There was no such thing in those days. I wasn't the only one in that situation. The treaty money that we get (\$4.00 annually) was never heard of either.

When we lived in the wilderness, we did traditional activities such as using traditional medicines and herbs. For instance, Labrador tea was one of the best medicines you can get from the bush. Red willow was another one. They had different names for the plants that they used for medicinal purposes. When someone was suffering from diarrhea, they boiled the red willow and drank the liquid. Another type of red willow was used to treat cuts. They scraped the bark, used it as a poultice, and put it on a cut.

Tamarack was another medicinal treatment. If someone cut himself or herself with an axe, they scraped the bark and put it on the cut to fight the infection. I'm not talking

about the top part of the bark, but the inside white bark. They crushed that bark to a pulp and put it on the cut. It fights infection. This advice was passed down from our grandfathers.

Another type of plant they used as a poultice for cuts and as an antiseptic. These plants grew in woody vines on the ground. They're called boiling vines or *kwaskomesekanuck*. They stripped the leaves, crushed and boiled them, and then they put those leaves on the cut or where your body hurts. You get better in no time.

Liquid spruce gum is another type of medicine. It forms bubble-like pockets on the tree. To drain it out, you cut that bubble. Another gum is used as a chewing gum. It grows on the same tree and its texture is similar to bubble gum. This chewing gum has special effects that diminish your hunger pains when you chew it. I know this first hand. We followed our grandfather's traditional teachings and did all the activities that they did while in the wilderness. People who came from the same generation as me know this as well.

When I used to go around the bush to hunt, I spent the night in the open where I found rabbit tracks. That is where I set some snares. We caught five or six rabbits the next morning. We were trapping at the same time. We used to go long distances to trap and hunt. That time we used a homemade toboggan to pull our traps and other things. That's the way our life was a long time ago. We had rabbit blankets a long time ago and they were very useful and warm.

There were plenty of rabbits in those days. They were a very important component to our lives. Rabbit skin was used for clothing and blankets. I used to hear my grandfather talk about how important rabbits were in their time and how they used rabbits as food and as clothing such as rabbit skin coats, pants, hats, and blankets. By the time I was born, I didn't see anybody wear rabbit skin pants, but my father did. I wore a rabbit skin coat. It was very warm and an extremely important thing to have in those days. You didn't sweat because the rabbit skin absorbed the sweat. These coats were made just as parkas today with the hood attached.

[Animals] were essential for one's survival a long time ago. People hunted caribou or moose and used almost all of these animals as food or for clothing, e.g., moose or caribou hide mitts and moccasins. There are many steps to prepare and tan a caribou or moose hide before it's ready to make moccasins or mitts.

I witnessed people using caribou or moose hair as socks to keep their feet warm. I personally used it too. As I stated before, we were very poor. People don't believe this and the reason is that they didn't experience it first hand. We didn't have very much store bought clothing in the community of Attawapiskat. Later on, the Hudson's Bay Company started to sell some basic things such as tea, flour, oats, and lard.

When the first barge started bringing supplies to the community of Attawapiskat, it wasn't powered by motors but with huge sails. I saw that boat when it sailed up the Attawapiskat River. Later on, when it came back up north, motors ran it. It brought supplies to the coastal communities. We didn't have much in those days and the fur prices declined.

The subject I'm going to talk about, I didn't see it, but I still want to talk about it. The first people that told me about this incredible story were the elders. The very first time Hudson's Bay Company first arrived in our area, he brought liquor with them, wooden kegs filled with whiskey. The elders who told me this witnessed these wooden whiskey kegs. One of these elders is still alive as we speak and resides at the community hospital. Nakitawesaki was such place where there was a trading post. It had it's own manager and Natives used to go there to sell their pelts.

Whenever a person brought his pelts to this trading post, the manager got him drunk and when he sobered up, the manager lied to him and said he had enough to cover his debt and nothing [else] to show for it. The manager took his pelts and left him with nothing. He took advantage of that poor Indian because he didn't know how to count and didn't know fur prices. A long time ago, people were given \$50.00 credit to buy essentials to go trapping and hunting. They were treated unfairly. That's the way it was a long time ago.

There was another company that came to the area that bought furs from the Natives and he was fair with his dealings. That company was known as *Wapesheshin* (the Opposition) as known in Cree language. He set up his own trading post, but someone burnt it to the ground after he left temporarily. His fur prices were satisfactory and he paid well. He went and put his trading post wherever the Hudson's Bay Company went. When this Opposition left permanently, the Hudson's Bay Company was [back] to his old tricks again. He paid \$3.00 for an otter. I talked about this earlier. The reason why I wanted to mention the Hudson's Bay Company tactics towards the Natives is so people will know. This story is the truth.

Once, a group of us went to Winnipeg for nine days. The people I went with are still alive. One of them is John Matinas and he was amazed to see those huge sailing boats at the museum. The other one was James Carpenter. The sailing boat that we saw was the very first one that Hudson's Bay Company used to come to the country. Now it's standing inside the museum in Winnipeg. Inside that museum, there were many sizes of wooden kegs like the ones they used to store whiskey. The Cree translator was good in explaining everything to us and I believe those elders who told us about the Hudson's Bay Company's shortcomings. I don't recall how much the admission was to go inside that museum.

Those days I'm talking about, when Natives were given alcohol before they sold their pelts and were cheated on by the big company, I guess honesty wasn't their best policy! Nobody fought back about this kind of behaviour in those days and nobody spoke on their behalf.

Prior to my story about sightseeing in Winnipeg, we also saw cannon guns and the translator stated that the Hudson's Bay Company wanted to use them on the Natives just in case of retaliation and told us about the history of these artifacts. The Hudson's Bay Company's behavior got worst as he went further north stealing from the Natives. It made that company rich. The translator told us everything about that company and many people know about their story. Not only on this side of the area did the company treat the Natives [badly] but everywhere he went to trade with the Natives. The reason I believe this incredible story is that I heard about this when I was very young.

The elders used to talk about this whenever they got together. The Hudson's Bay Company took advantage of the Natives because they were not familiar with arithmetic. The trading post managers were experienced in accounting that was unfair to the Natives. The Natives only learned arithmetic when they were taught how to use numbers a long time ago. The French missionaries were the first ones to teach the Natives, especially the priests.

We stayed in Weenusk for many years and the local priest taught school there too. When I talk about past experiences that happened a long time ago, some people didn't know any of the events that occurred like when arithmetic was first taught to the Natives. I know this and that's why I talk about it. The elders tell all these events repeatedly and now the new generation is starting to know about the history of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The alcohol topic is always an interesting topic, especially the Hudson's Bay Company treatment of the Natives in Weenusk, Nakitawesaki, and other places. He sure did take advantage of the Natives. They worked hard to trap and tried to provide for their families, but the company took that away without regret. This is the truth and the people who witness this event in Nakitawesaki are still alive today, one of them is Bartholomew Metat. I do recall their conversations vividly. The Hudson's Bay Company had a trading post there and that's the way the Natives were treated by this company.

Gill nets were not available in those days as nobody could afford them. There was only one person who had a gill net and that person was my father. Another method [of catching fish] that was popular was the fish trap. Many people don't understand when I talk about a fish trap. A fish trap was the most significant tool that you could have in those days; the way it works is as follows:

First, you block a small river or creek so you could build the fish trap with logs. At the end of the trap is a barrier where the fish are trapped and can't escape. It's unique in the way it's built. You put up a device to trap fish and lower it when you don't use it. A fish trap can be used all winter. It was very convenient for everyone concerned, people and animals It's better to fish during the night and pick the fish from the trap. We used fish in many ways to feed us. We smoked the fish and after we deboned it, we made powdered fish flakes that are a delicacy for us Natives. My mother used to make those all the time. They preserve well and last a long time.

Fish and other food that was preserved for later use was eaten during the winter when food was scarce. During the month of August, that's when fish start to swim down stream and people prepared to erect a fish trap. That was one of the traditional customs for Natives that was passed down from generation to generation. Prepared or preserved food can be any kind of food like rabbit, fish, or partridge. The bags that contained prepared food were lined inside. They were not the bags we know today. They were made of birch bark or another tree bark and holes were punched and tied securely with tree roots.

First, they had to dry the bark and the roots before they were used to make them stronger. The reason for this was to keep them fresh and not have flies or bugs enter [the containers]. People know about this kind of food preparation. If fish could only talk, I'm sure they would have plenty to say about their lives. Fish know their life story, when to go up the stream or rivers to the lakes and when to come down stream. They

travel long distances. They go up the rivers in the early spring and they come down stream in the early August.

Then they are caught in a fish trap. There are three parts of that fish trap. At the end of the trap, they attached a shift bag to a barrier to catch fish. My father used a special wooden tool to part those logs so that the water runs in one direction and fish can't swim in the opposite direction. We don't know who designed a fish trap. It must have been someone intelligent but [we know] a Native designed a fish trap. That's how the Natives lived long time ago. They must have been brilliant to be able to withstand the extreme harsh environment in the north. That's the end of my fish story.

We used to catch plenty of rabbits. We searched the area where they lived on a ridge and that's where we camped to snare rabbits. There were times that we couldn't catch any rabbits because of the cold weather. So, we just stayed put until the weather changed. Rabbits have keen hearing so it was impossible to catch them during the cold weather. Everything is frozen stiff and a rabbit is sure to hear any movement that you make. The time to snare rabbits is at the end of February. That's the way it was a long time ago.

Partridge was caught the same way with snares. They love to hang around in the thick willows. My mother and I used to snare them and we had many good meals that way. We set snares in the willows where ptarmigan feed. We caught many of them that way. My mother had a special way of bending willows to snare ptarmigan and it was effective. We did the same did in the spring. We snared the dancers. These were prairie chickens. They dance in the spring and it's an annual event. You could hear them when they dance. We set snares where they dance and they are caught. We had plenty of partridge in no time.

I'm finished, do I continue?

Yes.

We survived on partridge in those days and had plenty to eat. The dancers, prairie chickens, only get to dance in the spring. I recall when my father and I trapped, we traveled long distances to look for food. At the same time, when we found partridge tracks, it was clear that they were dancing tracks. You can follow those tracks a long way in the bush. Right?

There's one prized item that a Native kept for his survival and his life depended on it. It's a snare string. A homemade gill net was just as important to have in those days as it could provide food. People never left home without a snare string. Natives were nomads and they traveled long distances to trap or hunt, so it was important to have that snare string. It could provide a quick meal either to snare a rabbit or a partridge. I went with my father to hunt and we snared partridge and rabbits to survive. We used to set snares in the evening and we checked them in the morning and got plenty of partridge that way.

Before we set out to trap elsewhere, we cooked partridge for breakfast. Sometimes my father used to leave those snares and ... check them on our way back.

We caught quite a few. We went back to our main camp and everybody was satisfied with what we brought back: beaver, rabbits, and partridge. Everybody went through rough times just like we did and they managed to face the challenges that lay ahead. We always kept a snare string wherever we went. This special tool was very useful and [often] the quickest way to get food. Wire rabbit snare was not available yet in those days.

Gill nets were plentiful at the store but only some people could afford them. I remember way back. That's the way we lived and survived in those days. The stories that I related to you are true. They're not fictional. People in my generation experienced how hard life was in the old days. Sometimes I contemplate what to expect in the future. Life is so different nowadays.

When I was growing up, I remember beaver and other fur bearing animals were scarce at that time. It was later on that they become plentiful in our area. Nobody could live on trapping alone, the fur prices declined so much and nobody was interested in trapping. People have regular jobs now and a whole variety of government social programs are available such as Ontario Works, Ontario Disability Support Programs and Old Age Security checks. Way back in the old days, these kinds of social programs were non-existent.

Now, I receive a monthly old age security check and I'm very grateful for that. The Government is generous to provide something for us to survive on in this day and age. Housing is available and very convenient. For all this generosity, we're grateful. My old friends are grateful too. They still remember how we struggled in the bush just to

survive. Life is convenient these days. We just stay in our nice place and wait for our checks to come in.

All my stories and the events I mentioned are true. There was no social assistance in those days or family allowances. Life was very difficult. Sometimes I wondered how we survived such harsh conditions. We were destitute. On many occasions, we didn't have anything to eat, sometimes [we went] two days without food. My father tried his best to provide us food, but it so happened that animals were scarce. Gradually, the local store provided some basic groceries and provided credit to people and later on, he allowed people to charge up to \$100.00.

As I stated before, life is convenient for everyone concerned. People are happier and they have enough to eat. Government social services and health care programs are available. A long time ago while in the bush, when someone got very sick, that was where he died and it happened many times. There was no place to seek help with medical experience in the middle of the bush. On many occasions, I witnessed when people were sick, injured themselves, had a heart attack, or other heart ailments, then they just died there. Planes were unavailable in our area.



Attawapiskat Hospital

At that time, medicines were available and the local priest was given the authority by the government to give out medicines to the people. The local priest in Weenusk used to tell me this. When people returned to their trapping ground, the priest used to give them a whole bunch of medicines to use if they got sick. He used to write the instructions in Cree on how to take that medicine.

Those Oblate Fathers or priests were already in the communities at that time but they were not that many of them. In the community of Weenusk alone, a priest was not available all the time and it happened in the other communities too, like Attawapiskat. Sometimes two priests would stay in one community. The French missionaries were responsible for building a school in Attawapiskat and that's how young children started to get an education. That's what happened in those days.

The lifestyle in the community of Attawapiskat today is quite different. Most of the people of my generation have passed on. These people experienced the hard times in the old days and lived in poverty. They slept in the open when they hunted and trapped because they had nothing to use to shield themselves from the cold. Now, people live in nice houses with all the convenient facilities. Life is easy.

In the old days, I never stayed in the community of Attawapiskat. I spent my time in the bush trapping and hunting. Many people followed the traditional way of life in those days and we had no choice. There were only a couple of families that remained in the community. I used to see an *askikan* standing in the bush when I came into the community during the summer. That's how come I knew that people stayed there during the winter.

Some people have no idea what an *askikan* is. It's a temporary shelter made with long poles into the shape of a teepee and it's covered with either moss or tree branches. They're cozy to live in. [It's the] same thing with a fish trap. We have to explain what kind of trap it is to people when they hear us talk about it.

People are treated right these days. Houses are provided for them along with social assistance programs and a variety of programs to help people. Children are getting a good education and they learn a new language that I hear daily: English. That's why I say they have a good quality education.

Prior to my story about French missionaries, they were the first ones to build a school in our community. The English language wasn't taught those days. The missionaries

only used Cree bibles to teach how to read and write in Cree. Now, English is taught in schools and children speak it fluently. They learn how to read and write in English and that's the way life is today.

When I first came to Moosonee, it was a poverty-stricken community. The train was already in operation then. I remained in Moosonee for two years. There were a few houses and a small number of people stayed in that community. Hospitals were non-existent. By the time I went back to Attawapiskat, building supplies for the hospital in Moose Factory arrived by train.

Only a small number of people resided in Moose Factory at that time. The creek that you see further up Moose River in Moosonee, that's where everybody had their tents. Some of them had tent frames that were a little better than a tent. Some of the families stayed there during the winter because some of them had employment in Moosonee and jobs were plentiful. There were timber-cutting jobs in the bush and sawmills were established. Train fares and food prices were cheap. People used to go shopping in Cochrane. The return train fare was only \$5.30.

Things were a lot cheaper in Cochrane. You could fill up quite number of bags of groceries. Bread was only 10¢ in Moosonee. Cochrane prices were a lot cheaper. Many people shopped in Cochrane. Even though we had employment, the pay was not much when we worked on the tracks. We got paid 64¢ per hour and our pay bi-weekly was barely \$40.00 but we managed to survive on that especially with low inflation.

Some of my co-workers trapped on the side and fur prices were excellent. One beaver pelt sold for \$140.00. I came down to Moosonee from Weenusk during the winter. A beaver pelt was only \$10.00 up north. I was surprised when I found out that they were paying \$40.00 in Moosonee. I guess the Hudson's Bay Company paid different prices in the north than in the south. I know their strategy. They figured that people in the north had no say and nobody to complain to because they lived in the remote places in the north. That's the way the Natives were treated those days because Hudson's Bay Company taught the Natives were naive.

When I talk about the forestry, a cord of wood was only \$4.00. Quite of number of people were employed there. Wood was cut near the coastal areas at that time. There were plenty of jobs and people worked different jobs. When I worked on the tracks, I was getting \$4.00 an hour for ten hours work a day. Our job was to change the wooden ties and place the steel rails on the tracks. It was a very difficult job because we had to

lift those heavy steel rails by ourselves. We also loaded freight on the train and it was strenuous. Now, everything is modern and it's done by machinery. Nobody has to lift anything to work on the train tracks. That's the way life was in those days.

Two years ago, I went by Otter Rapids. That's where a search was held for a Moosonee man who was lost in that area. It looks different. There's no mining exploration there from what I've seen. During the time I worked on the tracks, gravel was used, but now crush rock is used instead. When we worked on the tracks, we had enough to support our families. When inflation went up our pay went up as well.

Now the groceries are very expensive in the community of Attawapiskat. A three-pound pail of lard used to be \$3.00 and now it's \$10.00. Sugar is \$15.00 for ten pounds. People spent their entire checks just to support their families and pay utilities and rent.

It doesn't matter how big a check you get, there's nothing left after you do your payments. Not only are groceries high, but clothing is also. Everything is so expensive.

A long time ago when I was in Moosonee, it was a different story. Like I said before, there was no hospital in Moose Factory yet. I'm sure it's documented somewhere when that hospital was built. By the time I came back to Attawapiskat, the supplies were being brought in to build a hospital in Moose Factory.

One elder told me that people who worked on the tracks were fed free warm lunches right on the work site. The reason for that was their wages were too low. However, they managed to survive on what they made. Now, people who work for the ONR (Ontario Northland Railway) make big wages. That's the way it was when they were building train tracks.

When we worked on the tracks, they used to change the steel tracks. I used to see them do that. We did the same work while I was employed by the ONR. Those steel rails were very heavy in those days, even though there were seven of us to lift them. Now I'm told it's a different story. Quite a number of people were employed by the ONR. They managed to survive on their measly pay because everything was so cheap including groceries and clothing.

Another topic I wanted to talk about is alcohol. A long time ago, Natives were restricted to drink alcohol, but there were times when a non-Native was caught giving alcohol to Natives. He was fined five hundred dollars and had to appear in court for the

offence. This occurred while I was in Moosonee. It wasn't that hard to find whoever gives a drink to the Native. He was asked to name that person. Then Natives learned how to make home-brew with raisins. The police used to catch them and confiscated the homebrew equipment. When I mention alcohol being given to the Natives, the only thing that came to mind is the way the Hudson's Bay Company treated the Natives long time ago. That's the reason why I talk about the Company's behaviour towards the Natives in the north. It wasn't until way later that Natives were allowed to use alcohol.

One old man agreed with me about Hudson's Bay Company's treatment of Natives and the company should be prosecuted for that. Those people who witness that are still living in Attawapiskat. One of these persons is a resident at the local hospital and his name is Bartholomew Metat. The Hudson's Bay Company is a foreign [company]. The Hudson's Bay Company came to our region to cheat on the Natives and that made the company very rich. This is still on the minds of the elders and it's a sensitive subject.

I also heard people talk about this on Wawatay Radio, people from Kashechewan and Fort Albany. When this subject comes up, I'm reluctant to talk about it as it makes me sad and angry.

Alcohol has become a big problem in the community of Attawapiskat. There are many bootleggers and they sell it to the people twenty fours hours a day as if they have their own liquor store. They're discrete and they just care how much money they can make. I personally abused alcohol a long time ago too. It's thirty years since I have been sober. I know that alcohol can cause many problems such as family breakups and children are taken into custody, just to name a few. Alcohol has long-term affects on children and youth.

Many times we hear of alcohol related deaths, youth suicides or other tragedies such as drowning or being frozen in the winter, not only to the youth, but to adults as well. Life is so different and it's fast paced. People have good jobs and they can afford to buy material things and be prosperous. I heard many people talk about this. I feel for them and my heart goes out to them, but there's nothing we can do to prevent alcohol from entering our community. The police are busy guarding the winter roads and it's impossible to do that because of the extremely cold conditions.

During one meeting, I was asked my opinion on what I think about the excessive use of alcohol in our community. My question was: What if we followed what the government had previously implemented? Natives are not permitted to touch alcohol just as they

did long time ago and apply the same legal procedure for the offenders. Their reply to that was: It was impossible to do that as the government had changed that implementation since then.

So, I told them, then we can't change it. I didn't hear any talk either to outlaw alcohol from entering the community. They told me that it was very hard to overturn what the government put into law. It's very easy to bring alcohol to the community because it's easily accessible by skidoo during the winter. The police block and search whoever comes through the winter road, but some people manage to by pass that route by diverting into a new route that only skidoos can access. It's very difficult for the police to check and pursue them in the bush.

That's my story on the subject of alcohol. Everybody is aware of this problem. I want to change the subject now.

Glue sniffing and other substances in the community are apparently another big problem. Sometimes, I meet up with someone who has a substance problem, like a gas sniffer or a glue sniffer, on the road during the winter. He had no jacket on and wasn't aware of the cold. It's likely someone can freeze to death in their state of mind. When I talk about my own problem with alcohol previously, when I first took that drink, I didn't really like it at first but the more I took of it, the more I liked it. So, it must be the same way with gas and glue sniffers; it's very addictive. Nobody is immune to alcohol or other substances as far as I know.

When I lived in the bush most of my life during that time I was up in Weenusk, we didn't experience any alcohol problems in the community because it was not existent yet. This problem exists in all the communities in our territory. That is what I have to say about this.

Community or reserve life in the future

3) Describe what your life might be like in your community or reserve in the future.

When I think about that and the surrounding communities, I think we will live like the non-Natives. The way we lived long time ago will never exist again. Those were hard times. We lived in poverty and we had to face challenges in order to survive. Housing was non-existent at that time and we made tent frames to live in. The missionaries were operating a sawmill here and that's where we got the plywood that we used. Today, we have all the conveniences to live comfortably. Health and social programs were

implemented to assist people. We have adequate services and are well looked after by the government.



Attawapiskat Senior's Residence

In our community alone, the medivac comes in all hours of the night to pick up patients. A long time ago, we were lucky just to be alive! Housing is on the increase and they have all the convenient facilities for your comfort. Of course, there's a housing crisis right now but that will be remedied later on when new houses are built. Funding is always a problem. The future looks brighter for the community of Attawapiskat. There will be employment for the local people because of the Victor Mine, DeBeers first diamond mine.

There is still a lot of exploration going on in our territory and I'm positive they already found what they're looking for. When I used to go and trap, I used to see the remnants of their camps and their staking markers. The Victor Mine will be a lifesaver for the community but there will be negative and positive effects from it. This diamond mine is supposed to last fifty years, at least that's what I heard. The Victor Mine road starts from the community and goes all the way to the mine camp. Rumour has it that they will change the route of the winter road as they have already hauled most of their equipment to the mine site.

An airstrip has been built at the mine site as well. The community is going to prosper because of the diamond mine. Houses are being built gradually in our community. The

land is being surveyed where they will be built and the ground is being leveled. That's what I have to say about this subject.

Do you think there's enough land space for additional houses?

There's land space further up the river and that's where they suggested that houses would be erected. Also, houses will be built further inland towards the present airstrip. Houses will [not] be built further down the river due to the [the risk of] flooding. During ice break-up, water has always come up towards the houses and there is a danger of flooding.

Where they any plans to move the airport somewhere else?

They have been talking about that for the longest time. They suggested that it should be built further inland. The present site is way too dangerous. If something should happen to the plane, it's too close to the community. The late Chief George Kioki talked about this numerous times during band meetings. He stated that the land was already surveyed. It was supposed to be near that lake not far from here. His predecessors tried to continue discussions on this subject with the members, but we don't know the outcome of that.

When you mentioned that you went to Moosonee.

Ah?

Do you know where the name Moosonee came from?

No, I have no idea at all where that name came from. I've already heard that name when I was living in the community of Weenusk and this was before I journeyed down to Moosonee.

What about the surnames of people?

No, I never heard of a surname by that name. I did hear about people who were transients. The residents of Moosonee were mostly transients from other northern communities like Kashechewan and Fort Albany. Not too many of them are real residents of Moosonee. Moose Factory residents are the real Moosonee people because they were born in Moosonee. I met up with one old resident of Moosonee and he related some fascinating stories with me about how he ended up in Moosonee.

He was from Fort Hope originally and he made his way down to Moosonee via Weenusk River. He went up Shamatawa River across from Peawanuck, portaged to Ekwan River, and made his way to Attawapiskat. He stayed there for five years.

Gradually he went to Kashechewan and remained there for twenty years. [Finally,] he stayed in Moosonee for a total of fifty years. That's why I said most of the residents of Moosonee are transients from other northern communities.

Did you ever live at Big Lake?

I stayed there one year with my father. That's my father's birth place. He was born along the river. My grandfather lived around that area too.

Where they any stores or trading posts around that area long time ago?

Ah?

Was there a trading post at Matawa?

You mean the one that used to be in Matawa?

Yes.

Yes, there was a trading post in Matawa and it was called Ekwan. We stayed at that place when we came from Big Lake to sell our beaver pelts and other furs. Big Lake is adjacent to Ekwan River. The trading post was located in Matawa and many people benefited from that store. Prior to my statement about Hudson's Bay Company getting the Natives drunk when they came to the trading post, that incident had occurred way before that. Local Natives later managed that trading post. A plane was used to bring supplies in way later. Dog teams were used to bring supplies to the trading post before that.

Who managed that trading post after the company left?

The first manager who came there was a Native named Joseph Moonias from Ogoki. The people that preceded him were our local Natives: one of them was Albert Matinas. I'm not positive about that because I wasn't around at that time. Shayno was the other one and Joseph Carpenter. That trading post was closed a long time ago. People became permanent residents in the community of Attawpiskat. That's the way it was those days.

When you were in the bush, did you interact with other Natives like the Ojibways from Ogoki or from Fort Hope?

No, we never saw any Ojibways in our territory at that time. Joseph Moonias, the one who managed the trading post in Matawa, was an Ojibway. The only time I met up with Ojibways was when I went to Ogoki, which is adjacent from Weenusk River, to sell my furs. We were familiar with Joseph Moonias. I ran into our local Natives while I was

living in the bush and they trapped in that area also. My grandmother and her generation lived in that area for a long time. They used to sell their furs in Matawa. I think our area was too far for the Ojibways to come into our region. My father went to Ogoki twice to sell his fur.

Are there people still staying at Big Lake or are there any houses there?

There's nobody staying there now, but there are some houses still standing there. There were some non-Natives who fished there during the winter and they stayed there. They built those houses and they had equipment there too, to bulldoze the ground. They used a freight plane to haul their equipment there, but everything stopped when the owner died. Natives don't stay there anymore.

I never heard anybody to have a surname of Genoa, but one spring tafter the break-up, some Natives come down the river and they were called Genoa. They lived at Big Lake and this story was passed on by others.

This is the end of my interview with you. I want to thank you for coming here and telling your interesting stories to us. I appreciate you taking the time to do this.

I also want to thank you for inviting me here to tell you my stories and for those who will hear them. I spoke the truth in my stories. I want to extend my greetings to those who will read my stories and to J.P. for taking time to come and see me here in the community of Attawapiskat. I wish you good health in the future.

ס"ס דסל ב"ד ב"רררר, פא אד ררררררר, ב פ ור דסא"ב
פ אלרר"ד' דררר' אורר

דד.

ס"ס דסל ב פ ור דסא"ב' ג"ב- ד ור דררר.

דד.

ד"בסל, ס"ס ב"ררר"ד' ב"ד ב"ררר.

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Δῖβῦ° δC\ Ἀδ ἈσL Π, ἑ Δῖα·ἑσC\ ·Δα ΔσC° ∇ Π9\ ἸῦβΓ^ Λἑ ἑ Δῖβῦ\ ∇ Γα·∇ἑ ἈC 9·ἑ Ἀδ ∇ σ<Cἑ ΠΓα·Δ, ἸῦβΓ^ Λἑ ∇ Γσ·9ἑἑ· ἑ·ἑ ἑ Δῖα·ἑ\ ἑL ἑ Δῖ ἸΛ ΡῖΡἑἑἑ ἑ<Cῖ ἈC Ἀἑῖ ἈC·∇<ἑ ἑL ἑ Δ·Ἰἑἑ.

∇δ Λἑ ἈΛΠἑ·Δἑ Ἀἑ·ἑ· ἈσΔ9·Δἑ ἑ Δῖα·ἑ\ ·ἈσΔ9·Δἑ ∇ἑ·ἑ ἑ Ρ ῖῖῖῖῖῖ ∇ Γῖῖῖῖῖ ἑῖCῖ Ἀδ ∇ Ρ CΡἑἑ σἑ\ ∇ Γῖῖῖῖῖ ἑ·9ῖ° Λἑ ἑ ΔCΡἑἑἑ, σἑ·ἑCῖ, σἑ\ Λἑ ΡCΡἑἑ ἑἑ, ΓCCἑ, Ἀσῖ Ἀἑἑ ἑἑἑἑ, ∇·ἑσ Ἀδ ἑ ΔCΡἑἑἑ σἑ\, Cἑἑ Λἑ 9Ρ ἑἑ ἈΛΠἑἑἑἑ Ἀ·∇σἑἑ 9Ρ σLἑ ἈσΔ 9·ἑἑ ἈC Ἀἑῖ ∇ ΔC·ἑ·ἑ<ἑ ἑἑἑ, LC·ἑἑἑἑ Ἀἑἑ·∇·Δἑἑ ἈσL ἑ Δ·Ἰἑἑ, Ἀἑἑ Δἑ Ἀἑἑ·∇·Δἑἑ ἑ ἈΠ ΔC·ἑ\ ἑL ἑ ἈΛΠἑἑἑ, LΠἑ σἑ, ἑἑ Ἀἑἑ ἑἑ Ἀἑἑ Ἀἑἑ ἑἑ ἑἑἑ ἑἑἑ ἑἑἑἑἑ, ἑ Ρἑἑἑἑ·Δἑἑ, ἑ·ἑ ἑ Δῖα·ἑ\ ἑCῖ Ἀἑ·Ἀ° ἑἑἑἑ·Δσ·Ἀ° ἑL ἑἑ ἑ Δ·Ἰἑἑ, ∇ἑ ∇ ἑἑ Ἀἑἑἑ Ἀ·Ἀἑἑ ἑἑσ° ἑ Δῖβῦ\, Ἀἑἑ Ἀσἑἑ° Ρ ἑἑC·Ἀἑ Ἀ·Ἀἑἑ ἑἑσ°, Ἀἑἑ ἑCῖ ἑ ἑἑ ΔC·ἑ\ Ἀἑἑ·∇·Δἑἑ, Ἀἑἑἑ ἑCῖ Cσἑἑ ἑ Lἑἑἑἑἑἑἑἑ ἑἑἑἑἑ° ἑ Γσ·∇ἑἑ ἑἑἑἑ, ∇ἑδ Ἀἑἑ ἑ Γσἑ ἑ·ἈCῖ ἈσC°· Ἀἑἑἑ Γἑ ἈσL ἑ Ρ ἑἑ ΔC·ἑ\ Ἀἑῖ ΔC·ἑἑ ἑἑἑ ἑ ἑἑ ἑ ἑἑ ἑἑἑἑἑ, Ἀἑῖ ∇ Γσἑ ἈσC° ἑἑἑ ἑ·ἈCῖ, ∇ἑδ Ἀἑἑ Cἑ ἑἑἑ ἑ Γσἑ ἈσC°.

∇δ ἑCῖ ἑ Δἑἑ, <ἑCῖἑἑ ἑ ΔC·ἑΡ 9·ἑἑ ἑ Ρ Δῖ Ρῖῖῖῖῖ ἈσC°, ∇·ἑσL ἑ ἑἑ ἑἑἑἑ·Ἀἑἑ Ἀ·∇σἑἑ 9·ἑἑ <ἑCῖἑἑ ἑ ΔC·ἑΡ 9·ἑἑἑ, LΠἑ ἑἑ ἑἑἑἑ·ἑ, ∇δL Γἑ Ρἑ ἑἑἑἑ, Ἀἑἑἑ ἑ Δῖβῦ\, Ἀἑἑἑ Δῖβῦ·Ἀ ἑἑἑἑ ἑἑ·Cἑἑ Ἀἑ ΔσC° ∇ Ἀ·ἈCἑ ἈσΔἑ Ἀἑἑἑ Δῖβῦ·Ἀ ∇·ἑσL Γἑ Ρἑ ἑἑἑἑ, ∇δ Λἑ Ἀἑ Ἀ·∇σἑἑ ἈσL ∇ Ρἑἑ·Ἀῖβῦἑ ἑCῖ Ἀδ Ἀἑ° ΔCἑἑἑἑ Ἀ·∇σἑἑ ∇ Ἀ·Ἀἑἑἑἑἑἑ ἑCC·Δἑἑ, ∇·ἑσL Λἑ ἑἑἑ ἑ ἑἑCἑ Ἀσἑἑ° ∇ Γσ·ἑCἑ, Ἀἑἑἑ ἑ Δῖβῦ\, ∇δ Γἑ ἑἑἑἑ Δῖβῦ° δCἑ, ∇ Lἑἑἑἑ Λἑ ἑἑἑἑ Ἀ·∇σἑἑ, ἑἑἑἑἑ Γἑ ἑἑἑἑ·Ἀἑἑ ἑἑἑἑἑ, ∇δ Λἑ ἈσΔ ἑἑἑἑ ἑἑἑἑἑ ἈσL ἑἑἑἑ ἑ Ἀἑἑ ἑCἑἑ ἑἑἑἑ, ∇δ Λἑ ∇δC ἑ Δῖ <ΡἑἑLἑἑ ἑ Ρ Δῖ Lἑἑἑ ἑCῖ Ἀδ ἑἑἑἑ ἑCῖ Ἀδ ∇ ἑἑἑἑἑ, ∇·ἑσ ∇ ἑ<Cἑ ἑἑἑ ἑ Ρ ἑἑ ἑἑἑἑ·Ἀἑἑ ἈσL ἑἑἑἑἑ.

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 ΛLΠρ·Δ' >d b P ·ΔΓ·ΔP'x ·L' LΠα^ Δfσbρ° Δ·Δ b P ·Δ<C\ >Γσ°
 P'Lσσ°x PΓ^ bΓC' Δfσbρ°, ΛLΠρ° P'Λ^, ΛLΠρ° ρ^C ·L' LΠα^ >L b
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 >Γσ° Δ^Pσ°, ∇ VΓ ΔC·∇'x b Δfαd<ρ Lb, b Δfα·bσσ\ >Γσ°
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 Δ>CC' P·∇Πα\ P VC·Δ° Lb Δ·U° Δα b Δ·U^CL9', Δ·Δ b P >C·Δ'
 b^<σ·Δ >^b- Δ·∇σbα, ∇ VΓ ΔC·∇σΓx ·bσ Lb ·∇Γ C·VCL', C·VC·Δ·Δ'
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 Jα Lb >Γ ·ΔC^ Cρσd\ Π<Δbσ·Δ' ΔσL ∇ ΛΠ·bσ·Δ', ·Δα·Δ° ∇L P
 Π<Δ·L'x ∇·Δ ·Δ<ΠσαJ·ΔΓ\ Δσσ·Δx Π<Δq·Δ' ρ^C ·∇Γ^Πdσ·Δ',
 Δ·U·Δ' ∇ ·Δ<CσΓ'x

b P VΓ >C·Δ·Δd<ρ Δσσ·Δ, >^b- ∇ VΓ ΛLΓΔ' Δσσ·Δ ·b'° ∇ P
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 Δ·∇σb'x ααb° Lb ΔΔ^ΛLβσσ·Δ ΔσΔx ∇d Lb Δ^C P'LU·Δ Γf <^P'βα,
 bαq ρ>α, Γf <^P'βα <^P'βα Lb Δf- dCP'x ∇·bσ Lb ·Δ α^d^C·ΔU
 Δσσ° ΔU^CJd' Lb Δ·U° Δ·Δ b Π<P'J', b Δ·U^CL9' b Δ·U^CJ'Γ'x
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 ·b'° ∇ P >C·Δ' Δ·∇σbα ∇ P P^·qVα'x Jz Lb ∇P L^bL' >Cχ·Δσσ°
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 P^q>CP\ ΔP'C'·Δαx ∇·bσ ∇ Δ·UΓ\ Δ·∇σbα', ρP P^q>U' >Cσ ·∇Γ Δ·U'z
 ∇ Π<P'J·Δ^<' P'z'Δ·Δ' ΔσΔ >Γ ΔP'C'·Δαx <ΠL Lb b VΓ P^P'αΔL9'
 Δ·∇σb' P ΔΠ P^q>C·L\ Δ·∇σbα\ ΔσΔ ΔP'C'·Δαx >^b- Lb b P Δfα·b\
 P^P'αΔL9·Δ', >Λ^Π·q'·Δ' σ^C^ P P^P'αΔL9·Δ', 7bUdα'·Δ' >Πx ∇·bσ
 >^b- b Δfα·b\ P^P'αΔL9·Δ'x

Lb Δσϵ·bʰ ᄌσL b ɔσCσ·ᄌ·x ᄉᄌCσ b Δσ ᄆCɔɾʰ ᄌσP σ·ᄌΔbϵ·x
 ·ᄌ·b·b·ᄌ·ᄌC P ɔσCσ·ᄌ·ϵ ᄌTᵒ 9 ΔσϵΔbʰ ᄌᄌC·x ·bσ ᄉᄌᄌ ᄌ·ᄌbϵbʰ, ΓϵΔʰ
 P ᄌᄌNᵒ ᄌϵ ᄌ·ᄌϵ9ᵒ·x ᄉ ᄌ·ᄌᄌLPᄌ ᄌC·Δᄌ ᄌϵ ᄉ ɔσCᵒᄌ ᄌσΔ ᄌ·ᄌC·x
 ·ᄌCᄆᄌ Lb bᄌᄌLᄆ9ᄌʰ, ᄉᄉᄉ·bCᄌPᄌ ᄉ ɔσCʰ ᄌ·ᄌNσᵒ·x ᄌCᄆᄌ ᄉ
 ᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌ ᄉ Cᄌᄆɾb9ʰ·x ᄌᄌᄌ Lb ᄌσTᵒᵒ, ·bᄌᵒ· Lb ɔσCσ·ᄌ ᄌᄌC ᄌσL
 ᄉb 9 ɔɾ ᄆN·9ʰ ɔTᵒ ᄌϵ σᄌ·ᄌϵɾᄉᄉᄉ ᄌσΔ·x ᄉ·bσ b Δσ ᄌ·ᄌᄌLPʰ
 σσPΔ·bʰ ᄉ P ᄉɾ ᄌCPʰ ᄉ ɔσᄌɾʰ σ·ᄌΔbϵ·x ᄌɾ·ᄉ Lb ᄌ·ᄉσbʰ ᄌP ᄉC·ᄌᵒ
 ɔL ᄉ ᄌᄌɾᄌʰ ᄌσL ᄌᄉσᄌσbɾʰ·Δʰ·x ᄉ ᄌᄉσᄌbɾʰ ᄌ·ᄉσbʰ ᄉ ᄆᄌσσʰ·x
 CP·ϵ·ᄌᄆ9ᄌσᄌᄌ ᄌᄌ ᄌᵒC ᄌ·ᄌϵ ᄉ ᄌᄌɾᄌʰ ᄌTᵒ·x ᄌTᵒ b P Δσ Pᵒ9σᄌʰ ᄉ
 ᄌC·x ᄌᄌᄌNᵒ ᄌᄌσ ᄌᵒC ᄌϵ ᄌTᵒ·x ᄌ·ᄌϵᵒ ᄌᄌσ ΔᄌUᵒ ᄌ·b σᄆʰ, ᄉ
 ᄌC·ᄌCᄌ9ʰ ᄌϵ ᄌTᵒ, ᄌ·ᄌϵᵒ Cᄌᄌ ᄌᄆσᵒ, ᄌᄌbᄌᄌ ᄌᵒC bᄌᄌbL·x ᄉᄌUᵒ ᄉ
 ΔᄌUᵒʰ ᄌᄌᄌ ᄉ ᄌN ᄌᵒ·bᄌʰ, ᄉ ᄌCᄌPʰ·x ɔᄌᄌ·ᄌᄆᄌɾ·L ·bσ ᄌϵ ᄌᄌᄌ ᄉ
 P·ᄉɾʰ ᄌᄌC b P ɔɾ PᄌUᵒʰ ᄉ ᄌᵒ·bᄌσᄌ·x b P Δσ Cᄌ9ᵒʰ ᄉ ᄆᄌσσʰ·x
 ᄉ·bσP Lb b ᄉɾ P·ᄉɾʰ, ᄌ ᄉɾ ᄌᄌʰ, ᄌ ᄉɾ ᄌᄌᄌσᄌʰ ᄌᄆσᵒ ᄉᄌɾʰ·bσ·ᄌ·ᄌ
 ᄉ PᄌᄌbUʰ ᄌᄆᄌ·x ᄌᄌʰ Lb ᄆɾᄆᄌ·ᄌ ᄌᄌC ᄉ ᄉᄌ ᄌᄌPʰ·x ᄉᄌ Lb ᄌᄌC
 ɔσCσ·ᄌ ᄌ Δσ ᄌσᄌʰ·x Pᄌᄌ·ᄌ ᄌσL·x σᵒ·C Lb ᄌσᵒᄌᄌᄌ ᄌϵ, ᄌσL ᄌ·ᄌ
 b ᄌN Δσ ᄆɾᄌσᄌᄌ ᄌᄌU·x ᄌᵒN· Lb ᄌᄌC ɔσCσ·ᄌ ᄌᄌ ᄌ ᄌᄌC·x ᄉ ɔᄌᵒ
 Δσϵ9ᄌᄌᄌ ᄌC·Δᄌ·x ɔC Lb ᄉ ᄌᵒ·bᄌ·ᄌσᄌʰ ᄌϵ ᄌᄌʰ·bʰ, ᄉ·ᄌ ᄌᄌᄌσᄌᄌ Lb,
 ᄉᄌCᵒ ᄉ Δσ ᄌᄌ·ᄉᄆᄌPʰ·x ᄌϵ, ᄌϵ PᄌᄌᵒC·ᄉᄌσᄌ·ᄌ ᄌU·x ᄉ·bσ b
 Δσϵᄌᄌᄌ ᄌϵ, ᄌᄌʰ·bʰ Lb ΔCᄌσ·ᄌ·x ᄌ·ᄉσbʰ ᄉN·9 Lb ᄌ·ᄌ ᄌ Pᵒ9ᄌᄌ·9ᄌᄌᵒ
 ᄌσL ᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌ ᄌᄌᄌ ᄉ·ᄌ σᄌᄌ·x ᄌσσᵒ Lb ᄆᄌ P ᄌᵒ9ᄌᄌᄌ ɔTᵒᵒ, ᄌϵ
 ·ᄉᄌᵒNᄌᄌ·ᄌ ɔɾ PᵒPᄌᄌᄌᄌᵒ ɔᄌ ᄌ·bϵ b Δσϵᄌᄌᄌ ᄌᄌᄌ ᄉ·ᄌ σᄌᄌ·x ᄉ·bσ
 ᄌɾ·ᄉ ᄌᄌC ᄌσσᵒ·x ᄌɾ·ᄉ PᄌCᄌᄌ ɔᄌ, ᄌᄌʰ·bϵ ᄉP ɔσᄌ·x ᄉ·bσ ᄌ·ᄌ ᄉ
 Δᵒ·bᄌL ᄌ·ᄌ ᄌTᵒ·x

ᄉᄌ Lb ᄌ·ᄌ ᄉ ᄆᄌ ᄌ·b· ᄌP ᄌᄌ ᄌᄌNʰ ᄌ·ᄌᄌ·x ᄌC·ᄌᄌCᄌᄌ ᄌϵ ᄌC·Δᄌ
 ᄌ·ᄌ ᄉ Δσ ᄌᄌNσᄌ ᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌ, ᄌᄌᄌᄌ b ΔCᵒ·9ᄌᄌ b Δσ C·bCᄌbʰ ᄉᄌCσ ᄉ
 Δσ Cᄌ9ᵒʰ ᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌ ᄌ·b· ᄌP ᄉᄌ ᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌᄌ·x ᄉᄌCσ Lb C·ᄉ ᄉ Δσ ᄌᵒ·bϵ·ᄉ
 ᄉ ᄆᄌσσʰ, ᄉᄌCσ Lb ᄉ ᄌᄆᄌPᄌᄌ·x ᄌNᄌ Lb b ᄌN Pᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌ ᄌϵ PᄌUᄌᄌ,
 ᄌN·b ᄉ·ᄌ σᄌᄌ·x ᄉ·bσ ᄌᄌᄌ b ᄌCPᄌᄌ·x ᄌϵ ᄉᄌσ P ᄌC·ᄌbσ·ᄌ ᄌN
 ᄌσL ᄌ·b ᄆᄌ ᄉ ᄌᵒᄆᄌ CᄌᄌPᄌᄌ ᄌ·ᄉᵒ·b·x ᄌᄌ ᄌᄌCᄌᄌᄌ, ᄌNᄌ b ᄌN
 Pᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌ ᄌϵ, ·bσ ᄌNᄌ ᄉ ᄌᄌᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌ ᄌϵ ᄌ·ᄉσbϵ·x ᄌᄌᄆᄌᄌ b ΔNʰ, ·bσ
 ᄌNᄌ, ᄉ ᄌN Δᵒ·bᄌσʰ ᄉ·bσ ᄌϵ b σᄌᄌ·ᄌᄌᄌ ᄌN·b·x ᄉ·bσ b ᄉᄌ
 Δσϵ·bʰ ᄌσL ɔCϵ· ᄆᄌNᄌ·ᄌ ᄌ ᄌσᄌCᄌᄌ·x

·bσ ᄉᄌᄌ·bʰ ᄌᵒC ᄆᵒᵒ b Δσ ᄌᄌCɾʰ, ᄌᄌᄌ·ᄌ·ᄌ, ΔC·bʰ b ΔσCɾʰ ᄌᄆᄌʰ, b
 Δσ ᄌᄆᄌ·ᄌ·x ᄌᄌᄌ·bCᄌ ᄌϵ ᄌᄌC σLL ᄉ ᄌᄌ·ᄌ·x, ᄉ C·ᄌᄌ·ᄌPᄌ ᄌσP
 ᄆᵒ·ᄌ·x C·ᄉ ᄌᄌ·C ᄌP ɔɾ ᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌ ᄌσL ᄉ ᄌCᄌᄌ ᄌ ɔɾ ᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌ ᄉ ᄌ·bᄌᄌʰ
 ᄌσP ᄌᄌᄌ·ᄌ·x ᄉ ᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌNᄌσ·ᄌP ᄌσΔ σᄆᄌᄌ ᄉ ᄌᄌCᄌ·x ·bσ ᄉᄌᄌ·bʰ ᄌᵒC
 ᄉ ᄌᄌbUʰ ᄉ ᄌ·bʰ, C·ᄌ·bCᄌσ·ᄌ·ᄌ·ᄌ ᄌᄌᵒ·9·ᄌ·x, ɔσᄌᄌᄌᄌᄌ Lb ᄌ·ᄌ ᄌσL
 ΔᄌᄌUᵒ, b Δσ Cᄌ9ᵒʰ ᄌᄌᵒ·9·ᄌ·x Cᄌ9ᵒ·ᄌ ᄌᵒ ᄌσP ᄌᄌᵒ·9·ᄌ·x, ᄌϵ ᄌ·ᄌ
 ᄌ·b ᄆᄌ ᄌᄌC·ᄌ·x ᄉ ᄌN ᄌ·bʰ ᄌNᄌ·x ᄉ·bσ Lb ᄉᄌᄌ·bʰ ᄉ ᄌᄌbUʰ,

<C <5^ ΔC<? 7dUde4 <σL b Δ·U<? 5d- Lb Jε ΓΓN·<`x LNb
 ·Vσ^o P εLU° 7dUdσ4 <^ob° ∇ Λ>σσ`x 9b Lb P <N <ΔC°, ·bσ b
 ΔP`x ΓΓ·∇ ·bσ b ΔJε·b`, Jε ∇P ·∇C?, ·<4^o Λd P εσ<·<` ρ^oC Lb
 P V4d°x ·bσ b ΔJε·b` ρ^oC V4·b? ∇C <C·<Λ^ob<`x ΓΓ·∇ Λd ·bσ b
 ΔJε·b`, 9b Lb P <N ΓΓD·<` ∇ CδJP`x 9b P^oPε<LJ·ΔbΓ` P <N
 ∇Jσσ·<?x ·∇Λ^oN·94·<` ρ^oC P <4·<` P^oPε<LJ·ΔbΓdσ°, ΓΓ·∇ <·∇σb?
 <σL P^o9^oC^ox ∇·bσ b ΔJε·b` ·Δε ∇L P^oPε<L9·Δ?x

·∇^ob- Lb <σΔ b P N<ΓJ<?, C·V ∇L PP·ε ∇L b Δ·U<?x Jε, ·Δε
 ·b?C° ∇ ΔCΓJ<?x Jε ρ^oC ·b?C° ∇ ΔCΓL` <·< b<σ^o b P ΔJ N<ΓL`x
 C·V ∇L P ΔP? ∇ b P ·<<CL? ∇∇ 9·bε b P N<ΓJ<?x

<ε- Lb ΛLNΓ·Δ?, ΓΓ·∇ ·b4^o ΔJε·b? <ε- b PJb` b <P Nσb·Δ4?
 ΓN<ΓJ<?x 9b/ Jε ·<·<- V4` ΔCN·9 <·∇σb? b P ΔJε·b` ∇Cε` ∇C
 bP, ΔCΓ` <·∇σbε`, bP ΔCΓ` Γ ΓP U^o·bΛΓ`x ΓΓ·∇ <·∇σb? ·<^obΔbσ`
 <5^ <ΛN·9 ∇C ·Δε <C·<Λ^ob<`x Jε Δ4 JΓC? ρ^oC, ρ^oC σε ∇C 7·b-,
 ΛJε` ·<ε° P ΔC? εPΓ`x ·bσ 5d- bJCP` ΓΓ·∇ <·∇σbε`x P ΔC·<` Lb
 εPΓ` ∇·Δ ΛLΓ∇Γ`x ε^oΛ- 4·bJε·<` L^od- ∇C ∇ ΔCΓ`x <^oPb? ∇N Lε
 σ·<UC^ ∇ ΓLU` ∇C <C·<Λ^ob<` ·∇Γ Δ·U<? ∇ ∇JσΓ` <·∇σbε` b
 ΔJ <ΛΓ` ∇ Λ>σσ`x <^oPb? Δ4 ΓLU<? ∇C, <^oPb? <σL b ΔΓbU`x
 <N/ Δ4 Jε P^o9^oC·L` C·V <σL 9·b? <^oPb? b ΔΓbU`x ∇·bσ V4·b? ρ^oC
 ΓΓ^ob? bP <σJL`, Jε P^o9^oC·L` <σL ·Δε <N/ <·∇σbε` 9·bσ°x <ε- Lb
 9b/ ΓΓ·∇ ΔC° <·∇σb? ·<^obΔbεx ΓΓ·∇ ∇4σ Λd <·∇σb? <ΛN·9
 ·<^obΔbσ`x ∇ Δ^oΛΓ ·b4^o <ε- <N JC/ <·∇σb?x C·V Γε JC·<bσ·<?
 <·∇σb? ·∇^ob- U^oU^ox <ε-, <ε- ∇L b <N ·<<CL? ∇ <N<J, ∇ <N
 JσΓ`x ·b4^o ρ^oC <N P^oPε<Lbσ·<·ε` <·<Jε4`x ∇ <ΛJεΓ` Lb <·<Jε4`
 ∇ VC·<P` ·∇Γ^oNδJ J <·<Jε4`x ·bσ Lb ·b4^o P^oPε<L9·Δ? P ΔC·b? ·∇Γ
 Δ·U<? <ε-x

∇d Lb Δ·U·<` bP VΓ P^oPε<L9/ ·∇Λ^oN·94°, Jε bε9 ·∇Γ^oNδJ·Δ? ∇Γ
 P^oPε<L4·<` <σP, bP VΓ P^oPε<L9/ 7·b- ·∇Λ^oN·94° bP VΓ <4/
 P^oPε<LJ·ΔbΓdσ° ∇Cx ·bσ b ΔJ N<ΓJΓ` ∇dε Jε Lb P ·∇Γ^oNδJ·<`
 ∇b ∇N 5d- ∇ ∇Γ P^oPε<LΓ`x <4Γ∇·Δ LΓεΔbε Λd P P^oPε<Lbσ·<?
 Δ·U·<`, ·bσ b Δ·UΓ`x <ε- Lb P^oPε<L4·<` ∇ ΔJε·b`x ·∇Γ^oNδJ·<`
 Λd CδJ·ε` b P^oPε<L9Γ`x ΛJε` Lb ·∇Γ^oNδJ·Δ? P^oPε<Lbσ·<·ε`
 <·<Jε4` 5d- Γ LΓεΔ9Γ`, ∇·bσ b JCP`x ∇·bσ b ΔJε·b` <σL
 P^oPε<L9·Δ?x

∇d Lb ·∇^ob- ε·<- Γε b N<ΓJ<?x L4° ·Δε ∇C, L4° ·Δε ∇^ob- bP
 N<ΓJ<?x PNLPe·bε<? ΔJε·bε<? ∇L JΓσ^o b ·<<CT`, L·<- ∇^ob- b
 ·<<CL<? σεx <5^ <C·Δε ∇C<? <?C LCV<σ<? b ·<<CL<? JΓσ`x σε
 Λ>? Lb ?PCC? <?U JΓσ` ·∇^ob-x Jε 9·b? ∇Γ ΔC·bε<? <?C ΓΓΓN P
 ·<^obΔbεx 4·bJε<σ` Λd <·∇σbε` <?C JΓσ` <σL b ·<<CT` b ΔJε·b`x

▷נר° ד·נשב° אטריבט° דל ·דא ב א'אלב\ דנר·ד° א·טק° רזזד·אק°
 ד·ד ב נכרר' ד·נשב° ·בס ב א·טר' דכ בר דכנרר' נ דסרר'
 דככרר'באס°, אט' דט נ רר אכ·ב', נ כ·בא'פנ' א·טק° דכגס°, פ
 דרס·ד·א דהס רר·נ דכד א·דא'·ב ב אסדא·דככרר' ד'ב- דכד
 א·דא'·ב בר דככר דכל נ דככר·ד\ דככרר'באס°, ס·דכטכ° דכט לכ
 דכד בר דרס·ד·ר, נ·בזס כ'כ ב דרס·ד·ר ד'כ בר דכנרר' דכד
 א·דא'·ב ב אס א'כר\ דכל דככ' דכרר·א דהס בר דככר דכד
 א·דא'·ב, אבז·א כ'כ א·ד- רר דר'בא לכ ·דא דנ' א·דא'·ב דכד, נ
 רר דכאכרר' לכ לכ כררר', נ סככל\ דכל נז' א·דא'·ב, דכ·ד- לכ
 אד סכררר', רר דר'כככא לכ דכד א·דא'·ב ב דככר, ·בס לכ ב רר
 אסא·ב·א·דככר ד'ב- דכד א·דא'·ב, דכרר·א·דככר' דכד א·דא'·ב,
 אבזככא כ'כ, נ כ·נכאכרר' דכט ·נר ר'ק'כל' דכל נ אככר א·ד-
 דכד, נד לכ ·דא דכל אכט נ דר דכאככר, דכ·ד- אד כ'כר ר
 סררל' ד'ט דכא' נ דר דכאכר' נ נזככל', נ'אנ דר'כר דכ- דכד,
 דכ- דכס ב דככר דכד א·דא'·ב, נ·בס ב אסא·ב' דכל דכנרר'·ד°, כ'כ
 בר רר א'ד ר'ק'כל' ד'כ דכל, כ·נ דכ·א רר' ד·נשבא' ר דר
 אכנרר'·ד\ דכל אסד' ב א'אלב' ב א·טנ' נ נכדל' ד·נשב°, ררלכס נ
 ·נכ' ק·ב°, נ·בס נ כ'כל' ד' ק·בא בר ררס ·דככל', דכל כ'כ רר' ב
 נכרר'·ז, כ·נ סא ר' ·דכט' נ ·נכ' רר' ד'כ, כ·נ ר'ס ר' דר
 אכנרר'·א.

נד לכ דכר' נ נכרר'·ז, ר·ק·ד°, ר·ק·ד° ס·א דכטט' דל ר·ב- א
 באר דר כרנאככר·ד' אסס° ר דכר' ר·ק·דאסס° דכל ר·ב- ב נכרר'·ז,
 ד'כ° ארר' נ ברנכ' ·נר'נכדס° נ רא', נ רא' ר·ק·דאסס° אסס·ד,
 סל·א ר'כר' לכ דככר'·דככר·ד' ר נכדק', ר נכ'דככר·ד' לכ דס- ב
 א'אנ דכלר' ·נר'נכדס° נ רא' אסס·ד דגס° ר·ק·דאסס°, ר' ·דכטכ°
 נז·ב נ נכ'דככר·ד' ד'כ רר', ·נר'נכדס° נ נכ'דכ', ·בס לכ ·נר
 ר'ק'כל', ·בס ב אסא·ב' דל ר·ב- ב נכרר'·ז, ר' ככ' רר' דל, ·נ'ב-
 דל ב נכרר'·ז, ·בס ב כ' אסס°, ר רר ד'כ לכ כ·נ ר ר', ר רא'
 אסס·ד, ·נר'נכדס°, נד לכ נ ·דכ' ד·ד אסס°, כ'כ ·נר', כ'ככרר'ר'ר'
 כ'כ ד'כ ·בס אד כ·נ ב דנ כ' ·נר'נכדס°, ר'·כ דכ·א ר ברנאככר·ד'
 ד·ד, ד·ד ·נר'נכדס° ב כרנא', ב רא' אסס·ד לכ, נ רא' דנ, ר'·כ
 ר' נט' דל נ ד'כר'·א ר דכלדככר·ד' לכ א'א-, ב נכ'דכ' דס- ·דכ-
 לכ סל·א ר'כר' נ נכדק'·א נ·בס ב אככ·דככר סא ·דא בר
 אס·דככ' דל, דל ר·ק·ד° ב אככ·דככ'·א א באר דר ראככר·ד'·ד°
 אסס° ר ר'כ' דגס°, נד לכ ד'כ° ד'ט נר דנ דר ר'ככר' אסס° ר
 ר·ק'·א דככ' אסס° ב ר·ככר·דככ', ר'כר דנ נ דכר'·א, ד'כ° לכ
 דככ·ד·נר' ברנכ' דכד כ'כ אד ב אס ד'טכ' דכגס° ב ר·ככר·דככ'
 נ דככ·ד', נ דככר' דנ ד·נשבא' ד'כ רר' ב אסככל', ד'כ° נ·בס
 נ·ט·ד'·כ', נ·בזס ב רר ר'כט' אס'·א נ דככ'·א לכ ד·נשב' ·נ'ב-
 דכל ק·ב' ב ר·ככר·ד'·א נ·בס כ'כר'·א.

Lb Ja dl dr Δfē.bʰ, Δʰʌr .bʰʷ Δf bē.dʌr' Δσσ° r ʌʌʌr',
 ∇.bσ ∇fē.bʰ, ∇.bσ Lb .∇r Δ.ʌʌʰ ᵂc b Δfē.bσσ \ cʰq.Δʰ .dʰbΔbē
 Δʰʌrēσ.dʰ Δ.cσ.dʰ .bʰʷ r dʌ Δfē.bʰ .dʰbΔbʰ, .bʰʷ ᵂc q dʌ
 Pē.dʰ Δ.cσ.dʰ, .bσ Lb ʌd ∇r' ʰd- ∇b r'∇ 9.bʰ ŋL' rʰ ʌrʰbʌ
 .∇ʰ ʰd- ∇ rʰʌēσ.dʰ σē Uʰʌʰ, ∇ nʌr' rʰʰʰ dʰ Δc.Δē ēσ
 .ΔσVʰ b Δc.bʰ, ∇ Lʌē.dσ.dʰ, ∇ dʌ bē.dʌrʰbʌ, dσΔ cʰq.Δē b
 dʌ σʌU dʰcσ.dʰ, dʌU σē .ΔσVdʰ b Δc.bʰ Δc.Δē, d.dʰʌU Lb Lʰd-
 cʌ r.ēʰ.ē Uʰʌʰ σbʰ, .dʰbΔbē b Δf vʌʌʰ, cʌ Δfē.b.ē b Δ.cσ.dʰ
 Lʌb dʰb- .dʰbΔbē bʰ Δfēdʰcσ.dʰ, Jē, dr Δc.bʰ σʌʰ dʰb-
 .dʰbΔbē bʰ dʰcσ.dʰ, dʰ- Lb dʰʰʰ P dʰcσ.dʰ.ē, .∇ʰb- dʰʰʰ P dr
 Δfē.bʰ σʌʰ ∇ Δc.bʰ dʰc .dʰbΔbσ, dʰ ʌd b dr rʰē dʰ∇σbʰ, bʰ
 Δf dʰbʰ.dʰ .dʰr'x ∇.bσ Lb b dr Δ.ʌʌʰ, c.v .bʰʷ Δfē.bσσ°,
 .dʰr'dʰσ.dʰ Δσσ° b dr bʰrʌʰ ∇ Δ.ʌʌʰ, cʰʌʌʌ nʌʰʰ ʌd cʰdʰσ°
 ᵂc dʰc b ʌrʌLbʰ b dσʌʌʌ, ∇ dʰr' dʰ∇σbʰ ∇ Vʰ ēr'dʰʰ c.v
 .bʰʷ rʰcʰ.Δēē° dʰ- b ʌʌʌr'x .bσ Lb b dr Δ.ʌʌʰ, d.dʰʌU Lʰd-
 cʌʰē.bʰ .∇r Δ.ʌʌʰ σbʰ ΔU9, b Δfē.bʰ dʰ- .dʰbΔbē ∇ .dʌʌʌʰ
 d.dʰʌU Lʰd- cʌ r.ēʰ, d.dʰʌU ᵂc σbʰ cʌ dʰc.dʰσ.dʰ Lʰd-, σbʰ q
 dʌ ʌʌʌr' dʰ∇σbēʰ Lʌb dʰʌ Lb q Δfē.bʰ Δ.cσ.dʰ ᵂc,
 dʌʌʌʰ r dʌ rʰʰ dʰc, Vʰē.bʰ dʰc dʌʌʌʰ b Δfʰʰ b ΔUʰrʰbʌ
 dʌʌʌʰ r Δf Δc.bʰ

dʌ Lb P.∇ʌdʰ dʰc b Δfʌʰ, Δσdʰ bʰ Vʰr <ʌʌʌʰ, dʰʰʰ Pʰ .∇ʰb-
 dʰrē.Δ° .∇rʰʌdʰ. Pʰ rʰrʰ.dʰrʰē ∇ Δc.bʰ, b Δfʌʰ 9.bʰ Lb
 Δ.cσ.dʰ dl bʰcʰ .∇rʰʌdʰ. Pʰ rʰrʰ.ʰʰ dʰʰʰ dʰʰʰ dʰʰʰ dʰʰʰ dʰʰʰ
 Vʰr <<ʌʌʌʰ dσΔ Pʰrʰ.dʰrʰē, Pʰ .∇ʰb- dʰʰ dʰrē.Δ° .∇rʰʌdʰ dʌ ∇
 dr ʰrʰ' dʰrʰσ° dʌ P.∇ʌdʰ, Pʰrʰ.dʰrʰē dʌ ∇ <ʰʌʌʰ b Δf cʌʰʰ
 9.bēx dʰc Lb .Δē dl dʌʌʌʰ bʰ dʰcσ.dʰ, nʰʰ dʰʰ ʌd
 9ʰrʰdʰσ.dʰ Δ.cσ.dʰ, dʰē dʰrʰʰ b dʰnʰ, rʰʰʰ ᵂc b dσʌrʰbʌ dʰcʰ
 ʌrʰ ᵂc dσʌrʰbʌ dʰc ∇ rʰrʰbʌ Δ.cσ.dʰ, Δ.ʌʌʰ Lb .∇rʰʌdʰ, Pʰ
 b.ᵂʰ r ʌrʌLbʰ, σʰʰʰʰ ʌ> Lʰd- bē9 bʰ ʌrʌLbʰ, bʰ ʌʰcσ° dʌʌʌʰ,
 dʌʌʌʰ .rʰ dʰc Δ.ʌʌʰ, rʰdʌʰ dʰc dʰrʰbʌ dσL b Δfʌʰ dʌʌʌʰ,
 .bσ Lb b dr ΔUʰʌʌʰ, d.dʰʌU Lʰd- cʌ r.ē.bʰ σbʰ ΔU9 .∇r Δ.ʌʌʰ,
 q dʌʌʰ dʌʌʰ dʌ, q dʌ ʌʌʌr' b Δfʌʌʌʰ, .dʰbΔbē b Δfʌʌʌʰ
 dʌ Δʰʌrēσ.dʰ .bʰʷ ∇ dʌ dʰcσ.dʰ dσΔ ᵂc .bʰʷ q dʌ Δfē.bʰ
 .dʰbΔbēx ∇.bσ ∇ cʌʌʌʰ dʰ, ∇ 9ʰrʰdʰσ.dʰ dʰʰ dʌʌʌʰ Δσdʰ 9ʰ
 Δc.bʰ ∇dʰc .dʰʰ ∇fʰ lʌʌʰ .rʰ dʰʰ rʰbē° dʰc, dʰc b Δf dʌʌʰ ∇dʰc
 ∇fʰ dʰcʌʰ dʰc rʰbē° ᵂU b dʌʌʌʰ .∇rʰʌdʰ b Δfʌʌʰ ∇dʰ Lb rē
 Δ.cσ.dʰ dʰ- b ʌ> dʰʰ rē rʰ cʌʰdʰ dʰc, ∇.bσ ∇.cσ.dʰ dʰʰ
 .dʰʰ P dʌʌʌʰ rʰ dʰcʰ.dʰ dʰ b Δ.ʌʌʰ ∇ ʌ>σσʰ dʰʌ, ∇r dʌʌʌʰ
 dʌ ʰnʰ b dʌʌʌʰ .∇rʰʌdʰ

.Ud.Δσσ° Δc.Δē ᵂc dʰdʰ dʰʰ ᵂU, c Pʰ rʰʰ Lb dσL dʌʌʌʰ
 dʰc ʌrʌʰ Δ.cσ.dʰ dʰʌ ᵂc 9ʰrʰdʰσ.dʰ Δ.cσ.dʰ r Δc.bʰ dʌʌʌʰ

לב ·U·D·A', ∇ V·S·e·b'x ·T·R C·S·C C'<C'σ° <P·C b A·Γ·e·L·b'x ·V'·b'· <T
D·R <σ·J·R·b·U° <σ·L ·U·D·A' ∇·Δ <R <P·N·σ·b·U'x C·σ'·A L·b A·d <σ·L 9
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J·R·σ' b·P Δ·J·U·L·<P'x C'·U b D·R·L·b' <σ·L J·R·σ' b·P Δ·S·σ·b·U'?

J·e b·e·9 <J·R P'·9·U·U' <σ·L C'·C b D·R·L·b·σ·9 <σ·L ·Δ·e, Δ·S·σ·b·R·b·U',
Δ·S·σ·b·U·<P' A·d L·e <S·A ∇ V·C·L', T·U ·∇·σ'·P' ∇·Δ·C·L', ·<L·S V·R Δ·J·U·L·
<P'·C·x J·R·σ' L·e V·U·C·A ∇ Δ·C·σ·<A'x T'·C'·C ∇·L A·d b V·R Δ'·d ·<C·C·L' <P'
D·R V·U' J·R·σ' ∇ Δ·S·σ·b·U' <σ·L·x J·e L·b P'·9·U·U' ·Δ·e C'·C <σ·L, D·L,
∇·b·σ·L ·T·R ·∇·R Δ·S·σ·b·U' R·P Δ·U·L·<P'x σ'·C'·C A·d <P V·U' <σ·L ∇ Δ·C·σ·<A'
b Δ'·d, D·N A·d ∇ V·C·L' b Δ'·d U·A·C·L', J·R·σ' ∇ Δ·R·b·U'x

J·e e ·Δ'·b'· P·J·R V·U' J·R·σ' R·S e'·>·Δ·σ·b·R' <·∇·σ·b'?

J·e ·Δ'·b'· <J·R V·U' <σ·L, ∇·b·σ A·d <C·Δ·e b Δ·S V·C·L' ∇·b b e·<A·R'
Δ·σ·σ·<A'x J·e, ∇·d·d ·T·R J·R·σ'·Δ·σ·σ·<A' L·e ∇ Δ·N·C·<P'x <A·b·Γ' <σ·P b
<A·R', J'· <'·C·n b Δ·R·b·U'x ∇·d·d L·b ·T·R T·J·R, J·R·σ'·Δ·σ·σ·<A' D·C b·P D·R
σ·C·Δ·P·R' J·R·σ', ·b·σ ∇ Δ·C·σ·<P·<P'x ∇·d ·Δ·e D·C ·Δ·e D·U Δ·U·9 b Δ·C·R',
9·b' <T·R Γ·R·∇ A·d P·∇·N·σ' V·R D·R·<A' L·e Δ·U·<e'x J·e ·<·<· V·L', J·e
·<·<· V·L' ·T·R J·R·σ'·Δ·σ·σ° Δ·C° D·C Δ·U·<e'x T·P L·b <A·b·Γ' b Δ·C·R',
∇·D·b·σ L·b J·R·σ' ·T·R b·P D·R σ·C·Δ·d·<·9 <P·C·x J'· <'·C·n <P·C b Δ·C·R'
Δ·σ·σ·<A'x ∇·b·σ ∇ Δ·U·<A'·<P' <P·C R·L·<A' V·L' ∇ N·<R·J'x D·d ·Δ·e
Δ·σ·σ·<A' D·C b Δ·C·R', 9·S·R·<σ·σ·<A' ·Δ·e b Δ·C·R'x A·C·V·d' T'·C·P R V·R
D·R·<A' <·∇·σ·b·e' D·C b Δ·C·R', ∇·b·σ b Δ·U'x L·N·b <σ·L, L·N·b <σ·L,
b·Δ·C·L·N'x <P ·<C·L·C·A R·L·<A' <P·C V·L' J·R·σ', L·<L·J' σ·e <P V·R D·R' ∇
Δ·U', D·C L·b <C·S R·L·Δ·σ·σ·<P ∇ Δ·U'x D·U <P V·R Δ·J·C' Δ·U° σ·R·L'·b·Γ'
Δ·U·9·x D·U L·b <P V·R L·P·C·Δ·∇·C·A, D·U Δ·U·9 ∇·b·σ' Δ·U°·x <P·U <P V·R D·R
·<e·b·Γ·b' <P·U, T·U·x ·∇·σ'·P·Δ R·A·A L·b <P V·R <C·R·C'x σ·S·C·e A·> L·b <P
Δ·C', <P Δ·C' 9·S·R·<σ·<A' Δ·U°·x σ·L·e' A·> L·b <P Δ·C' <C·<A'·b·J' Δ·U°·x
D·C L·b, σ·L·e·T·Γ·C·e A·> N·C' D·C <P·C J·R·σ'x Δ'·A·R ·<e° ∇·P V·R
D·R·<A·d·<T· <·∇·σ·b·e' <P·C b Δ·C·R'x ∇·d D·d L·b ·Δ·e J·R·σ', J'· <'·N·n <σ·P
b Δ·C·R', ∇·b·σ·P ·T·J·R J·R·σ'·Δ·σ·σ·<A' L·e Δ·U·<σ' <·∇·σ·b·e' ∇ <σ·J·L'x D·d
L·b Δ·U·9, <P·U J·R·σ', A·C·V·d Δ·σ·σ·<A' L·b b R·L·<A'·Δ·R' T'·C·L·b <σ·P
b·S' b Δ·C·R', 9·S·R·<σ·<A' b·P Δ·C·R' Δ·σ·σ·<A'x ∇·b·σ L·e ∇ Δ·C·R'·J'·C·Δ·<A'·<P'x

Louie Shisheesh



(recorded December 11, 2004)

Community or reserve life in the past

1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.

Yes, I will tell you a brief story about my life and the way we lived a long time ago, but first of all, I will introduce myself. My name is Louis Shisheesh. Attawapiskat is my permanent residence. I never left my community not even for short period to live elsewhere.

I will tell you as far as I can remember when my grandfather was still living, the way of life, and the activities they did to live off the land. Life was hard. They were knowledgeable and had exceptional skills in order to survive in the wilderness; contrary to what life it is today. When I was living off the land, I always had food and other things readily available when I needed them ... because of the traditional teachings that I received from my father and grandfather. Life was different than it is today. It's true what our grandfathers told us about life a long time ago and how they survived and contended with the harsh conditions. When you hear our grandfathers talk about the way they lived and the tools they used to survive, I followed their way of life when I was growing up with my parents. Life was not easy. People were nomadic a long time ago. They traveled long distances to look for food, hunt, and trap. They camped temporarily where they found food and beaver.

When I was quite younger, I saw my own father and how hard he had to struggle to provide provisions for his family in order for us to survive. Today, if we tell this story to the younger generation I don't think they would comprehend what their grandfathers or parents went through in order to survive in those days. We understand it because we lived it first hand. But, the younger generation won't understand it because they only heard it and did not experience it. They didn't follow the traditional way of life. They only experience the way they live nowadays. In order to understand the traditional way of life we have to experience it.

Biographic Information

Name: Louie Philip Shisheesh
 Date of Birth: January 12, 1935
 Place of Birth: Ekwan River
 Present Address: Attawapiskat
 Former Name: Asisky
 Name of Spouse: Bernadette Weesk
 Number of Children: 9
 Grandchildren: 18
 Great-grandchildren: 0
 Number of Years Married: 48
 Education: None
 Interests/Hobbies: Wood Cutting
 Date of Interview: December 11, 2004

I heard my grandfather mention how hard they struggled in order to survive in the bush. Only a few people stayed in the community at that time. The rest of the people went in the bush as far as I can recall including my family and myself. The bush was the only place to find something to sustain us. So was life a long time ago.

A long time ago, there were quite number of ways to hunt different animals, our source of food, in order to survive in the wild. Natives never made permanent camps wherever they stayed unlike non- Natives. We didn't leave any conspicuous signs of our camps in those days. Yes, Natives never left any visible signs wherever they camped. As I mentioned prior to my story, we followed a nomadic style of hunting and looking for food. Subsequently, that's where we stayed until we had to move on again. We didn't make a permanent camp wherever we stayed. It never happened that way.

It didn't matter how far we had to travel to find food to provide for our family. We didn't have readily available accommodation like a tent to sleep in for the night. We had to dig in the snow to erect a makeshift shelter with pine boughs in the open. That's the kind of lifestyle we were accustomed to. We didn't have a tent to carry around with us. Before we left to go and search food a warm secure place that was built for our family. That shelter was called an *askikan*. It was built similar to a teepee or wigwam, and was made out of poles covered with earth or bark. That's the way life was a long time ago. It was a comfortable place for their families to live during the winter.

They had different techniques to hunt animals and they kept some for later use. They were very good at preserving food to survive on. When we used to go back to the community, it didn't seem that long before we had to head out to the bush again. We lived in the bush all the time to survive.

That's the way life was in those days. I recalled seeing my grandfather live in the traditional way of life. He was knowledgeable on how to make his own tools. They were very poor and they didn't have any material possessions.

They even made their own canoes. They weren't worried about going in the bush without a canoe as long they had some tools to make their canoes and paint That's where he made his canoe, wherever he was in the bush when it was time to travel by water. My father taught me how to make those survival tools including how to make snowshoes. There were different techniques and shapes in making snowshoes and wooden traps. These were essential for trapping and hunting in order to survive in the

bush. In the summer, we had a brief stay in the community with just enough time to visit our neighbors. Then it was time to head out in the bush again.

That's how life it was a long time ago. I have a recollection of my grandfather making his own tools; even though we had difficult times in those days, they still had time to accommodate their needs to survive. I watched my own grandfather make his own tools. He showed me how and I learned how to make them. I witnessed my father hunting moose about five times during the winter with snowshoes. He used a sword-like type of weapon to kill a moose. They were very clever and skilled at what they did in order to survive in the bush.

They used snowshoes to chase after and hunt big game animals such as moose or caribou. They were very good at what they did and salvaged many parts of the animals to make tools and clothing. I also saw my brother-in-law kill a moose the same way with a makeshift weapon. My father used to hit a young moose with an axe; you know a year old moose during the winter. That's what my father did in order to provide for his family. That's my recollection about the way our grandfathers and fathers lived a long time ago. I think I'm finished with this subject.

Were you taught how to use traditional medicines like herbs they used during your grandfather's era?

Yes, I saw first hand how they used them. I personally witnessed my mother using traditional medicines that they obtained from the bush to treat a cold on a child with a bad cough. I had the same sickness. My mother used Labrador tea that she picked from the bush. She ground it to make a paste, mixed it with fat, and put that on my chest covered with a piece of cloth. I was very young then but I remember it. I recovered fast afterwards.

I saw other people use herbs and traditional medicines to treat other people which they made themselves. One type of willow and tamarack was used and out of these, they made some medicines. I personally saw them make them. They used these medicines to treat skin abrasions such as cuts or scrapes. I had to make those herbs or medicines for my own use because I was told to make them. Because I watched my mother make them, I had the ability to make them as well. They were used on small children for diaper rash and for simple skin problems. Sometimes it happened that they were not effective for some types of sicknesses. That's how people used to find out about them. These medicines helped in many ways. They experimented too.

There are other types of herbs that are gathered from the bush. These types of herbs are found laying low on the ground. They resembled coniferous trees and are noted for their fragrance. They used to be called crow's berries. They used to boil them and drink that water when you had a bad cold. That's what they were used for. Another tree that they used for medicine was cedar. They used the branches and boiled them in similar way just like the previous one I mentioned. This type of medicine is useful for colds and coughs. This is what they had to do to alleviate suffering from any kind of sicknesses while in the bush. They know this by experimenting first hand.

In one incident I remember, someone had cut himself with an axe and they used red willow to treat it. First, they gathered some red willows. Then they scraped the bark off and boiled the inner bark. Then they cleaned the cut with the boiling water and at the same time removed clotted blood. Next, they used the inner bark to cover the axe cut. That's one thing I observed when they did to treat someone with cuts. On the same subject about treating wounds, they also obtained some parts of animals to treat people. One such animal was the beaver. Another incident I recall is someone accidentally cut his arm with a machete while we were working in the bush line cutting. When that man arrived at our camp, he had a severe cut. He had a small box and inside was a dried beaver castor. Then he told me to put it in boiling water so that it softens. We cut it up in half and put it on the cut on his arm. After three days that beaver castor bandage came off and the cut looked like it was sutured together. That's how wonderful those traditional medicines were in those days. He didn't have any problems with his arm after that. That's the way it was a long time ago.

At another time, cattails were used to treat an ailment such as an axe cut. They used the furry part of it and applied it to the cut. This is what I saw concerning traditional medicines a long time ago. I distinctly remember my grandmother doing the same thing with cedar. She used the roots of that cedar and crushed it to make a paste but I don't know what it was used for. I think it was used to draw out abscesses for infected cuts.

I saw tamarack used for infected cuts. They gathered the bark, crushed the inner part of that bark, and applied it to the wound. They also used red willow. They boiled the scraped bark and used that as a cleanser to the cuts and wounds. Furthermore, they used it as a gargle for sore throats. For small babies, they used a clean cloth and soaked it in this solution. A baby sucked on it to sooth it's throat or sores on the inside the mouth. I observed our grandfathers practicing with traditional medicines. I

followed their teachings to make my own medicines and herbs. I used them to treat what ails me.

Where did you live when you were in the bush?

[I lived on the] southern part of this river. It's called Lawashi [River] We've been there ever since I could remember. As I stated before, people traveled all over these remote places and they stayed wherever they wanted to live off the land. It wasn't until the Native people were given a parcel of land where they could trap that they were not allowed to overextend their trapping into their neighbor's trapping ground. The Native people resided in one place.

This was [the Department of] Lands and Forests' regulations not the Natives. Our life was different. We never stayed in one place for a long period of time. We were nomadic people. It was common for our families to leave the community and head out to the bush to hunt and trap until after break-up. This was before Land and Forests interfered with the Natives and with the land. People didn't hesitate to travel to remote places a long time ago. What I am talking about was before my time.

When I was young my father used to travel far away to hunt and trap which was a vital for their survival. That's what he used to tell me. He used to go to Ekwan River, you know that big river, up river. That was their lifestyle in those days, prior to Lands and Forests guidelines coming into effect. ... They were told that they couldn't interfere in other people's traplines to trap and hunt. I think this is wrong because the Creator made everything for us and the land to sustain us, not the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR). Everything was created for us including the animals, plants, and fish for own livelihood. The MNR came to our community and informed the people on how many fur-bearing animals they could trap each year. They give out quotas to the people. They sounded like they're the ones who created everything on our land. The Creator is the one who made everything including mankind. He also included animals and plants for us to use as food. In the old days, we stayed up at Ekwan River. That's when I started to hunt and be able to provide for myself. That's the way it was a long time ago.

Did you use dog teams those days?

Yes, I did. That was the only transportation we had in those days. It wasn't long ago that ski-dogs came to our communities. We used dogs to pull our sleds and travel from place to place. Sometimes we had four or five in a team. I am talking about my own family when we were living in the bush. Dogs were a very important commodity in

those days. They assisted us in so many ways. Just like the way you respect your ski-doo, that's the way the dogs were treated. They were respected. They never lose their way around even if the road is covered with drifting snow almost like humans. Those husky dogs had a very keen sense of smell. [They were] very strong dogs. They were never yelled at when they were given directions when they pulled a sled, especially the lead dog. When you give a command to turn, he does it right away. They knew their commands: hak was to turn right, holee was to turn to left, and the word to stop.

Husky dogs are very intelligent and very hard working dogs. One time when we were walking around moose hunting in the spring, it was getting late in the evening. We stopped to make a fire because my dad told me that it was too far to reach our destination. After we had our tea, my father said, "I am going to put my my lead dog in a harness." We had taken some dogs with us so that they could be able to smell moose. If they did then the dogs would bark and the moose would just stand there and my father would shoot it. That's what my father and I used to do in the spring time.

We stayed in that area for almost two years at that time. We used snares up that hill a long time ago. When we left that evening, my father handled the lead dog and we followed it. We depended on that dog to find the road to our camp. We crossed a huge lake and I had no idea where we were. We walked in total darkness and it seemed like a long time before my father stopped to light a match and find out where we were. He was trying to shine that light into the trees. We saw an old blaze which indicated that we were almost there. That lead dog was right on the target. We continued until we reached the river. We didn't see our road, but the dog knew exactly where it was. That's why I mentioned how intelligent they were and how important they were.

What kind of footwear did you use when you were living in the bush?

We wore moosehide moccasins and moosehide mitts. We used tanned moosehide, just like the ones Native woman use to make crafts. But, it seldom happened that moosehide wasn't available so a canvas-type material was used to make moccasins and mitts, of course, this was just temporary. It was known that cloth mitts were easier to dry when wet as opposed to moosehide mitts and moccasins. Moosehide is very difficult to dry. It takes a long time before it dries.

I practiced the traditional ways when I was living off the land including clothing and survival techniques that you need to remember if something drastic occurred while trapping or hunting in the wilderness. Recently, I witnessed a man fall through the ice. He was wearing ski-doo boots. I just want to tell a story what happened, even though we

have the latest kind of winter footwear, you still needed to know the traditional knowledge of survival skills and safety. His ski-doo boots were soaked, so we made fire. I told him that his ski-doo boots would be hard to dry, especially the inner parts.

As I stated before, Natives used every part of the animal that they killed for their survival and that included using the hide or their fur. You probably heard people talk about rabbit coats and rabbit hats. That's what they wore. They even made a [rabbit skin] blanket. That's the way it was a long time ago.

While you were living off the land in those days, were socks available then?

No, they were not available yet. But later on, they came into existence in our area. The Native people used to make their own socks and used just anything they could get. I saw my grandfather not wear any socks. He just wrapped up his feet with some type of old cloth and put his moccasins on. Pants were not in existence those days; they were very rare. This is how our grandfathers survived the harsh winters in our area. What I just mentioned wasn't that long ago because I saw it with my own eyes and I talk about it. Nothing much was available at our disposal meaning suitable clothing for the harsh environment that we had to endure.

Do you have any information about starvation that occurred during your grandfather's era?

I only know a few parts of that era but I did not experience it. I had some idea that there was a food shortage. That was when I was just a young child but I used to hear my parents mention it and how difficult it was in those days. It was hard to find something to hunt; animals and fish were scarce. I heard my grandfather talk about those days.

Did you live around the coastal areas on James Bay?

Yes, just briefly.

What did you use for transportation to travel around the coast?

My arms, a paddle, and a canoe, that's all you needed in those days. That's how we traveled across to Akimiski [Island]. When my father and I traveled anywhere, we paddled our canoe, even all the way to Moosonee. That was the only way to travel in those days. If the winds were in the right direction, we sailed.

When did outboard motors start to appear in our area?

It doesn't seem that long ago when outboard motors started to appear in our area. It was about that time when your parents moved south but I don't have the exact year. I

was just a young man then. The first ones were quite small; they were 2 1/2 horsepower, 3 horsepower, and 5 horsepower. There was also an 8 horsepower that was quite big. It wasn't until later people started to own them. People traveled long distances, even though they didn't have those outboard motors. I don't know people a long time ago contemplated how far they had to travel wherever their destination was. [It was the] same thing traveling with dog teams or traveling in the summer If you use an outboard motor, this is different perspective. You have to worry about running out of gas, especially if you travel long distance. This is true.

When you were living in the bush, did you happen to meet or stay with other families?

Not all the time but we used to visit my grandfather and uncle where they were trapping. We did live in the same area but where the river separates and turns into a fork. Sometimes we stayed further up on the opposite side of the river. My grandfather would stay on the other side. Sometimes we stayed together. That's the way our livelihood was in those days.

When we hunted in the remote areas, we didn't see anybody but we did see some signs of people like tracks. That was the only thing that we saw. A long time ago, nobody knew what the other families were going through in their life. [It is] not like today, where everybody knows your business. They just used just write wherever they saw some human signs just to let know that they saw their tracks or that they've been in that area. That's how they communicated with each other. The only time that the people knew that someone had died, something drastic happened to someone, or there was sickness in a family was in the summer when they had summer gatherings. [It is] not like what it is today where everybody knows what goes on.

Do you know when Natives started to write their own language?

I have no answer for your question but they knew how to write already as far as I could remember. I don't remember the exact time they started doing that. They probably taught themselves to do that or someone must have already known how to write in Cree syllabics. I remember my father telling stories about what he heard a long time ago.

They knew what to do to let other people know. Tracks and signs were acknowledged by blazing a tree indicating how many people there were by one scrape, or two or three, depending on how many people were there at that time. My father told me about those stories.

How did you meet your wife? Did you pick her by choice or did someone pick her for you?
Nobody was forced to marry or pick a wife. The only time you married was when that person agreed to marry you. You had to ask for her hand. That's what we did when we fancied someone to share our life with. But, if your request was not accepted then there's nothing that you could do about it.

When did the non-Natives first come in contact with the Natives up north? I am not talking about the Hudson's Bay employees.

I don't know exactly when they came in contact with the Natives up north. I just saw them when we came into the community one time. I mean people like the doctor or the Indian Agent who came into the community. But, to see other non-Natives, no. The only other ones we saw in the summer were the canoe enthusiasts who used to come down the

Attawapiskat River in the summer. That's all I can recall in those days.

Were you told what kinds of berries were edible and what kinds were not edible?

Yes, I was instructed on which ones to eat and not to eat just like what Adam did at the beginning of creation. The ones I was told never to eat are the white ones and they grow on a willow. They're called bear berries and they grew among the poplar trees. There are other red berries and we were told not to eat those. These red berries looked like moose berries that grew on willows near a river or a lake. There quite a few we were told not to eat like squirrel berries. These berries are bright red, almost orange. Cranberries are other ones that are edible. They grow in the forest. Earth berries that grow on mushkeg-type ground grow in clusters like grapes, but they're a lot smaller. There are others that are edible like the bright red ones they call frog berries, the purple ones with stripes they call goose berries, and other types of cranberries that grow in a mossy bog. There are the ones that are orange that they call headberries. They grow in the bush.

These are the different types of berries I can remember which are edible and some are not that I mentioned. There are some wild shrub plants called wild roses, which come in bright pink and red. In the fall, all that is left are the seeds that look bright red. You can eat the top covering which is quite good but you don't dare eat the seeds, if you do, you get this incredible rectum itch.

Community or reserve life today*2) Describe your life in your community or reserve today.*

I guess it's ok living here. The only problem is I'm not happy because I'm not as active as I was when living in the bush. I used to enjoy living off the land. It wasn't that long ago when I used to go in the bush, even though, I was living in the community. The only problem living in the community is that everything is so costly. It's very difficult to provide for yourself while living in the community. Yes, there are many opportunities if you want to stay here. However, contrary to living in the bush, it's not the same. Everything is readily available when you're in the bush. [Everything is] at your disposal like getting firewood. You don't have to go far to fetch it.

But, when you live in the community, you have to plan ahead like getting enough gas and you know how expensive it is around here when you want to purchase it. Five gallons of gas costs around \$30.00.

When you do get some firewood, you can almost anticipate how far you can go to get the best dry wood. It's quite far away. You only make two trips on five gallons of gas and that's only for one cord of wood. The only problem is you have to go far to get good wood. I enjoy going further in the bush; it's so peaceful.

Everything is so expensive nowadays including groceries, contrary to living off the land. Transportation is very expensive including airfares and they are still going up. When they first informed us about putting an airstrip in our community, we were promised that things would be easier for us and there would be great improvements in our community but their word was hogwash.

Community or reserve life in the future*3) Describe what your life might be like in your community or reserve in the future.*

I don't think things will get any better. Our community is in dire need of socio-economic help. This is just my opinion. Too much is coming into the community, drugs and alcohol, to name a few, and other family related problems associated with alcohol. The only time things will change to the better in our community is by cleaning the environment, the whole environment, meaning the damaging factors like drugs, alcohol, and the land we live on. This community is located on the land that has been polluted by oil spills on the school grounds.

The school is still standing there where it was abandoned. It's a sore sight when I think about it. I mentioned this subject once during a council meeting. I also mentioned that

if there ever was a flood our drinking water would be contaminated because our dump is located not far from the water filtration plant. I think about those things, that's why I mention it. That's why I said at the beginning that things wouldn't get any better in our community.

Did you know that there is a reserve located at Ekwan River?

I only went there once in my lifetime. We went up Ekwan River. I went with my brother-in-law, Gabriel Spence and Ignace, my other brother-in-law. We went to that place and it was called Small Ekwan at that time but I don't remember how appeared because I was only there once.

Do you think that land is big geographically?

I have no idea how big it is. The only thing I noticed when we went up the Ekwan River is that trees were very scarce. There was no tree line at all on the river just small trees grew there. I don't know how it looked further in the bush.

Do you think that reserve up the Ekwan River would be operative in the near future or do you think people would live there?

I don't know what's going to happen to us in the coming future. We can't predict the future and we don't know how future generations will exist. The younger generation seemed to follow more versatile lifestyle, not the traditional lifestyle like the one I'm used to and lived. The younger generation is more educated and they have more opportunities. That's why they're not interested in the traditional lifestyle contrary to what we think. My parents and especially our grandfathers taught us how to live off the land in order to survive and I respected those teachings I received tremendously.

I think about the youth quite often. We don't know what their future plans are. They are educated and have better opportunities. We were educated too, in the traditional way of life but the younger people are not interested in it. We were able to provide for our families too, money wise from trapping. That's what they're after too, to make money. The younger people didn't experience and see the traditional way of life like the one I did, that's why they're not interested. I don't want to sound like I don't like the younger generation. I have nothing but the utmost respect for them. I just think about how their life would be in the future.



Vezina Secondary School

What do you think about the prospectors or mining development companies who have come into the community? Do you think there will be opportunities in the mining sector?

I think about that all the time since there were so many consultation meetings about mining exploration and its economic opportunities, impacts, and benefits. What I don't understand is why there are so many consultation meetings to inform the people. I guess things will get difficult when they start finding precious minerals in our area. They've been exploring many different areas around here. There will be good and bad perspectives for the community.

The Victor Mine is up the Attawapiskat River. We were informed that people would have many opportunities that life will change for the better when the mine opens up. I have a different view on that. Not everybody is going to have jobs, and those with jobs, of course, it will help them tremendously. Besides that mine will only have so many years of life, then everything stops. What about environmental damage from the mine? This is something that I really worry about. It's going to affect the hunting and trapping grounds of those who continue that traditional lifestyle. We have to stop this kind of activity in our area. Not everyone is going to find work at the Victor Mine. It seems that any information they gather seems to be forgotten as soon as they leave the community. This is my own opinion.



Technical Services

Do you think we're losing our Cree language?

It seems that way and we have to blame but ourselves. Nobody speaks their language in their home anymore. The children can't speak it. I have no idea why it's like that. It's imperative to keep our own language. That's what the Creator gave us when he created us. Other nationalities have their own languages too. We tend to use someone else's language— meaning the English language.

That's what I observe in my community and most young families are like that. Even the young of the youngest ones only speak English at home. This is what I think. Why should the Cree language be taught in school? Nobody seems to take interest. It's very important to include the Cree language in the curriculum and in our everyday life. I also know that to speak English is very important in this day and age, but we should also include our language too. It would be very difficult to relearn our language. This is my own opinion. The younger generation will eventually lose their language. If we encourage them to learn it that will make them excel in their language and be proud of it. That's what I tell my grandchildren when they come and visit. There will be no English spoken in my home because that's your first language and I know you understand it and speak it. Therefore, I don't know what's going to happen to our language in the days ahead.

Do you know other dialects of the Cree language that the Natives spoke?

Yes.

It is different than our current language?

Yes.

Do you think our language is going to be different the way people speak it or read it?

Yes.

Does it sound different when Cree is spoken?

Yes, that's what it seems like. What I notice over here in the community and along the coastal communities is that there are different meanings and dialects of the Cree language. Take Moosonee for instance, their dialect sounds different again. It's the same with us in Attawapiskat, we have a dialect too. Take Peawanuck and Fort Severn they sound like they're singing when they talk. They have different meanings for items and things. It's the same thing when reading Cree syllabics in a newsletter. It depends where it was written. It's very difficult to read it when you're not familiar with the dialect.

Attawapiskat and Fort Albany, these two communities have the same dialect. Kashechewan and Moose Factory also have the same dialect. Their written part of their language is quite different too. The same thing is happening in our community of Attawapiskat. It's because the punctuation is different. That's the reason why. The reason I said that about the written syllabics is that I can't read them because of the dialects. The Ojibway language is quite different from ours. They have an advanced languag. Some I read and some I can't read. That is my problem when it comes to reading written Cree. I suppose it's the same thing with the English language and Chinese language. It's quite different. I don't quite have a grasp on it.

I'm finished with the questions. I'm very grateful that you provided all the information about your life experiences and your input.

Thank you.

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 ΔU^οC^ο Δ^οU ·Δ^ογ^ο β·Δ ΔJU^ο· ∇·βσ Lβ Vγ·β^ο β ΔΠ^ο ∇ <JU^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο·
 Jα ·Δ^ογ^ο ΔΓ ΔUσC^ο Cσσδ^ο 9 ΔJU^ο ΔC Vγδ P^οβ^ο ∇ PJU^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο·
 Jα ·Δα ΔΓ ΔUσC^ο, β μUΔ^ογ^οδ^ο ΓΔU^οC^ο· ΛΓ^ο Lβ ·Δα ∇ Δ<C^ο,
 9Γα^ογ^οC·β^ο ΓμUΔ^ογ^οδ^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο ·Δα^ο ∇ ΔJU^ο·

Δ^οU μΓ^ο β ΔCγ<, Δ<^ο α ΔC·βμ< ΔL ΔC·Δ^ο?

∇∇, ΔC·βμ<· ΔC ΔΠ Λδ, Jα ∇γσ 9·β^ο ΔC·βμ<σ ·Δ^οβΔβα 9β^ο·
 β<σ, ∇δ Lβ ·∇Λ^οΠ·9γ·Δ^ο ΔC ΔγΓ∇·ΔβΓδ·Δ^ο ∇δ Lβ
 ΓβU·Δδα^ογβΓ^ο, ΔC<ΓC·Δσ·Δ·Δ^ο· Jα 9β^ο ·ΔP< Δ·∇σβ^ο· ∇δ Lα ΔCσ Λδ
 ·Δ^ογ^ο σγαεσ·Δμ<σ Lα ΔCσ ·Δ^οβΔβα. Jα Δ·∇σβ^ο ·Δ^οβΔβσσ^ο Δ<ΓC<·
 JΓ ΔLΓ<σ^ο Λδ Δ·∇σβα^ο σ^οC ∇ VΓ ΔJUΓ^ο ∇ Lδ^οP^οβσ^ο· ·Δ^ογ^ο Λδ
 Δ^οU ·ΔP<σ^ο μΓ^ο ΔU, ∇ VΓ ΔγΓΓ^ο9Γ^ο ∇ Lδ^οP^οβσ^ο· ∇·βσ β Δ^οα·β^ο
 ΛLΠ^ο·Δ^ο·

Δ^οU μΓ^ο β ΔCγ<, P·Δ<LCγ^ο α Lα δCPγ^ο Δ·∇σβα^ο Δ^οC?

Δ^οβ^ο Δγ Λδ P ΔP^ο Δ^οU Δγ Λδ βP Δ^ο ΔCσ·Δ^ο ρP ·Δ<LCαα^ο Lα
 Δ^οβ^ο σJ^οσ^ο ∇δ Lβ σ^οC μδΓ^ο, ∇·βσP Lα Λδ ∇ ·Δ<LβP·C< Δ^οU, ∇
 ρC·Δ<LP·C< ΔΠ Lα Δ^οβ^ο β Δ^ο ΔCΓ^ο σ^οC ·Δα·Δ^ο· ∇·βσ Lα ∇
 ΔCLP<· CΛ^οδ- ∇γσ Δ^οC ρP ΔCα^ο· ∇ σPC·ΔP γΛγ Δ^οβ^ο UΠ< ρP
 ΔCα^ο, Δ^οβ^ο Lβ LL^ο ρP C^οβα^ο· ∇·βσ βΔCL^ο· ΔU Lβ ·Δα ·Δα^ο Γ
 ΔJU^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο, Jα· ∇·βσ Λδ Δ^οβ^ο ∇ αΓΔ^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο ∇ <JU^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο,
 ∇ ·Δ<ΓβU^ο ∇ Γ^οβα·∇^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο, ∇·βσ Λδ Δ^οβ^ο β ΔP^ο· Jα ΔΓ P^ο9^οU^ο
 CΛ^οδ- β ΔP^ο Δμ-, ∇β β ·ΔσσΓ^οΔσ·Δ^ο β Δ^ο ΔCσ·Δ^ο Δμ-· Jα ΔσL
 ΔΓ ΔP^ο· βσ Λδ ∇ JΓ L^οαΔ^ο9^οβα·∇^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο ∇ ·Δ<C^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο ∇
 αΓCσΓ ∇ ·ΔC^ο Δ^οU ∇P ·Δ<C^ο· βσ Λδ ∇^οαδP<· ∇Γ P^ο9^οσΓ·C<
 Δ·∇σβα^ο· 9·β^ο Lβ ΔσL β ΔP^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο β Lσ<σ^ο ·Δ^ογ^ο β ΔP^ο σ^οC Λδ
 β αLU^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο· Jα ·Δ^οβ- ΔΓ P^ο9^οβU^ο, <ΠL Λδ ∇ ·Δ<Γ^οΔσ·Δ^ο,
 ∇·βσ Λδ ∇ P^ο9^οβU^ο β Δ^ο<σ^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο ∇ PLσ<σ^ο· ∇P αLU^ο ΔΠ σ^οC
 Λδ ∇ Δδ^ο Δ·∇σβ^ο, βσ <ΠL· Jα ·Δα β ΔP^ο Δμ- β ΛLΠ^οασ·Δ^ο·

Cσ^οΛ β β^οPC·Δ^ο< Δσσ·Δ^ο ΔσL Γ Δσσ·Δ^οΓαΔ9Γ^ο Δσσ^ο U9?

Jα ·Δ^ογ^ο βα9 ρP ΔΠΠ^ο ·Δα ΔσL· Δ<^ο β^οPC<α^ο β Δ^οδ P^ο9^ογ^ο ·Δα
 ∇ L^οαΔ^ο9Γ^ο Δ·∇σβα^ο, ∇ Δσσ·Δ^οΓαΔ9Γ^ο ΔΠ· Δ<^ο Jα ρΓ P^ο9^οU^ο
 Cσ^οΛ β ΔΓ β^οPC·Δ<σ· ∇^οβ- Lα ΔCσ Λδ ςδ- P VΓ
 P^ο9^ομ<Lβσ·Δσδ<· ςδ- Lα ΔCσ P VΓ P^ο9^οCJδ< Δ·∇σβ^ο ΓP^ο9^οC^ο
 ΔσΓσ^ο ∇L^οαΔ^ο9^ο· 9ΔC^οΓαΔ9^ο, ∇L^οαΔ^ο9^ο ΔΠ· ςδ- Lβ Lα ·∇^οβ-, β^οC^ο
 Λδ Π<ΓJ·Δ^ο ·Δα ΔσL, μC·Δ^ο Lα ∇Π<ΓJ^ο< ∇ Δσ^ο9 Π<ΓJ^ο< ΔΠ

Ad b Δ·Uḡ, Jē Δḡσ ΔC·Δē ḡr ΔPḡḡ ḡσC·ΔḡēΔḡḡ ḡḡḡ, L·Δ-
 ḡN ḡḡḡ ḡU Δ·ḡσḡē ḡ Δ·Uḡ, ḡḡ Lb, ḡḡ Lb P PḡḡCJ·Δḡḡ Lb
 PḡCḡ ḡ ēḡΔḡḡ, CΛḡḡ ḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡ Δ·ḡσḡḡ ḡ ḡḡē·ḡ' ḡē° ḡN ΔḡU
 ḡ ΔCḡ, ḡḡ Lb ḡ ΔC' Δē Δ·ḡσḡḡ ḡ Δ·ΔC' Δσḡσ° ḡḡēσ°, Jḡ ḡḡ
 ḡḡḡΔḡḡ ḡḡ ḡ·ΔC' ḡN ḡ ḡḡḡ' ḡḡC ḡḡ ḡ σḡḡ' ḡḡC ḡḡ ḡ
 σḡNḡ, ḡ·ḡσ Lē ḡḡ ḡ ḡCJḡḡḡ ḡ ḡḡḡ' ΔσΔ σḡ·Cḡ ḡ·ḡσ ḡ ΔC'
 ΔσL ḡ Cḡḡ' ΔσP ḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡ ḡḡēσ°, ḡ·ḡσ ḡ Δḡē·ḡPḡḡ ḡḡḡ Δ·Uḡḡ
 Lē ḡC·Δḡ, ḡ NḡCḡ' Δσḡσ°, Jē ḡḡ ḡḡ PḡḡUḡ ḡē ḡḡ Cσḡḡ ḡ ḡḡ
 ḡḡPC·Δḡḡḡ ḡ ḡḡḡΔḡḡḡ ḡḡ Lē ḡCσ P ḡḡPC·Δḡḡḡ ḡḡḡΔḡḡ ḡḡḡ P
 ΔN ḡḡPCḡḡ P·ḡNḡ' ḡ Δḡḡ' Δ·ḡσḡē, ḡ·ḡσ Δē ΔσL ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡ
 NḡCḡCḡḡ ḡ Δ·Uḡ.

CḡU Pē ḡCḡḡ σḡC° ḡ ḡē·ΔCḡ' P·ΔLḡḡ, ḡḡḡ ē Lē ḡḡḡUḡḡ
 ḡḡḡ ḡḡC ḡḡ, Pē ḡḡ P ḡNēLḡḡ Δē Δḡḡ°?

Jē Δē ḡNēLḡ' Δ·ḡσḡḡ, <Nḡ Δḡσ ḡḡ ḡḡḡ' Δ·ḡσḡḡ P Δḡ·ḡḡḡḡ
 Δḡḡ·ḡ·ḡ ḡ ḡCḡḡ' Δ·ḡσḡḡ Δḡḡ·ḡ·ḡ, ḡ ḡḡḡḡ·ḡ·ḡ' ḡ ḡḡCḡ·ḡ' ΔσΔ ḡ
 ḡCσḡḡḡ' Δ·ḡσḡē, ḡḡ Lb ḡσḡ·Δḡḡ ḡ·ḡσ Jē Δḡḡḡ Pḡ Δḡē·Δḡ.

Cσḡḡ Pē ḡ Lḡ Δ·ΔCḡ' ḡU ḡCḡḡ ΔσP ḡḡḡḡḡ·ḡ' ḡN ḡ ḡḡ
 ΔḡUḡḡ' P·ḡNḡ' ΔUḡḡ Jē Δē ΔσP ḡḡḡ' ḡ ΔCḡḡḡ' ΔσP
 ḡCḡḡ' Δ·ḡσḡē.

Jē ḡḡ PḡḡUḡ Cσḡḡ ḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡ' ΔσP Δ·ḡσḡē, ḡCḡ·Δḡ ḡḡ σ·ΔCḡḡḡ
 Δ·ḡσḡḡ, Δē ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ Lē ḡ ḡḡ ΔḡUḡḡ, ḡ·ḡσ Lē
 PḡḡCḡḡḡ Lē ḡ Cḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ Lb ḡσḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡσḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ Δḡḡḡḡ
 Δ·ḡσḡḡ, ḡ·ḡσ Lē ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ·ḡḡḡ Lē ḡ Cḡḡḡḡ' σḡC°, ḡḡ Lb Δē ΔσL,
 ḡḡC° ḡ ḡḡḡ' ΔσP ḡ <ḡḡḡ' ḡḡ Lē ḡḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡḡḡ, ḡ·ḡσ ḡḡ ḡ Δḡ
 PḡḡCḡḡ ḡē ḡ Δḡē·ḡ.

P ḡḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡḡḡ ē ḡḡC Pē ΔσΔ ēēḡḡ ḡḡḡ, ḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ
 ḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡC ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ?

ḡḡ, ḡḡ ḡḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡḡḡ ΔσΔ ḡḡ ḡ ΔCḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ, CΛḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡC'
 ΔC°, Jē ḡḡ PḡḡUḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ, CΛḡḡ ΔσΔ ḡ Δ·ΔCḡḡ ΔσΔ Lḡḡḡ ḡ
 ΔḡḡḡUḡ, σḡḡḡ ḡ ΔḡUḡ, ΔḡN' ḡ ΔC·ḡPḡ, ḡCḡḡ Lb ḡḡ·ḡ ΔḡU, ḡḡḡḡ
 ΔσΔ ḡḡḡ, ḡ·Δē ḡḡC ΔσΔ Lē ḡ ΔNḡ·Δḡḡ. Jē ḡḡ <Pḡḡḡ·Δēḡ
 ḡḡḡḡ' ΔσΔ, CΛḡḡ Lē, Jḡḡḡ' Lē ḡ Δ·Uḡḡ ḡ ḡCḡḡ ḡḡḡ, σḡḡḡ ḡ
 Δḡḡḡ, ḡ·ḡσ ḡḡ' Δḡē·ḡP ΔσΔ ḡ Δ·Uḡḡ, Δ·ΔC·ḡ Lb Δē ΔσΔ ḡ ΔCḡḡ
 ḡḡḡḡ' Lḡḡḡ ḡ ΔḡḡḡCḡḡ. Jē Lb ḡḡ ḡḡḡ' Δē ΔσΔ ḡ·Δē ḡḡḡ ḡ ḡḡ ḡ
 ΔNḡ·Δḡḡ. ḡē Lb ḡCḡḡ, Δḡḡ' ḡē ḡCḡḡ ΔC·ḡē, ḡḡḡḡḡḡ. Jē ḡḡC ΔσΔ
 Lē Nḡ·ΔCḡḡ Δσḡḡḡ Δē ΔσΔ Lē Nḡ·ΔCḡḡ. Jē Lē PḡḡUCḡḡ ΔσΔḡ
 Δḡḡḡḡ Lb Δḡḡḡ·ḡ ḡCḡḡ ḡḡḡ, Δḡḡḡḡ, ḡḡ Lb, Δḡḡḡḡ Lb, ḡḡ Lb,

P^oP^oq^oΔL9^oΔ^o ΛΓ P^oP^oq^oΔL9^oΔ^oΔbΓd^o .v^oh^o ΔΛJ^o L^od^o Δ<C^o ΔσσJ^oΔ^o U^oU^o .
 Δ<C^o Δh^o ΓΔJ^oΔL^o ΔΛL^oΠΓ^oΔ^o Δ^o∇σb^o bP ΔJ^oΔdC^oΔ^o ΔΛL^oΠΓ^oΔ^o
 Δ^o∇σb^o ΓΔJ^oΓ<σ^oCσ^oΔσσ^o ∇b Γ^oΔσC^o ΔσΓσ^o ΔΠJ^oPJ^o∇^oΔ^o ∇b Lb
 ΔL^oU ΔσΓσ^o ΔΠJ^oPJ^o∇^oΔ^o, JCP^o ΔJ^oPJ^o∇^oΔ^o ΔL^oU, J^oΔ^o Δ^oΔ^o bC P
 J^oC^o∇^o ΔΓσσ^oΔ^o ∇ Δ<L^o 9^ob^o ΓP ΔCL^oΔ^o P^oU^oC^ob^o Δh^o ΔC^oΔ^o Δ^o∇σb^o
 ∇ σC^oΔΓ^oΠdJ^oJ^o Δ^o Δ^o Lb Δ^oΔ^o ΓJ^o Γ^oΔσC^o ΔC^oL^oJ^oΔ^o, Δ^oΛ^o ΔσL^o ΓP
 P^o∇L^o Γ^oΔ^o, ∇^obσ ∇ U^oCL^o σ^oΔ^o ∇^obσ ΔσL^o V^oL^o 9^ob^o b LΓJ^oσC^oL^o σ^oC
 σ^oΔ^o C^o Λd Lb 9 ΔΠ ΔJ^oΔ^obσ^o9 σb^o J^oΔ^o L^od^o Δ^o∇σb^o Δ^oΛ^o bC ΔΠ
 ΔL^oJ^o Δ^o∇σb^o 9 ΔΠ ΛL^oΠΓ^o Δ^oΔJ^oΔ^o σb^o ΔU^o9, P^oΔ^oΛ^o ∇b dΓCσ^oΔP
 ΓLJ^oCσ^oΔ^o ΔσL^o ΔJ^oPJ^o∇^oΔ^o ∇^obσ ∇CP^o σ^oΔ^o Δ^oΔ^oL^o ΔC ∇ ΔL^oΓΔP^o, J^oΔ^o
 Δ<C^o ∇ ∇Γ^oΠdJ^oJ^o ΛJ^oJ^o ΔσσJ^o ΔC ΛΠ^obΓ^o ∇ ΔC^oΔ^o, PΠσσ^oΔ^oΔ^o
 ΔC ΛΠ^obΓ^o L^oΔ^o ΠC^oΔ^o UΛ^oΔ^o ∇ b^oP^oC^oΔ^o ∇Γ^oΠd^o ∇ ΔL^oΓ∇d^o, ∇^obσ
 Δ^oΔ^o ΔσL^o J^oC^oJ^o ΔC Γ^o∇Γ^oΠdJ^oJ^o ΛΠ^obΓ^o L^oΔ^o ΠC^oΔ^o ∇^obσ ΛJ^oJ^o ∇
 ΠC^od^oΓ^o Δ^oΔJ^o ∇ ΔL^oΓ^o C^oU Lb Λd 9 ΔΠ ΔJ^oΔ^obσ^o9 σb^o ΔU^o9, CΠ
 ΔLC^ob^o L^oΔ^o ΔCσ ΔσσJ^oΔ^o σb^o ΔU^o9.

P^o9^oU^o Δ^o ∇^ob^o ΔσP bP VΓ ΔΠC^od^oΓ^o Δ^o∇σb^o b ΔσσJ^oΓ^o.
 ∇∇.

∇d Lb Γ^oΔ^o ΔσP Δ^o∇σb^o b VΓ ΛL^oΠΓ^o, ΛJ^o σ^oC Δ^oΔ^o P
 ΔΠC^od^oΓ^oΔ^o.

∇∇.

ΔΠ ΔΓ<σ^o Δ^o ΔσL b ΔΠC^ob^o ΔσσJ^oΔ^o b ΔΠC^od^oΓ^o Δ^o∇σb^o ∇
 ΔL^oΓ^o.

σ^oC Lb Δ^oΛ ∇ L^oP^oΔ^o9Γ^o ∇ Δσσ^oΔ^oP^oΔ^o9Γ^o.

∇∇.

ΔΠ ΔΓ<σ^o Δ^o σ^oC ΔσL.

∇^ob^oσ ΔC^oΔ^o, ΔσL b ΔCL^o. LΠb ΔL b Δ^oC^o, ΔL b VΓ ΔCΛ^o ΔC
 CΛ^od^o ΔU ΔU^o9, Γ^o∇ Pσ^ob^o ΔU. J^oΔ^o Δ^oΔ^o V^oL^o ΔC^oΔ^o CΛ^od^o
 ΔσσJ^oΔ^o ΔΠC^ob^o. Γ^o∇ VΛJ^o ΔΠC^od^oΓ^oΔ^o Δσσ^oΔ^o b VΓ ΔCΛ^o ΔC.
 LΠb ΔL ΔC^oΔ^o ΔΓ P^oJ^oCσ^oΔ^o J^oΓ^o ∇ ΔΓ P^oJ^oU^o. ΛJ^o ΔΠC^od^oΓ^oΔ^o J^oΓ^o
 ∇ ΔL^oΓ^o ΔΛJ^o. Γ^oΔ^o ΛC^oV^od^o, Γ^oΔ^o b ΔC^oΓ^o ΛJ^o ΔΠC^ob^o ΔσσJ^oΔ^o Δ^oC^o.
 Γ^oΔ^o Δ^oC bJ^o, Δ^oΔ^o Γ^oΔ^o ΛJ^o ΔΠ ΔΠC^ob^o Δ^oC^o. P^oΔ^oΔ^o Lb σ^oC, Δ^oΔ^o Γ^oΔ^o
 ΛJ^o. CΛ^od^o σ^oC Λ^oΔ^oΔ^o, Δ^oΔ^oΔ^o Lb. Γ^o∇ ΛJ^o Δ^oU ΔΠC^od^oΓ^oΔ^o Δ^o∇σb^o
 ∇ ΔL^oΓ^o. ΛJ^o Δ^oU<σ^o ΔΠ b Δ^oU^o CΛ^od^o ∇ Δ^ob^oJ^o ΔΠC^ob^o, VΛJ^o ∇
 ΔΠC^oJ^o. ∇^obσΔ J^oΔ 9^ob^oΔ ΛΠJ^o<σ^oP. ∇^obσ Lb V^oL^ob^o L^oP^oΔ^ob^o ∇

Louis Sutherland



(recorded December 12, 2004)

Community or reserve life in the past

1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.

Yes, I didn't stay in the community of Attawapiskat all the time. I lived in the bush most of the time as far as I can remember. I could tell you the traditional activities that we did while we were in the bush. I remember during the summer we used to set gill nets to catch fish and this was at a place called Nakitawesaki. We were catching silver trout the ones that come in to the rivers from the bay. We used to clean and smoke them to prepare and preserve them for later use. I must have been around seven or eight years old at that time and this is as far as I can remember. During that time, only men used to go to the community of Attawapiskat to get some supplies. The women stayed behind. My father wasn't around very much at that time. As I was getting older that was the only time I inquired why he was away so much. We hunted on the way back to our camps.

The first time I remember I seeing the community of Attawapiskat was in 1933. I asked my mother why I couldn't remember anything about it before. This was when we were staying in Nakitawesaki. My mother's reply was that we stayed in Nakitawesaki all this time; only the men went to the community. After 1933, that's when I could recall events and other activities that we did in the bush. In those days, we used to sail all along the coast to go to our destination where we could trap and hunt. It was faster and less strenuous to handle a canoe providing the wind direction was right. There were no outboard motors yet in those days. I do remember when there was a flood in Attawapiskat in 1950 or 1951. That's the way our lives were in those days. We really enjoyed living in the wilderness and it was peaceful. We only spent two months in the community of Attawapiskat during the summer. We did an annual retreat for two weeks and had time to visit old friends and acquaintances. Then it was time to go back in the bush to do the traditional activities.

Biographic Information

Name: Angus Louis Sutherland
 Date of Birth: November 21, 1938
 Place of Birth: xxxx xxxx, Ontario
 Present Address: Attawapiskat, Ontario
 Name of Spouse: Martha Sutherland
 Number of Children: 15
 Grandchildren: 70
 Great-grandchildren: 12
 Number of Years Married: 46
 Education: None
 Interests/Hobbies: Work
 Date of Interview: December 12, 2004



Attawapiskat Camp, 1987-363-I-3, HBCA

Spending two months in the community in the summer seemed quite lengthy and there was no employment. Food was scarce at that time. ... In the year 1952, work was starting to be available in the community as a hospital was being built. My father was able to work there and I had an occasional job sweeping floors at the construction site after work. My pay was one loaf of bread and a can of beans.

In the year 1953 or 1954, that's when I had regular employment with the Oblate Brothers. They used to grow potatoes on that small island adjacent to the community. Shortly after that, I became the primary caregiver to my elder parents who were unable to care for themselves. I had to take them with me everywhere I went, for instance, when I went to Moosonee. I had already bought an outboard motor, 5 horsepower, at that time and that's how we traveled. Later on, I got myself another outboard motor a 7.5 horsepower that I acquired from work and saving my money. I went to Fort Albany. They were building a school there and that's where I worked for two summers. I was a young man by then around the year 1955-1956.

In the same year, I accompanied a tractor train to Moosonee from Attawapiskat during the winter. In the summer, I spent my time in Nakitawesaki. I enjoyed staying in the wilderness and to do traditional activities that I'm used to like trapping and cutting firewood. That's what my life experiences were like in the bush. When I mentioned that I was in Moosonee to work, we came back up north when my father came out of

the hospital. He was hospitalized for two years. We went back to Nakitawesaki to stay for ten years. I didn't work all that time. I didn't have any distractions like alcohol and it wasn't available. After ten years past, we came back to stay in the community of Attawapiskat permanently. It was in the year of 1977. I found work again after that and I was employed until I retired last spring on April 16. I worked most of the time in the community. This is the story of my life, the good times and the bad times.

Who taught you how to trap and do other traditional practices while you were living in the wilderness?

I went around with my father at first when I was young. We went trapping and hunting. He taught me how to do these things until I was old enough to do them by myself. Abraham Paul-Martin and I went to Site 415 called Moshawa to trap beavers and foxes in the bush. I also went hunting and trapping with other people like Michel Koostachin. We didn't stay in one place very long; we moved around quite a bit. The most we stayed in our camp at Nakitawesaki during the summer was a week. Then we had to go and hunt and trap in the opposite direction. Beaver pelts and other furs did not pay much and it was almost not worth it to trap except we got to eat beaver meat. We did manage to survive on what we caught food wise. When you ask me who taught me how to live in the wilderness, it was the traditional teachings that I've learned while I was young. If a person didn't learn those survival skills when they were young, I don't think they could survive in the bush. They would find it very hard to do so such things as trapping and hunting.

That's why I'm good at what I do because I learned these traditional teachings while I was young. I didn't go to school but I used to see my father read the Bible and Cree syllabics, ay, ee, oo, ah etc. That's when I learned how to read in Cree by observing my father read. That's all I have to say about the Cree language. I tried very hard to read the Bible. My father used to have two bibles and I used one of them to learn how to read. I used to hide to do that. It took me awhile to read but I couldn't do the finals that make the sounds of a word.

It wasn't until recently that I was able to do that. I know quite a few people in our community who can read and write in Cree but they don't use any finals sounds. It's quite different from learning English nowadays. When I look at English words, I think it would be easy to learn to read them. These sounds are different from Cree syllabics. I had difficulty reading the Bible a long time ago. The reason why I think that is because I didn't learn the finals sounds. That's the way it was for me when I tried to learn to read our Cree language.

Do you know where the Cree language originated?

No, I don't know where it originated. I wonder about that sometimes. I wonder who was the first one to use the Cree language.

Did you ever hear your parents talk about it?

No, I never heard them mention it either. They only speculated that it must have come from the south where they made Cree bibles.

Did you ever use traditional medicinal herbs or animal parts when you were living in the wilderness?

No, I never used traditional herbs and animal parts to treat myself. The only thing I used was red willow bark as a poultice applied to axe or knife cuts. I used that remedy quite a few times. The other one I used was tamarack bark. The inner part of it was used as a cleanser for skin irritations or as a poultice for boils or skin infections. Another kind used was called caribou willows. These were boiled before they were used. I didn't use those ones. The other kind was crowberries that were boiled before they were used. The other ones used were pinecones. These were used in a similar manner when someone had a sore throat. They used this as a rinse.

These are the medicinal herbs I can remember off hand. I do remember people talking about different ways to treat sickness using herbs gathered from the bush.

What made you active and healthy while you were living in the bush?

Ah.

What made you active and able to withstand the harsh elements while you were living in the bush?

The reason we were healthy long time ago is that we ate wild animals that moved around in the wild all the time such as moose, caribou, geese, ducks, and waterfowl who never stop flying around. That's where we got our strength and energy. Now, when you look at domestic food that we consume nowadays, livestock are confined in one place and don't have a place to roam around.

A long time ago, there was a saying that when you feed sled dogs, wild meat makes them stronger. I've seen that happen. I tried that myself, I fed my dogs some caribou fat, and I found that it makes them energetic. One old man told me that – a Chookomolin man. That's why I said that what we consumed made us strong. We drank moose blood and caribou blood and nothing was wasted. There's something in

the meat, even though it's cooked differently, that makes us strong and healthy. No matter what kind of animal it is: moose, caribou, Canada geese, snow geese, or fish.

What kind of transportation did you use when you were traveling in the bush?

Ah, you mean when I mentioned I went to Moosonee?

No, I mean when you were in the wilderness.

Yes, we used tents when we were in the bush. Before we had materials to make sleds, we just made a lean-to to spend the night in the open. We had some blankets to cover up with and we warmed up with a fire. Eventually we had a sled that we used to carry our supplies to trap and hunt. The very first thing that we carried was a small pail that was used as a small stove. It was also used to cook inside a tent or warm it up. I'm not sure how to describe it exactly. We used it as a stove inside a tent without using stove pipes. I first saw it when I first went with my father trapping. My father couldn't trap and hunt because he was not healthy. I went trapping with him for about five years. He was quite old then.

Where did you sell your beaver furs?

You mean at the store?

Yes, so you sold your furs at the store?

Yes, I sold my furs at the store. This store was located at Nakitawesaki.

Was the pay for furs satisfactory?

No, beaver pelts were not worth much a long time ago. Do you recall when I mentioned that we used to sail up the river when we went trapping? I went with my wife and my children ... at that time. We caught twenty beaver and five otter. When I went to sell my beaver pelts I was only paid \$150.00. That's why I said that it was not worth the trouble to trap because we would be working for nothing except for the beaver meat.

Can you tell me what traditional tasks men did when you were living in bush? I know women had different tasks to do.

When you talk about men's roles in a traditional setting, women could often do the same work. A women's role was to string snowshoes and I did the same thing. My job was to string where we put pressure on the footing of the snowshoe. The reason for this was that you have to put more pressure when you string the footing. Women can't do that because they're not strong enough to do it. My father taught me how to do it. He was an expert on everything. [I did everything] except I didn't sew. It was a women's

traditional role to do such things as childcare, small tasks like to cutting firewood, and taking care of the camp while the men are gone hunting and trapping.

Did you get involved preparing and preserving wild food?

Yes, I did. I helped at young age. The only task I did was plucking geese. Later on after I got married, I used to help my wife do traditional work such as cleaning food and smoking geese or meat. I knew already how to do these things and they were very effective.

Did you ever hear of famine or people dying from a lack of food a long time ago?

I did not see it. But during the war, I distinctly remember we were without food for longer periods of time when we were at Nakitawesaki. It was during 1943 and it was near the end of the war. Food was rationed out. That's when I remembered a food shortage. My father shot his hand accidentally at that time. We were camped at Openagao and we eventually made our way to Nakitawesaki during the winter. We were desperate for food at that time. Finally, my mother wanted to go and get some white geese that they hung in the bush before moving to another place. She took one of her daughters with her. They had to go to Openagao and it was quite far. It took a full day to go there and a full day to return. I remember that very well when we were short of food but nobody was starving. I heard some elders talk about a famine that happened a long time ago. People were starving then.

What kind of clothing did you wear a long time ago?

We didn't have that much clothing as far as I could remember. We only had rabbit skin coats to wear at that time. We had a rabbit skin hat to go with that jacket. I didn't get to see the traditional clothing that our grandfathers wore a long time ago. I heard my mother talk about men who used to wear loincloths a long time ago. My father as a young boy wore the traditional clothing. Women wore a shawl.

What kind of work did you do in Moosonee?

You mean when they built those radar sites like the one at Site 415 called Moshawa. I don't know what kind of people they were; I think they were military people. They brought equipment on that site where they were staying.

When those military people came to live on the site, did they bring their families with them?

Where?

In Moosonee.

You mean me?

Yes, I mean your own family like your wife and children.

No, I wasn't married yet but I stayed with my parents. That's the same time my father was in the hospital. I was a young man of 17 and that was the last year of employment in Moosonee. At that time, my father was discharged from the hospital. We made our way back to Attawapiskat that summer after working in Moosonee for two summers. I worked at the army base on construction and worked loading barges that went up the coastal areas.

The following summer I worked on the railroad track with a gang to fix the wooden ties on the track. Before that, I worked on the Oblate Brothers' boat hauling their supplies to Fort Albany. They had a flat bed type of boat that they used to bring supplies in containers.

What did you use to travel back and forth to Moosonee and Attawapiskat?

A canoe and a 7.5 horsepower outboard motor. That's the one I used to go to Moosonee.

Were you traveling alone?

No, as I mentioned before, I went with my mother and my father to Moosonee during the summer to visit my sister, Madeline Jacasum, who lived there. That's the time I used my 7.5 outboard motor. We came back up north in August and we just took our time hunting on the way home. Sometimes, we stayed in one place for two weeks at a time. I don't know what we survived on but we never ran out of food. Gas in those days was cheap. It only took 15 gallons of gas to go Moosonee from Attawapiskat. Today, gas prices are too high. You don't get far with 15 gallons of gas.

What kind of gun did you use when you were hunting in the wilderness?

I always had a gun to hunt. The one I had was a 12-gauge automatic shotgun. I also had a 30-30 rifle and a .22. I took them with me wherever I went trapping or hunting in the bush. I seldom used the rifle. I mostly used the .22 when I went trapping and hunting. When I went to Site 415, I took these three guns looking for big animals.

Did you ever make your own shotgun shells?

You mean make my own shotgun shells?

No, shotgun shells.

Yes, I made my own shotgun shells. I did that quite a long time. I used to put pellets and gunpowder in the shells. I was still doing that after I got married. I will tell you the things I did before I asked for my wife's hand. We dated for a year but we didn't follow the traditional style of marriage: arranged marriage. When I got serious about getting married, I asked the father for her hand in marriage. A long time ago, the traditional way was when a man fancies a woman, he had to write to the father stating his desire to marry the daughter, but tradition was not in effect by the time I was married. This was a one-way street; the female had no say on that request. Couples dated each other before they got married.

Did you practice any religion or spiritual praying a long time ago?

Yes, we did have prayer meetings especially when we went into the community of Attawapiskat during the summer. We prayed every evening or people did it in the privacy of their homes. We overheard them when they prayed at home. That's what we did a long time ago. Prayer was a big part of our daily lives.

When did you first notice the use of telephones in the community of Attawapiskat?

I don't have the exact year but I'll guess it was in the early 1970s. That's when they came and put phones in. Before that, we had radiophones that were used to communicate to other places.

Did you see horses and cattle that were in the community of Attawapiskat?

Yes, I saw them when they were here. There were quite a few of them. I had worked with the Brothers and attended to horses and cattle when they were planting potatoes on the small island adjacent to the community. We used horses to gather hay in the fall. The Brother gave me one horse to pull a sled to gather hay.

When did they start to plant the potatoes and other vegetables at that island?

By the time I came to the community of Attawapiskat, Potatoe Island was already in operation. I remember the exact year was 1943. The Oblate Brothers were planting potatoes and other vegetables.

What other vegetables did they grow there besides potatoes?

They grew potatoes, turnips, onions, and strawberries. That's what they grew on the island.

What did they do with the potatoes and vegetables they harvested in the fall?

When I was working there at that time, they stored potatoes in the hospital basement. Before that, they stored them at the rectory, the one that burnt a long time ago. They made a special container to store these potatoes.

What did they do with the potatoes and vegetables they harvested? Did they give them away?

I have no idea what they did with them. The Brothers canned the potatoes and sold them for 50¢ a can.

What's your quality of life being a permanent resident of Attawapiskat? How do you function?

I didn't work for one year at one time because I was struggling with rheumatoid arthritis. I can't remember the year that happened. I went back to work again around 1995 but I worked off and on due to my sickness.

Community or reserve life in the future

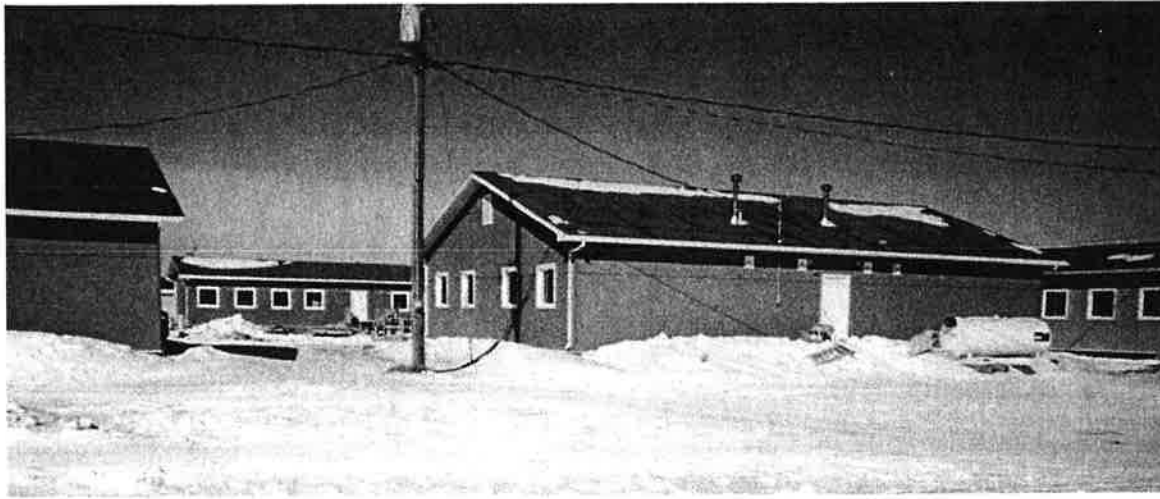
3) Describe what your life might be like in your community or reserve in the future.

When I look at the community as a whole, I think it's getting over crowded. There's no place to build houses. There's still empty land further up the river to build houses. I don't think things will work out in the community. In the 1960s, there were only 13 houses that have increased annually since that time.

When you look at the location of the community where the school is located that's the furthest building that was built towards the bush. They finished that school in 1974. The only person who had a house in that proximity was Louis Shisheesh and I don't remember anybody else.

The lifestyle nowadays is different. Alcohol and drugs are readily available to the community contrary to the lifestyle we were used to long time ago in the 60s. There was nothing like that in the old days. When you think about the outcome of the community in the future it's very vague. Education is the key for youth to go forward. They will have to find other ways to pass the time aside from alcohol, drugs, and glue sniffing. These things are very destructive. They seem to out do the non-Natives by doing these substances. There's high unemployment in our community and I think that's one of the reasons the youth are restless. They have professional people to counsel them today that we didn't have in my younger days. That's why I said

education and training will be the best tool to interest the youth in going forward in their life.



J. R. Nakogee Elementary School Portables

They need encouragement in order for them to succeed in life. The next fifty years are going to be difficult for them. They need to train for job skills in order for them to find good paying jobs like DeBeers at the Victor Camp. That mine is supposed to last twelve years. We don't know what negative things such as family break-ups and children taken into child custody [the mine will bring.] That's how the older people look at it all this because alcohol or drug abuse. There are those who know how to make plans for their future and they follow traditional teaching that will help them tremendously.

We are expected to follow the spiritual wayside of life too. Life is short and we have to make the most of it. We can't take our possessions like money once we die. The spiritual side of life is different to get to hold on to your religious beliefs and benefit from that at the final judgment. I think about all those things all the time and when I do, I have to stop myself. The Creator will provide protection for those who give life in the future. I think about my grandchildren as they grow up. It won't be long until they become adults. People like me; the older people contemplate this all the time. I know this from experience. As you grow older, there's a special contentment that you possess as you grow old. You perceive life differently. That's all I can say about that subject.

Did you happen to see the reserve that's in Ekwan?

No, I didn't, just on a map.

Did you hear rumours about the present location of the airport in the community?

They talked about it long time ago and they wanted to move it further back because they wanted to build houses where the airport is located presently. I don't know about it anymore because no one has talked about it since.

Do you think the Cree language is going to be extinct in the future?

Yes, the cree language is very weak and I don't know what's going to happen in the future. The only way for the children to learn the Cree language is by encouragement. They will be sorry later in life if they don't learn it now. That's exactly what's happened to people I know. They regretted that they didn't learn their own language and now they have lost it permanently.

I'm just about finished the interview and is there anything else that you want to say before we finish?

No, I am finished with my story.

I like to thank you and I appreciate that you were able to come.

Ok.

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<^P^b^, v^b^s^d Ad sc^ J^h^s^ v^d Lb .U^N^, b P << P^d^c^ s^e
7.b- wf^ v dcl^, wf^ .De dUq_x J^d^ Lb Ld dUq_x P s^c^r^e.b^
<^P^b^, ah^s^ <^P^b^ c^c, J^h^s^, .U^N^ Lb_x

Jd e Pe P c^r v^r d^ccl^c^, A^de^, J^h^s^ Ld b ar^b^c^
r^d^r^ c^c Lb dcl r^p d^ccl^c^ ah^s^?

ar^b^ e b dclrcy^?

v^v_x

J^h^s^ Lb dUq_x

Jd, ar^b^s^ dUq_x

v^v, v^b^s^ b^ccl^, ar^b^ L^d^ d^b^, v^b^s^ b ccl^, P^c^ p^ c^u^
dcl, v d^ccl^ s^e^p n^e^v ar^b^e_x dcl d^p^s^ ar^b^, b
d^s^bcl^_x P^c^ dcl p^ c^u^_x

s^c^ b P d^p b^e^dcl^/ P^dcl^, c^u Ld v c^r^bU^p^ .v^b^-
v^d .dpl^ d^v^s^ d^o^q^d?

d^b^- p^ .d^d^° s^e de d^o^° b P .d^d^, b^q, v^d s^l^ d^c b P v^r
dcl^ p^ .d^d^_x Jd .De b^r^bU^p^, .v^b^- c^r^bU^p^ dcl s^e b
d^r^v^d^p^c^ L^e^d^b^ d^p b d^s^c^d^d^c^x p^ .d^d^° de b .d^d^
v^d Lb v^d L^c^c^l^ p^r b^e^v^s^, p^ b^q^l^° de b d^c^s^/ d^l v
u^ccl^ p^r b^e^dcl^c^, .v^b^- Lb .De b dcl^e^s^d^ v^b .d^d^- v d^r
.d^d^/ d^o^° Ad v L^c^c^l^, L^e^d^b^ d^s^c^d^d^c^ v ^c^v^s^_x Jd
Lb dcl dcl^p^ d^s^ s^e b .d^p^c^, d^s^ .d^d^c^e^ d^c d^v^s^e^
e^p^b^ .cl^s^ d^r^v^d^p^c^_x

P dcl^e^p e d^r^r^d^ .v^b^- wf^ c^c Ad dcl^d^ al^p^d^?

v^b^s^L v^p^ b v^r ccl^ .v^b^- s^e^p v d^r^r^s^d^_x v v^r ll^d^c^s^
v e^d^d^bU^ b d^s^b^bU^_x c^c v d^ccl^, d^r^r^c^s^ d^v^s^e^

▽▷·בס ▽ ΔΡ`x ΔσL Lb 7·b- b ΛLΠρeσ·Δ\ ▽ ▷P ΛLΠρeσ·Δ\ ▽
▷PσP' Δ·▽σb, ▽d Cσ Λd Δ'δ ΔLz' Γ·σCJ·Δ'x Δ'Λ ▽ ΔΠ
PzΔσσ·Δeσ·Δ\ Δz^ dC', 9·b' zPbU°x ▽d Δhσ Λd 9P Δ·Uz'x

P VR ·Δ<U' e Pe ΔσL Δσσ·Δ'P^ b ΔC·b\ ▽·בס\?

Je z'zP ·Δ<U', ▽ LPeU\ Λd z'P ·Δ<U'x

Je e Pe ·Δ'b- PzP VU' P' ΔσJ'PbU\ Λz' P' <PΠσbU\ ▷L
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P VR ΔσJ'PbU<' ·▽'b-, P' ΔP <PΠσbU\, ▷L Lb Δσ ΔΠ Δ·Cσ·Δz<'
ΔσΔ ·Δ'bΔbe b ΔJ PUPx ΔσL ·U▷·Δ' b ΔJ ΔC·b\`x Cσ Lb Λd
Δz- ·Δe, σP'9'U'x Je ·Δe 9·b' P' LPeU\ Δh Δ·U·Δ\ P' ePσσ·Δ\
ΔσL ·U▷·Δ' b ΔC·b\`x

CσU'CL' Pe ▷L PΠσPσ·▽·Δσe° ▷L ΔσσJ·Δ', ΔΠ σeΓPLe' e
P'U'U'?

Γzσ Δh Λd ΔU'C·b'x Γzσ Δh Λd <PΠ' ΔU'C·b'x Cσ Λd 9 ΔPz·9 ▷L
ΔσσJ·Δ'x Je Le ▷Cσ ·Δz' CP zPbU° P' ΔσσJ'P\ Δ·ΔJz\ <ΠL Λd
·Δe·Δ°, b·9 dPσ·C·▽x Vz·b ▽ Pzσσ\ Lb zd- CΓPe·▽z·Δ\ ▽P ·ΔσC'P\
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ΓPe·▽P'P\ ▽P ·ΔσC'P\ ▷ΠσσJ·Δσ·Δ°x

▽▷·בס ΔC·Δe σe Δz^ ▽ PzCz' 9·b' b·Δ b·9PΓC', zd- Lb, ΔC·b' e
Lb Pe 9·b' b·Δ Δ·Uz' ·<Lz PzCz' ▷Lx

Je 9·b', ▽▷·בס Λd σ'c σe 9P ΔC'Jz'x

▽▽, Γ·9- ΔC·Δe PΠΠ' ▷L ▽ P VR ΔzUz', PΠ<P'J·Δ' σ'c Pe ▽P VR
<PΠeL'x

Martha Sutherland



(recorded December 12, 2004)

Community or reserve life in the past

1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.

Yes, I will tell you my story to the best of my ability and as far as I can remember. We lived in Attawapiskat for a long time and we had our wigwam where the nurses' residence used to be. Two wigwams were built there, one big one and one small one. We stayed in the small one. I also recall the old church now used by the priest as a garage. That was the first church built a long time ago. That big church currently used now, was built in its place a long time ago. It was only used during the summer and it was called the Big Church. The smaller church was used during the winter and that's way it was a long time ago.

As far as I can remember in Attawapiskat, there used to be some cattle and horses. The Oblate Brothers used them as working horses to haul some logs during the winter and obtained milk from the cows. That's the way it was a long time ago. We were very poor. We didn't have many possessions as we were growing up. In 1948, that's when we were gathered to go to the school in Fort Albany. That's when our parents decided to let my older siblings to go to school in Fort Albany. There was a boat, called the children's boat, operated by the Oblate Missionaries to pick up young children all along the coasts of James Bay and Hudson Bay.

I was five years old at that time and my parents thought I was too young to go with them. We accompanied them to Fort Albany. We reached Fort Albany in the early evening so that my siblings could go to that residential school. After a while, a truck came to meet us after we docked. The missionaries had a car, the kind that you crank from the front to start it. That's the kind of truck they had a long time ago. They put some kids in the back to ride to the school. They also hauled some supplies. Some of them had to walk to the school. When my brothers and sisters walked to the school, I

Biographic Information

Name: Marie Martha Sutherland
 Date of Birth: October 14, 1942
 Place of Birth: xxxx xxxx, Ontario
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 Former Name: Nakogee
 Name of Spouse: Louie Sutherland
 Number of Children: 15
 Grandchildren: 70
 Great-grandchildren: 12
 Number of Years Married: 46
 Education: Fort Albany Residential School 10 Years
 Interests/Hobbies: Preparing Animals
 Date of Interview: December 12, 2004

ran after them. My parents couldn't find me around the boat. They were terrified because they thought I fell off the boat and drowned. It wasn't until some security person found me that they realized I ran after my brothers and sisters to the school. That's when my parents decided that I should stay with my sisters at that residential school. I was only five years old at that time.

I was very happy to be in that school. I was a student there for ten years. It was a boarding school for both boys and girls. I was grateful to be there because everything was provided for us while living at that school. It also helped my parents in so many ways. [It helped] not only my parents, but other parents too. Our parents had to struggle to find food to feed us while living in the bush. I remember many times when we didn't have anything to eat, not enough tea to drink and clothes to wear. We were very poor. When we started to go to school at Fort Albany residential school, we were comfortable because everything was provided for us. We were fed three times a day and had a nice bed to sleep in. That's the way it was when I was there, but there was no indoor plumbing or water at that school. They used to haul water for us to bathe in and used to throw the slop pails outside to empty them. That's the way it was in those days. I heard my parents say many times how grateful they were for that school and the way we were brought up by the missionaries in Fort Albany.



Attawapiskat Buildings, RG7-7A-158-4, HBCA

Before we left the community of Attawapiskat, the priest used to give away clothes. It happened so often that the shoes that we got were in different colours; one would be white while the other would be black. But I was very happy to get a pair of shoes no matter if they were in different colours. I was proud of my shoes and I thought they were beautiful. That's the way life was while we were living in the community of Attawapiskat.

There were not too many houses in the community at that time. Some of those old houses are still present at this time. At that time, the people didn't stay in the community long. They mostly spend their time in the bush in order to survive by hunting and trapping. Even though we had a Hudson's Bay Company store in the community, there was not much to offer food-wise contrary to what they can provide nowadays. That's the way it was in those days and these are the experiences that I went through in that era.

... After I finished the regulated grades, I went further south in Ottawa to continue my schooling for a year. I learned some French but I wasn't interested in learning that's why I can't speak French. I can read in French but I don't understand what I am reading. We were taught how to read in French while I went to school in Ottawa. I understand some French when someone speaks it. The reason for that is the Grey Nuns in Ottawa looked after us. They spoke French to us all the time and the students that went to this school with us as well. They were five of us Natives who came from up north to go to school in Ottawa.

One of the students was from Fort Albany and her name was Margaret Wheesk. She was one of the students I went with on a boat they called the children's boat. [The boat] went to Moosonee and we were accompanied by two nuns. I mentioned previously that we were poor. We didn't have very much in possessions like suitcases or anything to put in them. I remember my mother washing a fifty-pound flour bag and that's where we used to put some of my things. That's the way it looked when I went to school down south. We were very poor. Once we reached the school in Ottawa, we were given clothes to wear at the school and other things to use. That's the way it was when we went to school in Ottawa. ... I used to travel with a flour bag but Margaret had a real suitcase to carry.

Margaret Wheesk was from Fort Albany. Her father was Emile Wheesk. Her mother died in Attawapiskat. George, her younger brother was a baby at that time. My mother

accompanied him on the children's boat to the school in Fort Albany where they were kept as orphans. That's as far as I can remember about those days.

When I came back from Ottawa after a year of school, I got married right away in Attawapiskat in the fall. My husband's name is Louis Sutherland. After we got married, we immediately went in the bush to trap and hunt for our survival. We were in the bush living off the land all the time. We didn't come to the community that often and then only briefly in the summer. That was our life in those days. We did all kinds of activities in the bush like trapping and fixing pelts, and hunting to preserve moose meat for later use. Wild meat was the only food that we had to eat in the bush. We never had any store bought food in those days or drank something called milk. We drank tea broth which was tea mixed with flour. We survived on wild meat only. Nowadays everybody is eating store brought groceries. My children only ate wild meat when we were living off the land.

In 1967, that's when we stayed in the community of Attawapiskat permanently. We never went back to the bush after that. That's the way it was in those days. I already had five children at that time. The only time we used to go in the bush was when my husband went hunting during the summer. That's how our life was in those days. I had fifteen children in all. They were brought up in the community of Attawapiskat, but since then two of my children died. Thirteen are still alive and well today.

Life is different now. The way we live is different. People live in houses. A long time ago, we lived in a makeshift shelter called *askikan* that is built with poles and covered with moss or bark. [Sometimes we lived] in a tent or in a wigwam. These are the shelters we had to live in a long time ago as far as I can remember. Now, people live conveniently with electricity. A long time ago, we used polar bear fat to make oil. We thought it was very bright when we used it inside our tent or wigwam. We used any kind of animal oil to light up our tents. That's the way we lived a long time ago.

Our life style was very subtle and serene while in the bush. We didn't have any distractions such as alcohol. In the early evening, children would go home and go to bed early. The present lifestyle in our community is quite unusual. Children don't go home in the evening and play until the wee hours of the morning. That's the way life is over here. It's very different from the way it was when we were young.

The life that people lead now is quite prosperous. It's quite the opposite from the way we lived a long time ago. We were very poor. I can tell people are well off when I see the

children wear expensive clothes. I think about the way we lived a long time ago, living off the land, we won't see that happen again. The reason why I believe this is the fact that the younger generation doesn't have the teachings on how to survive in the bush. The way I see it, the main factor was education, and that's why everybody remained in the community. Children have to go to school. A long time ago, there were no schools in the community. Only in the summer is when everyone came to the community for a gathering. Now, children go to school year round and that's why I mentioned that life is different now than it was a long time ago. That was before we went to the boarding school in Fort Albany. That's why I said that we will never go back to the life ... and the harsh environment they had to endure in the wilderness.

The way I see it, we are leading different lifestyle that is foreign to our culture. Our community is going to change especially when DeBeers is developing a diamond mine up the Attawapiskat River. We can't stop mining companies from exploring our traditional lands. That's my own opinion. I'm glad you asked me tell my story about our life experiences a long time ago. In the future, non-Natives are going to govern our lives and we are imitating their way of life already. The younger children speak English all the time. I hardly hear children speak Cree since the year 2000. I think the Cree language is going to fade if we don't encourage people to do something about it, especially if the older people start to die off. They're the carriers of the language. The reason I said that is because parents talk to their kids in the English language. That's why the younger children speak English only. They hardly use the Cree language in any environment. A long time ago, you never heard anybody speak the English language in any event.

Now, I believe what my grandmother told me a long time ago. She stated that life is going to be different in the future. Even the shoes you're going to wear won't be like shoes. Your feet will be strapped with strings. That made me wonder how she could tell me about those sandals and yet she never saw them. She even told me that people would have devices to talk to each other from their own homes. She even said that pencils will be obsolete and other devices will take their place. That's what she used to tell me and now I believe what she told me with the new technology that we are using nowadays. She used to tell me that moose hide moccasins were genuine shoes not the other ones that she mentioned. I still remember what she used to tell me about life and how different our lifestyle is especially about those sandals she was talking about. This is the end of this story. I'm glad to relate the stories that my elders told me a long time ago.

Where did you stay when you were in the bush?

While we were still staying with my parents, we stayed at places called Nayawakow and Wapisewesipi. We also stayed in different locations to trap and hunt, but after I got married, my husband and I stayed at a place called Nakitawesaki.

Did other people stay at Nakitawesaki?

Yes, other people stayed there but they didn't stay right at where the church was erected. We stayed further up the river where my husband made an *askikan*. It was a temporary dwelling used in the winter to keep the cold away. It was built with poles and covered with moss or tree bark. Later on, we did stay at Nakitawesaki but they were not too many people staying there at that time, maybe four or five families stayed there. There was a small store at Nakitawesaki but it only had the basics that we needed like flour, sugar, lard, baking powder, tea, and other tools that were useful for our way of life. There was one warehouse and one person to manage the store. A priest used to come and visit us in the spring at Nakitawesaki. People, from Nawashi who used to be called the Nawashi people, who were trapping in the surrounding area used to come to the community of Nakitawesak as well.

When you were living in the bush, did you use medicinal herbs?

That's the way it was a long time ago. People used medicinal herbs such as pine cones and boiled them to treat colds and sore throats. They drank or gargled with medicinal water or used it to cleanse cuts. As far as cuts [were concerned], they chewed red willow bark, made it into a paste, and then put it right on a cut. It takes care of the infection and it heals fast. Spruce gum was also used in the same way for cuts. Other remedies for other ailments such as sore muscles, stiff arthritic joints, or upset stomach included boiling tamarack branches to make a medicinal drink or solution applied to sore muscles or joints. The older people used to say that the best medicine was fish broth. They boiled fish and gave fish broth to the person who was sick and they got better eventually.

What kind of food helped withstand the harsh conditions in the wilderness? What gave you strength?

Our main food source was Labrador tea broth with bannock. These two combined give us tremendous energy in order for us to survive in the bush. Labrador tea was used all the time. That's why people were so active and strong in those days. That's the way it was a long time ago. People were healthy, that's why they were able to do hard work like trapping, hunting, fishing, and cutting firewood. They never stopped doing these things in order to survive in the bush. We never felt tired or lazy for that matter. We

were always active and kept using our regular food, the ones I mentioned before. As far as I can remember, we never used any kind of modern medicine, just the ones we got from the bush like traditional medicinal herbs.

When you consumed wild meat, did that make you healthy and strong?

Yes, very much so. It made us strong and healthy and that was the only source of food we ate while we were in the wilderness. We ate fish, rabbits, moose, and a whole variety of animals. I even ate a skunk and I found it to be quite delicious. We even ate the rabbit's digestive food that you find inside its big intestine. My grandmother used to cook that and we ate it. That's one of the good foods that gave us the incredible energy in order to survive in the bush.

Did someone teach you traditional activities or did you just learn them by observing people do them?

I learned how to do traditional activities by observing people do them, such as skinning beavers, cleaning fish, and observing ... other activities. These traditional teachings were quite different from that the way people are taught today. Nowadays, children are taught in the classroom on how to educate themselves in order to find employment. It's not like that for traditional teachings. In the old days, children learned by watching only once and then they were able to do these traditional activities by themselves such as trapping.

Did men and women do the same activities or did men do separate jobs from women?

The main thing I had to do was to make sure that we had enough moss for the baby. Moss was used to prevent diaper rash on a baby. Moss was put between a baby's legs and covered with flannel. It absorbed urine and was convenient because once used it was thrown out and replaced with fresh one. That was one of the chores. I had to make sure that we had enough moss. I used to go in the bush and hang it on a tree stump or on a tree to dry. It was quite a useful thing to use. That's the way it was a long time ago.

Women also trapped weasels and muskrats on the side around the camp. One of the main chores that women did was gather firewood. We worked just as hard as men did a long time ago. Women were very strong workers a long time ago and worked just as hard as men. We never thought work was too difficult to check the traps, rabbit snares, or get firewood. We did whatever needed to be done.

What kind of rabbit snares did you use in the old days?

I just observed people put them on, just like the ones that they used with a string or noose. That's the kind of snare I used and it was a very good snare.

Did you ever use any other type of rabbit snare such as the one that's tied to a branch and laid on the ground?

That type of wire snare came into our community later on and people used them the way you described it. They tied that wire snare to a branch and laid it down to the ground but it was different from the noose type that we originally used.

Did you have any type of chewing gum while you were living in the bush?

We used to have some type of gum that people used as a chewing gum. There was only one type of spruce gum that was used. It smelled nice and it was pink. I recall when my father used to gather and take spruce gum from a spruce tree. He kept them in a make shift bag and used that spruce gum as a caulk to fix leaky canoes. He also used spruce gum as a medicine and the pink type of spruce gum was the one used as a chewing gum. Spruce gum was a very important ingredient to have in those days.

When you talked about moss previously, what type of moss did you gather for that purpose?

The type of moss used on a baby is found in the bush mostly in the mushkeg area. It looks pasty white. If you happen to pick the pink colored one, the one called frog's moss, and if you use it on a baby, the baby will develop a diaper rash. That's why you have to be cautious what type of moss you pick. The one to pick is the pasty white one and it looks stringy. That's the type used on a baby. It has its rewards especially when the baby is still wrapped in a moss bag.

When you were living in the wilderness, did you use only one type of snowshoe?

Yes, we only used one type of snowshoe: the regular ones with pointed ends. In the old days, people were experts in making snowshoes but they made smaller ones for the females. It wasn't until the missionaries brought the rounded ones into our community and that's when people started to make their snowshoes like that but the regular pointed ones are still the favourite snowshoes around here.

Do you recall hearing anybody a long time ago that used numbers or did they say them in a different way?

That's one thing I don't remember hearing people use numbers in a different manner as far as I can remember. Numbers were used just like the way we used them like 1-2-3

etc. I do recall once in a store that matchsticks were used to total what was bought. They used a matchstick as an adding machine. That's the only thing I heard people use. When I heard my dad count, he used the numbers we use presently.

What did you use to brush your teeth in the bush?

Ah?

What did you use to clean your teeth while you were in the bush?

I remember my grandmother used wild celery that grew near a riverbank. These plants are tall and very good to eat. ... They look similar to regular celery at the grocery store and they're similar in texture too. That's what my grandmother used to eat and at the same time, it cleanses your teeth. It had a dual effect. She used to eat them all the time. I did too.

What did you use as a remedy when you had a toothache?

Ah?

When you had a toothache, what kind of treatment did you get?

A long time ago, when we had a toothache, there never was a dentist available in the bush or a doctor for that matter. People used to treat their own toothaches.

I remember I had a toothache and my father went in the bush to pick some sticky bark from a poplar tree. There are some buds that stick to the bark. They gather those buds, make them into a ball, and whoever had a toothache would bite on that. It was very effective and the toothache goes away. I know this first hand because I've used it too when I had a toothache and the pain went away almost immediately.

Did you ever see someone extract tooth while you were in the bush?

Yes, I did witness someone's tooth extraction and that was before a dentist came to the community. The local priest used to pull teeth when someone had a toothache. He didn't freeze it; he just pulled it like that. My tooth was pulled the same way and they had to hold me down. I was quite young at that time. I was terrified because nobody told me what they were going to do with me; the pain was excruciating. Nowadays, dentists are well prepared when they do their job. You don't feel the pain when they pull your tooth.

How did you prepare and preserve food while you were in the bush? How did you prevent food spoiling?

... We smoked meat dry. We prepared geese in all kinds of different ways to preserve them. We smoked and dried them. We boiled them and kept them in oil. They could be kept for a long time. We used to do this in the summer. We never saw a freezer in those days. We used to salt geese too. They were preserved and then put in wooden barrels where they were kept underground. A hole was dug below the permafrost to keep them cold. These geese were kept a long time and we could live on that during the summer.

We didn't waste any part of the animal; everything was prepared even the feet and intestines of the goose. They used to gather the feet together and hang them in a bunch to dry them on open fire.

We ate every part of a goose: necks, heads, wings, giblets, feet, and goose fat when they boiled it. Then they make a canvas bag where they were put all the dried, smoked meat and the rest of the food carefully so bugs won't get at it and it won't spoil easily.

While you were living in the bush, did you know if they had toys or games that they played with?

Yes, they used to make their own games that they played with, such as a *tapahon*. This game was made out of caribou or moose foot knuckles that were threaded together in sequence. Each knuckle has a point value and at the end of those knuckles there is a long pointy bone attached to a piece of moose hide with different holes in it. With the long pointy bone as a catcher, you catch as many knuckles as you can when you swing those knuckles. If it lands on a knuckle, then you count how many points you have. This is one of the games that I've seen people play all the time.

Another one I remember that children played with was a long flat stick with a string. They swing it and the stick makes a noise. They called that one a *whohomechan* and it made quite an interesting noise. It's similar to the button game. Men used to play a football or soccer type of game and they used to make their own ball. They also made their own checkerboard to play checkers with markers made out of willow sticks. In addition, they had different kinds of homemade games.

What did you do on Sunday while you were in the bush?

On a Sunday, we never worked; it was a day of rest. The priest used to encourage people not to work on a Sunday. He stated that it was a day of rest and he told people

to do their work or chores on a Saturday whatever needed to be done. Prayers were said twice a day on Sunday in the morning and at night. The only thing that we used to do on Sunday was play games. Contrary to what happens today, nobody pay attention to Sundays, people work regardless. A long time ago, it was different. The priest was there to make sure that nobody worked on Sundays and everyone complied with his request.

Did you get help when your children were born?

Yes, there was an experienced mid-wife who assisted us when our children were born. She delivered many children. She was my mother-in-law. Her name was Hannah Sutherland. They were easy deliveries and we didn't have any problems at all. There were no medical procedures required because they didn't exist in those days. Now, things are different. Modern medicine is available for mothers to be until the day they deliver. Now pregnant women just sit around and are not active at all. I think that's the reason why we had easy deliveries because we were active. After the baby was born, we were very careful looking after his or her well-being.

Were you aware of a famine that occurred a long time ago?

That's one thing I didn't see a long time ago but we were very poor while we were living off the land. Animals were scarce. We did run out of food at times but to die from hunger, no, it didn't happen while we were in the bush during that time. My grandparents used to mention that a famine killed most of the people a long time ago. I only heard about famine but I didn't see it.

Did you ever see the remnants of your ancestors while you were roaming around the wilderness?

We did see some visible signs of their campsites. The ones I'm talking about are the lean-to shelters that they used long time ago.

What kind of clothing did you use when you were in the bush a long time ago?

The clothes I wore a long time ago were moose hide moccasins, dresses, and sweaters. The store only provided material so people could make their own clothes like dresses. During the cold winter months, a canvas type of material was used to make leggings to cover our legs from the cold. Because we wore dresses all the time we needed some protection for our legs. Women never wore any pants in those days unlike the way the fashion is today. Under our dresses, we wore petticoats. In the springtime, we wore sealskin moccasins. They're water repellent. We didn't wear rubber boots of any kind.

People wore rabbit skin jackets and hats. These are the kinds of clothes we wore a long time ago. My mother used to make berets out of blankets and mitts out of canvas.

What kind of transportation did you use when you traveled around the land?

A long time ago, we pulled our sleds to check our rabbit snares and beaver traps, or get some firewood. Later on, we used dog teams to pull the sleds. We enjoyed using dogs and they were fast. We lived that way a long time ago.

Did you make your own clothes such as moose hide mitts or moccasins?

Yes, I made my own clothes such as moose hide moccasins, or mitts. That's what we did all the time, making clothing for my family.

Did someone teach you how to make traditional clothes or food a long time ago?

Yes, I was taught how to make traditional clothes and how to prepare food. My grandmother and mother watched me while I made moccasins and mitts. It didn't take me long to learn the way I was taught. They only showed me once and then I did it on my own. That's the way it was a long time ago. They only showed you once and then you did it by yourself. In that way you learn as you go.

I know there used to be a community once in Nakitawesaki. Are there any old buildings standing yet?

I don't think there are any old buildings standing yet. Maybe just two and one of them is the old church but it was two years ago the last time I was there. At that time, there were four buildings standing yet and there should be three still standing as we speak.

Do you know how to predict the weather like they did a long time ago?

Yes I did. I was taught by my father how to read clouds at sunset or sunrise. If clouds are bright red, it will be hot the next day. If clouds are pale pink that means cold weather is coming. If bright red clouds suddenly disappear that means they're trying to escape it and mild weather is coming. My father can tell the weather by watching wind direction. I still use those teachings passed down by my father. If there's a ring on either side of the sun, it is going to be cold. Now, if the sunset has a brilliant light around it, he used to tell us to put the firewood on because a cold snap is coming. I still remember those teachings and I passed them on to my children.

When you were in the bush were the winters very cold or was there a lot of snow in the bush?

Yes, we had extremely cold weather in those days while we were roaming around the land. People used to have frostbite on their faces. There was a lot of snow in those days. The snow was so deep you could hardly see the willows where we used to hunt partridges. Now, the environment is different, we get less snow and milder weather conditions.

What do you think about the mining exploration companies that come to your traditional territory? Do you think they found some precious metals?

They sounded that way when they came here for a meeting. They were talking about the Akimiski area. They stated that they were searching for precious metals. I think it was nickel or copper. They also went to Nayawakow to explore the land and the coastal areas. They probably found some metals or other stones.

I have finished what I was going to ask you.

O.K.

But if you have anything to add please feel free to do so.

Yes, I still have something to say.

Thank you very much for your interesting stories.

Yes, I just wanted to say something about the community of Attawapiskat when I we first came here to live. The only time a floatplane came over here was in the summer. People were excited to see the plane. Everybody shouted to tell the other people that the plane was coming and run to the landing area. Plane fares were cheap in those days. It was only \$9.00 to go to Fort Albany and only \$13.00 to go to Moosonee, but people complained it was too expensive yet. People used to borrow money just because they wanted to go to Moosonee. This is what I wanted to talk about the floatplane. We used to go to Moosonee or some would go to Fort Albany. The plane that lands on land came later and that's when the plane fares stated to go up drastically. It's expensive now; it costs \$500.00 to go to Moosonee and \$1,000.00 to go to Timmins.

When I talk about the community of Attawapiskat a long time ago, we used to have movie houses here and it was run by the local priest. Everybody was delighted to go to the movies at that time. There was a fee to go in too. People used to borrow money just to go the movies because hardly anybody had employment at that time. I had six kids at that time and my social assistance cheque used to be \$30.00 monthly. Groceries and

other things were cheaper in those days and you could buy lots with \$30.00. A twenty-five pound bag of flour used to be only \$2.00 at that time but now the same amount of flour costs over \$30.00. The \$30.00 we used to get on social assistance lasted us a month. We had enough until we got our cheque for the following month.



M. Koostachin and Sons Snack Bar

Even though, Ontario Works cheques are substantially larger they don't last you a month because of the economy. The social assistance cheques only last you a day because everything is so expensive over here.

I [often] think about how cheap cigarettes were a long time ago. They were only 45¢ a pack. Today they're \$7.00 a pack. Gas was also affordable in those days. When I used to buy five gallons of gas it was only \$3.00 and now it's \$40.00 for five gallons of gas. Life was simpler a long time ago. The socio-economic [part] in this community is getting out of hand because of the availability of alcohol and drugs, family break-ups, and children taken into childcare custody. The list goes on. This is what I wanted to touch on and thank you for listening and letting me speak my mind.

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 ▽ Γ'δ'x ▽δ'Uσ Λβ β Δδ'C'δ'9'δ' <P'U, <β'β'δ', ΠΓ' <P'U β'βC·Δ'δ'P'x ▽δ'
 Λβ ρP <Π ΔCα' Λβ ▽δ'Cσ ·Γ'Γ' β'βC·Δ'δ'P' β Δδ' δLU' <σL
 <β'Γ'δ'·ΔβΓ'x Jα Λβ ρP ΔC<σ' <·▽σβα' <P'C, ·<δ'δ' L'δ' Λδ β▷ Uσ°
 β'C Λδ σ'δ'δ'Uσ° Ρ ΔC·<' <·▽σβα' <P'Cx ·δ' Λβ ΔC·β·δ' <P'C, ·δ'Λ'

ρ VΓ ΔU³Cδρ·Δ` ·Vυb- Δ·⁹·Δ`x Jα βα⁹ ·Δ`b- ρJΓ U³U³ ▷L ΔσL³ Γ U³CL³ ▽ LσU³³ ρ·C Λδ ▽ αJαΔbσ³³ ▽ ·ΔαΔ⁹⁷³, ▽ C<·⁹⁷αx Jα ·Δ`b- ΔσL³ ρJΓ U³U³x

CaebfaedC³³ Lb ·Δα ΔσL b ·Δ>³C<·⁹⁷³x

ρP b³ba·Δ<U³ Λδ ΔσΔ b ΔJαΓCΓ` Δ·Vσba· ▽ C<·⁹Γ` CΛ`d- Lα b σ·ΔdΓ` Lα ·Δ>υ, Δ⁷"Δ°, ·V<·bb³ b ΔJσbU`, ▽▷·bσ b ΔJαΓC³³x α`Λ- Lb ρ, ρ Γα<σ·Δ ΔσΔ b ·V<dbαPΓbU⁹ Lb b ΔJσbU⁹ α·bbaα ▽▷·bσ b ΔJαΓCΓ` Δ·Vσba· ·Vυb- ▽ C<·⁹Γ` ΔσΔ ·V<·bb³ Lα b ΔJσbC·b<³ ▽ C<·⁹Γ`x ▽▷·bσ Lb Λδ ρ·C αα b VΓ ρCL³ ▽ C<·⁹⁷³x

Jα α ·Δα ΛJυ ▷`Γ ΔJσbU° ΔσL Δ⁷"Δ°, ΔσL δC`, ΔσL δC` α·bb³ b J`Γ α⁹⁷` Λδ b ΔJα·b` ρ·C Λδ b L`dΓ` Λδ b ΔJα·b` ΔσL Δ⁷"Δ°, b, ΔσL Γ`N`, α·bb³ b ΔJ LΓdΛU`x

Δ·CΓ`Λ ▽⁷σ ·Δα ΔσL bP VΓ ρCP` Δ·Λ b ΔN ΔC·bP Λ·ΔΛ`d⁷Λ⁷ b LΓdΛU` ·Δα Γ`N` b L`dΓ` ▽, Λ·ΔΛ`d⁷Λ⁷ b ΔN ΔC·bP ·Δα ΔσL <NL b ΔN ρΓbU`x ·Vυb- Lb ·Δα ·V<·bb³ b ΔJσbU` ΔσΔ ·Δα <·bσbσ⁷Λ CΛ`d- ΔσL Δ⁷"Δ°, α·bbσ⁷Λ b ΛαβαΛ·Δ` Λδ b Δ<<C·b<³x ▽▷·bσL ·Δα ·V<·bb³ ·VΓ ρ Δ<<C` ΔσΔ ▽ Δ<<C` ΔσL α·bbσ⁷Λx Λ·ΔΛ`d⁷Λ Lb Δ·Λ b ΔN ΔC·bP ρ J`Γ L`dNσ·Δ³ Λδ Δ`ΛΓ` Δ³U, ρ α⁹⁷`dNσ·Δ³ Γ`N` ▽ NNL<σPΓbU` ΔσL Λ·ΔΛ`d⁷Λ, Δ·Λ b ΔN ΔC·bP ΔσΔ ·Δ>³σ·bPσ⁷Λ⁷ Lα b ▷⁷·ΔΛ⁹⁷⁹x

ρ VΓ, ρ VΓ ΔC·b³ α ⁹·b³ Δ³U α·ΓΓ` Δ⁷"Δ°, CΛ`d- ·b³C° Λδ, CΛ`d- Δα·-, Δα·- ·Δα ΛP° ▽ ΔC', ▽ LLdLbσ·Δ' ·b³C° Λδ ▽, ρ VΓ, ρ VΓ ΔC·b³ α ⁹·b³ ▷Cα` ΔU⁹ ΔσL ΓP ΔJ Δα<NΓ' Δα ·b³C° Λδ Γ LLdΓbU` ⁹·b³x

LLdLbσ·Δ<³ Δα Lα ΛP° Δαx V⁷d⁷baδρ° Δα ΛP° b LLdΓ' Δαx Pα·C° Lα P`Γ ·ΔPΓdρ<³ ▽ LLdΓ' Δα ΛP° b Γdρ' Lb ΔJx V⁷` Δα ρ VΓ Δα<NΓ° Δα ΛP° Δα, Γ`Nδ ΛP° b ΔJσbρ'x P`PρC^ Lα ·Vυb- σ<< ▽ P`P⁷·Δ⁹ΛC`<³ Lα <·bσbσ· ΔσΔ ΛP·Δx ▽ Lα"Δ' Γ`Nδ`, ▽ NNBσ' ΓLσσ°, ▽▷·bσ b ΔαΛΓ"Δ'x ρ ΔN NBσ' ΓLσσ° ΛP° ▽ Δ<<Γ"Δ'x ▽d Lb ρ·C ρJdασ· ρ Δα<ΓV° ΔσΔ ΛP·Δx ▽d Lb ρ·C LLdLbσ·Δ<³ Δσ b Γdρ' ΛP°, b Γdρ' ΔJσbρ'<³ Λα ΛP° b LLdΓ'x ΓJσ Lb Lα P`Γ ·ΔdLdρ'<³ ▽ LLdΓ' Δα ΛP° b Γdρ', Γ`Nδ ΛP°x Δα Lb ·Δα b<⁷dρ', Δ<NΓ<³ Lα ▽ ΛPbΓbU` ΓL³x α`Λ- b P`C<NΓ° Δα Γ`Nδ ΛP° b ΔJσbρ'x

ΔσL, ΔσL .Δε ΔΡΑ bP ΔσJCL, qd ΔΡΑ ΔσL bP ΔKRCY
Δ.ΔJY, ΔΡx

∇Δ.βσL ΔΡΑ bΓ.αJY, ΔσL b, ΔU <.bC°bΓd, b ΔC.b\, ∇d Lb ΔσL
Lb ΔΡΑ b ΔC, .ΔC°bΓb° ΔJα.b° ΔσL ΔΡΑ, .ΔLα.b°, ∇d Lb ∇
Λ°PΛPbU, Lb b Γ.b, σβ°bΓ, ΔJσβPbU° ΔσL b Γ.b, ΔΡΑx ∇
Λ°PΛPbU, Lb ΔσL b Γ.b, Γd°bd Δ.ΔJY ΔσΓσ°, ΓdbP° ∇ Λ°PΛPbU,
ΔσL ΔσP°bΓx ΔσL Lb b .ΔC, ΔΡΑ ΔσL b βα.ΔVbCσ, Lα ΔΡΑ,
∇Δ.βσL b P°P Γ.αJY ΔΡΑ ∇ ΔC, ∇ CdΛd', Δ.ΔJYx

ΔσL .Δε, ΔU .Δε bP VP ΔC4<, V4d4, α Ad P VP
ΔJαdP.Δ, ΔH4, bP ΔJΔβbP°x

∇∇, V4d4, Ad P ΔJαdP.Δ, ΔH4, bP ΔJΔP° ΔσP Lα b, b P>P°
ΔσP, .Δσ.Δ° Ad bP ΔJΔP° Δ.∇σβα, ΔH4, P P°P b°PΔ.Δ, ∇ ΔH4P°
.∇°b- Δ.∇σβαx ∇Δ.βσ Lb Ad V4d4, b ΔJαJΔP° ΔC4J.Δ.Δ
Δ.∇σβαx ∇d Lb P ΔLJΔβbσ.Δα, Lb .Δα α.Δ- Δ°.q° ΔH4, Lα b
ΔJσβP.Δ°<, qb Lb P ΔN ΛJΔαΔ.Δ, ΔH4, ΔσP b .Δ.qP°x Δ°Λ b
ΔN ΔC°PΔP° ΔσP .∇Λ°Nδ4.Δ, P ΔN .Δ.qP.Δ, ΔH4x ∇Δ.βσ b ΔN
ΔJαdP° qb ΔH4, ΔσLx, Δd- Lb P4Λ- Δσ- P°qσL.Δ, ∇ ΔJΔP° ΔH4
V4.b° ∇ ΔJσJΔP° bP VP ΔJαdP.Δ°< .∇°b- ΔH4, b P>P° Ad b
P°P ΓαJΔCα, Lα ΔH4, ∇ ΔJΔP° .∇°b-x

Je α Pe .Δ°b- P°P VC.ΔC4, ΔσP P24Δ.Δ, .∇°b- bP VP
ΔC.Δ°< b ΔNCDP° °C .Δα.Δ° ΔPCP.Δσ, ΔUq, Je α ΛJ°
P°P Δ.U.Δ, ΔσΔ Δ.U.Δα b ΔNCDP° .Δα Δσ- CΛ°d- ∇
ΔPCP° V4, Λσ° ΓCC', Je α .Δα ΛJ° P°P VP Δ.U.Δ, ΔσP
P24Δ.Δx

∇Δ.βσL q.b° ∇b bP P°P P°qσL ΛJ° P, P ΔNCL°, Δ°Λ° σα b Δ°d
P°P°P, ∇Δ.βσL Ad ΔPCP.Δ° V4.b° b, bP VCL°, V4, σσ, σ°J b
Δ.Cσ.Δx Δd- Lb P VU° ΔU ΔCαb ∇, ∇ .JΛq4, ∇ .JΛbσ.Δ, V4,
q.b°, ΓP4Nδ, ∇ ΔC°P°P°x ∇ ΔPΓ°P° ∇, CΛ°d- ΔσL b LLdΛσβU
J.Δb° b ΔP°P°qCσ, ∇ ΔαΛPΔ°P° ΔσP LΓP4Nδx ∇Δ.βσL Ad σα bP
VCL°x ∇d Lb .Δα ΛJ° Lb .Δα P Δ.Cσ.Δ, ∇ ΔPCPασ.Δ, Je .Δ°b-
P°P VU°x b Δ°d P°P°P° .Δα ΔC.Δ ∇ VC.Δ, ∇ ΔPCP.Δ', ∇Δ.βσLσ°
Ad bP VC.Δ, Δσ- ΔΓσ° ΔPCP.Δ° P4Λ- Δσ- b ΔC°P°P°x

P VP ΔC.b° α q.b° ΔH4°, PP, PP ΔC°P°P° Δ.∇σβα,
P°P°CΛUΔσ, ΔP°P ΔUq, b P°P°CΛUΔσ.Δ, Lα Δσ- βJ°PbUx
q.b°, q.b°, q.b° b VP ΔC, .Δα ΔU ΔCα, ΔUq

ΓσΑΓβUσ\ ·ΔΛ'x Jε δσL δ'Γ ΔJε·b' ·V'·b'x ∇δ·bσ Λδ b ΔJ
 ΓσΑΓβUσ\ δ·Vσb' ·ΔΛ' ∇b ·δ·δ'· q·b' ∇ <PΓσbU\ bεq.

ε'U b VΓ δCL' Ρε δσΔ Lε b VΓ ·δ·VJεC' Lε ΓΓL, ∇b Γ ·
 ·Δ'ΓP<σP σ'C Λδ ΓP <<CPx

∇δ·bσ Λδ b δCL\ σεε' δσL Ρε·V' ∇ ·Δ bε·V'CL\ ΓΓL, <γC'x
 εΓ'Uδ\ <γ·εε\ ·b'·x ∇δ Lb σ'C ρδVρbε\ CδΓLεε\ ΛΓ'x Ρε·V' Lb
 bε·VσLbεε\ δσP, δσL ∇ δδσ', ·b'·x ∇ <ρbUP δσΔ q·bεx CΛ'δ'
 σ'C δσΔ δCPγ ΓΓL, CΛ'δ' Jρ'Δγ' ∇ <ρbU\, Ρε·V' bε·V'ρbU'x
 ∇σΛ\ Lb Lε σΓΓC' δσΔ q·bε ∇, ∇ <ρL'x Jε ·Δ'·b' ·Δε δ'Γ, Jε
 ·Δ'·b' ·Δε δ'Γ ε·b' q·b' δδΓΓb' b ΔJσbU\ q·b'x ∇δ·bσ δC·Δε Lb
 σ'C bδCΓ\ δσL ·∇·∇·δ', ∇, J·δΔbε\ Lε ΔJσbρ'ε\ ∇ J·δδρ'Γ\
 ·δ'·Cbσ\, Γ'Γδ δ'·Cb'x ε'Λ' Lε Ρε·V' P bε·VσLbεε\ δσP J·δΔbε\
 b ΔJσδρ'Γ'x ∇δ·bσ Λδ b ΔJx ε·bδbσ·δ'ε\ Lb Lε εδ' ∇ δCΓ\ ∇
 Jσδbσ·δ' δJ'P' δσP ·Δε J·δΔbε\ b ΔJσbρ'Γ'x ε·bδbU<ε Lε δσΔ
 ·δ'·Cbε δσΔ, J·δΔbε·δC b ΔJσbU'x ∇δCσ Lb Lε, Γ'δ Lb Lε
 Ρε·V' Lε ΓΓρ'εεε' ∇ <ρbUP ·b'·x δσΔ q·bεx εΓ'Uδ\ δΠ ∇δ Lb
 σ'C ρδVρbε\ Γρ·∇ Λδ q·b', Γρ·∇ Λδ q·b' εΔPbU<ε ∇ <ρbU'x δρC
 σ'C, δρC Lε ρ'ρ'P'δ ∇ δγΛbΓbU'q δρC ∇ <ρbU'x ∇δ·bσΔ Lb Lε
 ΓΓεσ·δ·b' δρCx Γρ·∇ δσ Λδ q·b', δ'Π·b' σ'C Lε <'·b·<Cεεε'x
 δ'Π·b', δCC·bε σ'C J·δΔbU<ε Lb Lεx δΠρ'γ, Jε bεq ·Δ'·b' q·b'
 ·∇ΛσbU<ε, δCPJ'δ σ'C δJσεεε', δCPJ'δ ΛΓ ∇ δJσσ·δ'x Γ'δ Lb
 ρ'Γ Γ·εJεε' δσL Lε δCPJ·δ ΛΓ b ΔJσbU\ ∇ ΓΓεσ·δ' δσΔ
 δCPJ'x bε·V' Lb Lε bε·V'ρbU'ε' δσΔ q·bεx ·b'·x Lb δ<·b'·σb'
 Γ·δC ΛCδbU<ε, ·b'·x ΔJεΓCεεε' Γ·δC b ΔJ bε·V'ρbU'q δσΔ ΓΓLx
 ∇δ Γ ερ'εΠP, ·b'·x Lb δδε∇bU<ε ∇b σ'C Γ ε'ΓΓ\ L'Jε'x ·b'·x
 ΛΓΠε<ε, ·b'·x ΔJεδ'ε' Γ·δC b <<ΠP, <<·b'·σbσ Γ·δC Lb
 <<Πε<ε ∇ ΛCδρ'Γ' δσPx εΓ'Uδ\ δσΔ σ'C δCPγ q·bε b <ρbU'q,
 ·δ'·γ CΛ'δ'x

P VΓ δC·b' ε Lb ·Δε Γ ΓC·δσ·δ' Lε q·b' ε'U ε'ΓΓ\ b
 δC'<ε'x

∇∇, ΓC·∇<ε\ Lε δ·∇σbε\ ∇ ρ'ρ'γ'ε', δJσCε\ Lε q·bε P δ'ΓCΓ'
 ∇ ΓC·∇Γ', CΛ'δ' δσP C<'·Δε\ b ΔJσbρ'Γ'x δ'·bε ε δσΔ, δσσPρ'Cε
 δγ"δ', J', J' σσPρ'Cε σ'C Λδ δΠ'x ∇δ·bσΔ Lε b ΓC·δq·δ'ε'
 δ·∇σbε\ ∇, ∇, ∇·Δ b·q <'ρεδ'Γ'x Jρ'γ'ε' Lb Lε δδbCεε'ε' δ'P
 P'ε< ∇ VVδ'ε\ δσΔ U'q ∇ VδCδbU'q δσL Jρ'γ'ε' ∇δ Lb
 σ'ΛU'γΛJ'δbεε\ Lb δσP δ'·bε\ δσP ∇·Δ b·q CΛ'εδ', C-<'·Δε\ Lb
 ΔJσbρ'ε'x ρ'Γ bε·V' Lε ε·δΛbC'δ ∇ ΓC·δbσ·δ' δσP, C-<'·Δε\ b
 ΔJσbρ'Γ'x ∇δ·bσL q·b' bP ·δ<CL' ΓC·δbσ\ ΔU'q, ΓC·δbσ\ ΔU'q ∇
 ΓC·δbσ·δ'x C-<'·Δε\ ΔJσbρ'ε'ε' δσP δ'·bε\ ∇ ΓC·δbσ·δ'x ∇δ Lb σ'C

Γ°Π` Λε ε<ΡδρβU< Γ°Π`, ∇δ Λβ Λεβσλ Λβ <<Πε<, <σL Λβ
 ·Δε, >>Γβ> Δσββ<`x ΛΓ°β- Λβ ΓεCδρ< <ε >>Γβ>, ∇ εσVPΛΠ',
 ∇ εCδρ', ∇ <Π Ρε·∇'x Ρ°Γ ΓεCδρ< Λεx ∇>·βσ β Δσ <<LP`
 <·Δσε` ·∇'β- ∇ ΓC·Δ9Γ` <σΔ >>Γβε ∇δ Λβ <σΡ C<"<ε`x ∇>·βσ
 σε 9·βε βΡ <<CL> ∇ ΓC·<βσ·<Ρ ·∇'β-x ∇δ Λβ σ°C Λε, ·∇Λ°βρ9<ε`
 Λε εV·<` ∇ >><Γ` Λδ C<εx ·∇Λ°βρ9<ε` Λε ∇ <<Γ·β<` ·∇'β-
 <·∇σβε` ∇x ρεσλ<ε` Λβ σ°C, ·Δε·<° Λδ ∇ >>CΓ` <σΔ ρβσλεΠ`x
 ∇δ Λβ σΛρλ <σΔ ∇ Ρ°Ρ°βC<Ρ` <σΔ ∇ >><Γ` ρβσλεx Γ°ΓCΓ` Λε
 CΓβU<` ·∇'β- ∇ ΓC·<σ·<`x

ε°U β CΓβU` <σL Γ·β- <σL ∇ <λΓΔΡσβ`x

∇ <λΓΔΡσβ` ·Δε, Λε ·Δ°β-, Λε ·Δ°β- <<Πρεεε< ∇ <λΓΔΡσβ`x
 ε°Λ- Λε >°ΓΔ·∇<ε` ΛβUδσλ` ·∇'β- ∇β ρ <<Πρ' <·∇σβ> ∇
 <λΓΔΡσβσ`x Ρε- CΓβU<ε 9·βε ∇ ΛΠε·∇Ρσβ`, Γρ·∇ 9·β> ΡσCεε<`x
 ΓC σ°C, Ρ UΛΛεσ·<`x ∇δ Λβ σ°C σΛ ∇ <°Cσ·<`x ∇δ Λβ,
 <λΓρβεεε< Λε ∇ Ρλ<λ', ∇ Ρλ<λ' ΔU9 <λΓρβεεε< ∇ <λΓΔΡσβ`
 ∇δ Λβ Γε ∇ >Cδσ`x σ·ε <λΓρβεεε< Vλ·β ∇ Ρσβ`x Γ·β Ρσ` Λβ
 <°C, ΓC·<εεε< Λε, Λ°Γ ΓC·<εεε< Λδx Λε ·Δ°β- ·Δε <·∇σβ> <<Πρ<>
 ρ εδρ' ∇ <λΓΔΡσβσ`x Λε ·Δε <ε- β Δσε·β` ∇β β Ρ°9°CΡ`
 <·∇σβε` <ε-, <ε- β <Π >°Ρ ΛLΠρΓ` β <<ΠρΓ` 9σδ` ∇ ΔσεδρΓ`
 ∇ <λΓΔΡσβσ`x Λε <σL >°Γ ΔΡ> ·∇'β-x ε°Λ- Ρ, Ρ <δ εεΡΓC·<`
 ΛβUδσλ` <σΓσ° ∇ ·ΔC·LΓ` Δσσ·< ∇β ρ <<ΠρσΓ ∇ <λΓΔΡσβσ`x
 ε°Λ- Λβ Ρ ΠΛCΓ` <·∇σβε` <σΓσ° ∇ ·ΔCLδΓ` ΛβUδσλ ∇β ρ
 <<Πρ' <·∇σβ> ∇ <λΓΔΡσβσ`x

**<σL ·Δε, <·Δσε` βΡ VΓ <λ·<Γ` <°U ε°ΓΓ`x Ρ VΓ
 ·ΔΓΔβ·Δ> ε, <σL Δ°Λ β <Π <<L·<ρλ<`x**

∇∇, Λεσ, Λεσ ·Δ°β-, ΔC<ε` <ε, ΔC< <ε ΡλΔ°·9° β >Πε/
 <·Δσε, ΔC< <σL ΡλΔ°·9°x Γ°Γ' Λβ Ρ >Πσ° <·Δσε ∇ ερ<'x ∇·β·<
 σρδ° <ε Δσσββ<`, <·< σεV° >β·Δλx ∇>·βε Λβ, <σΡ Λβ βΡ
 <λ·<Ρ` <·Δσε` ε°ΓΓ` ∇ σC·ΔΡΓ`, Λε ·Δ°β- >CΓ, Λε ·Δ°β- >CΓ
 <σΓρ> CΛ°δ- β ΔΡ` <ε- ε°Λ- Γ°CΔ β, β ΔΠ' <·∇σβ> ∇ <<L·<ρ'
 <ε-x ρ9LCσ ∇β >°Γ <<ΓCλ> σε <σΔ 9·βε, CΛ°δ- β CΓβU9, ρ°CΔβε
 σ°C β <<CΡx β ρ°C>' <·∇σβ> σ°C Λδ <σΓσ° β Γσ' σΛσ°, <^ Λ β
 ΔσσβU`, ∇·βλσ β CΓΓ` <·< <ε- Δ°·9·<` <σLx ε°Λ- Λβ Γ°CΔ,
 <ΛC° εΡ <σΓΔδ·<` U>U> <·∇σβε` <ε- β <<L·<ρΓ` <δρ·ΔβΓδ` ∇
 Δσ <<L·<ρΓ`x ·∇'β- Λβ ·Δε, ΠVσΓΠρ< <·∇σβ> β, β ·Δ CΓ`, Λε
 Λβ, ΓCσ Λβ <λ"Δ°, ·∇C> ΔU>C·βεε< ∇ <<L·<ρεσ·<` <°U <·βC°βΓδ`x
 ε°Λ- σ°C ·βλ` εεΡΓ<βσ·Δ< <·Δσ ε ∇β ρ, ρρβρ'x ∇>·βσ β
 Δσεδρεσ·<`, ∇>·βσ β Δσεδρλ> σε ε°Λ- >Ρ ·∇Πρ> U>U> C> βΡ
 <λ·<Ρ` >C·<σΓε` <°U <·βC°βΓδ`x ∇>·βε Λδ ΡλΔ°·9° ∇ ερ<' >ρρL

Δσεδρλῆx Δ9"Δ° Lb ῶC ῖP VΓ Δ<ΓCαῖ ·ἄῶb- CΛῖd- ·Δ>ῖῖσῖb^ Lα
 ῶC Λd ·Δ>ῖῖῖ ΔῖCῖ, ἄῶbσΔ 9·bα bP VΓ ·ΔαCLῖ σααῖx
 ·Δ>ῖῖσῖb^ ἄῶ Lb ·Δ>ῖῖῖ ΔῖCῖαx ·bῖC° Lb Lα Λd ·Δα·Δ° b,
 ·Δ>ῖῖσῖα Lα ῖCῖCῖῖῖῖῖ Lαx ἰα ·Δῖ ·Δα ·bῖῖῖ Δῖῖῖῖ ῖCῖ
 Δῖῖῖῖῖ·Δῖ, Δῖῖῖῖῖ·Δαῖx ·Δ>ῖῖσῖα Lα Λd ΔσΔ 9·bα, Δ<·bῖσῖα ΔσΔ
 9·bα ἄῶbσΔ Λd σααῖ bP VΓ Δῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ ·ἄῶb-x

9xbῖ Pα, 9·bῖ Pα bP VΓ Δ<ΓCῖῖ Lα b <<ἰUῖῖ ῶC Λd b
 <<Λῖῖῖῖ Lαx

·ἄῶb- Lα ·Δα b, Δῖῖ° Lα σῖῖῖ <<ΛC<Cῖ Λd ῖC<αῖῖ ἄῶ αC·9ῖῖ ῶC
 Λd ἄῶ αῖῖῖῖ Lαx σῖῖῖῖ ῖC<Cῖ Lα Λd, 9b Lb ῖῖῖ Δῖῖῖῖ Lb ῖῖῖ
 P Δῖ Δ<Γ<ῖῖῖῖ, Δῖῖῖ, Δῖῖῖ P Δῖ Δ<ῖῖῖ·Δῖ ἄῶ ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ Δῖῖῖῖ
 αῖῖῖ Lα ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ Δῖῖῖῖ ἄῶ Δ<Γῖῖῖῖ ἄῶ ῖCῖῖῖ ἄῶ ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ
 ῖC<αῖῖ·bῖ ἄῶ LσCσῖ·Δῖ ῶC Λd ἄῶ αῖῖῖῖῖῖ·Δῖῖ ἄῶ ῖῖῖῖ ἄῶ VΓ Δσα·bῖ
 ·ἄῶb-x Δῖῖ° Lb Lα ῖῖῖ <<LC<ῖῖῖῖ ῖC<αῖῖ ἄῶ ῖῖ ἄῶ ·Δ Δ<Γῖῖῖῖ
 Δῖῖῖῖ

P VΓ ῖῖῖῖ α ῶC Pα ΔσΔ ·Δαῖῖῖα Lα bP VΓ Pῖῖῖῖ CΛῖd-
 ΔσΔ ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ ῶC Λd Δῖῖῖῖῖ

ἄῶ, ἄῶbσ Λῖῖῖῖ b VΓ Δσα·Δῖῖ, b VΓ Δσσ·Δῖῖ σα ἄῶ VΓ ῖῖῖῖῖ
 ΔσΔ Lῖῖῖῖ, Δῖῖῖῖ ῶC, ἄῶbσΔ Λῖῖῖῖ bP VΓ Δ<ΓCῖῖῖ ῖC·Δῖῖῖῖ
 ΔσΔ ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ ἄῶ Lb ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ ἄῶbσ b VΓ Δσσ·Δῖῖ Λῖῖῖῖ ἄῶ
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Roseanne Fireman



(recorded December 8, 2004)

Community or reserve life in the past

1) Describe your life in your community or reserve in the past.

I remember living in the bush. I learned everything there, like, where we ran out of something. I trapped. I searched for food. I used snares and things like that. I learned where to hunt for those things.

We used to run out of moss that we used for diapers. I would get moss in the bush when there was no more to use on my younger sibling.

Those were all the things I learned when we were in Matawa. That was also where I learned a lot of the things that my grandfather taught me.

When we were in Misissau Lake that's what I did too, search for food. I used to wander around in the bush with my brother. He was the one who taught me where to trap. If you're looking for something, he used to tell me. I followed his instructions when the time came that he couldn't do anything because of his illness. Its true when people say in the future you will begin to know things. In my own life, I experienced that. You will be good at doing things they used to tell me. At first, I wasn't very good at doing things. I was only eleven when I first started doing those things, but as I got older I did better.

I remember in Nayshkatayak that I did the same things there in Matawa. I remember everything, all the things I did.

At the present time, I feel my life is very good. I am not worried about anything even when I think about future things. I will still be the same, I think.

When we came back here, I felt it was different, totally different. While sitting at home, sometimes things come to my mind when I look somewhere or when I look out the window. All those things come back to me. It's like when one is going backwards. That's how I felt.

Biographic Information

Name: Roseanne Lillian Jean Fireman
 Date of Birth: December 8, 1976
 Place of Birth: Moose Factory, Ontario
 Present Address: Attawapiskat, Ontario
 Education: Grade 9
 Interests/Hobbies: House Cleaning
 Date of Interview: December 8, 2004

As for Attawapiskat, in my opinion, it will get better. They will change things. That's what I think about Attawapiskat. There will be no alcohol. That's how I look at it.

They're saying that there is no alcohol at the present time and I think that's how it will be in the future, the way it is now.

Who did you live with when you were in the bush?

We used to live with my parents, Jean D'arc and Shaynoo. Those were the ones who were there. Mani came there too, but at the time when her husband was still living. Wherever we went they came with us even when we went to Misissau Lake. They also came with us when we went to Matawa or to Nayshkatayak. That's where the old woman came too. Wherever we went they would come along. We also stayed at Naykopashisis.

That was where the old woman taught everything. She taught me how to skin animals. I used to do poorly when I started learning how to smoke meat. I used to watch my grandmother do it and then I tried cutting meat in strips. That's when I learned how to do it. I only cut meat in strips once. Then I was able to do everything else after that. She taught me about the ones kept in grease also.

I am very grateful to them for teaching me those things right up to the end of my grandfather's life.

That old woman you're talking about, what woman is that?

Mani Metat. She was the one who taught me how to smoke meat.

Where is that Naykopashisis you mentioned?

Naykopashisis is towards the bay, [it's] a channel near Mishkapak. That's where Nayshkopashisis is.

You could walk across to that place. That's where we stayed. They went over the channel. When water was starting to come in the channel, we had to wade across when we went to see the old woman.

That was also where she talked to me again. "I'm sure you remember the times we paddled in a canoe," the old woman told me. I was young that time when they looked after me. "When we used to travel by canoe to Mississau Lake," the old woman used to say to me. Then I remember those things during that time. My grandfather used to show me how a paddle was made. "Look at what I'm doing, grandchild," he would say

to me, as he was planning them. That was Mani Metat's husband. I observed how he made them or when he stretched animal skins. That was when he showed me how a beaver is skinned. "Here try it," he said, and that's what I did. Pretty soon, I was good at that too. Then I said to him, "I will never forget the things you are teaching me." And that is true for I never forgot them; they are forever in my heart.

Did your parents teach you anything?

Yes, my father taught me things, like teaching me about trails, showing me how to know the way, if I didn't see him. You will remember everything wherever you go he used to tell me. What he said was true. I would think about that. I wondered when something happens in my life. I remember the time he was setting a gill net. "This is what you'll do, so you will know," my father said to me. I used to help him set a net or [help] in all the other things he did. I was mostly the one who helped him. I could never just observe when my father did something. I had to pinch in to help him know what would happen to me if I never saw him again, I would think to myself.

Did you use moss that people used?

Yes, my father used to tell me about that. You never used clothe diapers, he would say. You always used moss instead of cloth diapers. That's what my mother said too. What your father is saying is true, she would say, you never really used diapers. You only used moss, she said, and that's what I used on your brothers too. What she's saying is true; using moss is better than cloth diapers. That's what I used on two of my younger siblings, [just like] the way they taught me.

As you can remember, what did your shelter look like when you were in the bush?

It looked like the place we stayed in Matawa was good. It was very good. There were houses there. We made those houses ourselves. In time, they got better. Even now, it looks good over there. We used to keep the place clean all the time. Every day we would clean up so there would be nothing on the ground when we left and it was like that all the time. Even those houses are good, the ones we made. That's what we did when we were at Missisau Lake. We used to clean up before we left that place, so there will be no garbage lying around. The last time people went there when they went to look at Missisau Lake, they said the place was clean and there was no litter. Everywhere we stayed, we would clean up before we left that place.

If you were asked to go to Missisau Lake and it's far from here, would you be able to get there?

By walking?

No, if you used a boat or skidoo, would you know how to get there?

Yes, the way to Missisau Lake is clear. It's like a river with all the bends. It would start here in Matawa and you travel on that. Then there would be bends in the river and that's how it is all the way to Missisau Lake. When you arrive, there is a little house at what is called Ashkaytayashis. You can see the lake from there. Missisau Lake is a big body of water. You can see a house standing on the other side of the lake.

It took us a while to get there one time, when we went to Missisau Lake from Matawa. It took us five hours to get there, but there were logs blocking the river. My brothers would cut those logs and it would take us awhile to haul them if logs were in the river.

Were people living in Missisau Lake where those houses were?

You mean like white people?

I don't know. Who used to live there? How did those houses get there?

The white people were there first. Then my father was given land and that's how the land became ours. There were people living there at that time too. Across the lake there were coffins lying around Missisau Lake.

Who taught you what to look for when you went somewhere?

When they say something happened I would always put my children first before anything else. Like when something bad happens. I let my children be my comfort. On the other hand, like when something is shocking or some tragic things happen, I put my children before me. They mean more to me than anything else when they come to tell me bad news. Like the time I got the unexpected news about my grandfather. The last time I went to see him then twenty minutes later he was gone. At first, I just sat there. Every time the phone rings I would think, I wonder what the news is. Something will happen they would say, then I would talk to my children first as they sat there and I would hold them as I talked to them. I would say to them, "You will help me when something happens," and they would say yes. They are the ones who mean more to me.

When you traveled, who taught you what to look for, and how did you tell where you're going?

I used to observe the route we took. Wherever my father would go, when we left or when coming back, I would say to my father, "This is the way we came" and he would say, "Yes, this is the way." Or when snow covered the trail, I would say to him, "This is it, I recognize it. I recognize that tree, those trees standing together." That's how I

learned from that. I was scared he would go the wrong way, but for sure we would get home when we went for firewood.

I said to my mother, "I thought we were lost." She would tell me to observe the signs along the way you came, and that's what I would do.

When you lived in the bush, how long were you gone from the community?

We would leave this community for long time, like for six months. It would be a long while before we came back. Living in the bush was better than in the community, we would say. We were the ones who were fussing. We wanted to go out on the land and do things. Every time we would go with my father. We would even go for the freeze up. Matawa would be the place where we would go.

We could never do in the community the things we do in the bush. I used to be so bored when I first stayed here in the community. That's what we said. We would ask when we get to go [in the bush]. "This is where we'll spend the freeze up," I would say to my mother. She would say yes and that's where we were. I used to be depressed when I lived here too.

Did you ever see an askikan being constructed?

You mean the one made from earth?

The shelter called an askikan that people built in the bush to use during the winter.

Yea ...

Did you see those made?

No, I didn't see that on my side anyway. They talked about them, but I never saw how it was made myself.

Did you live in a tent during winter or did you just live in a house?

At first we stayed in a wooden tent frame before the house was built. The tent was warm enough when we were sleeping in it. I used to think it was cold in the house when it was being made. But then we lived in one that my father made.

You didn't live in a tent?

I lived in a tent, all of those, a wooden tent frame, a *Kotakwaskahekan*. I lived in all of those.

How was it living in a tent during the winter?

It was no different.

Was it warm?

Yes, when it was covered with snow, but it was first covered with moss and then snow was used. It used to be warm. Even when the fire was out, it would still be warm. I liked sleeping in a tent.

Were there many of you living in the bush?

Yes, there were many of us.

I mean in your family, when you were together in the tent, was it crowded?

No, the tent we had was large. We all fit in there. It was fun when we were all together. That's what we did there one time. We were all together in a tent.

You went up the river, but when did you go towards the bay?

The last time when I went out to the bay was two years ago. That was the time my grandmother was there. That was the last time I went. When my father went there I stayed behind, but all my siblings went. They went with the children. I was depressed when I stayed here feeling sad because I wanted to go. "I can't take you because of your condition," my father said to me. I was so miserable here not being able to go.

Did you think food was different out near the bay than it was out in the bush?

I think the food is the same out there near the bay. But people say the food tastes different out there from the ones inland. As for me when I ate that food, it tasted the same as the food inland. "Why would it taste different?" my grandfather used to say, when I asked him if the food tasted different. Whatever game is killed anywhere it still tastes the same he would say and that is true. That's how it tastes. It doesn't taste any different.

Did they show you those traditional medicines found in the bush?

Yea ...

Did you see that?

My grandfather, Shaynoo, showed me the one called the bark. There is medicine in that. I don't know the name of it. The tree is brown. It is peeled and grandfather would boil it in water as he was showing me. This helps when someone cuts themselves. I showed him where I had cut myself. He boiled some of that, then applied it to my cut,

and put a dressing on it after. "In five days, it will not even take five days, it will be healed," he told me. I thought he was joking "After four days I will take it off," he said, and after four days, he did take the dressing off. Using that healed the cut. "This is medicine," he said.

"Every branch that you see is true medicine," he said. What he's saying is true. They are medicine. The cones and water boiled in them is medicine, he would say. I drank that too when I had a cold. When other people had a cold that's what they would drink, he would tell me. It is true for I drank that too when I had a cold. "It is not only drugs that are used," my grandfather would say. That's what Theresa Fireman used to tell me too. "Drink that so you won't get a cold," she would say to me. It tasted awful when I drank it. "What is this," I would ask Theresa. "That's cone mixture," she said. "That is better when one has a cold," she would tell me or when one has scabs, like when children have scabs. Use that when your children have scabs, she used to tell me. I did use that when I told her that my son had sores in his mouth. "Give him a drink of that," she said. So, I gave my son a drink of that not wanting him to get worse, but I was scared when I did that to my son. Something bad will happen to him if I do this I thought. It's true he wasn't able to swallow anything, but I gave him that to drink. He was able to swallow two days later when I tried again.

When did you first notice white people coming around here? When did they come looking for something? When did you see that happen?

I only noticed that recently when they came looking around. "What are those white people doing here?" I used to say as I looked out the window. I used to see them here. That's when I knew they were looking for something and when I saw them holding something. Then I would say these white people are here again looking for something. That's what white people look like when they come into a reserve, was the remark I would get. At first, I didn't know what they were looking for something until my parents told me they were looking for diamonds. "But there are no diamonds here in Attawapiskat," I would say to them. I used to wonder when white people came here to explore.

Community or reserve life today

2) Describe your life in your community or reserve today.

My spouse and I used to go in the bush. Sometimes we would spend two nights out there. When I get depressed living in this community, I would say to him, I really would like to go in the bush. Then we would go out on the land. I can't breathe is what I call it when I get depressed. "I want to go out there," I would say, and we would go or

sometimes we would walk out there beyond the houses just to be out in the bush. We would then sit out there for a while.

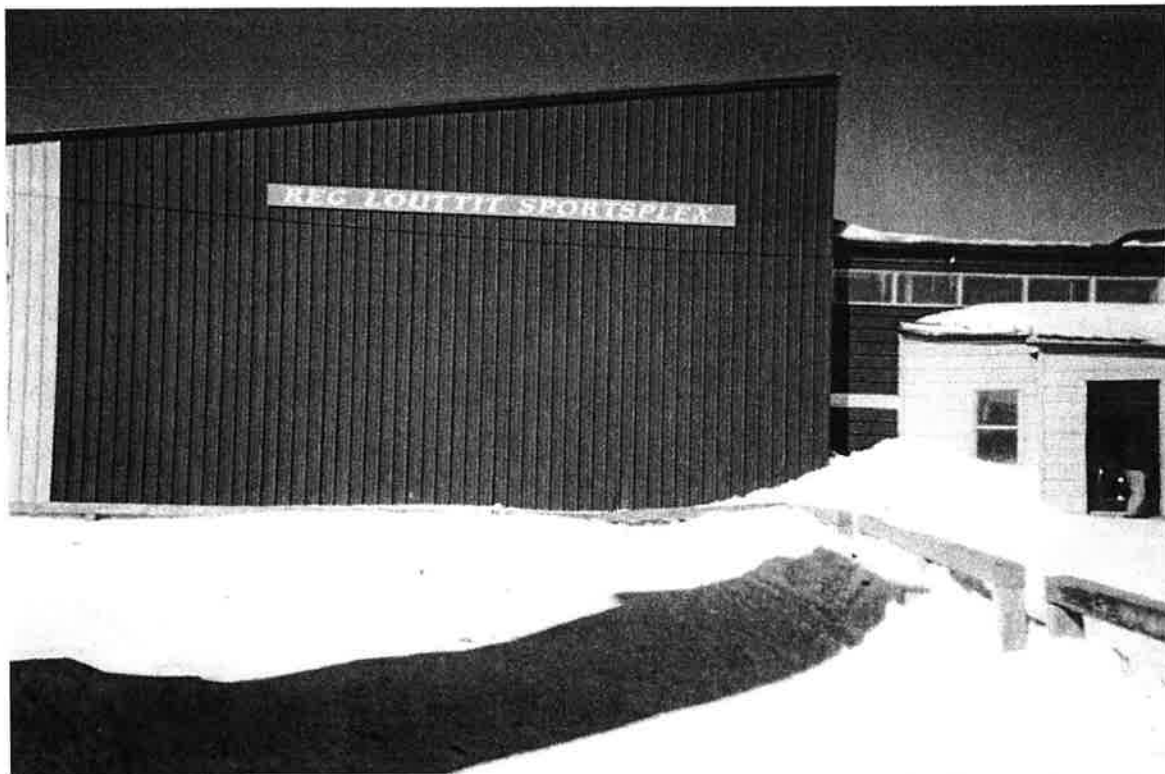
Community or reserve life in the future

3) Describe what your life might be like in your community or reserve in the future.

It will get better, that's what I think about this community. The way it is now, that's how it will be.

How big do you think the land around Attawapiskat is? Can they build more here?

Attawapiskat looks like a big place. They can build more the way it is. They used to talk about housing being built up the river where people have been clearing the land. Down the river they cleared some land where they said a children's playground would be; what they call a baseball field. People also said that houses would be constructed where they cleared the land. But I haven't seen a baseball field built yet; the one they've talked about. I only see them clearing the land. You will see buildings there is what they said, but I don't see anything there. They say forty houses will be built this year. I haven't seen any houses being built. I will only believe it if I see buildings standing there I would say afterwards.



Reg Louttit Sportsplex

I think it would be very good if they really built a baseball field—the way children are always hanging on the backs of trucks. That's not good at all in my opinion. It would be nice to build a place for them to play.

What do you think about our language, do you think it's getting weak?
You mean the Cree language?

Yes.

I think it's getting stronger and the English language is getting weaker. I look at it that way. Rather the Cree language is stronger while the English is going down. That's what I think.

What do you think about when people say that the youth today will be the leaders of the future? What is your opinion on that?

I think that would be wonderful if the youth here could turn out like that. But sometimes it bothers me when they say that the youth today will take over everything in the future. They're not considering all the youth when they say that, only those who had a good life. But I think more about the youth who are troubled and who are doing all the bad, negative stuff. These youth who are out there sniffing gas are the ones who should come first before the other youth.



Attawapiskat Band Office

I hear that a lot about youth today being the leaders of tomorrow according to their capabilities. That will be great for those youth who have the potential to make good

leaders and I'm happy for them. But I'm more concerned about the other youth who are sniffing gas.

I don't know what else to ask, but is there anything else you would like to say so the people will know? This is the reason why the youth are included in these interviews with the other people. So that they, the youth, can express their opinions to the people as well. So, is there anything you want to say that you would like the people to know?

Only this, that they too, share from their own experiences as I did here. I know there are some youth in this community who grew up in the bush. One time I asked my brother what he thinks when he's in the bush. He was happy, he said, and I think this is what these other people should do to share their stories. That's all I can say.

What do you think about the people presently living in this community? Do you think alcohol consumption is a big problem here?

I think it's like that again. When I came here was no one bootlegging. Then the next thing I hear is that there is heavy drinking again. People went to go get it. There were no signs of people drinking, but when they went to go get it, that's when people started coming out in the open being intoxicated. And this is hurting the community, this problem of alcohol abuse that has again surfaced.

What do think of the items that are purchased in the store? Do you think they are expensive?

Yes, they are expensive. Even though the manager has sales, he doesn't really bring the prices down significantly. There's not much difference between the items on sale and the regular prices of some items. The previous manager used to really bring the prices down when he was here. I can't really afford to purchase anything with the prices so high. If the price is low enough then I could afford to buy, I used to think to myself. The cost of food is so high too. Sometimes I have to put back food that the children wanted. Things are still expensive in the store. I think it would be better if things were cheaper.

That is all the questions I wanted to ask you. I just want to say thank you for coming here to be interviewed on tape.

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C?C Lb·Δe vJ ΔC·b\ <σL ρδ<J? b ΔCL?x

ρδ<J? ·Δe C·Δ- ΔU9 ΔC·b?x <σL b J<4\ b ΔΓ hΓN\ b Γ?b<\
 <σL ρδ<J? <?Cx JΓ JCσ·<δ<? Le ρ^C v ΔJCσ·<\ <?C <σL ρδ<J?
 JΓ <?9?bδ<? Le Adx vδCσ bJ?C4P<?, bJ<4σ\ Lb Γe P ΔC<? v P
 ΔJUR\ <?C <σΓσ°, <N σΛ·Δδ<? <σL ρδ<J? ρJΓ ΔJCe? v JU4\ v
 <δ<L\ <σL v ρ·CL4P<? <e P?Δ^·9°x vδCσ Lb Γe b <44ΓΔ^<?x P
 P?P?eN·9 ρ^C b <<<σ4δ<? ΓL?, Le ρNδCA <e P?Δ^·9°x σC·ΔJ?·ΔCA
 <σL, b be·vσΓδ4<? <σP. Γ?hδbσPΛ\ b <<<<σ4δ<?, Le ρNδCA <e
 P?Δ^·9°x C·V Lb ρ <N P?P? <σΔ 9·be <?Cx σJ?Γ<? ρ^C v
 P?P·δ<J·Δ^<? Cσ v JC' <δ>^ v ΔJ<δbσ·Δ^?x be·<Γ? v JCL? δP?^, Le
 ρNδCA, v JδC^x v·bσΔ Lσ ΓC' ΔeVLx C·V Lb ρ ρbe·<<LCA <σL v
 JC\ v ΔJ<^ <σΔx ρ^C Ad v J<<U', vδCσ Γe b ΔJ P?P·δ<J·Δ^?x
 δΓC ρN\, ρ δΓC? Lb v JC·<δbσ·Δ' <Γ^ v <δeδbσ·Δ^?x ·bσ Lb C·V b
 JCL?x ρ <N b?P>? Lb Γe <σLx Je ·Δ?b- ?b ΔΓ ·<σb? ΔΔ 9·be b
 P P?P·δ<J·Δ4\ Lb ρ ΔCC4\ x C·V Lb <δ- 7·b- Je ·Δ?b- σ·<σb?
 <σΔ 9·be, bP9 Ad v ΔC·bP ρUΔ\ v P?P?4?

P VR P?P·δ<Lδ\ e 9·bσ° PσPΔ·b\ x

vδ, δC·Δ^ ρ VR P?P·δ<LδCA 9·be, ρ^C Ad v ·<<NbeJ·Δ' /?x v
 ·<<NbeJ·ΔΓ\ 9 <N ΔJ ΔJUY? Δ^? v b Le ·<Γ4·9 Le Δ·U<?x Γ?·v
 Lb ρ P?P? <σΔ b ΔJ ·<<<NbeJ·Δ^?x Γ?·v 9·b? b P?P? C?U Ad 9
 <N ΔJ ΔJUY?, Le ρNδCAx C·V Lb <σ b Δ·U' <σΓσ°x v·bσ Le
 LΓJσσCL?, Cσb Δ^? 9·b? ΔPP ^ΛL?P·Δσ\ ΔU9 Le U?U?x b <P·C<^<?
 Le ρ^C, vδUσ 9 JCL? Γ P?9?CL?, Le ρNδCA δC·Δ?x σ·ΔΓ<CA Le v
 <P·C<^?x ρ^C Ad ΓJ4\ 9·bσ° v ΔJ?x σe Le J4\ ρ^C σ·ΔΓ<CAx Je

Le 3P C5 be-d<LCA 9-bso v jcl' de mC-D3x d'ob' L e Ad 3C-d-
s-df-dCA, v P'93CL3 C5 9 AN3' A^A vb -dL9, Le v U3CL3x

P VR d<rc3 e 3c Pe dsa d'p3 b d<rc-d'c3 d-vse3x

vv, v n<rl'cd3' Le mC-d^, Je d'ub- C-v P jf d<rd-d' d'p3e',
Le 3ndCA, d'pA j3' P d<c3 d'3- d'p3e', Le d-U<3x v-b5 Lb 3c
b ANd3' s-b-d^, C-v d5 b d-U' << d57so, Je d'ub- 3P P jf
d<rd-d' d'p3e', d'pA Le Ad P c<rcc^ Pe, Le 3ndCAx v-b5 Lb
3c 3'v b jC-d'p' d' beV-d'f', Lb d-U<3x C-v Lb d5 b d-U'
d57so d'pA L-d- 3'e3' v d<c3 d'3- d'p3e', Le d-U<3x v-b5 Lb
b jC-d-b' s3 s3L' d'pso v d<rc-d' v 3'v-d'p', b P d5
P'p-d-j-d'f' Adx

b d5 P'93CL3 Pe, C5 b d3e-b' Pe-d^ pC39-ds-d^ 3'f' b
dC4'x

v-d^ Ad P d3e-b', P 3'e3' d5L b P d5 dC3' LC-dx 3'5 Ad P
3'e3' d'ub-d' d'c5 v 3LU3 d'3x s3' Ad vP d'3c3'p' d5d
d'ub-d'be3 P dN 3'e3' 9bx v-b5 Lb 7-b- v d3e-b' d5L 3'e3'x bP9
Ad 3c P <4Pe-b' C) P3b^ v d<N3' d'3x vb 9-b' 3' <A-dN' Le
v dU3CL' <L3 e3CL' d'3x 3'v 9-b' 3' j3'p3e' <L3 VR P3U3'p'x
bP9 Lb d5L d3e-b' v 3'e3'x 3'e3'e Lb 3c 3'd- d5d d'ub-d'be b
P d'3c3'x v-b5 Lb v3-b' b d3e7c3'p' 3'3b-d'be3', j3' 3' VR
e-d-d'3'be3 <L3 e3CL' d5dx vb 9-b' 3' <A-d'UP b'3e d5dx 3'e3'
Lb d-U<3' de L3' b P <c<c-b'c', d'3U b P be-d<c-b'c' 3'3b-d'be3so
Je 9-b' <A-dN' d-U-d'x C'3U Le Ad b dN d5 dC3' Le v-b5 j3'
v jCL' v e-d-d'3'3' <L3 e3CL'x

P3'3' d3U dNb-d3' d'3U, cA'd- d'3U 3'3b-d'be3', e-d'e-b' d'c
d'f, P3'3' Lb Pe v3'd d3U d'3U dNb-d3', b b'pcc^ e d'3U
3' dNCL'3x

v jU3'...

Je3 3L' d3 3' d<rc3' 3c Ad d'p3, b P'93UCA e C'3U 9
dN d-d'c3'c'3x

vvx <4Ue-b' C'3U dU9 v dN d5 d'c3e3-d' d5L 3'3b-d'be3x 3'3^
Ad d3e-b' d5L b dN d5 d-d'p'c3e3-d'x LC-d^ d'c d'ub- d'f
P'c3e3-d' dN d'c3e3-d' d5Lx C-d-d'p'c3' Lb 3e d'3Ux v-b5 Lb
3'v v dN d3e-b' d5L 3's v dN 3'p-c-d'c3e3-d' 3'3b-d'be3'x d'3^
Lb v dN 3'p-c-d'c3e3-d' d'ub-d'be3' 3LU^ d5L <3'c3'3' b d'3'U'x

UΛe·b' Lb, LPbL° dσL ΓP'HybΔbσP'Λ^x UΛe·b' Lb ·d'nbΔb' ∇ rLU\
dβΓ\ x σL9' P'CSσ·ΔC' ∇ ΔJUSP<' ΓP'HyPΔbσ\ LC·d\ ∇ D'r P'f<σP'P<'x
·d4' Lē D'Cs <^i d·d'σ' P' D'r CSσ·ΔC'x dN b9·<<' Lb Lē d'U
P'Λ^ ΓC\ Lē ∇ <P'SP\ d'P'x ΛCL Lb Lē P'J'Sdēe\ dσP σ'UHy\ Lē ∇
P'd>eP\ ΛCLx σL9' Lb Lē P'CSσ·ΔC' ∇ ·ΔbUeP'f\ dσP σ'Λ\ ·Δē ∇
d'drP\ x

P ΔC<e\ e d·∇σbe\ d'U ΓP'HybσΔbσ\ dσΔ ·d'nbΔbe b ΔC·bP
d'P'Cx

·∇Γ'ndJ·d\ e J·Δb'x

Jē P'P'9'U', d·∇σb' D'N Lē ∇C'<' d'P'C ·∇r rLUP d'U
·d'nbΔbe x

·∇Γ'ndJ·d\ D'sσ P ΔC<e\ D'ub- d'P'Cx σC·Δ^ Lb P d'N Γēbeσ<'
dσΓσ° d'P'σ°x ∇·bσ Lb b d'N NΛe·∇P'HyP<' e'Λr dσL d'P'Δx
Δσσ·d\ D'Cs σ'P' P ΔC<e\ dσΓσ°x dβΓ\ Lb σ'P' d'P'C r<4 Γ'N·bC
d4'U<e d'U ·d4' dσL ΓP'HybΔbσ\ x

d·∇σb' b ·ΔCL^ 9·b' 9 be·d<CL' ·d4' Lē Pē ∇ Δ^<σP'x

∇^d° Lē Λd, 9·b' ·d4' ∇ Δ^<σ\ Lē ∇ ΔNb·ΔP', ·L'SΓs\ D'ub-
<P'Nē·d\ ·<L'S dCP^ 9·b' r be·d<CL' d'P'C ·d4' ∇ ΔP'x CΛ'd- d'U
Lē b Lσ<σ\ Lē J·Δx L·d'SΓs\ <P'Nē·d\ d'P'C r P'J'σr\ 9·b' Lē ∇
ΔP'x CΛ'd- Lē ∇ d'J'dC·b\ 9·b' σ'P' Λd ∇ Lσ<σ\ ∇ Δ·Cσ·d\ x
L·d'SΓs\ Lē Λd <P'Nē·d\ d'P'Cx ∇·bσP L·d- ∇ ΔUσLP'x L·d'SΓs\
D'ub- ·<L'S 9·b' Lē P'r d'dσdP', Lσ<σ° ∇ V'r ΔNb·ΔP'x CΛ'd- ΔH
Λd b P ΔN'P' D'C b P 9CJσdP' dσL σJ'σ° ∇ P P'CLP<' Lr-x Jē
·d·d- ·U'N Γσ'^x ∇·bσ Lb Λd ∇ ΔCLHy<' d'P'C D'ub-x Cσb <'b- 9·b'
9Δ·Cσ·dσ·9 Lē U'U' Uσ>' Lē ∇ L·U'N'x ·d4' bC ΔP' Lē V'r
Δ·Cσ·d'x L·d'SΓs\ Lb Lē ΛCL P'HyΓd·d\ d'U ∇ d'Λr'x P'J'dē·d\ Lb
dσL Γ·b- ∇ d'HyΓdP' dσP d·d'Ss\ x Pē·d° b ·ΔrΔē·d° 9·b' ·d4' ΔP'9
Lē P'NC·d\ x ∇∇\ Lb Lē P'N·b\ x ∇·bσP L·d- D'Hy° P'UσL·d\ x

d'U Lē b <<<σ4\ D'U d·∇σb' b ·ΔCL^ P'r be·d<CL' 9·b'
·d4' Lē b Δ^<σ4\ C'U ·∇r P P'9'P'CL' C'U 9 Δ·U'P' b
Δ^<σ4\ Lē x

P'Pē·d<U' Lē Λd C'U b d'N ΔJ Δ^<σP'x C'U Λd ∇ d'N ΔJ^<σr\
ΔU9 Lē σC·Δ^ ∇ V'r P·∇<σP' Lb Γē Lb ∇ P'r<σP'x ∇d'JU Lē b
V'r ΔJ Λ^<σP' Lē P'NC° σC·Δ'x ∇∇\ ∇d' JU, Lb Lē Δ·U°x σ'P' Lb
Lē ∇ σ·bdσ\ Γ'be°, ∇dL σσr'C·Δσ', σσr'Jē·d° dē r'Cd' dēP b

Λ^ο·β^οΡ^οΡ^οΛ^ο, Λ^ο ρ^οΝ^οϞ^ο ∇δ Ϟ^ο Λ^ο β^ο ∇ δ^ο Δ^ο ρ^οΡ^ο·δ^οϞ^οΛ^ο ∇ γ^οΡ^οΛ^ο Λ^ο
Ρ^ο ·δ^οσ^οσ^ο ∇ Δ^οU^οσ^οΛ^ο·Ϟ^ο·V Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο ρ^οϞ^οδ^οσ^ορ^ο Ρ^ο·β^ο Λ^ο ∇ α^ορ^οϞ^οΛ^ο·Ϟ^ο·β^οσ^ο
Λ^ο β^ο ∇ Δ^οϞ^ορ^ο Λ^οΛ, ρ^ο·δ^οσ^οσ^οα^ο Ϟ^ο U^ορ^οU^οϞ^οΔ, ρ^οΝ^οϞ^ο ρ^οΡ^ο·δ^οϞ^οϞ^ο Ϟ^οU Δ^οU^ο
V^ο ρ^ορ^οϞ^οσ^ογ^ο, Λ^ο ρ^οΝ^οδ^οϞ^ο σ^οβ^ο·Δ^ο·x Ϟ^ο·V Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο ρ^οΡ^ο·δ^οϞ^οU^οϞ^ο Ϟ^οU β^ο V^ο
ρ^ορ^οϞ^οσ^ογ^ο·x

δ^ορ^οU Λ^ο α^ο ·β^οϞ^ο β^ο Δ^οϞ^ολ^ο ρ^ορ^οΓ^ο, Ϟ^οσ Δ^οσ^οδ^ο Λ^ο α^ο α^οβ^οϞ^οδ^ο ρ^οΛ
Δ^οϞ^ο·Δ^ο δ^ορ^οU ρ^ορ^ο Δ^οϞ^ογ^ο ρ^ορ^οΓ^ο·x

Ρ^οα^ο·∇^ο ρ^ο α^οβ^οU^ο ρ^οΛ Δ^οϞ^ο·Δ^ο β^οα^ο9 Λ^οδ^ο- δ^ο·Ϟ^ορ^ο Λ^ορ^ο U^ορ^οU^ο β^ο α^οβ^οϞ^οΛ^ο ρ^οΛ^ο
Ρ^οα^ο·∇^ο δ^οϞ^ο·Δ^οα^ο Δ^οσ^οδ^ο β^ο V^ορ^ο ρ^ο·∇^ολ^ορ^οϞ^ο·x ρ^ορ^οΓ^ο Λ^ο·δ^ο- Ϟ^ο·ρ^οϞ^ο·β^ο Δ^ο·Λ^ορ^ο Δ^οϞ^ο·Δ^ο
Λ^ο α^ο ρ^οΝ^ο·Ϟ^οϞ^ο·x σ^οα^ο ρ^ο Λ^οδ^ο Ϟ^ο·Ϟ^ο ρ^οϞ^οσ^ορ^ορ^οβ^ορ^ο ρ^ορ^οΓ^ο α^ο·Λ^ο- ∇^ο·Δ^ο Δ^οϞ^οU^ολ^ο ∇^ο·Δ^ο
Ϟ^οϞ^οΛ^ορ^ο ρ^ο·β^οα^ο·x Ϟ^ο·Ϟ^ο Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο α^ο ρ^ορ^οϞ^ο ρ^οϞ^ο·Δ^ο Ϟ^ο·Ϟ^ο Λ^οδ^ο Λ^ο α^ο ∇^ο δ^οδ^οΝ^οσ^οσ^ολ^ο·x
∇^οδ^οU^οσ^ο Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο α^ο ∇^ορ^οU Δ^ο δ^οδ^οΝ^οσ^οσ^ολ^ορ^οϞ^ο Λ^οϞ^ο·δ^ο·x Ϟ^οα^ο Λ^ο α^ο ρ^ορ^οϞ^οU^ο ρ^ο·β^ο ρ^ο ∇^ο Δ^ο·U^ολ^ορ^οϞ^ο
σ^ορ^ογ^οα^ο·x Ϟ^ο·V Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο α^ο ρ^οΝ^οϞ^οϞ^ο δ^ορ^οU^ο·x ∇^οδ^ο ρ^οϞ^ο 9 Δ^ο δ^οδ^οΝ^οσ^οσ^ολ^ο·x Λ^ο α^ο
ρ^οΝ^οϞ^ο·x σ^οβ^ο·Δ^ο·x ∇^ο∇, Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο α^ο Δ^ο·U^οϞ^ο·x Ϟ^ο·V Λ^ο β^ο δ^οσ^ο ρ^ο Δ^ορ^οσ^οσ^ο ρ^οδ^οΛ^ο·x
∇^οδ^οϞ^ο Λ^οδ^ο β^ο Δ^οϞ^ολ^ορ^οϞ^ο·x ρ^οβ^ορ^οU^οϞ^ο·x Λ^ο β^ο Λ^ο α^ο Ϟ^ο·Ϟ^ο δ^ο·β^ο ∇^ο Δ^οϞ^ολ^ο ρ^οϞ^ο·x

ρ^ο V^ορ^ο ·δ^οϞ^οU^ο α^ο ρ^οα^ο δ^ο·ρ^οβ^ο ρ^ορ^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^οσ^ο·δ^ο·x

δ^ο·ρ^ο·x α^ο β^ο ρ^ορ^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^οσ^ο·δ^ο·x

δ^ο·ρ^ο·β^ο β^ο Δ^ορ^οβ^οU^ο Ϟ^οσ^ο9·Δ^ο ρ^ορ^οΓ^ο Λ^ο α^ο β^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^ο·δ^ο·ρ^ο ρ^ο·∇^οσ^οβ^οα^ο· 9
Δ^ορ^ο Δ^οϞ^ορ^ο ∇^ο Λ^ο·x

∇∇..

ρ^ο V^ορ^ο ·δ^οϞ^οU^ο α^ο ρ^οα^ο δ^οσ^οΛ^ο ρ^ορ^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^οσ^ο·δ^ο·x

Ϟ^οα^ο·x Ϟ^οα^ο 9·β^ο ρ^οϞ^ο V^ορ^ο ·δ^οϞ^οU^ο σ^οα^ο·Δ^οα^ο Δ^οU^ο9 δ^οσ^οΛ^ο·x δ^οϞ^ο Δ^ογ^οσ^ο Λ^ο α^ο
δ^οσ^ο·Ϟ^ο·Λ^ο·x Ϟ^οα^ο Λ^ο β^ο γ^οδ^ο- ρ^οϞ^ο ·δ^οϞ^οU^ο σ^οα^ο·x Ϟ^ο ∇^ο Ϟ^οϞ^ορ^ο ρ^οΝ^ο ∇^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^οϞ^ορ^ο·x

ρ^ο V^ορ^ο Δ^οϞ^οα^ο·δ^ο α^ο Λ^οβ^ο·Δ^ο Λ^ορ^ο·x Ϟ^ο·β^ο Λ^ο·x Ϟ^ο·Ϟ^ο Λ^οδ^ο δ^οσ^οΛ^ο ·δ^ο·ρ^οβ^οΔ^οβ^οσ^ο·
Λ^οδ^ο ρ^ο V^ορ^ο Δ^οϞ^ο·x

Λ^ορ^οδ^ο·ρ^οβ^οσ^ο·x Λ^ο α^ο ρ^ο·β^ο- ρ^οΝ^οϞ^ο Ϟ^ο·β^ο- ∇^ο Λ^ο·x ·Ϟ^οΛ^ο ·δ^ο·ρ^οβ^οΔ^οβ^ο ρ^ορ^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^οσ^ο·δ^ο·x
ρ^ορ^ο·δ^οϞ^ο·x Λ^ο α^ο Λ^ορ^οδ^ο·ρ^οβ^οσ^ο·x ∇^ο σ^οϞ^ο·δ^ο·x Ϟ^ο·β^ο Λ^ο α^ο U^ορ^οU^ο ρ^ο·Δ^οα^ο ·δ^ο·ρ^οβ^οΔ^οβ^οσ^ο·
∇^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^οσ^ο·δ^ο·x 9β^ο Λ^ο β^ο·δ^ο·ρ^οβ^οΔ^οβ^οσ^ο·x ρ^ορ^οδ^οΝ^ο Δ^οϞ^ο·x Δ^ο·Λ^ο β^ο δ^οδ^ο ρ^ορ^οδ^ο·δ^ο·ρ^ο ρ^οϞ^ο·δ^ο·x
·δ^ο·ρ^οβ^οΔ^οβ^οσ^ο·x

ᐱᓇᐃᓇ ᑭ ᑕᑦ ᑕᑦ ᐃᑕᑦ ᐱᑦᑭᑦ

ᑭᑭ ᑕᑦ ᐃᑕᑕᐱ ᑕᑦᑕ ᐱᑦᑭᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦ ᑕᑦ ᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕ ᐱᑦᑭᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ, ᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑭᑭ ᑕᑦ ᐃᑕᑕᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦᑦ

ᑕᑕ ᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑕᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑭᑦ ᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᐱᓇ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑦᑦ

ᑭᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ...

ᑦᑦᑦ, ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕ ᐱᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ
ᑦᑦᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑕᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᑭ ᑕᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᑦᑦᑦ, ᑕᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑕᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑭᑦ, ᑭ ᑦᑦᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ

ᐱᓇᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑭᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑕᑕ ᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦ ᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦ ᑦᑕ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ, ᑕᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦ

ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦ
ᐃᑕᑕᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᓇ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ
ᐱᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐃᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦ, ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᑦ ᐱᓇ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ

∇^∆° ∆d, b ∆s p^9^9CP\ ∙∆σ^CJ∙∆° pF ∆σJΓNΓF\ ∆d CΛ^d- ∆L b ∆s p^9^9σΓNΓF^ ∆σ b VF ∆CL^x ∆C∙∆\ ∆C∙∆e σ^C ∆^bN^ ∆FΓ\ b P VF ∆CF^x ∆σ ∆σJ∆J∙∆C^ σF∙9^ ∆^b Cσ ∇ ∆U^C\ ∙∆e ∆FΓ\ ∇ ∆C', σΓ∙σ^U^ Lb ∆N∆C^x ∇∙bσ Lb ∆d 9 ∆C∙b< ∙∆σ^CJ∙∆° pF ∆σJΓNΓF\ ∆dx ∇∙bσ ∆d σe 9 ∆∙U^x

Cσ ∇ ∆U^CL^ pae ∆L ∆σ- b ∆CF\ ∆∇σbe\ ∆C ∆C∙∆σ\, Γs° e Γσ∙9∙∆^ pU^U^x

∇∙bσ ∇ ∆sae∙b\ Γe U^U^ ∆σ-x bCd<σ^< ∆e ∆∇σb^ ∆C∙∆9< b Γσ∙bσ∙∆σσ\ Γe Lb ∇ ∆CL^ ∆s^ Γe Γs° b Γσ∙bσ∙∆\ ∆∙Cσ∙∆^x ∇P ae<∙CF\ ∆∇σbe\ ∆e Lb Le p^9^Cd^<e\ ∆∇σbe\ pF Γσ∙9F^x ∆^∆^ Lb ∇ ae<∙Cσ∙∆\ b Γσ∙bσ∙∆\ ∇∙bσ Γe b ∆N LJ^pF\ ∆∇σbe\ ∇ eσd^F\ ∇ Γσ∙9F^x ∇∙bσ Lb ∆d Γe ∇ ∆d∆∇Lb\ ∆C ∆C∙∆σ\ b Γσ∙bσ∙∆\ Γe ∆s° ∇ J^p<σ\

Cσ ∇ ∆U^CL^ pae ∆∆ 9∙be b ∆Nσbσ∙∆\ ∆C ∙s^∆\, ∆σLPU∙∆ e pU^U^x

∇∇, ∆σLPU∙∆ 9∙be ∆C^ ∆C Le b ∆JpF9^ Le ∆PL°, ∆e Le C∙V ∆JpF9°, ∆^b^ Le 9b^ ∇ ∆CPUP 9∙be^ ∆e Le b ∆CP< ∆PL° dC\ b ∆C^< b ∆JpF9^<^ Γ^C∆ Le ∆JpF9^<^ ∆e Lb σe ∆P ∆Nσb^ Le 9∙b^ ∇∙∆ ∆NσL^ ∙∇^ Le ∆σLPU°x p^∆^ ∙∆e ∙∇CPUP<^ ∆P ∆NσbC^ Le U^U^x ΓFL Lb σ^C ∇∙bσ ∆^b^ ∇ ∆CPUP ∇ ∆σLPU^x ∇∙bσ ∆d Γ^∇ 9∙b^ ∇ ∆CPU\ p^∆- ∙s^∆\, p^∆- Γ^∇ 9∙b^ ∇ ∆σLPU^x bC Γe∆σ<^ Le ∆d U^U^ pF ∙∇CPU∙b<^ 9∙be^x

∇∙bσ ∆s^ ∇ p^C^ ∆L b∆ b∙9FΓC^ 9∙b^x Γ∙9- Lb ∆d p∙∆ ∆N∆^ ∆L ∇P VF ∆JU^ ∆C ∇ ∆F<σ∆b∙∆^x

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The purpose of this book is to highlight the past and present life experiences of elders and youth in the northern Mushkegowuk community of Attawapiskat. In addition, this book identifies the aspirations of these communities and reserves as described by the participants.

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