NISHNAWBE-ASKI NATION

A HISTORY OF THE CREE AND OJIBWAY OF NORTHERN ONTARIO

OJIBWAY-CREE CULTURAL CENTRE
TIMMINS, ONTARIO.

Project/Production Manager: Simon Frogg

Production/Design: Kathy Spence

NISHNAWBE-ASKI NATION

A HISTORY OF
THE CREE AND OJIBWAY
OF NORTHERN ONTARIO

OJIBWAY-CREE CULTURAL CENTRE * TIMMINS * 1986

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank the following individuals and the agencies they represent for their support and encouragement, which made this publication possible:

Barry Denman,	Department of Indian Affairs, Toronto
Dawna LeBlanc,	Secretary of State, Sudbury
Laura Butler,	Secretary of State, Toronto

We acknowledge the work of those many unknown people who researched and produced written drafts, which were used as working documents, enabling us to produce the workbook in a relatively short period of time.

A special note of appreciation is given to the elders of Big Trout Lake, who submitted to interviews and photographs during the research phase: Henry and Telona McKay, Mike Anderson, Madeline Cutfeet, Jonas Duncan, Joseph Morris, Jeremiah McKay, John Hudson, Jane Nothing, and Albert Sainnawap.

We extend a heartfelt thank you to the staff of the Ojibway-Cree Cultural Centre, who were involved in the various stages of the document, from the planning and research to the management to the administration, especially for the generous secretarial support.

Most of all, we would like to thank those people who were directly involved in writing, researching and evaluating the first draft, which enabled us to produce this final product:

Norman Wesley,	Moose Factory
Bert Morrison,	Timmins
Joel Wesley,	White Dog
Alex Cromarty,	Sandy Lake
Mark Chapman,	Big Trout Lake
Stanley McKay,	Big Trout Lake
Billy Merasty,	Toronto

A debt of gratitude is owed to the commitment shown as professionals by the following classroom and teacher evaluators of the first draft:

David Clark,	Weagamow
Alex Cromarty,	Sandy Lake
Susan Fitzpatrick,	Fort Albany
John Long,	Moosonee
Sr.Clemence Watier,	Fort Albany

We are also indebted to the professionals, who provided critiques of the first draft document:

Ifka Filipovich,	Sioux Lookout
Jane Lind,	Toronto
Jim Morrison,	Haileybury
Richard Preston,	Hamilton
Jim Stevens,	Thunder Bay

To these and all others whom we have failed to mention, we are deeply grateful for allowing us to bring this dream to reality.

Simon Frogg

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Brown, Jennifer S.H.. *Strangers in Blood*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Cameron, Austin W.. *Canadian Mammals*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1972.

Conner, Daniel C.G., Bethune-Johnson, Doreen. *Native People and Explorers of Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1984.

Gilman, Carolyn. *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade*. St.Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982.

Innes, Harold A.. *The Fur Trade In Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Mitchell, Claire Allan. *Fort Temiskaming and the Fur Trade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Ontario Trappers Association. *Fur Harvest, Fur Management and Conservation Course, Bk. 2 and 3*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1981.

Ray, Arthur J., Freeman, Donald. *Give Us Good Measure*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

Magazines, Newspapers

Newman, Peter C., "A Princely Undertaking", *The Beaver*, Autumn, 1985, pg.14.

Rich, E.E., "Pro Pelle Cutem", *The Beaver*, Autumn, 1980, pg.69.

Interviews

Interview with James Wesley, by John Long and Norm Wesley, for National Museum of Man.

CREDITS

Illustrations

Pg.8, 'Beaver and Beaver House', Cameron, Austin W.. *Canadian Mammals*, Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1972; Pg.9, 'The Royal Charter, 1670', Newman, Peter C., "A Princely Undertaking", *The Beaver*, Autumn, 1985, Pg.14; Pg.12, 'beaver hat', Rich, E.E., "Pro Pelle Cutem", *The Beaver*, Autumn, 1980, Pg.69; Pg.14, 'Ground Plan of Moose Factory, 1895', Hudson Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Pg.15, "Fur Trade Routes to Hudson Bay and the St.Lawrence River", *Native People and Explorers of Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Inc.; Pg.24, 'otter', 'beaver', 'fisher', *Fur Harvest, Fur Management and Conservation Course, Book 2 & 3*, Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario Trappers Association; Pg.30, 'Indian Reserves', Department of Indian Affairs, 1978.

Original Artwork

The following pieces were commissioned from Alec McAuley, Moosonee, specifically for this publication: facing Pg.1, 7, 16, 18, 20, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 50, 52.

Photo Credits

Beaver Magazine, Pg.23; Ojibway-Cree Cultural Centre, Pg. 2, 3(left), 3(right), 4, 5, 6, 11, 19(top), 19(bottom), 45, 46, 47, 51; Public Archives of Canada, Pg.17, 21, 26, 29; Royal Commisssion on the Northern Environment, Pg.36; Wawatay, Pg.44.

PART ONE: PRE-CONTACT CREE AND OJIBWAY

Two friends, one man and one woman, were walking on an open plain. It seemed to go on forever. Yet, they saw something far ahead in the distance. It looked like a small animal. They went towards it to see what it was. As they came nearer, they realized it was the Great Spider.

"Where are you going?" the Great Spider asked when they were near. "We are looking for a home, a place where we can live," they replied.

"There is a place down there," the Great Spider said, pointing down below him. "It is a vast land. In the winter, it snows and gets very cold. In the summer, it rains and gets very hot. But this land is very good. If you wish to go there, you can. From where I am sitting now, I can lower you down." Then the Great Spider warned, "But, you have to do exactly what I tell you. If you do not, things will not work out well for you."

After some thought, the man and woman replied,"We will go. It will be our home."

"Then climb in," said the Great Spider. He had already made a huge bowl-shaped container with his webbing.

"Climb in and I will lower you down," he said and then attached one end of his spider web to the container. The man and woman climbed in.

"As I lower you, neither of you shall look over the edge. If you do, you will end up in a dangerous place. Keep your heads down until you have landed," commanded the Great Spider.

The man and woman nodded in agreement and climbed in. Down, down, down they went. It took a long time.

"It's taking too long," the man and woman thought.

One of them decided to take a peek and then looked over the side. At that very instant, the webbed container stopped. Cautiously, the man and woman stood up and found that they had been put down in an eagle's nest on the top of a very tall tree. When they looked closely at the tree, they became frightened. The tall tree had no branches below. There was no way to climb down and it was much too high for them to safely jump down from the tree.

ELDERS EXCHANGING STORIES AND LEGENDS

As time passed and while they were wondering what they should do, they noticed some caribou walking along the river toward them. The two called out to the caribou and asked to be helped down.

The caribou replied, "We cannot climb trees. We often stumble, walking on barren ground." They went on their way.

More time passed and then another animal walked along the river. It was a bear. The two called out to the bear.

"What do you want?" the bear asked.

"Can you help us down?" the man and woman asked.

Without saying another word, the bear lumbered away in his very unconcerned manner. He did not feel like helping anyone today.

Then they saw a smaller animal pass by. It was the wolverine. They called out,"Hey! Can you help us down, please?"

"Of course," the wolverine replied and quickly scampered up the tree.

One by one, the wolverine carried them down safely. The man and the woman were very grateful for this wolverine's kindness and thanked him warmly. The wolverine was soon on his way.

The man and the woman had safely arrived at their new home. They discovered how to survive on this land. In time they bore children, and their children had children. The people grew in numbers and spread over the land. They paid honour and respect to the Creator for the vast land, and learned to become part of it, caring for all living things that provided for them. That is how people began.

Such is the story that is handed down generation to generation by the people now known today as the Cree and the Ojibway. They call themselves "I-ni-ni-wok" in Cree and "Ani-shi-naw-be" in Ojibway. No one knows how long ago this story took place. It is common knowledge among the elders that, in that time, all living beings, animals, fish, birds and man, could communicate freely with one another. Somehow and somewhere in the people's long history, their ability to speak with the animals was lost.

There are many stories telling of the people's encounters and experiences in this land, stories of a land that was harsh but most often generous. There are many, many stories of survival. Today, these stories are called legends. Today, the elders, as they have done for so many years, tell these stories, stories that are living in the Cree language and the Ojibway language.

JAMES WESLEY,

KASHECHEWAN

1905 -

James was born in 1905 and raised in Fort Albany which was then known as Albany Post. Because of his parents' lifestyle as hunters and trappers, James never went to school. The only time his family came into the community of Kashechewan was during the summer months. Since he grew up in the world of hunting and trapping, he continued with this livelihood into his adult life. He trapped and hunted on the family trapline which was located about forty miles inland on the Kapiskau River.

As a result of a shotgun accident, James injured his left hand and lost a finger. To make matters worse, James had the same accident again on the same hand, which resulted in the loss of another finger and part of his wrist. All year round, James would wear muskrat fur-lined mittens to keep his left hand warm.

The injury of his left hand did not deter James from carrying on with his hunting and trapping. Since there was no financial assistance of any kind in those days, James was dependent on the land and its bounties for the survival and care of his family.

It was only in later years that James gave up trapping as a livelihood to become Chief of the Kashechewan Band. He was Chief for about eight years and was elected as band councillor at every election thereafter. The band wanted him to be Chief because he was a good speaker and knew how to deal with certain issues as they came up.

Today, James lives in Kashechewan and continues to advise the present Chief and Council in various areas of responsibility.

As an elder, James is very highly respected in his community and other communities throughout the area, as well. He is often approached by the young people as well as teachers, historians and researchers, who wish to hear him tell stories and accounts of his life and the legends of his people.

JEREMIAH SAINNAWAP,

BIG TROUT LAKE

1897 - 1979

Jeremiah Sainnawap was born in 1897 at a place called Kapakonechiwak, which is about 35 miles south of Big Trout Lake. He was one of the most loved elders in his community, as well as the other communities of the surrounding area. He was a very humble man, treating all others with dignity and respect.

Jeremiah was also a church layman in the North. He lived a lifetime of service to his church and his people. He travelled from community to community, building and repairing churches. He once said that the work of his hands will be seen and remembered by many people in the North for many years to come.

Whenever he wanted to go somewhere, he went. In the summer, he would take his canoe and go. In the winter, he would hitch up his dog team and go. There was never any hestitation on his part. He was an excellent canoeist and his people often talked of his agility and skill in riding the rapids.

No matter how busy he was, he never forgot to pray. He prayed in the morning and again at night. He always asked the Creator for His help and guidance.

In trapping, he was not greedy. He did not try to outdo anybody else. He went about his trapping slowly and methodically. Still, he was a very successful trapper.

Whenever Jeremiah had something, he shared. He never gave away anything for money. He always gave freely, and he taught his children to do the same. He always gave in the spirit of sharing and helping his people.

Jeremiah believed in the concept of self-determination, and was a strong supporter of Grand Council Treaty #9. His was a valued advisor and elder.

Jeremiah passed away on October 18, 1979 at the age of 82 years.

AGLACE CHAPMAN

BIG TROUT LAKE

1929 - 1984

Aglace Chapman spent most of his childhood in the bush, hunting, trapping and fishing with his parents and family. While he was still a teenager, he worked in the Sachigo Lake Mines. After leaving the mines, he spent ten years around the community of Bearskin Lake, where he returned to hunting and trapping.

In 1944, Aglace went to Big Trout Lake to begin commercial fishing for lake trout. Aglace fished for eighteen years, until the commercial fishing was stopped. During the winter, he went trapping about 35 miles north of the mines on the Sachigo River. It was approximately 100 miles from the mines to Big Trout Lake.

When Aglace decided to give up trapping, he settled in Big Trout Lake. Soon after, he was elected Chief, and served in that capacity for seven years.

When he first took office, the community had very few services. As Chief, he made every effort to create new programs and services. He was able to obtain government grants, which allowed him to hire more people to do certain jobs in the band office and throughout the community. While Aglace was Chief, he made a lot of changes in the community. Because of his tireless efforts, Big Trout Lake now has an airport, a new nursing station, a Band Office, a co-op store, and a community radio station.

Aglace helped not only his own people of Big Trout Lake, but also many others from nearby communities. He was instrumental in forming Grand Council Treaty#9 in 1973 (now known as Nishnawbe-Aski Nation), along with his fellow Chiefs.

Aglace was also very helpful to the other Chiefs of Treaty#9, especially the younger ones. He was very patient in helping them to understand how the government operated and how to deal with government officials. Aglace gave selflessly of himself; anyone who spent time with Aglace was richer for it.

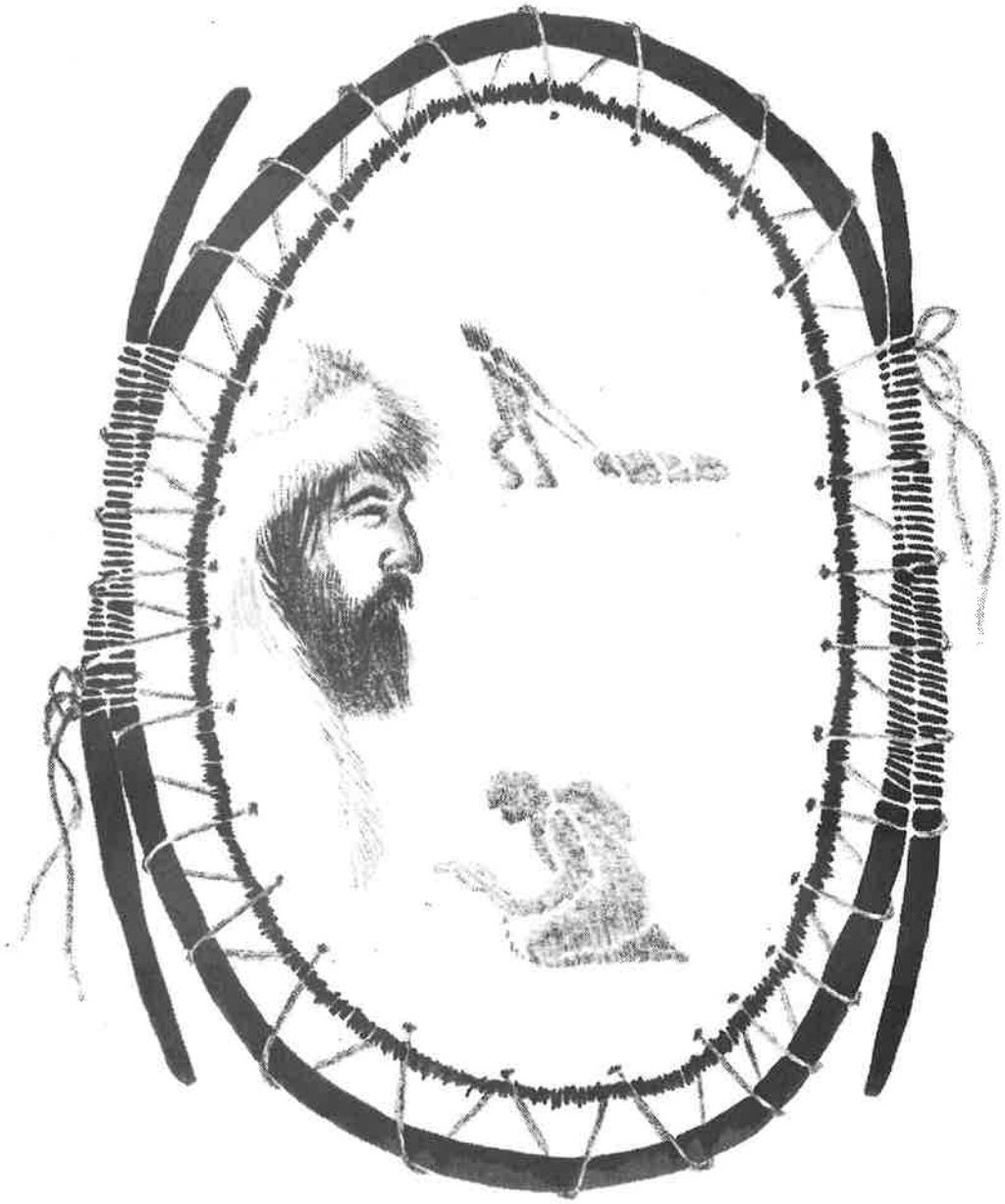
Aglace was also a founder and later an employee of the Ojibway-Cree Cultural Centre. He was also involved in the formation of the Sioux Lookout Friendship Centre.

Change did not frighten Aglace. He saw change as a challenge. He knew that values and attitudes would change. He understood the traditional lifestyle and its values, because he was from that generation. He had the wisdom to see that the traditional lifestyle could blend with progress, rather than be destroyed by it.

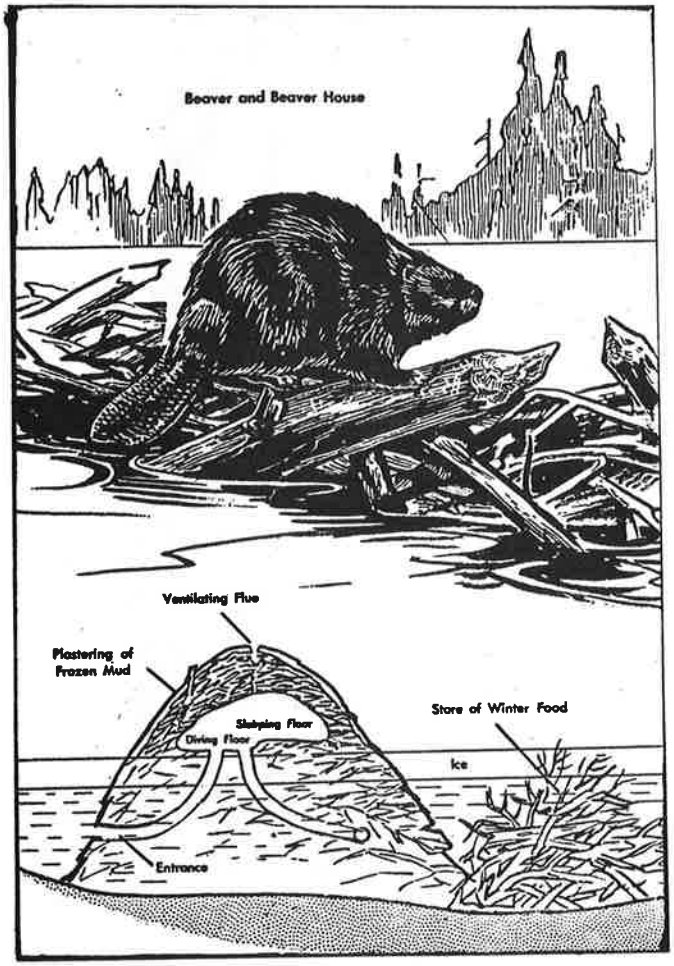
On November 21, 1984, Aglace Chapman passed away peacefully, after a lengthy illness.

PART TWO: THE FUR TRADERS

In the early 1600's, newcomers sailed into the waters of Hudson Bay and James Bay. These Europeans wanted the furs of the animals that were abundant, to sell in their homeland across the Atlantic Ocean. By the 1670's, trading posts were established along the Rupert, Moose, Albany and Severn River systems in the communities of Rupert House, Moose Factory, Fort Albany and Fort Severn.



One animal that was highly prized was the beaver - 'amisk' (Cree), 'amick' (Ojibway). The fur was made into fine European hats which represented wealth, prestige, and rank. Beaver hats were very fashionable in Europe during this era.The beaver hat was a symbol of social class for the European in his homeland. As the years passed by, other furs such as the fox, the sable and the ermine were used to trim coats, and make mittens and muffs. Deerskins were sold for leather. Although other animal furs were traded with the Indian people, it was the beaver that was most highly prized.



The Cree and Ojibway were absolutely necessary in the fur trade that took place in North America. Their skills for survival in the woods, their sound knowledge of geography, their skill in building and handling canoes, their transportation techniques, and their trapping skills were needed to collect furs for the European culture.In return, they received guns, steel knives, axes, kettles, cloth, tobacco, tea, flour, brandy, and rum, etc. The Indian was useful not only for getting fur but also for hunting game for food, for gathering birch bark, for carrying supplies,

and for guiding the newcomers.

In more ways than one, the Indians and the newcomers depended upon one another for survival. The Europeans did not invent the fur trade, although they heightened it into a necessary economy.

In 1670, the King of England realized the importance of the fur trade and issued a Royal Charter. This Royal Charter granted special powers to a corporation of established wealthy gentlemen who formed the Hudson's Bay Company to control all trading and settlement in the region.This region included all lands surrounding the rivers draining into the Hudson Bay and the James Bay.

THE ROYAL CHARTER, 1670

On Friday, May 2, 1670, in Whitehall Palace, the Company of Adventurers got their wish. Charles II awarded cousin Rupert and his fellow adventurers the Royal Charter as 'true lordsand proprietors' of all the sea and lands of the Bay and its entire drainage system.

The English forts or trading posts were set up on the coasts of Hudson Bay and James Bay. The French traders had their own competing posts inland. An advantage of this competition was that the Indians, who were familiar with the situation, could take the best offer between the rival traders. A disadvantage was that each trader had to match what was offered by the opposition, even if it meant trading furs for liquor.

In 1783, free traders, who originally organized themselves to lessen transportation costs, formed the Northwest Company. This fur trading company grew rapidily and became the Hudson's Bay Company's major rival. Open conflict broke out.

The fur trade war was intense until 1821, when the Hudson's Bay Company merged with the Northwest Company which was under pressure from the British Government. As a result, competition was partly eliminated and the liquor trade was reduced. By 1851, liquor trading on the James Bay came to a halt, although it continued further inland, with independent American and British/Canadian companies along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior.

Long before they arrived, the Huron, the Nipissings and the Odawa were already trading with the Cree and the Ojibway of Northern Ontario. For example, every spring, the Nipissings went to James Bay by river to the mouths of the Eastmain River, the Moose River and the Albany River as well as inland along the Albany River and Moose River drainage systems, to trade with the Cree and the Ojibway. The Cree and the Ojibway would also travel south to trade with the Nipissings. They traded European goods for their furs. In that way, the Cree and the Ojibway became aware of the newcomers before they came into their area.

The French and the English were the two main groups involved in the fur trade that set up fur trading businesses in the treaty area.The competition between the two groups was intense. Each group competed to get the most and the best furs.

MADE BEAVER

When the European traders first bartered with the Indian, they tried to use their own British currency. However, the pre-contact Indians of the subarctic did not understand the use of money as a medium of exchange, as a unit of account or as a store of value.

The Hudson's Bay Company set up an institutional framework that allowed them to carry on trading on an accountable basis. They invented a system of value measurement which could be used for the furs and goods traded with the Indians. This accounting system was called the Made Beaver (MB). The MB established an equal value between volumes of goods and furs traded by using the prime, whole beaver pelts which they represented. The Hudson's Bay Company fixed the value of trade goods in terms of MB units. Today, our value measurement is done in dollars and cents.

The following are examples of how the value of measurement worked:

4 marten	1 beaver	1 blanket	6 beavers
1 moose skin	2 beavers	1 lb.gunpowder	$^2/_3$ beaver
2 deer skins	1 beaver	1 gun, 4 ft.	12 beavers
10 lbs.feathers	1 beaver	1 gun, $3^1/_2$ ft.	11 beavers
1 lb.beads	$1^1/_3$ beaver	1 gun, 3 ft.	10 beavers

JAMES WESLEY, ELDER,
KASHECHEWAN RESERVE.

"WHEN THEY WERE FIRST BARTERING FOR FURS"

"When they were first bartering for fur, the whiteman introduced a gun six feet long. Fur was very plentiful then and fur had to be stacked up to its height. The furs stacked by the gun were different types of fur, such as beaver, mink, otter, lynx, fox, fisher and marten. When they reached the top of the gun barrel, then it belonged to the Indian. The gun itself was worth eight dollars. I heard my grandfather say that this practice went on for about ten years. After that, fur was bought on the value of the individual pelt. The Hudson's Bay Company used the gun as a means of obtaining fur. They also brought liquor or firewater from overseas. When they brought firewater, it was in small kegs of wood. While these kegs of firewater were being unloaded from the boat, the Indians were aware that something was not right. After the unloading was finished, they were all called together and asked:"Are you worried about the kegs that you unloaded?" The Indians answered, "Yes, we are worried." They were told that it was firewater. The Hudson's Bay Company also brought traps and axes. Then the manager said, "All trappers will be advanced $100.00 to go trapping. When you return with your furs, you will come directly to this store. You will be fed here and anything else you need you will get here when you bring in your fur. When you get here, as you come in the door, you will find a gallon of firewater and a cup. Each trapper will get three cups of firewater." When the furs were brought in, the Hudson's Bay Company had servants who handled the fur. My grandfather said he saw this happening. The trappers got their three cups of free firewater. Naturally, after drinking their third cup, they were intoxicated. Sometimes, when their furs were counted and their $100 advance was paid up, all they had left was eight dollars and not much more.

This was the practice used in the early days of the fur trade. When they started paying by the pelt, a blanket beaver pelt brought $1.50, top otter $1.00, silver fox $5.00, red fox $.75, cross fox $1.00, lynx $1.00, marten $.75, and female marten $.50.

When my grandfather started trapping, otter was $2.00. That meant quite a bit. Trapping ten otters brought in twenty dollars. Of course, in the early days, things were cheap, a lot cheaper than today.

The French who had arrived first were based on the St. Lawrence River. They traded with the Hurons in what is now Ontario. The Huron people, who were comprised of the Nipissings, the Odawas, and other Ojibways of the area along the north shore of Lake Huron, acted as middlemen. They traded their own goods for fur with the Cree and the Ojibway at the southern edge of Northern Ontario. These furs were in turn traded with the French.

BEAVER HAT

This style of beaver hat was very popular around 1812. Hat making was one of the many uses made of the beaver pelts that were taken back to the European countries.

The English, who traded with the Iroquois, did so primarily in what is now known as Boston and New York in the United States.

Competition among the Indians also occurred. In 1649, the Iroquois attacked the Hurons, driving them away. The Iroquois also attacked the Nipissings and other bands of Indians of Lake Huron area. Although this upset the established trading patterns, trading did continue. Again, the trading patterns were disrupted when the English discovered they could sail ships into Hudson Bay and James Bay. The result was that the English traded directly with the Cree and the Ojibway of the northern hinterlands. They no longer traded through the Hurons.

The Hudson's Bay Company now had a monopoly in the fur trade with the Cree and the Ojibway. There was only one trading company. Therefore, the Indians had little or no choice at all in bartering. Trading was primarily a 'take it or leave it' type of business.

Trade prices were firmly set. The Hudson's Bay factor or chief trader at each post became a very powerful person. His duty to the Company was to make a profit. In doing so, he could not afford to become too generous. This was particularly true at the big posts like Moose Factory, but further inland, where there was more competition, the fur trader had less power. But, if the Indian decided to hunt moose or caribou in the spring instead of trapping, there was nothing the trader could do about it. The Hudson's Bay Company and other fur traders made very handsome profits on the fur market, for which they paid relatively little to the Indians.

By 1812, the Indians were becoming more dependent on the fur traders for supplies. Trade supplies once used by the Indians as luxuries were now necessities. The European goods had raised the standard of living among the Cree and the Ojibway tremendously.

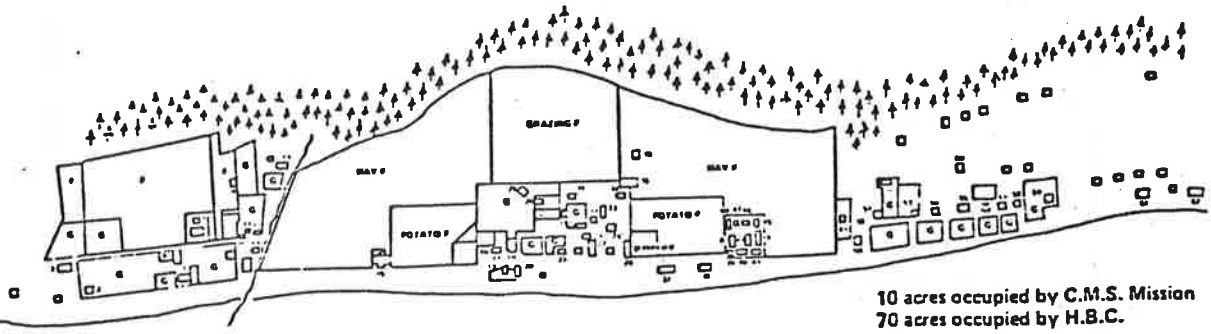
EUROPEAN LUXURIES THAT BECAME NECESSITIES

FOR SURVIVAL	FOR ADORNMENT	FOR CONSUMPTION
steel knives	blankets	tobacco
hatchets	lace	brandy
guns	linen	rum
flint	sashes	tea
powder	handkerchiefs	flour
kettles	combs	sugar
ice chisels	hats	lard
iron traps	beads	
snare wires	bells	
fish twine	shirts	
needles	shoes	
scissors	jackets	
	buttons	
	scarves	

European cutting tools such as iron axes, steel knives, iron chisels were sharper and more durable and lessened the problem of cutting trees, cutting up hides and meat, and breaking through thick ice. The gun provided more success in hunting, especially in hunting geese which were difficult to approach and had to be shot at a distance. Iron traps could be set up with more ease and provided meat for food as well as fur for trading. European kettles were stronger, lighter and more durable and capable of withstanding heat, so that food could be boiled much more easily. European awls also became popular among women, who found them sharper and more effective at piercing tough hides. Cloth, which had also become a valuable trade item, was imported in many forms: as blankets, ribbons, and braids, as well as finished shirts, coats and trousers. Cloth was better for clothing than skins because it was lightweight, easier to sew, colourful and washable. The influence of the traders could be clearly seen as many aspects of the native lifestyle were changed by European products.

Most of the Cree and the Ojibway spent only a few weeks, usually during the summer months, at trading posts such as Moose Factory. For the rest of the year, they would stay in their hunting territories, where there was no one to impose foreign laws on them. Although they were greatly influenced by the Europeans, the basic values and beliefs of the Cree and Ojibway remained largely unchanged. At heart, they were still Indian.

GROUND PLAN OF MOOSE FACTORY, 1895

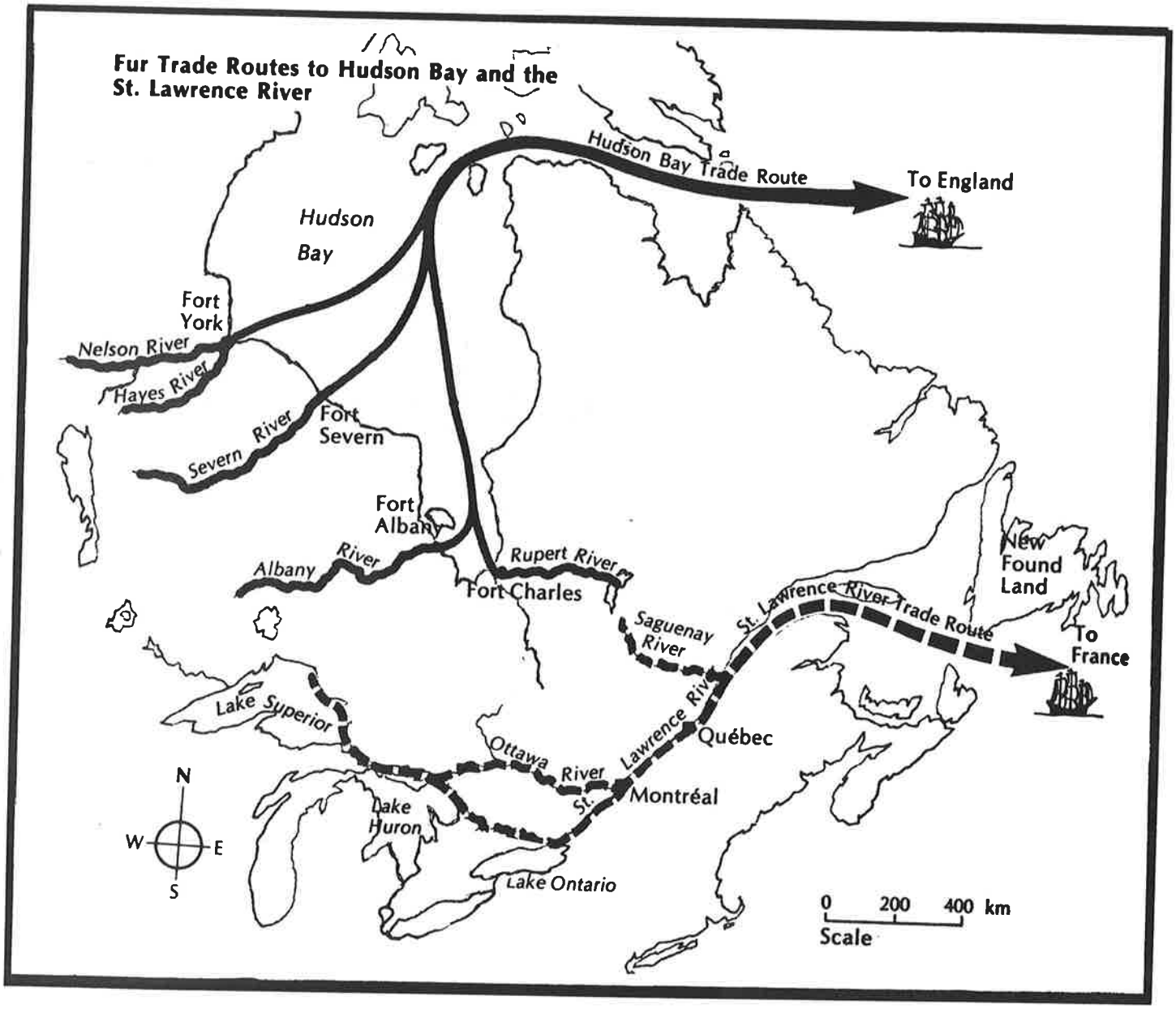


10 acres occupied by C.M.S. Mission
70 acres occupied by H.B.C.

1 Mission servants house
2 Mission boathouse
3 Bishop's residence
4 Mission storehouse
5 " "
6 Mission curate house
7 Mission curate kitchen
8 Mission byre
9 Mission schoolhouse
X Site of new mission house
F Field
G Garden
10 H.B.C. Servants house
11 " " "
12 " " "
13 " " "
14 " " "
15 H.B.C. church
16 " Mess bakehouse
17 " ice house and store
18 " clark's house, office
19 " mess kitchen
20 House of Officer-in charge
21 Foreman's house
22 Carpenter shop
23 Tar shed
24 Joiner's & cooper's shop
25 Men's house
26 Forge & coal shed
27 Factory & general store
28 Slaughter house
29 Photography house
30 Dairy
31 Byre
32 Cattle keeper's house
33 Canoe shed
34 Byre
35 "
36 "
37 Sawmill
38 Sawpit
39 Chain shed
40 General Store
41 Cargo
42 Fur
43 Flour
44 Cargo
45 Salt
46 Powder magazine
47 Leather store
48 Cargo
49 Servants house
50 Rope store
51 H.B.C. Servants House
52 " " "
53 " " "
54 " " "
55 " " "
56 " " "
57 " " "
58 " " " kitchen
59 " " "
60 " " "
61 " " "
62 " " "
□ Indian shanties, not numbered on plan

HBC Archives B 135/e/32/fos. 3d, 4d.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, B 135/e/32/fos. 5d, 6.


Fur Trade Routes to Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence River
Hudson Bay Trade Route
To England
Hudson Bay
Fort York
Nelson River
Hayes River
Severn River
Fort Severn
Fort Albany
Albany River
Rupert River
Fort Charles
Saguenay River
St. Lawrence River Trade Route
New Found Land
To France
Lake Superior
Ottawa River
St. Lawrence River
Québec
Montréal
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
N
W
E
S
0 200 400 km
Scale

PART THREE: THE MISSIONARIES

Although trade with the Indians spread rapidly throughout Canada and the rest of North America, the need to change the Indian or educate him into the European way of thinking, was believed necessary. It was hoped that in doing so, trade relations with the Indians would improve. The missionaries undertook this responsibility and were very dedicated to converting non-Christians to the Christian faith.

Two major religions were introduced to the Cree and the Ojibway. The Anglican religion was introduced by the English and Catholicism was introduced by the French, although Jesuit missionaries had visited the James Bay Indians as early as the 1670's. In much the same manner as the English and the French traders competed in trade, the two religions competed by seeing which could convert the larger number of Indians into their respective churches.

OUTDOOR CHURCH SERVICES

Shortly after the arrival of the missionaries, churches were constructed in the various communities. While these churches were being constructed, church services were conducted out-of-doors.

TRADITION

The Indians have always been a profoundly religious people. They never built churches or composed a book of sacred writings like the Bible; they had no prayer books, hymn books, holy days, or Sabbath. Yet, every act of their lives was bound up with their religion.

The Cree and Ojibway themselves were not without their own unique religion. They had their own religious beliefs and practices. It was not a religion that was practiced on a certain day or in a special building, but in the daily life of the Indian.

The Cree and the Ojibway believed that they were like the earth themselves. Each child was taught this belief. Their survival on the land and water and their dependence on the animal life for food and clothing was part of Creation; their existence required harmony with nature. Through an established teaching cycle, five major stories were used to teach each child to respect his part in creation. An individual was not considered an adult by the elders until he had completed the entire five part cycle.

Paying respect to the environment is very important to the Cree and the Ojibway. The earth is their mother, Mother Earth, as she is often called. In the same manner that your mother gave birth to you and nursed you to your youth, so does the earth give life to all living things, including living beings. As much as we care for our mothers, the Indian people cared for the land as their

mother. What wrongs a person did to the land created unnecessary hardship for him and his family. As an example, what could result if a person killed too many beaver? The beaver could become scarce which would create a shortage of food for the months ahead.

Because of their strong belief in Creation, the Cree and the Ojibway felt that they did not and could not own the land, control it, or purposely harm it. The Indians did not regard themselves as conquerors of nature but as part of it. The land supported them as it did the animals they hunted, but it did not or could not belong to them. They had to take care of it so that they themselves, their children and grandchildren would benefit from it.The land and the people belonged to the Creator.

How long the Cree and the Ojibway have been living in this part of the land is not known. They believed that they were placed here by the Creator. None of today's elders know exactly when the first man emerged.

The missionaries could not understand the Indian's religion and so prevented the converts from practicing the old ways. Customs which celebrated life and survival among the Indians, such as drumming and dancing, were considered pagan and devil worship. Christians did not drum or dance, so it was banned. Christian ceremonies such as baptism, confirmation, communion, marriage and mass replaced Indian traditional ceremonies such as the naming ceremony, a process by which an identity was carefully selected for a child by a godparent or elder, who also accepted the responsibility of being a second father or mother to the child. It had its deep religious significance that was respected among the people. Instead of Indian names, the missionaries encouraged biblical or European names.

The missionaries taught the word of God, through the teachings of the Bible which was a collection of writings sacred to christianity. Here again was another major difference. Christianity as a religion was written, the Indian religion was not. It was handed down orally through stories and legends from generation to generation. Regardless of the difference, religion has always been important and necessary for the Cree and the Ojibway. Learning to read the Bible was considered to be a duty of the converted Indian.

The missionaries created a system of writing for the Cree and the Ojibway. This new system of writing, invented by a Methodist missionary who knew the languages of the Indian, was called syllabics. It was easily learned in a couple of weeks by the Indians visiting the trading posts. This system of writing was quickly adopted for private use, but more importantly, for religious conversion, since it allowed Indians to read the Bible. Prior to this, there was no written form for the Cree and Ojibway languages as we know them today. The Ojibway to the south had accounts of their history and heritage inscribed on birch bark scrolls in the form of diagrams and pictures.

CONSONANTS	VOWELS				FINALS	
	a	ee	oo	aa	west	east
	ᐁ	ᐃ	ᐅ	ᐄ	˙	˙
p	ᐯ	ᐱ	ᐳ	ᐴ	ˈ	ᐧ
t	ᑌ	ᑎ	ᑐ	ᑑ	ˊ	ᐦ
m	ᒣ	ᒥ	ᒧ	ᒦ	ᐦ	ᒪ
ch	ᒉ	ᒋ	ᒍ	ᒐ	-	ᒡ
k	ᖿ	ᕈ	ᕆ	ᕂ	ˋ	ᕃ
y	ᔦ	ᔨ	ᔪ	ᔫ	ᔭ	ᔭ
s	ᓴ	ᓵ	ᓶ	ᓷ	ᐟ	ᓯ
n	ᓄ	ᓇ	ᓅ	ᓈ	ᐣ	ᓐ
sh	ᔑ	ᔓ	ᔕ	ᔖ	ᐠ	ᔐ
l	ᓬ	ᓭ	ᓮ	ᓯ	ᒼ	ᓫ
r	ᐌ	ᐏ	ᐍ	ᐎ		ᐢ

Most often it was Indian missionaries, taught by non-Indian missionaries, who went out to teach the syllabics to the Cree and Ojibway of Northern Ontario. It was not always European missionaries who set out to convert the Indians. Some Indians did not see any contradiction between accepting Christianity and also retaining traditional religious beliefs.

REVEREND JOHN SANDERS, FLYING POST.

FIRST ORDAINED OJIBWAY INDIAN PRIEST OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

John Sanders was born on March 17, 1845 at Mattawagammigue Post,on the lake of the same name, where his father worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1854, the family moved to Fort Kukatoosh or Flying Post. John only spent a few months there before being sent to live with his grandmother at Moose Factory, where he was to receive his education. At the age of fourteen, he returned to Flying Post, but shortly after, he was taken back to Moose Factory by his father, who persuaded the Hudson's Bay Company factor to sign him to a seven year contract as a cooper's apprentice. In the sixth year of his contract, he was sent to Matachewan to help bring more trade and furs to this post. His knowledge of Indians succeeded in increasing greatly the profits of this post, and he returned to Moose Factory the following spring.

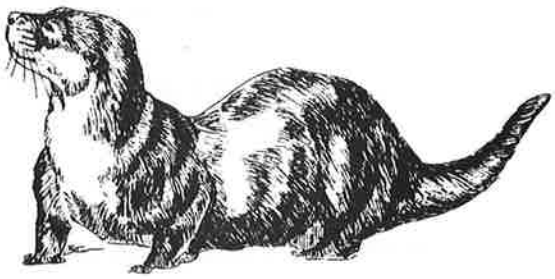
During his employ with the Hudson's Bay Company, he attended religious services and instruction at every opportunity, took a very keen interest in church affairs, and became a very devout Christian.

John's first assignment as a layman was at Flying Post. The journey gave him an opportunity of visiting a few families scattered along the rivers, bringing to them their first association with church teachings. He stayed at Flying Post for nineteen years and then returned to Moose Factory, where he prepared to enter St.John's college in 1874. He was ordained as a Deacon in 1876 and Priest in 1879 at Moose Factory by Bishop Horden. In 1876, Reverend Sanders was instructed by Bishop Horden to proceed to Mattagami, about 80 miles east of the present town of Chapleau, where he was to administer to the spiritual requirements of the people in the Mattagami area and those districts to be later known as Biscotasing, Chapleau, Missinaibi, and Michipicoten.

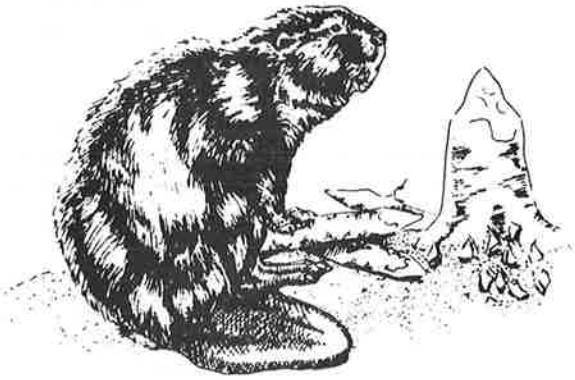
The trials and tribulations of a missionary travelling by canoe and dog-team in those days were tremendous and, not surprisingly, Reverend Sanders died at the early age of 57 at Biscotasing on February 26, 1902. His body was taken to Missinaibi and buried in the forest he loved so well.

The 1800's were difficult times for the northern Cree and Ojibway. Many animals became scarce because of natural population cycles and over-hunting. By this time, the Indians had also changed considerably in their way of thinking. They were no longer hunting animals to use directly as a source of food, clothing, and shelter. Hunting was now like a business. More fur meant more trade goods.

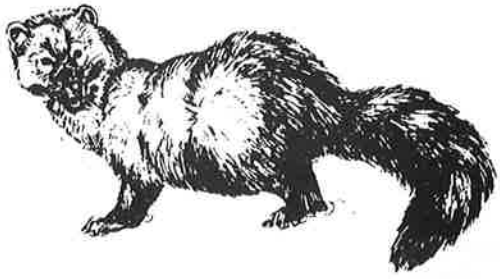
Essential game, such as beaver, caribou, moose, fox and lynx, became scarce. For example, moose seemed to have disappeared entirely from Northern Ontario in the period from 1780 to 1930. The people depended on smaller game like the rabbit and partridge for food. Some winters were so lean that even smaller game became very scarce. This was truly a test of man's ability to cope with and understand nature's ways. Many people starved during these long cold winters. There was an increasing dependence on the trading posts for food rations like tea, sugar, lard and flour. The ministers and priests also offered what little help they could during these hard times of starvation.



OTTER



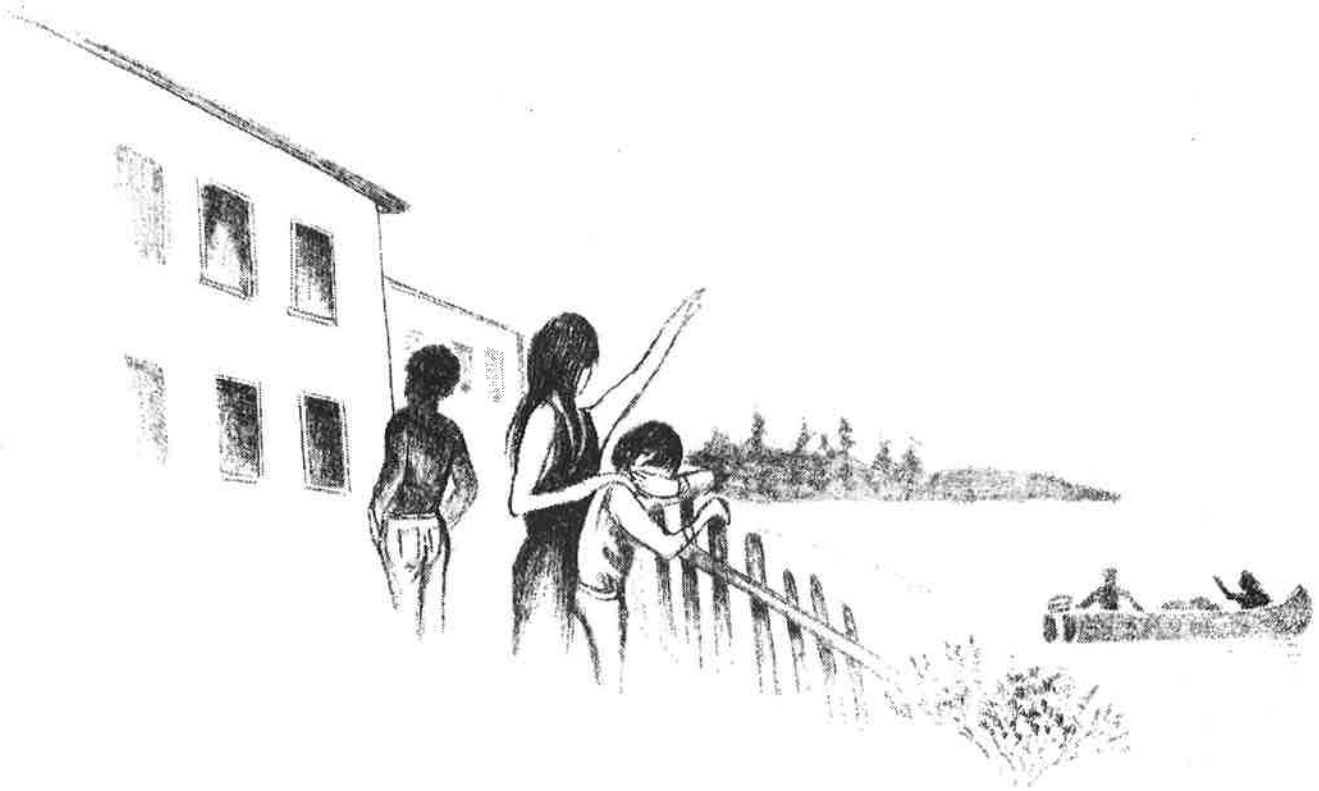
BEAVER



FISHER

New diseases such as measles, whooping cough, influenza and tuberculosis, all previously unknown to the Indians, also took their toll in deaths. The Indians had no resistance to these foreign diseases. Usually, the youngest and the oldest were the first to die. The traditional Indian healer's influence diminished. Again, the missionaries tried to provide what help they could with medical cures, and, during these bleak times, respect and favour for them grew.

In order to try to change, educate and settle the Indians, the missionaries made plans to establish residential schools and farming settlements. The Hudson's Bay Company did not get involved in these plans at all. Without the Company's involvement and support to cover costs to help pay for buildings and supplies, such ideas were difficult for the missionaries to carry out alone. Trading for furs, not for agricultural products, was the Hudson's Bay Company's main concern. It was not until a few decades later that the government stepped in to help establish residential schools for the remote parts of Northern Ontario.



The missionaries were successful in establishing more mission schools. During the period of 1895 to 1910, mission schools were established in Chapleau, Moose Factory, and Fort Albany. When the Department of Indian Affairs stepped in to establish the residential schools, they continued to be run by the respective religious denominations who firmly established the Christian-oriented education system. Although such schools were established, attendance was by no means compulsory.

The majority of the Cree and the Ojibway spent only a few weeks during the summer, trading in small settlements. For the remainder of the year, they still lived in the bush, hunting, fishing and trapping. The missionaries encouraged them to faithfully attend church and to consistently behave like "civilized" Christians. They also impressed upon the parents the importance of having their children attend school.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most Northern Ontario Indians were considered to be Christians by the missionaries. However, some of the old ways were continued by a few persons, who were careful not to be seen by the watchful eyes of the missionaries. Some even mixed the Christian and traditional religions. But the majority of the Cree and the Ojibway were converted.

The missionaries served their purpose over the years. They were very dedicated to their own religion. On the one hand, they took away a lot of the Indian culture, but on the other, the missionaries represented help. As the number of converts grew, some missionaries became very influential and even powerful. Depending on the missionaries' individual character, they were loved, admired or feared.

ST.THOMAS CHURCH

St.Thomas Church in Moose Factory is one of the oldest Anglican churches in Canada. It was once moved off its foundation by a spring flood In 1860. Floods were always to plague the work of St.Thomas Church at Moose Factory. In 1894, the water rose so rapidly, it came up a foot against the altar and filled the church with mud. In 1917, the ice piled up against the church with such force, it almost wrecked it completely.The large plugs put in under the pews - now a feature of the church - were inserted in order to allow the water to rise in case of another flood, and to prevent the church from floating away.

PART FOUR: MULTITUDES FOLLOW

By order of the Royal Charter of 1670, granted by the King of England, the Hudson's Bay Company had the power to govern the land and its inhabitants, in this part of Northern Ontario.

The Royal Charter granted the Hudson's Bay Company the rights to trade furs and other goods with the Indian inhabitants of the land, the rights to claim all discoveries of minerals and ore deposits, and the right to govern the land. The Hudson's Bay Company exercised its governmental powers within the limits of the land granted to them by the King of England. Up until 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company claimed to be the government of the people and the land.

Excerpt from the Royal Charter...

Doe give grant and confirme unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas Streightes Bayes Rivers Lakes Creeks and Soundes in whatsoever Latitude they shall bee that lie within the entrance of the Streightes commonly called Hudsons Streightes together with all the Landes and Territoryes upon the Countryes Coastes and confynes of the Seas Bayes Lakes Rivers Creekes and Soundes aforesaid that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects or possessed by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State with the Fishing of all Sortes of Fish Whales Sturgions and all other Royal Fishes in the Seas Bayes Isletes and Rivers within the premisses and the Fish therein taken together with the Royalty of the Sea upon the Coastes within the Lymittes aforesaid and all Mynes Royal as well discovered of Gold Silver Gemms and pretious Stones to bee found or discovered within the Territoryes Lymmites and Places aforesaid And that the said Land bee from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantacions or Colonyes in America called Ruperts Land. (sic)

In 1867, a new government was formed in the south and the country that we now live in was officially named Canada. Two years later, in 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its special powers to the English Crown. In doing so, the Company received a cash settlement of 300,000 pounds in British currency and they also kept prime prairie land. It still held its trading posts and the land on which they stood. The sales in land became more profitable than fur trade gains. It was not until 1870 that the lands surrounding the Hudson Bay and James Bay were transferred over to the

Canadian government. By this time, in most parts of Canada, the newcomers had outnumbered the Indian population. But in Northern Ontario, such was not the case yet. Nevertheless, of these newcomers that arrived, many by this time considered Canada their home.

With the increase of Europeans moving to Canada and to encourage more settlers to come, the federal government decided to build the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway across Canada from sea to sea. This would open up new lands on which immigrants could settle. The government considered lands for farming as the main attraction for immigrants.

Since many Indian people lived along the proposed railway, the government realized that problems might arise with these people. Therefore, it was necessary to make treaties or come to some type of an agreement with the Indian People that were to be affected by these new developments.

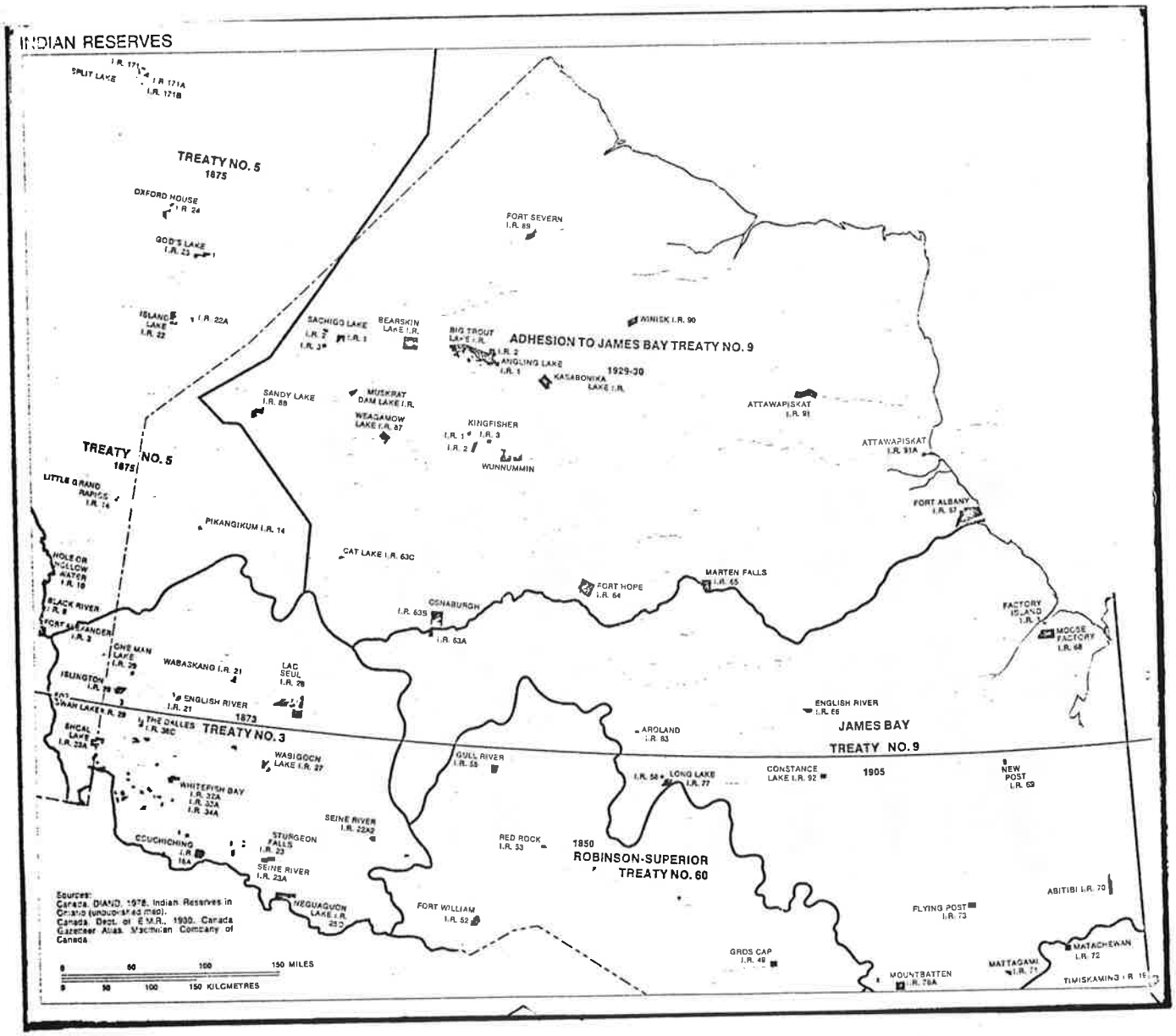
The new government then proceeded to make treaties with the Indians in order to make safe passage for the settlers coming into the new area. In the treaties, the Indians would surrender vast territories that were traditionally used, in exchange for cash, reserve lands, and promises of their health and social welfare from the changes that would follow in the wake of the railway.

In 1876, a law called the Indian Act was passed. The Department of Indian Affairs, which was responsible for all matters concerning Indians, was established under this law.

Treaties were signed across Canada in what seemed to be a rapid succession. Treaties were legal documents or contracts between two parties. Most treaties are signed to maintain peace, order and friendship. They state what each party will give in return for what the other wants. However, when one party is more powerful than the other, it can usually dictate the terms and conditions of the treaty.

LANSDOWNE IN 1929 (Ex-chief Moonias on the far right)

The treaties with the Indians were written in English, which to the Indian people was a foreign language. Most Indian people, at that time, could not read or understand the English language. In total, they lacked training in the Canadian legal system and had no lawyers to advise them on these treaties. The few Indian people who spoke the English language had very limited formal education and knowledge of such transactions. However, they believed the promises made by the government from what they were told and from what they understood.



Indians, in their tradition, believed in sharing, so they shared the land with the newcomers as long as the Indian People's way of life was not drastically changed. They were never opposed to change, providing that they were partners in change. What they did strongly oppose was change that others forced upon them or change which they had no control over.

One such example of change, forced upon them, involved their livelihood. The government thought that farming was a very profitable way of using the land. The Indian way of life was viewed as too mobile and as a waste of time and land. Therefore, they encouraged and sometimes even forced the Indian People to become farmers. In the case of the Iroquois people in Southern Ontario, who had been farmers for hundreds of years, such a policy may have made sense, but in Northern Ontario, where there was very little agricultural land, this policy made very little sense.

While the railway and treaties created certain difficulties for the Indian People, the same railway and treaties paved the way for multitudes of immigrants to Canada. To relieve the heavily settled areas of what is now Southern Ontario, the federal government decided to build another railway. The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, which was to run from North Bay to Moosonee, was built right after the turn of the century. In Ontario, the government leaders wanted the northern part of the province to become available for settlers. During this time in history, the province of Ontario went up only as far as the Albany River.

Towards the end of the 1800's, several Cree and Ojibway of Northern Ontario presented petitions to government representatives involving the rights of Indians residing between James Bay and the Great Lakes, who had not been approached with a treaty. Petitions were presented from Missinaibi, Brunswick House, Biscotasing, Osnaburgh, Cat Lake, Abitibi, Long Point, Fort Severn, and Trout Lake. Most of the Indian leaders knew of the Robinson Treaties, that had been signed by 1850, by the Indian People who lived to the south of them. They knew of the railway that had been built which allowed a large number of miners, prospectors, and surveyors to pass through their land. They knew that game was disturbed, that their means of livelihood had been interferred with, and that their rights were being trespassed on. These Indian leaders knew that starvation was a real threat and many were destitute. Some Indian People were afraid of being driven from their land by settlers. They knew that other Indians, their neighbours, had signed treaties and they expected the same treatment.

PART FIVE: THE JAMES BAY TREATY

The growing number of non-Indian people that came into the Cree and Ojibway homeland partly affected the animal life which was a source of food for the Cree and Ojibway. The fur trade was also on the decline, the Indian People faced economic depression.The advance of 'civilization' in the southern region of Ontario was felt by the Cree and Ojibway of the North. Several Indian people took action to present their own peoples' situation to the government, with the help of concerned missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company clerks. As early as 1889, petitions urged the federal government to provide financial assistance and protection.

In 1905, the federal and provincial governments came to an agreement. What they had agreed upon was the contents of the treaty. However, the Cree and Ojibway were not consulted. The treaty did not give the Cree and the Ojibway very much to bargain for or to choose from.

The Indians would be offered eight dollars each, once the selected leaders signed the treaty. The Chief would receive a flag, a copy of the treaty, and a badge signifying him as the head of his people. From that year on to the present time, each person would receive four dollars per year. In addition to this, each band of Indians would be assigned reserve lands; the amount of land each band was to receive would vary depending on the number of people in the band at that time. The formula of one square mile for each family was used. The government would pay for building schools, supplies, teachers, and medical help.

The Indian People would still have the right to hunt, trap, and fish under certain restrictions. These terms were in many ways identical to what the Ojibways of Lake Huron and Lake Superior were offered in 1850. However, the terms were less than what was offered to neighbouring Ojibways to the west, under Treaty#3, which was signed in 1873.

In return, the Cree and Ojibway would agree to surrender all their territory of about 90,000 square miles, promise to abide by the government's laws and live in peace among other Indian nations and the newcomers. This was the ninth of the numbered treaties made since 1870. It is known today as the James Bay Treaty#9.

The federal government sent two representatives, Duncan Campbell Scott and Samuel Stewart, to explain the treaty to the Cree and Ojibway. Daniel MacMartin represented the provincial government. Two Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables accompanied them as a symbol of the new law and to guard the treaty money. A doctor was also present to provide any immediate medical care for the Indian People to be encountered.

It was next to impossible for the treaty party to visit the more than 3,000 Cree and Ojibway on their traplines; specific arrangements had to be made with the Hudson's Bay Company. The treaty party would visit all the trading posts in their planned route and meet with the Indians who generally gathered at the posts for short periods each summer. There, they would get the treaty signed. Each trading post, therefore, was to give advance warning as to when the treaty party would be arriving. As it turned out, many Indians were not present on the day the treaty party arrived in their community.

In July and August of 1905, the treaty party visited eight Hudson's Bay Company trading posts on the Albany River and the Moose River systems. The canoe trip from Osnaburgh to Fort Hope, Marten Falls, English River, and Fort Albany took about four weeks. A sailboat was chartered to travel from Fort Albany to Moose Factory. Then canoes were again used to reach New Post, which was located on the Moose River and the Abitibi River. But it was too late to finish the treaty business at Abitibi because most of the Indians had already left for the winter. This portion of the trip took another thirty days. The treaty party paid treaty money to a total of 1,617 Indian People. The others had to wait for their money until the following summer.

JOHN FLETCHER
ELDER, MOOSE FACTORY.

John Fletcher was born in 1889 and was a band member of the Moose Factory reserve. He was a witness to the signing of Treaty#9, in 1905.

In January, 1978, during a hearing for the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, he recounted for Commissioner Hartt, through a translator, events surrounding the Treaty. "The Commissioners came, representing His Majesty, the King of England, and said, 'We have brought to you His Majesty's request to surrender your land, to act as a custodian, and if you respond to this request, you will be given money for every year. You will also be given assistance by His Majesty the King. Your children will be educated. The government will pay all expenses. You will not pay for medication. The government will pay for the treatment of your illnesses.'"

He told Justice Hartt that an Indian spokesman asked the Treaty Commissioner, "Will our hunting be affected by the Treaty?" The Commissioner answered, "This hunting right will never be taken away. Do you see this river that never stops flowing? This Treaty will be an example to it."

Mr.Fletcher said there was assurance given to the Indians that they would share the profit and wealth from any resources taken from within the Treaty area. "Although this was not written in the Treaty, these kinds of verbal promises were considered by us before we signed the Treaty."

According to Mr.Fletcher, the Treaty Commissioner said, "Nothing will ever alter your way of life. We will share this land with your people. You will not lose your culture if you sign this Treaty."

"It seems to me, as a witness to the signing of the Treaty, that some of these promises have been forgotten," he said.

In 1906, there were two treaty parties. One treaty party visited the Albany River and Moose River posts to pay their annual treaty money as promised. The other treaty party returned to Abitibi and from there proceeded to visit Matachewan, Mattagami, Flying Post, Chapleau, New Brunswick House and Long Lake and paid treaty money to 915 Indian People. That summer, some Indian People were away when the treaty was signed at their post. Others were paid at Biscotasing, Missinaibi or Montizambert, where they had relocated after the Canadian Pacific Railway was built. The number of Indian People paid in 1906 by both parties totalled about 3,000 Cree and Ojibway.

In return for surrendering 90,000 square miles of their land, the Cree and Ojibway retained the following reserve lands, selected by the Commissioners of the 1905-06 treaty party under the James Bay Treaty #9.

THE 1905 TREATY PARTY		THE 1906 TREATY PARTY	
Osnaburgh	73 sq.miles	Abitibi	30 sq.miles
Fort Hope	100 sq.miles	Matachewan	16 sq.miles
Marten Falls	30 sq.miles	Mattagami	20 sq.miles
English River	12 sq.miles	Flying Post	23 sq.miles
Fort Albany	147 sq.miles	Chapleau	320 sq.miles
Moose Factory	66 sq.miles	Long Lake	27 sq.miles
New Post	8 sq.miles	New Brunswick House	27 sq.miles

The treaty caused a number of problems. Many of the Abitibi Indian People who trapped in Quebec were not allowed at first to join the treaty.When they were added in 1908, they came to share the Ontario reserve because the Quebec government refused to participate in the treaty. On the other hand, at Fort Albany and other posts along the Albany River, some of the Indians who trapped in the District of Keewatin, in what was then the Northwest Territories, were immediately allowed into the treaty. When the treaty party visited Moose Factory, they refused to allow 25 families to participate in the treaty. The Commissioners said that these people were "half-breeds" and were not living like Indians.These people were of mixed blood in that their mother was Indian and their father was European. Today, their descendants are called "Metis". Also, the Commissioners made sure that the reserve lands were not near valuable waterways or railway sites.

This was not the end of the James Bay Treaty #9. In 1912, the Ontario boundary was extended. Another 40,000 square miles north of the Albany River, which was once the Northwest Territories, was now Ontario. Again, the government met with the Cree and the Ojibway in this newly acquired land. The new treaty party travelled by airplane to Trout Lake in 1929 and on to Windigo River, Fort Severn and Winisk in the following year. New reserves were assigned by the treaty Commissioners.

THE 1929 TREATY PARTY

Big Trout Lake	85 sq.miles	Sandy Lake Narrows	17 sq.miles
Sachigo Lake	14 sq.miles	Fort Severn	15 sq.miles
Wunnumin Lake	27 sq.miles	Winisk	17 sq.miles
Caribou Lake	35 sq.miles	Attawapiskat	104 sq.miles

At the conclusion of this trip, the treaty was firmly in place. The government had fulfilled its goal of making a treaty with the Cree and the Ojibway of Northern Ontario. The traditonal people who were once keepers of the land, were legally owners of small parcels of land. They were now left with a small portion of true homeland within approximately 250 years of the Europeans' arrival. To this day, annual visits to the reserves are made by officials of the Department of Indian Affairs to pay treaty money in the amount of four dollars to every man, woman, and child.

PART SIX: THE INDIAN CONDITION

The Cree and Ojibway have witnessed many changes to the land and to themselves, since the arrival of the first European about 300 years ago. It was not until the treaty signing era that these changes seemed to drastically take effect. What is known is that the treaty signing era coincided with a rapid growth and development of transportation and communication. It is without question at that time that the Indian People became more visable than ever to the rest of the people of Canada.

However, as Canada grew and prospered through the early and mid-twentieth century, the effect on the Indian People left very little to be desired. All across Canada, the Indian People, like the Cree and Ojibway, lived in a country filled with opportunity. Almost all of Canada, except for the high Arctic, had been opened up for habitation and development. Progress in areas of medicine, science, industry, commerce, transportation and communication moved at a very fast pace. Canada was becoming a member of the world's leading nations.

Somehow, the Cree and the Ojibway, along with the rest of Canada's Indian population, were being left behind. Reserves, for instance, received poor housing, and in general, slow attention from the government, while towns and cities prospered. It looked like being Indian was not part of Canadian progress. Whatever the reason may have been, the Indian People were being left behind.

In recent years, the plight of the Indian People, in terms of who they are and what they want, has been drawn to the attention of Canadians. Although the Indians themselves have become increasingly outspoken about their condition and have received wider coverage by the media, many people still have little real knowledge about the Indian Peoples' present condition and their cultural traditions. If we are to understand the condition of the Indian People, we must first attempt to understand their point of view.

Although the newcomers recognized the different languages and customs among the Indian People, they treated them as an inferior group with similar structures and qualities, although in many cases they were considered important allies of the Europeans. That the Indian People perceived numerous differences among themselves and organized themselves accordingly, was of little importance to the newcomers and it made no difference to the way in which they were treated. The problem for Canada today, then, is to find ways in which the aspirations of the Indian people for a better life can be satisfied. Let us, therefore, examine some vital areas of the Indian Peoples' plight and some of the disadvantages under which they live.

Population:

It has been estimated that prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the total Indian population of North America was at least 900,000 people. About 220,000 of the total population were in what is now called Canada. The introduction of firearms by the Europeans was one of the several factors contributing to the decline in the Indian population. Another more destructive factor was the famine and epidemic diseases, such as smallpox, scarlet fever, tuberculosis and influenza, against which Indian people had no immunity. Epidemics of these diseases were numerous and sometimes literally decimated the population they struck.

With Confederation in 1867, record keeping of population census improved somewhat. Shortly after Confederation, the Indian population of what is now Canada was approximately 102,000 people. It was not until about 1966 that the Indian population again reached the size it had been just prior to European contact. By the end of 1979, the Indian population stood at about 309,000 people, which was triple the Indian population as it had been at the time of Confederation.

Although the Indian population is no longer declining but growing in numbers, the size of reserves has not changed. The reserves no longer reflect the increase in population. In fact, the reserves have remained the same since the first allotment during the signing of the treaties.

Between 1958 and 1979, the increase in the number of recognized bands rose from 571 to 573, a mere total of two bands. Not all band members live on the reserve. There are those who choose to live off-reserve. Between 1966 and 1978, numbers seem to indicate that there was a trend to move off the reserve rather than to stay. This was due, to a large degree, to the sudden population boom, which resulted in a lack

of employment opportunities on the reserve, a lack of social services, insufficient housing, and inadequate schools. Many people chose to move off the reserve in search of better opportunities.

Health:

The overall health condition of the Indian population of the 1960's and the 1970's is not very appealing. Compared to all Canadians, the Indian health condition is well below the acceptable level.

The death rate for the registered Indian population is higher than that of the general population of Canada. In 1979, the death rate of Indian People was nearly twice as high as that of the general Canadian population (i.e., 13.0 Indian deaths per 1,000 population versus 7.4 Canadian deaths per 1,000 population).

The major causes of death in the Indian population have been accidents, violence, and poisonings, which are three times higher than that of the general population. Other major causes of death are the result of diseases of the respiratory system, neoplasms and diseases with ill-defined symptoms which are mostly associated with infants, crib deaths, and death due to old age.

Major causes of accidental deaths among Indians in 1976 were motor vehicle accidents, which were twice as high as the general population. Drowning accidents were six times the risk. Suicides among Indian People were twice the risk. One study indicates that a fairly large percentage of such deaths among Indian people occur in the adult age group.

Housing:

Although the number of housing units has increased considerably, the houses are often overcrowded because of the increase in family formations in the age group of 20 to 29 year olds. A 1977 survey also documented a severe over-crowding situaton whereby one-third of the on-reserve housing units housed either two or more families or required an addition to accommodate larger families.

Demand for Indian housing grew during the 1970's and the demand has increased well into the 1980's. The major reason for the increase in housing needs is the overall increase in the population of young adults living on reserve.

A very real problem in Indian communities is the lack of proper infrastructure: while most houses do have electricity, not all of them have safe drinking water, proper sewage disposal or indoor plumbing. These sub-standard housing conditions, combined with the ever present over-

crowding, present a major problem for Indian People in on-reserve housing. Such living conditions may be linked to the current levels of health of Indian People.

Crime:

In relation to their percentage share of the national population, Native inmates are over represented in federal prisons. Indian people represent approximately nine percent of the inmate population. According to age groups, Native inmates tend to be concentrated in the 20 to 34 age group.

The higher representation in jails suggests a conflict between Indian and non-Indian values. The Indian offences also indicate the poor social and health conditions on reserves. The high representation in jails and juvenile courts also reflects the scarcity of preventative services and of support systems for Indian People as an alternative to jail.

Education:

In 1978, the number of Indian children enrolled in elementary school had very well matched the national participation levels. While total secondary education enrollment had more than doubled since 1965, the proportion of children enrolled has steadily been declining since a peak in 1972 and 1973.

In 1980, Indian education was in the midst of a radical change. For most of the century, Indian education had been in the hands of the missionaries and other employees of the Canadian churches. In 1969, the Anglican Church of Canada terminated its contract with the federal government and removed itself from operating the residential schools in the north.

Since the late 1930's, the Department of Indian Affairs had operated the residential schools. At first, arrangements with various churches were made, and in the last few years, the Department operated the schools directly. From 1950, they were used primarily for secondary education but continued to provide elementary education for children from remote reserves and institutional care for children who had been removed from their parents' control. Starting in the late 1960's, residential schools have been closed down.

Employment:

As in prisons and jails, Indian People are again over-represented in the unemployment lines, as well as in jobs that do not require a lot of education, experience or qualification, such as logging, commercial fishing, construction, line cutting and service organizations. Indian People are also under-represented in the managerial, professional, clerical and sales areas.

There is no data gathered on Indian unemployment but rough estimates have placed the level of unemployment of the national Indian population in the forty to eighty percent range. On some reserves, levels are much higher.

Employment opportunities on reserves have been very few or non-existent. Those living on the reserve have difficulties finding employment due to the lack of skilled or professional training. This is the direct result of a low level of education. As a consequence, the average income for the Indian population is well below the national average.

Summary:

There are many other areas that could be examined such as life expectancy, suicides, alcoholism, child care and job creation. Those areas examined reflect the general conditions of the Indian population of Canada, which includes the Cree and the Ojibway of Northern Ontario. Any further examination of the Indian condition reveals much the same picture.

For a nation of people who were once very independent, the outlook for the future appeared to be very bleak, as time passed through the mid-twentieth century. It is ironic that this would be the case when one considers the purpose behind the treaties which the government made with the Cree and the Ojibway people. This is especially true when one considers that the government also passed a law, the Indian Act, subtitled an "an Act respecting Indians", which was designed to protect the interests of Canada's Indian People.

The main channel through which the Indian People had any communications was with the Indian agent who was the representative of the government of Canada. This communication system tended to be a one-way street, from the top down, with little opportunity for the Indian People to communicate their problems, concerns and issues to those in authority or share their experiences with Canadian society in general.

By the late 1960's, the Indian leaders representing various tribes across Canada decided it was time to take matters into their own hands to change the outlook.

MASON KOOSTACHIN,
FORT SEVERN, ONTARIO.

1909 - 1980

Mason Koostachin was born in 1909 and was a trapper all his life, as well as serving as Councillor for the Fort Severn Band for about nine years.

He also worked on the supply barge coming into Fort Severn for thirty years, marking the shoals of the river from the mouth three miles up to the settlement.

Originally from the James Bay coast, as a young man, Mason walked the approximately 250 miles from Attawapiskat to Fort Severn and then on to York Factory, where he met and married Juliette Beardy.

He lived for several years with her family in Shamattawa, Manitoba, Juliette's home.

Then, the well-travelled man made one more trip to Fort Severn, where he settled. His trapline was about ten miles from the village. Like many of his generation, Mason covered distances on foot, by dog team, and by canoe. These means of travel are rapidly disappearing with cars, airplanes, and snow machines taking over as means of transportation and travel.

When Wawatay News formed their communications society, it was Mason who suggested the name 'Wawatay', which when translated means 'northern lights'.

Mason Koostachin died on July 5, 1980, at the age of 71 years.

PART SEVEN:
NISHNAWBE-ASKI...TOWARDS A REBIRTH

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, there came an ever increasing movement across Canada for Indian People to organize themselves for a push to regain control over their lives from the Canadian government. This Indian movement was a major thrust to improve conditions on reserves. Terms like self-determination, self-sufficiency, treaty renegotiations, self-government and independence were commonly used.

Under the guidance of Andrew Rickard of the Moose Factory Indian Reserve, the Cree and Ojibway in Northern Ontario united to form the Grand Council Treaty #9. Grand Council Treaty #9 was formed on February 24, 1973 in North Bay, during a meeting attended by Chiefs and other elected Indian leaders from the Treaty#9 area, to represent all the Indian reserves within. Since its inception, the primary purpose has been to introduce the concept that the solution to the socio-economic problems that our Native People face lie with the people themselves.

NISHNAWBE-ASKI NATION

Andrew Rickard of the Moose Factory Band was the first Grand Chief of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, which was then called Grand Council Treaty#9. The role of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation has been to actively encourage leadership and self-reliance. This has been done through playing an advisory role for the local communities, providing technical assistance and the human resources of their staff.

To date, government programs in the field of education, community development, health services, social and economic development have, in general, failed to improve the social and economic condition of the Indian People, primarily because the programs lacked meaningful participation on the part of the people. The government must come to realize that the problems to be alleviated are Indian problems. They concern Indian People and are not simply problems of education, health, income, etc., but rather Indian education, Indian health, Indian income, and so on. As such, solutions must be found in the context of, and with full participation and responsibility of, the Indian People.

CHIEFS MEETINGS

Many meetings with the Chiefs from the communities of the Treaty#9 area were held to address common problems and concerns, and to collectively present issues to the government representatives and agencies.

The decision of the Chiefs to establish Grand Council Treaty#9 was based on the following reasons:

1. To ensure the physical presence and grass-roots approach to the problems and aspirations of all the communities in the Treaty#9 area;

2. The majority of bands and communities located in Northern Ontario which are isolated, are confronted with different day to day problems and frustrations than those in Southern Ontario. The Grand Council Treaty #9, from its inception, has determined to foster close links with all bands and communities through its central office, branch office, and through its network of fieldworkers.

3. To recognize the linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic common identity.

For ten years, under the leadership of people like Andrew Rickard, Wally McKay, Dennis Cromarty and Frank Beardy, the Grand Council grew. It endeavoured to achieve the goal of establishing unity, strength, and success among our people, and became one of the most influential Indian organizations in Canada. It initiated and undertook programs from the government. At one point, the executive administration and programs grew to exceed a staff of one hundred.

GRAND COUNCIL
TREATY#9

Three of the original Executive Officers of Grand Council Treaty#9. From left to right: Eli Baxter, Vice-President for the Central Area, Willie Wesley, Vice-President for the Eastern area, and Andrew Rickard, President. Many meetings were necessary in order to address the many issues and concerns of our people.

Countless meetings with the Chiefs were held to address ways of improving the conditions. Many meetings were also held with government officials. Perhaps the most significant meeting was held with the Premier of Ontario, William Davis, at Toronto on July 6, 1977. An historic address was made by President Andrew Rickard entitled, "A Declaration of Nishnawbe-Aski by the Ojibway-Cree Nation of Treaty#9 to the People of Canada". The address was made in an atmosphere of determination towards Ojibway and Cree gaining control over their lives.

Word spread like wildfire that the Cree and the Ojibway of Northern Ontario wanted to separate from Canada and become a totally separate country on its own. But no, the Cree and the Ojibway were misunderstood. Yes, they talked about independence, but the independence they spoke of was regaining from the government the right to run their own affairs on the reserves. The overall goal is charted in the diagram entitled, "The Treaty #9 Objective". It outlines the history of the people and the hopes for the future.

THE NISHNAWBE-ASKI DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

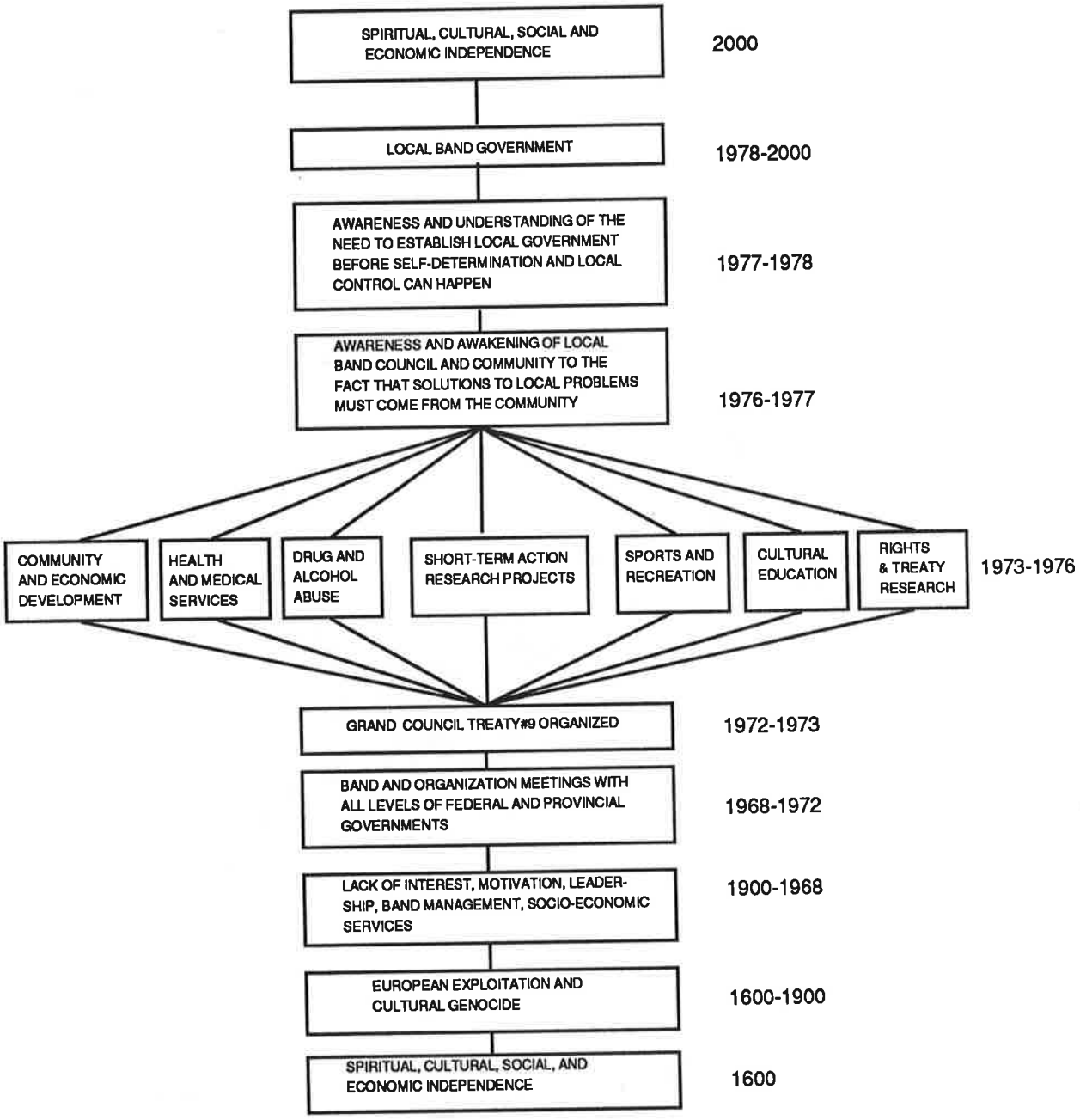
Canada:

We will use the second language to speak to you in recognition of your inability to understand our language.
Once again we want you to understand us. For over 350 years you have failed to recognize the unique lifestyle of the Nishnawbe-Aski. It is so crucial that you understand today, as tomorrow may be too late.
We, the people and the land, declare our nationhood. We declare ourselves to be a free and sovereign nation. We bring you a declaration of independence.
We say to you that we have the right to govern our own affairs. We ask that you become involved in our right to develop our individual communities. We intend to make them as viable as they were before the whiteman came.
You are the only people who have ever questioned our sovereignty. Our rights and entitlements to this land were inherited from our forefathers. Unlike you, we have no memory of an existence in other lands across the sea. We have prior rights to the custody of this land, which precedes and supercedes all of your claims.
This custody must remain with us. It is our sacred duty to pass it on to our unborn children. We do not accept the illegal seizures of our land by the Europeans and their descendants. We will protect these custodian rights by whatever means necessary. We declare that all laws, enacted by you, which interfere with our sovereignty must be re-examined in light of our position. The right to make laws which govern our people must be returned to our people.
On having regained the ability to govern ourselves, we will insist that Treaty#9 be re-negotiated.
Your government has refused to live up to the terms and spirit of the treaty. This treaty reads in part that "His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their ususal vocation of hunting, trapping, and fishing throughout the land".
We agreed to share. We lived up to the terms of our agreement. We kept the peace, paid honour to the European sovereign, allowed the whiteman to settle and to live according to his laws, and permitted his religions and cultures to be introduced to our people.
You agreed to share. You said our rights would never be lost. You did not live up to the agreement. You took most of our land, outlawed our religious beliefs and practices, destroyed much of our animal life and forest, restricted our movements, stopped us from using our languages, and tried to convince us that our music, dances and arts were barbaric.
Despite these overwhelming odds, we have survived the elements of conquest.
Your cultural genocide is about to end. In order to regain our freedom, we must establish our own control. We recognize only one ruler over our nation...the Creator. He made us part of nature. We are one with nature, with all that the Creator has made around us. We have lived here since time immemorial, at peace with the land, the lakes and the rivers, animals and fish, the birds and all of nature. We live today as part of yesterday and tomorrow in the great cycle of life.
Unlike you, we have a sacred respect for the land. You have alienated life and land by the exploitation of the natural resources. As a result of your greed, there is a real possibility that our environment will be destroyed. If it is, we will also be destroyed, because we are part of nature.
You are threatening nature's very limits. Now it is our sacred duty to slow you down before she is destroyed.
We are here with another unalterable principle:"Nishnawbe-Aski are not for sale!"
Today, our relationship with you must change. We will only accept your meaningful involvement. It will be on our terms or not at all.
We will defend our right to self-determination.
The success of our future will depend on our leaders of tomorrow. These young people are adjusting to new forms of knowledge. Our experience will also strengthen their involvement. We expect that you in turn will encourage your young people to understand our lifestyle.
Today we are here to tell you who we are. We, the NIshnawbe-Aski, have inalienable rights. They are:

1. The right to self-government.
2. The right to receive payment for our exploited natural resources.
3. The right to receive payment for the destruction and loss of our hunting and fishing rights.
4. The right to re-negotiate our treaty.
5. The right to negotiate with the elected governments of your society through appropriate levels of representation.
6. The right to approach all levels of your society in our quest for self-determination and local control.
7. The right of elected chiefs to deal with the elected members of your government on an equal basis.
8. The right to approach other world nations to further the aims of the Cree and Ojibway of Treaty#9.
9. The right to use every necessary possible means to further the cause of our people.
10. The right to use all that the Creator has given us to help all of mankind.

The solutions to our problems must come from within our local communities. The right to deal with those problems must rest with our people. We will regain our independence only through laws that recognize and support our form of local government.
Our nationhood itself is sacred and cannot be negotiated. For any nation to exist, it must have laws that reflect its self-reliance and its local control. Our primary objective is the attainment of spiritual, cultural,social and economic independence.

THE TREATY NO.9 OBJECTIVE



In 1984, the Grand Council Treaty #9 underwent its most recent re-organization. Along with moving its head office from Timmins to Toronto, it streamlined its overall structure to include a core staff of executive and regional representatives. The name of the organization was changed to Nishnawbe-Aski Nation. The overall objective, as outlined in the declaration, did not change.

To include all the original goals and efforts of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation would be a major task. To demonstrate the work and accomplishments, perhaps the most recent achievement can shed some light on the goal of self-government.

The welfare of the family and children has always been a big concern for the Cree and Ojibway. As recent as October of 1984, an agreement was reached between the government of Ontario and the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, to return the right to control the services provided to the children and families throughout Northern Ontario to the Cree and the Ojibway.

Since then, three new agencies have been formed to look after children and family services. First, the Kenora-Patricia Child and Family Services which included the towns of Kenora, Dryden, Red Lake, Sioux Lookout and surrounding areas, encompassing representation from 14 Indian bands and communities. The second is Tikinagan Child and Family services, which serves the four tribal areas of Pehtabun, Windigo, Shibogama, and Central. The total number of reserves and communities being served is 27. Finally, Payukotayno:The James and Hudson Bay Family Services with its six coastal communities has been formed.

Achievements like these have paved the way for the Cree and the Ojibway People to achieve their goal of self-government. With control like this, the task of the Cree and the Ojibway is no longer a glimmer of hope, but rather a means of rebuilding for the Nation's rebirth.

CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES

One of the major achievements of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation is the takeover of the Family and Child Services for their respective areas.

EPILOGUE

Today, the people of the Nishnawbe-Aski are angered and frustrated by the many negative developments of yesterday. Our ancestors were trusting people, as this was our philosophy of life. Our anger is deep-rooted. We know that we cannot undo history to correct yesterday's tragedies. But, we must never forget yesterday's wrongs as we must ensure that these things never happen again. Society must be reminded that its so-called progressive technology has failed to consider our people in modern development. This neglect is causing severe social and economic problems today. Through this reminder, we trust that positive changes will take place that will ensure justice for all. Today's generation of leadership is very positive and strong. It does not dwell on the past to the point of negative immobility. It does not forget the tragic yesterdays either. It reminds the governing bodies of modern society that it must respond to meeting the basic human needs of our people. Our people must be heard, as we have a story to tell.