

Water, Dreams and Treaties:
Agnes Ross' *Mémékwésiwak* Stories and Treaty No. 5

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses indigenous methodologies, including personal narrative and Cree stories, both *ācimowina*, (history stories) and *ādizōhkīwina* (legends), to explore the history of Pimichikamak Okimawin (Cross Lake, Manitoba) with reference to Hydro development and Treaty No. 5 negotiations. The stories are those told by Agnes Marie Ross in the spring of 2018 and were transcribed and translated by the author. They address questions of hydro impact through stories about Cree relationships with *Mémékwésiwak*. In Agnes' stories this relationship is beneficial because it enables Cree healers to obtain medicine to heal tuberculosis. Agnes' stories about treaty making, while they reference her great grandfather Tépasténam, who signed treaty, focus on his son, Papámohtè Ogimaw, who had to fight another medicine man who was trying to control the Treaty relationship. They address the history of Treaty making through a family story about a battle of medicine men that is politically significant today.

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I would like to acknowledge my grandmother, Agnes Marie Ross for supporting my wishes that her great grand daughter, Rylie Anangoons Florence Bone, can hear about a way of understanding the world around us and learn to value the life that was lived around Pimichikamak Okimawin¹, my mom who persevered despite colonialism, my sister Carey for encouraging me to go to University, and Adrian Carrier for encouraging me to take Native

¹ Pimichikamak Okimawin used to be called Cross Lake.

Studies. I'd also like to thank my uncle Leonard Ross who encouraged me to value my language and helped me translate and learn old Cree words that I didn't understand. I would also like to acknowledge my kokom's niece the late Helen Betty Osborne and her mother the late Justine Osborne.

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DEDICATION/ KIIKONASKOMITIN

I'd like to thank my grandparents, Henry and Helen Rots, My father, Rick Rots. I would not have tried to do this without the support, patience, love, and encouragement of my father-in-law, Dr. Harry Bone, and my husband, Jason Bone. I'd like to thank my community of Pimichikamak Okimawin for putting me through school and for all the teachers that we knew loved us. I wouldn't be here if I didn't come from a community of people that really loves and supports kids no matter what. I want to thank both my immediate family, especially my mother and my brothers and sisters, and all the other people in Pimichikamak who taught me to be a good person. All these relationships with me influence my writing.



Figure 1. Agnes Ross and Rylie Bone. Photo Janice Bone.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

My name is Janice Agnes Helen Ross Rots Bone. My mother is Pauline May Ross who is Cree Inineu from Northern Manitoba. My father, Rick Rots, is from Southern Ontario, and his parents immigrated to Canada from Holland. My father grew up in Southern Ontario and after graduation moved to Thompson Manitoba to work in the mine for INCO nickel extraction in Treaty No. 5 area. Pimichikamak or Thicket Portage, Nelson House and all the Treaty No. 5 bands in the area have never got their share in those resources. Anyways, my mother went to Thompson for the weekend and met my father. My parents got married in 1977, and during the marriage the skeletons of residential school, day school and its residual affects started coming out of the closet and affecting the marriage. This paper is in part, a story of personal reconnecting with my family story and in part an acknowledgment of the wisdom of my grandmother who told me these stories.

The thesis of this paper is that Ininiwag (Cree) story-telling narratives, both *ācimowina* and *ādizōhkīwina*, confirm the connections between Ininiwag people and waterways (Brightman 1989). Looking closely at recently recorded Cree narratives of Agnes Marie Ross, my maternal grandmother, this paper will examine the ways in which her stories about *Mémékwésiwak* provide cross-generational lessons of life giving direction and guidance for Ininiwag people about the cultural and political importance of taking care of water and the beings that inhabit waterways. Julie Cruikshank, in her book *Lives Lived like a Story (1990)*, makes the point that the answers to political and historical questions are often answered by elders in the form of a relevant story. That is what happened to me.

The study will focus on stories about Cree relationships with the water-related spirit beings, the little rock people, *Mémékwésiwak*.² The paper will assess how these Ininiwag stories about *Mémékwésiwak* provide a framework for examining the meaning of water to Cree people, the importance of water in Cree Treaty negotiations and the impact on this relationship between Ininiwag and *Mémékwésiwak* with the loss of predictable water regimes resulting from Hydro development in the community of Pimichikamak.

Agnes Ross' stories about *Mémékwésiwak* are part of a long tradition of Cree stories about these charming little rock dwelling dwarves. Stan Cuthand, a Cree linguist and professor, says they are “harmless little people and friendly to humans but they can play tricks on some people who are non-believers” (Cuthand in Brown and Brightman 1988:197). Stories about them have been recorded in the Pimichikamak region for a long time and like my grandmother, the people of Pimichikamak believe the *Mémékwésiwak* have been around since before humans. The importance of these stories is that the belief persists into the present and that these stories show that the relationship with little people has been a central guiding force in their life. They would never knowingly disrupt their relationship with the *Mémékwésiwak* and for some people the relationship provided healing skill, medicine and hunting luck, without which they could not survive.

This thesis takes the position that colonial actions and colonial ways of thinking about indigenous peoples have caused indigenous cultural alienation both at a political level with the deliberate misinterpretation of First Nations Treaty objectives and the dishonest implementation of Treaties and, at a personal level, in the intergenerational misunderstanding,

² I have chosen to follow Brightman in the spelling of the name *Mémékwési(wak)*. *Mémékwési* is the singular form and *Mémékwésiwak* is the plural form. The suffix (*wak*) indicates that they are grammatically animate. In contemporary Anishinaabemowin their name is spelled *Memegwesi(wag)* so I have retained this spelling when I am quoting Anishinaabe speakers.

miscommunication, and failure to value the stories and wisdom of elders within families and communities. I especially want to emphasize what Cree people told me and what Brightman confirms in his book, *Grateful Prey*, that the older spiritual beliefs were not "devil worship," and they were not "ignorant superstition." (Brightman 2002 (1973): xii). At the time of Treaty making, a Methodist minister, Egerton Ryerson Young³, who lived in Norway House from 1868 to 1873, wrote about the Cree and his work reveals the way that Cree ecological and philosophical understandings were dismissed and ceremonial practices demonized (Young 1890, 1893). Brightman, on the other hand, saw the positive aspects of their religious beliefs that helped them live well. This paper accepts Brightman's perspective and his reliance on Cree narratives. Brightman says he believes that there is "value in this religion and that such rules of the Cree people as generosity and respect for nature were taught in it. I learned about men and women who used their dreams and powers to help each other through illness, to kill animals to feed their families, and to express their gratitude for the gifts of life" (Brightman 2002 (1973): xii). More recently Neal McLeod voices a Cree perspective that I find very compelling. In his book, *Cree Narrative Memory from Treaties to Contemporary Times*, he writes, "The connection people have to the land is housed in language. Through stories and words, we hold the echo of generational experience and the engagement with land and territory" (McLeod 2007:6).

We are sophisticated people. We are not without a history and we are not primitive. This paper will follow the arguments of Brightman (1990, 2002 (1973)), Hallowell

³ Egerton Ryerson Young was born in Crosby Township, Upper Canada. He was a teacher and author that later worked for the Methodist Church as a missionary from (1840-1909). He was sent by the Methodist Church to convert the Cree Indians in Northern Manitoba to Christianity. He wrote books about this experience and his Eurocentric ideation was obvious. His books included *Indian Life in the Great North-West (1900)*, *Stories from Indian Wigwams and Norther Camp-Fires (1893)*, *Three Boys in the Wild North Land (1896)*, and *Children of the Forest and Winter Adventures of Three Boys (1899)*. This is the Treaty Five area that I grew up in and where my ancestors lived; Egerton talks about my great, great, great grandfather *Tépasténam* in a very dehumanizing way.

(2010 (1960) and Bear Nicholas (2008) that the Cree people who signed treaties knew themselves to be technologically sophisticated and wise. We compared our lives with those of the *Mémékwésiwak* who were “chronologically more ancient and culturally less complex than contemporary humans” (Brightman 1990:108) but were laudable and with the visiting white people who were often rough, thoughtless and incompetent. We were also mindful of the consequences of losing the help of *Mémékwésiwak* who assisted materially in our lives, from controlling the weather to helping with hunting and teaching skills related to stone tools and herbal medicines. This paper will use Agnes Ross’s *Mémékwésiwak* stories and a third story about a battle between medicine men which was precipitated by the treaty negotiations attended by her great-grandfather *Tépasténam* who negotiated Treaty on behalf of Pimichikamak, as a vehicle for a broader Cree perspective on treaty signing, treaty implementation and Hydro development. I would like to thank Ken Paupanekis for assisting me with the transcriptions and with working out the meanings of old words. I have made use of the technical papers prepared for the Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Site bid by Maureen Matthews, Roger Roulette and Rand Valentine (2010) and Naamiwan’s Drum (Matthews 2016) to think about the meaning of animacy in Cree. I was inspired by the work of Julie Cruikshank especially *Lives Lived Like a Story* (1991) in which she emphasizes the historical and cultural value of women’s stories for providing context in political discussions. This paper will also use the arguments of James Waldrum (1988), Anne Lindsay (2012) and Colin Gillespie (2004) who have studied Pimichikamak from a historical, governance, and Treaty point of view. They have usefully detailed the impact of Hydro development on the community, work complemented by Thibault and Hoffman (2008) who provide a Quebec comparison. My arguments about Treaties have been informed by Peter Kulchyski (1994, 2007, 2013), Arthur Ray, Jim Miller and Frank Tough (2000), Renate Eigenbrod and Renee Hulan (2008) and Aimee Craft (2013). I am grateful to

Fred Shore for helping me understand Cree involvement in the Fur Trade and Emma LaRoque for her thoughtful writing about colonialism (2010) and for guiding me to the insights of Olive Dickason (1984), Franz Fanon (1963), Francis Jennings (1975), Albert Memmi (1957) and James Blaut (1993) which opened my eyes to the wisdom of my grandparents.

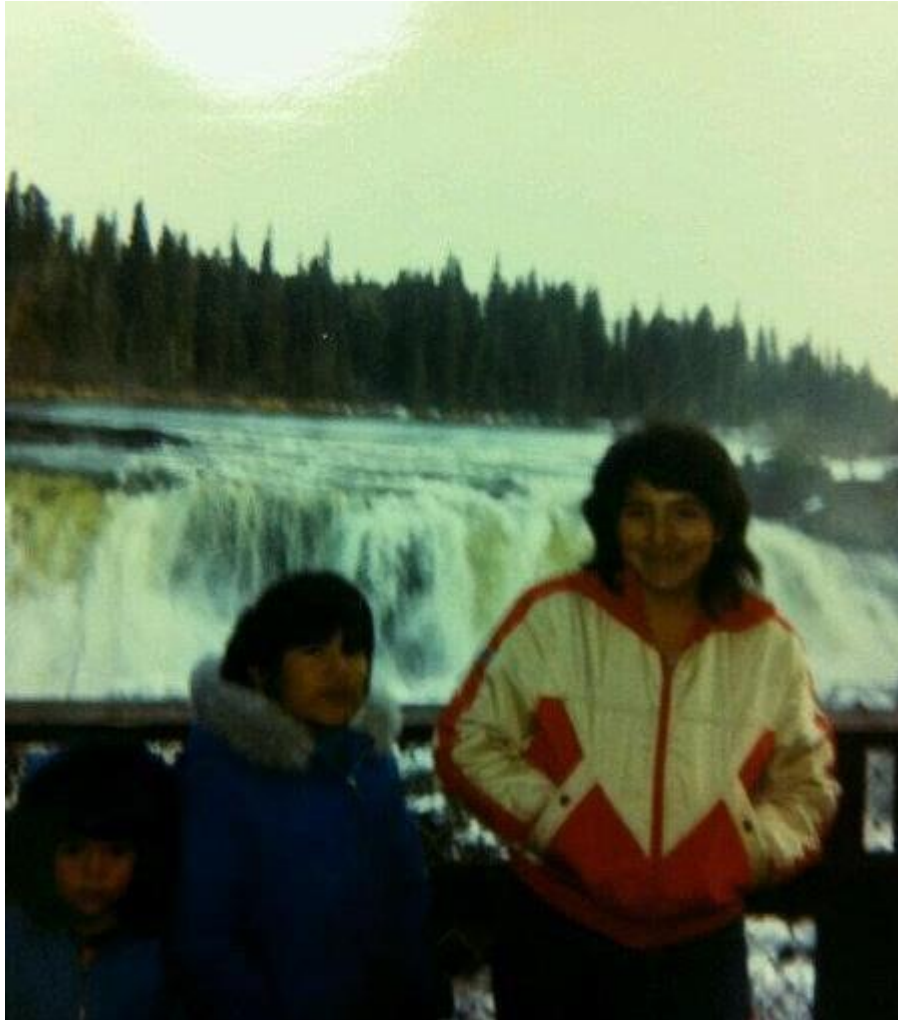


Figure 2. Pauline Ross Rots and my older sisters, Josie and Pam. Ross family photo.

CHAPTER TWO: PIMICIKAMAK OKIMAWIN

Pimicikamak Okimawin is an Indigenous Cree-speaking community whose traditional territory lies in the boreal forest north of Lake Winnipeg. The Cree term Pimicakamak (Pehmeh-chick-kah-mak) translates to "river flowing across," hence the English name Cross Lake. Archaeological records show that Cree people have occupied the site since AD 1600, at least 400 years ago. Prior to this, the people likely lived further up the Churchill River (Gillespie 2004:14)⁴.



Figure 3: Pimichikamak, from community website.

The first time that the people of Cross Lake appear in Fur Trade records is on October 8, 1792, when David Thompson arrived at Sipiwesk Lake. Colin Gillespie, a lawyer who worked for the Pimichikamak First Nation, wrote that Thompson “built Sipiwesk House at a now

⁴In 2003, Teija Dedi, Wendy Hart-Ross and E. Leigh Syms in *Inniew (Cree) Material Culture and Heritage at Sipiwesk Lake: Results of the 2003 Archaeological Survey*, estimated that Cross Lake was home to approximately 6,000 people (Dedi et al 2003:13) The population in 2018 is now closer to 8,000 .

unidentified site,¹⁸⁰ over-wintered, and left after break-up¹⁸¹ in the spring of 1793.¹⁸² In his map¹⁸³ dated 1794-1795,¹⁸⁵ Thompson showed nothing of the Nelson River between the East Channel north of Playgreen Lake and the northern part¹⁸⁵ of Sipiwesk Lake. Interestingly, he does not show Sipiwesk House on this map, though it was certainly within the part of Sipiwesk Lake depicted¹⁸⁶” (Gillespie 2004:28-29).⁴

Gillespie says that there was another attempt to establish trading at Cross Lake shortly after Thompson’s visit. In the spring of 1795 to 1796, the Hudson’s Bay Company placed a trading post called “Apsley House” at Cross Lake. “It was not a success,” writes Gillespie. “The Cross Lake Post Journal¹⁹³ records only occasional visits¹⁹⁴ in the fall of 1795 by local Indian “canows” to trade meat or furs, most often for “brandy”.¹⁹⁵ The Post History is annotated ‘Cree name: *PEMICHKAMOW* – “flowing across”’ by the archivist.¹⁹⁶ The post was unsuccessful¹⁹⁷ and was abandoned the following spring¹⁹⁶” (Gillespie 2004:29).



Figure 4: Map from the Cross Lake web site

⁵ Please see Appendix B for Giles pie footnotes

Peter Fidler was next to take note of Pimichikamak. Like all fur traders at this time Fidler would have been traveling with Cree guides and traveling companions who may have known the people at Sipiwisk Lake.

In 1809, Peter Fidler²⁰³ traveled down the Nelson river, and sketchmapped²⁰⁴ shorelines along his route through Pimichikamak territory from “Play Green” via the west channel²⁰⁵ through Cross Lake and Sipiwesk Lake²⁰⁶ to Split Lake and Hudson’s Bay.²⁰⁷ This was a transient presence in Pimichikamak territory. He entered Cross Lake on June 12, 1809. On June 13 he passed through Duck Lake and stopped at “Laughton Leith’s House”.²⁰⁸ He left Sipiwesk Lake for Split Lake on June 14. Fidler’s detailed sketch maps were not reflected in maps published in the next few years.²⁰⁹ Two undated regional maps both show Cross Lake and Sipiwesk Lake as a single lake (designated “Cross Lake”)²¹⁰ possibly following a “Map of the North-West Territory of the Province of Canada from actual Survey during the years 1792 to 1812” by no less a cartographer than David Thompson that shows Cross Lake and Sipiwesk Lake as a single lake with the southern part labeled “Cross Lake”.²¹¹ We found no documentary record of European presence²¹² in Pimichikamak after 1812 until 1849 when a transient post was established at Cross Lake.²¹³ A more continuous presence began in 1868, initially as a summer outpost (Gillespie 2004: 30-31).



Figure 5: A section of David Thompson’s map showing Sipiwisk Lake – he writes it Seepaywisk – accessed at <http://www.gov.mb.ca>

In 1867, Canada had become a country, which had major consequences for First Nations in the west. In 1870, Canada purchased all the Hudson's Bay Company lands, and began to make treaties with First Nations groups who had been part of the Fur Trade (Ray 2009). In 1874 the people of Rossville and Norway House near Cross Lake asked for a Treaty. When the Treaty party, including Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris and translator, James McKay, arrived in 1875 at the Rossville mission, the people of Cross Lake came down to join the negotiations. Morris arrived at Norway House, and when he asked the band to elect a chief, as Lindsay points out, he found himself "dealing with not one band, but two...*Tépasténam* and the Pimichikamak people had decided to negotiate a treaty with Morris on their own behalf." *Tépasténam* was the leader of what Morris called the "pagan" Indians. Gillespie explains who *Tépasténam* was and why his presence was significant:

In summer, Pimichikamak families each had their traditional locations, mostly on the shores of Sipiwesk Lake.²⁹⁷ Each had a *kisayman*.²⁹⁸ *Té-pas-ténam*²⁹⁹ was one such, and was the most respected of them. He was the best hunter, the most knowledgeable about many things, a medicine man, and a spiritual leader, seen as close to the creator.³⁰⁰ For these reasons he had temporal as well as spiritual authority.³⁰¹ For the past several years, many families gathered in the fall at Cross Lake for trading,³⁰² and the *kisaymanak*³⁰³ would meet in council.³⁰⁴ In the fall of 1875, *Té-pas-té-nam* came to Cross Lake early to choose a good place for his family to camp for the gathering. He met two Pimichikamak men, George Garrioch and Proud McKay, one of whom spoke some English and both of whom knew somewhat of the white man's ways and had been given white man's names.³⁰⁵ They had come from Norway House and brought news that white men were coming to Norway House with whom his people could establish a relationship. *Té-pas-té-nam* went to Norway House by canoe with them and some members of his family.³⁰⁶ Upon arrival at the Treaty meeting, those present naturally looked to him as spokesperson. He was the only person who could speak for the whole Pimichikamak people.

Oral history thus tells that, under the Pimichikamak traditional system of governance, *Té-pas-té-nam* had undoubted authority to enter into the Treaty on behalf of the nation.³¹² It is unquestioned³¹³ that *Té-pas-té-nam* bound the entire Pimichikamak people (including even those who were neither at Norway House nor at Cross Lake³¹⁴ and so could not have been consulted).³¹⁵ That is, he spoke on behalf of Pimichikamak because of his authority within Pimichikamak Okimawin.

However, his authority did not arise from an election³¹⁶ at Norway House³¹⁷ or anywhere else; it arose from the customary authority of the kisaywin to arrange the affairs of the nation and, from his customary authority, as the most respected of the kisay-man-ak,³¹⁸ to speak for the kisaywin. (Gillespie 2004:43-44).

Tépasténam wanted to negotiate directly on behalf of Pimichikamak because he wanted much larger reserve that included Sipiwisk Lake. A map (below: from the Pimichikamak website accessed Aug.2018) shows the area *Tépasténam* thought should have become the reserve for Pimichikamak (also Agnes Ross pers.comm. 2018). Sipiwisk Lake and White Mud Falls were important to him because, among other more practical concerns about hunting and fishing grounds, they were home to the *Mémékwésiwak*, on whom he relied for some of his healing abilities. In the end, the people of Pimichikamak who asked for more land did not get as much as they asked for.



Figure 6: Map from Gillespie 2004 showing *Tépasténam*'s land claim.

After the Treaty, the people of Pimichikamak Okimawin went on with a life of hunting and trapping until more than 100 years later when the Manitoba Hydro Jenpeg Generating Station on the upper arm of the Nelson River was built. In Martin Thibault and Steven M. Hoffman's (2008) *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Quebec* (2008), the authors discuss how the Pimichikamak Ininiwak Nation, in Norway House, Manitoba, relinquished title to their land through Treaty Five in 1875. In agreeing to this treaty they believed they were creating a new political relationship with the Crown, based on sharing the land and a relationship of equality. *Tépasténam*, the original negotiator, believed that he was adopting the newcomers and that they would live together as we will see in Chapter Three. Little did the Ininiwak know that the written terms were to clear their Aboriginal sovereignty to the land. After the Indian Act (1876) was written natural resources were transferred to the Provincial Government in the Natural Resource Transfer Act (1930); which gave all power to decide on issues of trapping hunting and water management to the Provincial Government (Ibid.).

In 1966, the province of Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro created a hydroelectric dam called the Jenpeg project, on the Nelson River, upstream from the Pimichikamak Ininiwak Nation as part of a larger hydro project which included the diversion of the Churchill River into the Nelson and the creation of a reservoir at South Indian Lake. An environmental assessment predicted the project would become the "biggest man-made swamp in the world." (Waldrum 1988:120). . According to Waldrum, Manitoba Hydro outright ignored this environmental study for the CRD/LWR project, lead by H.E Duckworth, Academic Vice-President of the University (Waldrum, 1988:120). "Hydro favoured another report that was prepared by a "body under the

jurisdiction of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources,” which suggested, “Native people were in ‘transition’ from some kind of primitive past to a technological present.”

(Waldrum (1988):121).

Hydro’s competing assessment stressed the need for the local people to assume modern lives and so Hydro proceeded without meaningful consultation with the people whose lives would be affected (Thibault and Hoffman 2008:48). The unpredictable and unnatural water flows resulting from the dam is destroying Sipiwisk Lake, flooding and killing vegetation along the edge of the lake, causing soil erosion, turbidity, and making the ice unsafe in the winter.

The livelihood of the Ininiwak, as Eugenie Mercredi from Pimichikamak states, was significantly damaged by the changes on the lake: “We live in the middle of a poisoned well, here the waters that everyone in this province depends on are dirty and stinking and killing the fish, animals, birds, and our people” (Ibid:97). The devastation Jenpeg brought on the Pimichikamak people became publicly known, and this forced the government to negotiate a Modern Day Treaty called the *Northern Flood Agreement* (1977). This agreement was considered generous at the time; however, the Government has failed to implement it (Ibid:48). Ron Neizen (1999), in *Treaty Violations and the Hydro-Payment Rebellion of Cross Lake, Manitoba*, points out that the governments of Manitoba and Canada proposed a comprehensive implementation agreement (CIA) in 1985 and, in 1997, the government attempted for the last time to offer a CIA to Pimichikamak that assumes provincial ownership of waterways and gives up gives up rights to flooded land (Neizen: Para.8).

Instead, on Oct 30, 1998, the Pimichikamak Ininiwak independently passed a “First Written Law” that says that they will make their own decisions about the future and that these decisions will be guided by a four councils: Women’s, Youth, Executive, and Elder’s Councils. Today, the community celebrates this day of ratification annually and they camp at Sipiwisk lake

for a week. They call it family camp. (Ibid.). This demonstrates community resistance to Hydro and government and is a step toward our process of decolonization. The people of Pimichikamak are still worried about being caught up in what Peter Puxley in “The Colonial Experience” (1977) calls “charitable racism” which is what happens when an act of resistance which results in a “real degree of independence” is met by demands for an accommodation from those “on the other side of the *relationship*, that is, from those forces now exercising almost unlimited authority” over indigenous lives (1977:103). Of course, this is a problem in Northern Manitoba; Hydro continues to hold their idea of progress and expects the Ininiwak to agree. Some even question why the people of Pimichikamak are not thankful for the so-called “gifts” of civilization bestowed upon them.

As this chapter shows, the people of Pimichikamak were living in the area of Sispiwisk Lake before the earliest fur traders arrived and that they have a very strong oral history which records their interactions with Non-native people since then. They had a viable fur trade economy which was destroyed by the building of the Jenpeg Hydro Electric dam. In spite of being offered settlements, they have never given up their rights to the water or their treaty lands and continue to value their history and language.

CHAPTER THREE: AGNES ROSS AND HER FAMILY

To be an Aboriginal person, to identify with an indigenous heritage in these late colonial times, requires a life time of reflection, critique, persistence, and struggle.

Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (1992 in LaRocque 2010:3)

My grandmother, Agnes Marie Ross, was born in 1932 near Pimichikamak Okimawin and she still lives there. Her mother's name was Naomi and her father was Edward Thomas Ross. Her grandfather on her mother's side was Tinipáhčeská, also known as Thomas Ross, and her grandmother mother was Suzette Ross. Her grandfather on her father's side, Papamote Ogimaw was known as John A. Ross and his wife was Mary Ross.⁶ Agnes went to the Norway House residential school from when she was eight until she was 16. She only came home for a month in the summers and half a day at Christmas. My grandmother never wanted to get married. Her residential school experience left her determined to be able to look after herself and run her own life. She always told me that I should get my education so I could support myself. My grandpa was Lepi M. Ross. Agnes loves children and had ten children of her own: Frieda, Suzette, my mom Pauline, Mary, Christina, Weston, Stanley, Eugene, Martin, and Dion, five girls and five boys and she always had adoptive children in the family too. My father always said he never met a person who loved children more!

⁶ Appendix A provides a genealogy chart.



**Figure 8: Agnes Marie Ross with her great-grandchildren Giihzig and Rylie Bone. July 2017.
Photo Janice Bone.**

My mother, Pauline, remembers being raised by Naomi, her grandmother. She went to a day school in Pimichikamak from grade one to four. Even though she went up to grade four she never learnt how to read. She only remembers that the nuns would hit her with the ruler and call her stupid. So, my grandmother took her out of school because of the abuse happening. For this reason my mother never got an education. She married my father at the age of 18 and had four more children with him. My mother already had my sister Josie who was raised by my grandmother. My father could never understand what happened to my mother. My mother did not even know about the long term after affects of residential and day schools until the official apology by Stephen Harper (June 11, 2008). These were the traumas and residual effects of residential school sanctioned genocide⁷ that Indigenous people were and have been dealing with since the first residential school opened after the Indian Act in 1876.

⁷ Genocide is defined by Article 2 of the *Convention on the Crime and Punishment of Genocide* (U.N. 1948) as:

These schools took children away from their parents as early as three years old. According to Ing in an article entitled “Canada’s Indian Residential Schools and Their impacts on Mothers”, in the book, *Racism, Colonialism, and Indigeneity in Canada* to “[s]atisfy a goal of assimilation in Canadian Indian Policy where institutionalized racism was practiced in many forms...most children were punished if caught. Some had needles stuck through their tongues...There were allegations of murders committed in which young children were forced to watch, and other deaths are mentioned...Another way that children were forced into silent submission was through punishment when speaking the only language they knew.” (Ing in Cannon 2011:120-121). In my family people mostly didn’t talk about residential school. My mom always said she didn’t want to get angry at us and pass on the anger that was caused by residential schools and they used old stories like the Aayas legends to reinforce the value of children regardless of their status (cf. Bird 2005).

The only stories about residential school that I heard from my grandmother were about being forced to eat her own puke for a punishment, but she never worried about losing her language because families made sure that they became good speakers. She says they “kept their own ways” and Pimichikamak is well known for having a lot of good Cree speakers. Peter Kulchyski argues that the number of speakers in a community is a good indicator of social health and political vitality as is the respect shown to elders, the “holders of traditional knowledge, the

Any of the following acts committed with the intent of destroying, in whole or in part, a national, racial, religious or ethnic group, such as; (a) killing members of the group; (b) Causing seriously bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on members of the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d)Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e)Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The historical record of settler states shows that all these acts have been committed by the states or their agents against Indigenous peoples (see, for example, Russell 2005; Smith 2005; Comack 2012: 66-68; Savage 2012; Daschuk 2013). Justice Murray Sinclair, Chair of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, has called Canada’s residential school policy genocidal (Comack 2013:8; see also Woo 2011:21-22). (Green, 2014, pg 1-2).

story tellers who are listened to in community meetings and by community leaders” (Kulchyski in Tibault and Hoffman 2008: 29)

My grandmother would talk, she would tell us these stories and as a young person, I didn't understand what she was talking about. She would tell us to get out of the water when there was a thunderstorm and warn us about being mistaken for snakes by the Thunderbird. I just wondered what she meant at the time. When I went back to really talk to her, as an academic, she told me the Rolling Sturgeon Head story and I realized that her story was in books I was reading, specifically Robert Brightman's *Traditional Narratives of the Rock Cree Indians: Ācimowina and Ādizōhkīwina* (1981) but she could only tell it in Cree, that's how she remembered it. She said I can't tell you in English. The same story was in William Berens' book too and he finishes the story.

Then I read Julie Cruikshank's book *Life Lived Like a Story: Lives of Three Yukon Elders*” (1990) and saw that she values the stories of old women too. She said that “life history investigation provides a model for research” (1990:2). Cruikshank collected stories about the history of the gold rush, but the stories wander all around the subject. She would ask about the gold rush and they would tell her stories about their lives, never directly addressing the gold rush but gradually explaining the Dene way of looking at the world. The same thing happened to me when I asked her to tell me something about her grandpa's history and she started talking about the *Mémékwésiwak* instead. They are related obviously because, as I later learned, they helped him heal people as a medicine man. But I didn't know that at first. I just started to really listen. Native studies basically taught me a hidden history and helped me value my grandmother's stories and provide a cultural context for them. I have learned a lot about my family history through my research and education about Indigenous history. Without that, I was hearing my

grandmother but her stories were amazing and impossible to understand. They gave me an awareness of a bigger universe. I heard her but it made me feel alone. I didn't know it was part of a cultural understanding of the world or that these stories were so important. During my schooling, history came from books not family. We even resented learning Cree syllabics although now I see why it was important and I am grateful that I can speak and write. There was no ceremony and no practice to connect to and nobody else to answer my questions. So until I started reading about Cree culture and saw the connections I couldn't see the value in my grandmother's stories, the language, the ceremonies and I never felt I could have a connection. Now I know that my grandparents were Mide people, and I have begun to use it to guide my life.

Native studies also introduced the whole idea of Colonialism. In courses with Fred Shore and Emma LaRoque, I learned about how colonialism works and realized that this is what distanced me from my own history. I learned that the doctrine of the colonizer requires creation of a negative image of the colonized in order to blame the colonial victim for his position of inferiority/poverty. As Memmi states, "the favoured image becomes a myth precisely because it suits him well and is economically fruitful" (1957: 80). For instance, the colonized are viewed as lazy, and that's the reason for their poverty, not colonization. Memmi argues that the colonizer exonerates himself at the same time; "Nothing could better justify the colonizer's privileged position than his industry, and nothing could better justify the colonized's destitution than his indolence" (Ibid:79). Peter Kulchyski in an article "Better deal, better life for northern bands" (2014) captures this colonial attitude toward Pimichikamak when he wrote an article in the Winnipeg Free Press. He says that the public thinks "these people don't deserve nothing, they are always complaining, they're lazy! What did they ever contribute, but banging on the drum

(Ibid.). Rob Brightman who was doing his fieldwork when opposition was building to these dams, says that the Cree understood the environmental consequences of the proposal. He argues that the Cree ideas “that these developments could have negative consequences-and that their White architects could be hopelessly ignorant and irresponsible-were borne out by the construction of the Island Falls dam in the 1930s and by Manitoba Hydro's original proposal in the early 1970s for the flooding of South Indian and Granville Lakes (Goulet 1987)” (1990:110) He goes on to talk about Cree prophecies from the 1800s which come true. “One Cree man paraphrased his grandfather's recitation to him of a revelatory dream that anticipated the industrial innovations of the Whites:

'From the west I see this water. Water problems. This is exactly the problem we have now today. You're going to have trouble with that water. That water is not going to supply you all your life. There's white men over there that plugged up water. They're fooling around with that water. They're ruining the land to the north. I look to the north, they're over there again. They're ahead of you. They're digging holes in the ground and they're taking money from the ground [mining] ... And then they have a snake passing-crawling through your land. Right by your reserve there. There's some kind of a snake' [railroad]. 'And to the east, same as to the west. All kinds of land that's going to be ruined. They have mines over there too. They have dams'. I guess that's what he meant about the river. They have water passages that are not made by Kicimanitow. Now it's Manitoba Hydroelectric. And he looks that way and he says, 'Oh, it doesn't look too good'. Then he faces the south, he looks this way. 'Oh, from the south', he says, 'there's lots of White people coming. And they'll bring a lot of things that are good. Both good and bad for the people of the north' (Brightman 1989: 178).

This is the kind of knowledge that would have been dismissed by a colonial system as mythology. The idea that Indigenous people had a sense of history is undermined by colonial attitudes. “Consciousness of discrete events and their temporal succession is subordinated to the subjective experience of continuity and reproduction, human actions being figured as the reiteration or replication of timeless customs themselves understood as the enactments of primordial mythological templates. Unique events, the relative sequence of such events,

directional social change, and the constructive effects of human activity are thus supposed... to be absent from the historical consciousness of traditional societies. Brightman 1990:108-9)

Before studying at the University, I might have dismissed this story that the *Mémékwésiwak* were predicting the future as myth too rather than understanding that it is colonial relationships which are mythical. As Memmi states, “to endorse the myth and then adapt to it, is to be acted upon by it. That myth is furthermore supported by a very solid organization; a government and a judicial system fed and renewed by the colonizer’s historic, economic and cultural needs” (1957:91).

So thanks to Native studies and my grandmother’s persistence, I now know that *Tépasténam*, the man who negotiated Treaty No. 5 for our people was my great-great-greatgrandfather. His name means “radiates light (an allusion to the sun)”. Anne Lindsay has written a biography of *Tépasténam* and I thank her for providing me with many of the details of his life. *Tépasténam* was born about 1805 and lived until 1881. Anne Lindsay has found that *Tépasténam* is first mentioned in the Hudson’s Bay Company records in the 1838 census of people trading with various inland posts related to York Factory. She says he is described as “a single adult hunter in the Nelson House trading area” and suggests that it was about this time that he began “his lifelong relationship with his wife, Mary” (Lindsay:224). My grandmother, Agnes, remembers Mary, *Tépasténam*’s wife, as her rescuer once when she was stuck in the mud and, although Agnes was taken to residential school at a young age, she does remember her grandmother’s funeral when everyone was crying.

Tépasténam is most famous for his involvement in the Treaty No. 5 negotiations on behalf of Pimichikamak. This treaty is almost always discussed as a land transfer but it is clear from Colin Gillespie’s account, cited earlier, that *Tépasténam* thought he was making an offer to welcome newcomers to *share* the land. The account paints a picture of *Tépasténam* as a very confident and intelligent person:

He [Tépasténam] was told that, in order to participate in the treaty meeting, he should be baptized³⁰⁸ with a new name³⁰⁹ and he did so. At the treaty meeting he made his mark on the document.³⁰⁹ Upon returning to Cross Lake, Té-pas-ténam showed a suit of clothes and said “the white man told me I am now a chief.” He told the council he had agreed on their behalf to adopt those who were sent by the Queen into the Pimicikamak people and allow them to use Pimicikamak lands.³¹⁰ He said this was the will of the creator. He had said he would identify a place where the Pimicikamak people and the adopted settlers could live together at Cross Lake. The council and the people accepted this without demur,³¹¹ [a consensus that continued to this day] (Gillespie 2004:44-45).⁷

Years later, in 1930, when the American anthropologist, A. Irving Hallowell, came to the area, Tépasténam`s reputation was still widely known. “Tapastenum... was also a conjuror and one of the most famous Shamans of Lake Winnipeg” he wrote (Hallowell in Lindsay 2012:236). Even the Methodist Missionary Egerton Ryerson Young who came to Norway House in 1868 as an enthusiastic evangelist, although he clearly misunderstood Tépasténam,⁸ could not fail to notice how respected and powerful *Tépasténam* was. Early in their term at Norway House, Tépasténam and his wife paid a visit to Young and his wife Elizabeth, who worked at the Rossville mission from 1868 to 1873. Mrs. Young wrote about the visit.

An old wood Indian came into the mission one day, with his squaw & made himself perfectly at home with his exclamations of Ha, Ha, Ho, Ho, Mr. Young at once made it his business to entertain him by showing him through the mission house. We made a cup of tea for him & his wife and now there were more Ha, Ha, Ho, Ho's: He was most gorgeously gotten up, down the outsides of his leggings were a string of bells & in front of his breast, a round looking glass, and opposite in the back another. He was most picturesque, in his multitude of paraphernalia. Shouting out his “Ho, Ho;s” he came and shook hands with me. Then immediately after he loudly explained, “I hope you have brought plenty of tea and tobacco for me!”

⁸These footnotes are in Appendix B.

⁹I have chosen to spell Tapastanum because it more accurately reflects how his name is said in Cree.

Young eventually admitted that Tépasténam did seem to have some admirable powers. Lindsay quotes Young as saying that there were times when “[t]he medicine man of the tribe was sent for in great haste, a famous old conjuror by the name of *Tépasténam*. He had some knowledge of roots and herbs, but like the other conjurors of his nation, pretends to depend upon his incantations and conjuring to effect his cures”. (2012 Lindsay :227)

Young’s dramatic account of a healing ceremony is an unfortunate example of how Indigenous people were dehumanized in the historical records but it is clear that the people in the community believed in his powers. Tépasténam was asked to heal a boy. At that time, a medicine man would have been asked to intervene only if normal herbal healing had been ineffective and the child was the subject of an attack by another medicine man.

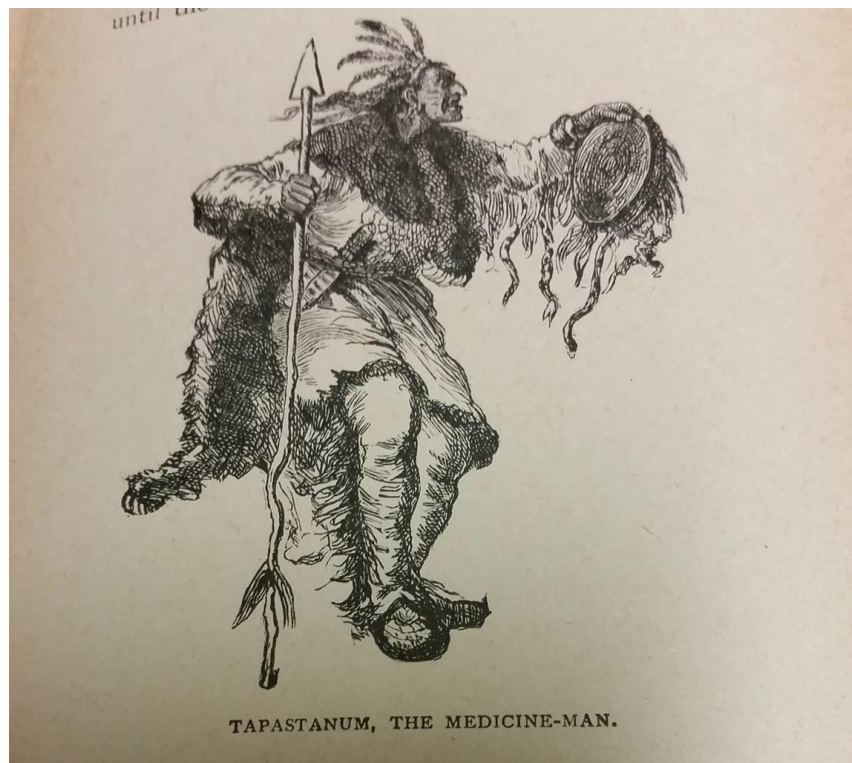


Figure 9: Tépasténam dancing in Young 1885:108

Young writes;

[T]apastanum, the noted medicine-man,...use his boasted skill and magic to drive away the Meeche Munedo, or Evil Spirit... *Tépasténam* was selfish and so he refused to move until his demanded quantity of tea and tobacco was laid at his feet. Then he arose, and arraying himself in all the hideous garb of his craft, he took up his medicine-bag and sacred drum...still all his actions, which seemed more demonical than human. To the watchful eye of the father there was no improvement in the condition of his son...When the old medicine-man, now utterly exhausted with his frantic efforts, retired for a smoke..." (Young 1885:107-109)

This illustration, while likely intended to make *Tépasténam* seem demonic, can also be read as an indication of his prestige and the importance of his role as a healer. Young did not understand what he was seeing but the boy eventually recovered. What he describes is a typical intervention of a powerful medicine man whose drum and rattles were his ritual assistants in a joint effort to heal the child. The description matches the reference to a healing ceremony conducted by the Anishinaabe medicine man, Naamiwan, (Matthews 2016:42). In similar circumstances Naamiwan's grandson was treated for a condition which was very serious. "His grandfather must have concluded that these illnesses were caused by some malicious intervention because it was rare that such drastic measures were necessary to accomplish a cure (cf. Hallowell 1963)." Young appears to have been unaware of this important Cree practice and mocked it. Again in *Three Boys in the Wild North Land* (Young 1896), he writes about *Tépasténam* and medicine men like him in very negative terms, saying that their impact in the community "was harmful and that they were a curse and a malediction to the people. Their presence in an Indian village is a source of terror and fear. They never hunt or fish themselves as long as they can frighten other people into being blackmailed by them...Some firmly believe that they are in a league with the devil, and by direct assistance are able to perform all the wonderful things of which they boast" (Young 1896:128). Young obviously misunderstood the context of gifts of

food which would have been given in gratitude for healing or intervening in an attack by another medicine man.

Lindsay cites what she calls, “Young’s most intriguing description of Tapastanam” which appears in Young’s book, *Stories from Indians Wigwams and Northern Camp-Fires* (Young 1893 cited in Lindsay 2012: 231). In this passage, Young tells his readers:

One of the best-known medicine men of my acquaintance was a Cree or Kunista. Of him this happened while I was living at Norway House: One summer when the Hudson Bay council was sitting at Norway House the private secretary of the governor, a Mr. H., was very anxious to hear about his arrival of the “proofs” of a book he had written and which was being published in London, England, so, without letting anyone into the secret, he induced old Tapastanam to conjure and find out what he wanted and where it was. Tapastanam was an ignorant, unintellectual person, and destitute, when sober, of those fierce traits which are generally suppose to be part of the make-up of the dreaded conjurer (Ibid.).

Lindsay says, “This dismissive description, and Young’s categorization of the local nonChristian beliefs as “Superstition,” would seem to suggest that Young had little respect for Tépasténam or his world view. Yet Young went on to tell the reader that:

After beating his drum incessantly for hours, and working himself into a kind of frenzy... he said that he had found out that there had arrived on such a day from across the great sea, and was now in Fort Garry, a parcel the size of which he accurately described. Several weeks after, when Mr. H. returned to the Red River Settlement, he found that his parcel of “proofs” which he had been anxious about had arrived on the day mentioned by the conjuror, and was exactly the size described by him (ibid.).

Tépasténam seems to have been a fairly frequent visitor at the Young’s home but the description of him in his “striking” clothing and his continuing “conjuring” practice are indications that he did not become a wholehearted Christian convert. His clothing contrasted sharply with accepted Victorian fashion of the day, as Lindsay points out, and indicates that he was still actively practicing Cree culture and traditions. Lindsay argues that this further evidence

that he did not accept Christianity at the time of Treaty making but only got baptized as a way to symbolize his willingness to form a Treaty relationship. “These documentary accounts of Tépasténam’s entry into a relationship first with the Methodist Church and then with the Crown,’ she writes, “bear consideration...The timing of the baptism just shortly before treaty negotiations suggests Tépasténam’s decision may have had more to do with negotiating a complex relationship with non-Aboriginal people” (Lindsay 2012:234).

Tépasténam, Lindsay argues, was not an English speaker. He changed his clothing to show respect for the English beliefs and culture and to honour the possibility of the relationship. The memory of this kind of ceremonial clothing and these stories about conjuring practice are almost completely hidden and denied in Pimichikamak Okimawin now because of the shaming that happened with residential schools and Christian evangelization. But the fact that Tépasténam was still wearing mirrors to deflect negative powers and bells that have ceremonial significance shows that he was indeed a powerful person and not entirely persuaded by missionaries (Lindsay 2012, pg. 227).

After Rev. Young left Norway House and after Treaty was negotiated, another CMS missionary, Rev. Abraham Cowley, visited Tépasténam and witnessed a dog feast ceremony. In a lengthy letter written in 1848, and cited by Cath Oberholtzer in an article on Dog Feasts (2002) he describes “the spring and summer ceremonies of the Cree in the vicinity of the Fairford Station¹⁰ in Rupert’s Land (in what is now Manitoba) as being the primary impediment in his efforts to Christianize them” and then he goes on to describe the “Mitta”, Tépasténam, and his ceremony including the size of the tent, “45 to 60 feet [14-18 m] in length and 12 to 18 feet

¹⁰ Fairford is between Lake St. Martin and Lake Manitoba. This location supports the idea that Tapastanum was widely known on Lake Winnipeg and also widely travelled.

[3.7-5.5 m] in width”, in which the ceremony took place. The tent was: made of stakes fixed in the ground and transverse pieces supporting smaller branches covered with grass, leaning from the ground inward and entirely open at the top and always stretching from east to west. There is a doorway at each end which is usually closed by a large skin during the performances. (Cowley in Oberhotzer 2002:6)

Oberhotzer goes on to summarize Cowley’s description of the ceremony:

In the middle was a transverse pole reaching nearly from end to end of the tent on which were suspended the inanimate sacrifices so that they might be exposed to the rays of the sun. In front of the stakes supporting this pole were “crudely carved and painted idols and a large stone” (Cowley 1848). The animate sacrifice was, of course, a dog, killed with a blow to its head, and laid in front of the stake. After drumming, singing, and dancing, the person who was to be subjected to the effects of the Medicine bag sat or kneeled, as a number of the young men stood prepared with their medicine bags, ready to “shoot” the initiate. Based on Cowley’s notes, once the pretended discharge had taken place, the recipient pretended to be wounded, and then experienced a miraculous recovery. The goods “sacrificed” to the sun were then distributed by the newly “mittaed” person. Following this, the dog was thrown over the western tent door to the women who then prepared it for the feast. . (Cowley in Oberhotzer 2002:6).

The letter was accompanied by a sketch of the ceremony drawn by a Cree person and



Figure 10: Drawing by Cree artist in Oberhotzer 2002:6.

annotated by Arabella Cowley who sent it to the Church Missionary Society in 1879. The sketch shows Tépasténam conducting the ceremony and identifies the ceremony as a “Wapannoowin”

Medicine Dance. The numbered details are described in notes:

1. Women preparing for the dog feast;
2. Persons being mittaed dancing before the old men;
3. Old men singing to the dancers;
4. Skins used by Medicine men.

Oberholtzer says that a note on the back of the sketch “illustrates “a custom held by that noted conjuror *Tépasténam* and his brother *Kasheastenin*”, which was performed “every spring and fall” and remarks that it provides good evidence of a connection between dog ceremonies and Midewiwin practice (Oberholtzer 2002:7). Although Cowley and his wife were dismissive and annoyed that Tépasténam was countering their missionary efforts, their description tells another story; my ancestors were active medicine people, who were trusted for their healing power and carried on the ceremonies long after missionaries claimed they had been baptized.

Tépasténam, also known by this time as Donald William Sinclair Ross, and his wife Mary, had several children. Anne Lindsay found a baptismal record at the Rossville Mission in Norway House from 1867 which mentions two of their daughters, Eliza Ross Oig and Mary Papanakis. The missionary at the time, Charles Stingfellow, identified Tépasténam, their father, as “the Indian Chief still heathen” (2012, Lindsay: 225). Later the Methodist missionary John Ruttan claimed to have converted Tépasténam whom he described as “A noted conjuror for many years, who long resisted the teachings of the Christianity” and who was finally baptized on 11 July 1875 (2012 Lindsay: 227). As I have mentioned earlier, Lindsay suggests that these baptisms may have been more diplomatic than heartfelt but Ruttan also baptised Mary later that year. Lindsay says that the Church records the event as follows: “On Oct 1875, “Mary Ross,”

“Wife of Donald William Sinclair Ross,” aged 65, was baptized at the Rossville mission by John Ruttan, and on the same day Ruttan married Mary and Donald William Sinclair Ross in a Methodist service at the parsonage.” (Lindsay 2012: 235) At the time of his death in 1881, Tépasténam was listed as a member of the Cross Lake Methodist congregation. In the same 1881 register, he was listed as “chief”. (Lindsay 2012: 236)

David Qeskinnipurskunn (Quishkineepineshkinum] or Ross, the father-in-law of Tépasténam’s daughter, succeeded Tépasténam as chief at Cross Lake in 1882 and as Lindsay points out, Tépasténam’s family “continued to demonstrate their leadership influence into the twentieth century.” (2012 Lindsay: 236)

Among Tépasténam’s children was another famous medicine man, Papámohtë Ogimaw, or “Walking Boss” whose relationship with memegwesiwag was central to his role as a ceremonialist and healer. He was first mentioned by the American Anthropologist, A. Irving Hallowell. In his first year of fieldwork in Canada, Hallowell went to Norway House, Cross Lake and also up to Island Lake. Although he later settled on the upper Berens River for his fieldwork, one of his most famous and important adventures happened on this trip thanks to Papámohtë Ogimaw. In a monograph entitled *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society* (1942), Hallowell wrote about the first “conjuring performance” (a shaking tent ceremony) he ever saw which took place at Cross Lake, Manitoba, in 1930. “The conjurer was a Cree, a picturesque oldtimer by the name of *Papámohtë Ogimaw* (walking boss), said to be ninety years of age.” It is in a footnote to this article that Hallowell refers to Papámohtë Ogimaw’s father Tépasténam “radiates light (an allusion to the sun),” who was “one of the most famous shaman of the Lake Winnipeg region” (Hallowell 1942 cited in Anne Lindsay 2012: 236). Hallowell was clearly impressed by Papámohtë Ogimaw:

The conjurer said that I would arrive at my destination safely, but that I would have a little trouble on the water. (On the way back the canoe was flooded in lining a rapid and I almost lost my notes, photographs and some of my belongings.) I also inquired about the health of members of my family. The answer to this was that they were well. When I inquired what certain individuals were doing at the moment, there was no answer. The old man likewise predicted that I would be successful in my work during the next few years, more so, he said, than in the past. He added that I would know what he had said to be true because on my journey back to Norway House I would run across a certain animal – not, he said, a duck (which were plentiful at that season). On our return journey we did have a novel experience. As we approached a point extending out into the lake, far from any camp or settlement, we sighted a dog. The Indians with me speculated how it could have got there. When we rounded the point we found some Indians encamped who had been wind bound for two and a half days; the dog belonged to them.” (Hallowell 1942:237) (Lindsay, 2012: 237)

Years later Hallowell’s students recalled him telling them about this experience. George Stocking, who later became a well known historian of anthropology, was a PhD student of Hallowell’s at the University of Pennsylvania in the late 1950s.

I do recall Hallowell's account of the Midewiwin; something about being in a tent and things are going on outside and the tent is shaking, or something like that. And it was evident to me at the time that it was not quite clear whether Hallowell believed that what the Ojibwa [and Cree] thought was going on was actually going on or not.

It's clear to me that anthropologists have experiences which they can't quite fit into a framework of Western rationalism, and that they really have these experiences. Basically, I think anthropologists have had to suspend their disbelief in order to cope with these things, because, after all, you're relating to people who believe that there's a being out there who's shaking the tent.

I sort of had the feeling about Hallowell that he wasn't quite sure - maybe there *was* someone out there shaking the tent. (Matthews 1993: 4)

Papámohhtë Ogimaw was the grandfather of my grandmother, Agnes Ross. Her father was Edward Thomas Ross who appears as John’s son in the 1921 census. Mary, John’s wife, is my grandmother’s grandmother. The oral history I was given reflects this long family history. My

grandmother Agnes taught me a lot about who I was as an Indigenous person. Mary, John's wife, is my grandmother's grandmother. The oral history I was given reflects this long family history.

My grandmother Agnes taught me a lot about who I was as an Indigenous person.

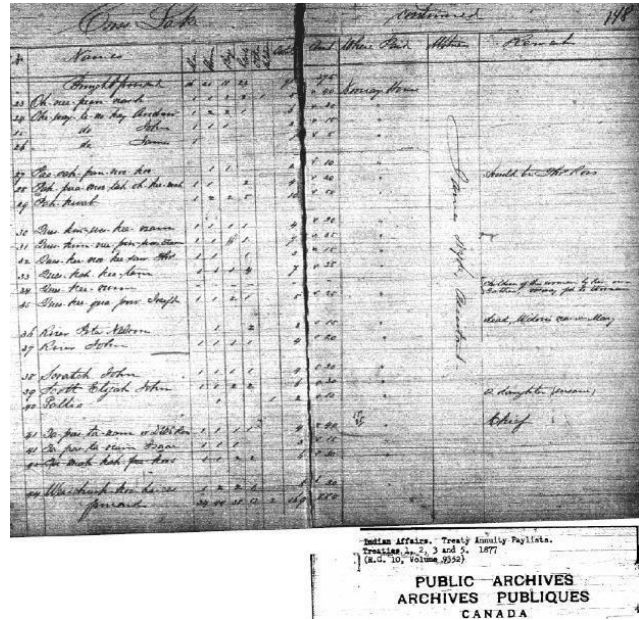
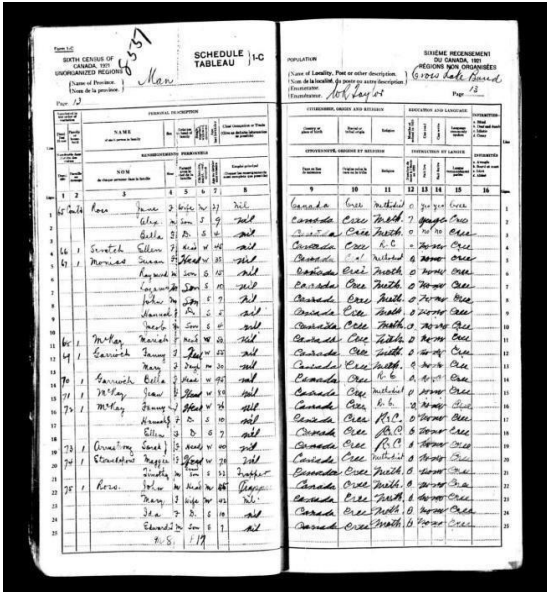


Figure 11 and 12: John A. Ross in 1921 Census and by his Cree name, Papámohté Ojigimaw in the 1877 Census from the Public Archives of Canada.

I remember when we first moved back home she encouraged us to eat wild food, traditional foods like moose meat, fish. I remember the fried pickerel eggs and liver, too. My grandmother kept us for a year until my mother got her own house. In the time I lived with my grandmother she told my mother to warn us about the little people, the *Mémékwésiwak*, because we liked to play outside late at night in the winter, sliding on the hills. “They’ll come and take you. They are kind and they like kids. They’ll come and take you because they think no one is looking after you properly,” she said. So after that we used to slide with our flashlights.

Papámohté Ojigimaw's son was my great grandfather and he too was a healer and ceremonial leader. As you will see in my grandmother's stories in Chapter Five, his healing

practice was based on his relationship with the *Mémékwésiwak*, who gave him the medicine he needed each year to help those in the community who were sick. So the next chapter will introduce the *Mémékwésiwak*.

CHAPTER FOUR: *Mémékwésiwak*

Percy Berens: What do you call them, in English?

MS: We don't know. There is no English word. There is no English word, Uncle. I call them little men but there is no English word for them, Uncle.

PB: No!

MS: No, there is no English word.

It is a fact that there is no common English name for the *Mémékwésiwak*, even though these charming dwarf rock dwellers are among the most common of all characters in Cree stories and play a role in everyday Cree explanations of hunting and healing success. This chapter will introduce the *Mémékwésiwak* and tell us something about the miscommunication which took place in Treaty negotiations and why some early traders and missionaries so completely misapprehended Cree people and their understanding of how the world works. The *Mémékwésiwak* are sometimes called the little rock people because they live in steep cliffs that border the rivers near First Nations communities in the Boreal forest. They are almost always somewhere nearby and in every community in the north; if you ask, people will point out the island or cliff where they are said to live. At Pimichikimak they live at White Mud Falls and people in the community still hear them and leave offerings of tobacco there. I initially thought of it as a local belief and didn't listen too carefully when my grandmother spoke about them but I listen more carefully now because I realize that it is not just the people of Pimichikimak who believe in these little rock people but that it is an idea shared by Indigenous people from the Rocky Mountains to Labrador.

On the Berens River in North Eastern Manitoba they have this belief as well. Percy Berens explained his idea about the Memegwesiwag ¹¹to Maureen Matthews in a radio documentary.

A human being. It's a human being that Memegwesi.
The old people talk about these Memegwesiwak.
They talk about it.
Memegwesi. Memegwesiwak.
Certain old people, they seen them, eh?
I heard them with my own ears and I was hearing them singing and I stopped paddling my canoe.
I believe. I believe all that. (Percy Berens in Matthews 2007:35)

Percy Berens explained in the documentary that the Memegwesiwag taught the Anishinaabeg how to shape arrow heads and pipe stems from stone. If you find unusually shaped arrowheads in the bush (which an archaeologist might attribute to some vanished protoculture), they are evidence, in Ojibwe eyes, of Memegwesiwag hunters who make and use their own style of arrow and spear heads. Memegwesiwag favour ancient weaponry like bows and arrows and are admired for surviving in an old-fashioned way. Their expertise with stone is such that they make little canoes out of stone. They paddle them about on the lakes and rivers and are occasionally seen in the evening near the tall cliffs where they live. They apparently carve the cliffs to enhance their beauty and on the upper Berens River, the ochre drawings on cliffs are attributed to Memegwesiwag artistry. Percy Berens explains that the relationship is one based on understanding who they are and what they can offer humanity:

“You have to fully believe on [in] them
and then they'll help you, whatever
help you need.
Maybe they'll give you that medicine.
Because they're so kind-hearted.
I'll say that.
I'll use that word.

¹¹ This is the Anishinaabemowin spelling which I will use for Percy's story and Anishinaabe references.

They're so kind hearted. ...
Yeah that's the word.
Gizhewaadiziwag aapiji [They're very kind/gracious]
Gigidimaagenimigoog, yeah.
They have a sympathy for you, eh" (Matthews, Roulette and Valentine 2010:28-29).

Percy knew he had been given an important gift when he heard the Memegwesiwag singing.

"One thing, I'll say this,
I heard 'em, with my own ears and my partner sitting on the centre of the boat didn't hear
a thing and I was hearing them singing and I stopped paddling my canoe.
They sing in Indian. Indian language, eh.
Aaniin Manidoo, wijiwishin ninando-andawenjige.
'God come with me, I'm going out hunting.' See
that's how they sing. Memegwesi, I seen that!
It's only me, I don't know why.
I guess that's why I heard them in early life.
I guess it's because I'm going to live a long life" (Matthews, Roulette and Valentine
2010:28-29).

Percy heard the Memegwesiwag sing three times. His brother Gordon Berens remembered one
winter evening when he and Percy were on their trap-line together and Percy came home late.

"I had tea already, supper already, supper waiting for him. So he come in. I look
at him and oh, did he ever look pale.
'Oh,' I said, 'what happened?'
'Oh,' I says, 'you look so darn pale. Are you sick?'
'No,' he says, 'No I'm not sick.'
'What happened?'
'Well, boy,' he says. 'I'll just tell you.'
'Boy, I hear them, what you call Memegwesiwak. I heard the Memegwesiwak singing,'
he says.
'On the last high rock on the lake here,' he says,
'I was thirsty,' he says,
'and I went to the little island there,' he says.
'I went to this place where there was open water. I bent down to have a drink and,
boy, I could hear that drum,' he says,
'in the water, like an echo. So I had a drink and I kind of sat and boy,' he says,
'well they start to sing. Beat the drum,' he says,
'and start to sing. Oh, I stay there,' he says, 'I sat there and listened.'
Well you know the next thing he had to do. He had to put tobacco where he heard them
singing. That's a present like, you know, so he had to go there.

He says, 'Boy, I put that tobacco on the ledge of a rock. Walk away.' Next time he went, he checked if the tobacco was gone. The tobacco was gone and there was a blade like, you know, a [shoulder] blade of an animal. So he took that. It was right on top, where he had [put] the tobacco, so he pick it up and he brought it to our camp and he said to my Dad, he said, 'Look,' he said, 'this is what I found,' he said, 'where I put the tobacco on that rock.'

My Dad look at that shoulder blade. He couldn't figure out what kind of an animal it was. So he told Percy,

'This animal,' he says, 'is not from this place. Different place, this animal is from a different place.'

Well he [Percy] kept that thing and, you know, when he was trapping, nobody could beat him. He was always the head trapper. Nobody could beat him. Cause he used to carry this with him all the time. He used to carry this blade all the time and nobody could beat him. He was always the highest one. Yea, he was always the highest one" (Matthews, Roulette and Valentine 2010:28-29).

So these ideas about little people and their gifts are shared all over our province and are especially relevant to the history of Pimichikamak. Although I wondered how they were connected and why my grandmother would tell me these stories when she knew I was interested in Treaties and Hydro, I now see the connection. Without that relationship they wouldn't have had success in hunting, medicines and a good life, *mino-pimadiziwin*. As Julie Cruikshank would agree, my grandmother's stories "make meaningful connections and provide order and continuity in a rapidly changing world" (1998:xiii) .

CHAPTER FIVE: *Mémékwéswak* Stories - AGNES ROSS

I am now going to present what my grandmother told me. I recorded these stories in the spring of 2018 at my house in Winnipeg. I would like to thank Ken Paupanekis for helping me with the transcriptions, Maureen Matthews for helping with the recording, and Roger Roulette for linguistic advice on animacy. My grandmother, Agnes Ross, is not alone in telling these stories so after you read them, I will explain the importance of the *Mémékwéswak*, not just from a cultural point of view but from a political and Treaty point of view. Her words have had a very profound effect on my thinking about Treaties and the difficulties our community has experienced because of hydro development and the residential school effects that shame our beliefs.

March 31, 2018

Transcript: Janice Bone
April 15, 2018

<p>Nété wina anikik ká-ayácik, White Mud Falls é-áchimot, White Mud Falls, nété, ékoté wina anikik ayáwak, mémékwésiwak, White Mud Falls. Akwáni mána nimámá é-kí-itwét, éácimot nimámá. Ékoté máma mína é-kí-isi pósicik, é-iskwésíwit. Opápáwa isa Tinipácéskám kí-itimáwa, akwa Suzette (ómámáwa kí-itimáwa) Thomas Ross kí-itáw,</p>	<p>They [mémékwésiwak] live over there, at White Mud Falls, as she [her mother] relates, over there, that's where the mémékwésiwak are, White Mud Falls. My mother [Naomi Ross] used to talk about them. That's where they used to go by boat when she was a little girl. Her father, Tinipáhcéská, as he was known, and her mother was Suzette (as she</p>
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<p><i>nickname</i> máka wina Tinipáhcésikan kíitwéwak. Akwáni Suzette kí-itimáwa omámáwa. Akwáni mána níki-ispánán, itwéw, White Mud Falls, nété isa, pikwanihtaw isa ité é-kí-isi pósicik.</p>	<p>was called). His name was Thomas Ross, his name, Tinipáhcéská, was only a nickname, they say. And her mother's name was was Suzette. We used to go there on the water, just for a pleasure to ride on the water.</p>
<p>Akwáni níki-mámihcétópánán, páhpahkán nicímánisa, kí-itwéw.</p>	<p>We used to go in groups, each group in their own boat.</p>

<p>Óta mána kiséniw é-ki-pé-kapát, itwéw, (tánsi ká-kí-isinihkátát), páwistikohk anité, itwéw. Akwáni mána ocímán é-kí-séskopitáhk anita páwistikohk, itwéw. Akwáni é-píhtikwét nété páwistikohk, itwéw. Akwáni mána ayihíw awakwéniw é-tahkonahk itwéw, pahkékiniwacis, itwéw.</p>	<p>An old man used to go ashore there (got off the boat). I don't know what his name was, there, where the rapids (animate) are wildly churning. He used to park his boat by the shore near the rapids. He would go inside the rapids, she said. He would go inside the rapids, she said. He would take with him, a leather bag [moosehide medicine bag], she said.</p>
<p>Akwáni mána mína miskihkíwáhtikwa anihí <i>Indian Medicine</i> óté é-péyakot. Akwáni mána ékoté é-kí-píhtáhtawít. Akwáni mána, épápanit, itwéw. Akwáni anita é-kí-pihtikwét, itwéw.</p>	<p>When he went inside, those [little people] would give him medicine, <i>Indian Medicine</i>. He would climb inside. Then he would return, she said. He had gone inside [there is a house inside the rock behind the rapids], she said.</p>
<p>Akwáni mací é-kí-ati ácimát óho mémékwésiwak ana kiséniw. Óta (okitiwáhk) mací poko é-páhpóskosicik ékota oskísikisiwáwa.</p>	<p>This old man used to describe these mémékwésiwak. They had holes here [points to her nose (where?) and they just had holes and two eyes. [They had no nose].</p>

<p>Akwa éwako anihi maskosíwáhtikwa é-kimínikot. Ó kí-nihtá nitawihowéw ana kiséniw**, (<i>medicine</i>) anihi isa anikik mémékwésiwak é-ayát, é-kí-mínikot.</p>	<p>He was given medicine [a medicine plant] by the mémékwésiwak. He was a good healer that old man because he knew how to get his medicines, which were given to him by the mémékwésiwak.</p>
<p>Kí nihtá nitawihiwéw ana kiséniw.** Akwáni mána ékoté é-kí-natawé ispanáyáhk, itwéw, nimámá. Akwáni mána nipápá épakastawépinát cistémáwa, (<i>tobacco</i>) épakastawépinát. Akwáni mána é-nipáyáhk, itwéw. Akwáni mána nipéhtawéwak é-matawé askihkwécik itwéw, <i>at night</i>. Kéyápic ékosi ispaniw anima anohc óma pósici awiyak, kéyápic péhtawáwak anihi. Cistémáw máka poko ta-aniht.</p>	<p>Oh, he was a really good healer, that old man. We used to go over there by boat, said my mother. My father used to throw tobacco in the water. We would just go to sleep, she said. While we were sleeping, we would hear them drumming and singing, she said, <i>at night</i>. That still happens if someone were to go there by boat, they would hear them. But tobacco has to be placed there.</p>
<p>Ékoté awiyak, ispanici, kéyápic péhtawéwak. Móna wánaw óta ohci Cross Lake anima páwistik. “Tánika otáni!” ékosi poko é-kí- kí-</p>	<p>They are there, if one goes there, they will hear them still. It’s not far from here, Cross Lake, at that rapids. “I wonder!”, that was all</p>

<p>itwét nimámá. Ékoté ká-kí-píhtikwét ana nápéw. Tánsi máka wina é-isinihkásot. Kapé ékoté mací kí-píhtikwéw, wina poko. Mwác mína é-ohci-nistápáwét, akwáni ékoté kipíhtikwéw.</p>	<p>my mother said. That old man used to enter (in the rapids), what ever his name was. He always used to go in there. He was able to go safely. He never drowned either, entering them.</p>
<p>Akwáni mací kí-itwéw asiniy, <i>under</i> asiniy wihpáw, ékwa <i>door</i> ihtakwan, akwa nipiyanita é-pawistikiwahk, awka nété pihci anikik káayácik mémékwésiwak. <i>Inside</i> ékota ayáwak <i>in the rock</i>, mwác pihcipéw ana <i>rock</i>. Wáskáhikan isa tápiskóc, <i>a house</i> ékosi mací, kí-itwéw kiséniw. Ékota ókok ká-ayácik.</p>	<p>Apparently, he said, <i>under</i> the rock, it is hollow, and a <i>door</i> is there, and the water inside is just a rapids, and <i>inside</i> there is where the mémékwésiwak are. They are <i>inside the rock</i> but the water does not enter the (entire) rock. It is like <i>a house</i>, this old man said. That is where they are.</p>
<p>Címánisiniw mína mací é-kí-áyacik. Péyakwá kí-nakahwéwak mací kayás anihiniw, épápanicik mací apihci címánisa. Akwáni mací ispi kisiwák é-ati-ihácik akwáni mací épátapisícik. (Akwáni mací pámpaniwak). Akwáni poko ékoté é-ayácik. É-tapasícik épéwápamikocik anihiniwa, kwáyask isa ininiwak wínowáw. Ókok mwác awasimé énatáwé wápamácik, kwáyask ókok ininiwak. Pátimá mací é-pé-sipwépanicik, akwáni</p>	<p>Apparently they also have small stone boats. One time a long time ago, these old people came really close to them in a small boat. They apparently met them (the mémékwésiwak and humans). Apparently they (mémékwésiwak) were approaching, and I guess when you come close to them, when they are near, they (mémékwésiwak) want to get away. They spun their boat around quickly in order to escape from the people.</p>

<p>wístawáw ká-ati sipwépanicik.</p>	<p>Today they don't see them (mémékwésiwak) like they did before, like the old people did. They hardly see them. They'll come out only when we leave.</p>
<p>Akwáni mwác awasimé papámpaniwak, akwáni ékoté ayáwak. É-pé-ayácik né ani tawapamihcik ininiwak, kayás isa ininiwak winawaw, akwáni wínawáw.</p>	<p>They don't go about anymore. They just stay over at the Falls. They don't want people to see them, not like the way the old people used to see them.</p>
<p>Ékota mína iskwéw ká-ácimot péyak nápéw, ékota kayás iskwéw é-ki-wanihiht, páwistikohk é-kí-wanihiht. Akwáni óma é-kí-isi akwékahikániwahk, itwéw mací. Ékota nikiwápahtén mistita, itwéw mací. Misita, osita isa iskwéw.</p> <p>JB - Éwako anihi kí-pahkisin páwistikohk ana iskwéw?</p> <p>AR- É-kí-otinácik anikik mémékwésiwak.</p>	<p>There also a story told by a man about a woman, who had gone missing and was seen there (at the rapids). "There was a curtain/blanket covering the entrance", he said. There, I saw feet, her feet.</p> <p>Janice question - Maybe she collapsed there at the rapids?</p> <p>Agnes - Those mémékwésiwak took her.</p>
<p>Apwétikwé ásay kí-nipiw, é? Éká é-kí-pimátis ásay. É-kí-otinácik iskwéwa. Akwáni ékota kíkanawéniméwak, anité páwistikohk.</p>	<p>Maybe she was dead already, éh? She was not alive, regardless. They [mémékwésiwak] kept her at the rapids. .</p>

Mwác ohci mínéwak ayihíw poko, kí-nánátam	They did not just give it [medicine] to him
poko maskihkiya ana nápéw <i>every year. Every year</i> kí-nátam.	[medicine man referred to earlier]. He used to go and ask for it from them [mémékwésiwak] <i>every year. He went to them every year.</i>
Akwáni kí-nihtá nitawihiwéw mací, kí-nihtá nihtawihát awiya. É-kí nihtawihát awiya anihí. Kí nihtawihéw.	He was a good healer. He was good at healing people. He healed people. He healed people.

<p>Akwa mací mína péyak nápéw <i>T.B.</i> é-kí-ayát. <i>T.B</i> isa, é-kí-nihtawihát ana nápéw. Akwáni mací é-nanátonawát <i>flat stone</i>, mitoni <i>flat</i>. Ékota mací é-kí-pimisimát anihí nápéwa. Akwáni mací ayihíw, é-ayát <i>white cloth</i> isa ékí-astát, akwa ékota é-kí-pimisimát anihí nápéwa. Akwáni mací awa nápéw é-kí-ayát, kí-ostostotam étikwé. Akwáni mací káwaniskát. Akwáni animéniw <i>white cloth</i>, ékota mací mína ká-asték animéniw, <i>TB</i> ká-kí-ayát. Akwáni mací ana nápéw, wéwékinahk akwáni mací kí-mino-ayáw. Inikohk é-kí-nihtá nithahiwíwét mací ana. Páwistikohk ana ká-kínitawihíwét. Nimámá mána é-kí-ácimot.</p>	<p>Apparently, there was also a man who had T.B. The usual T.B. He healed him. He looked for a flat rock, very flat. He laid the man there. He had him lie down on that stone. That stone on which he placed a white cloth and he laid the man down there on the cloth. This man apparently coughed. Then he got up. On the cloth he found residue from the cough. That T.B. went on that cloth. The man wrapped it up [residue], and he recovered. That man was so good at healing people. He did the healing of people at the rapids there. That was what my mother used to tell me.</p>
<p>Anikik mémékwésiwak maskihkíwáhtikwa anihí ká-kí-mínácik, kita nitawihíwét. Akwáni</p>	<p>Those mémékwésiwak gave those medicines to the man for healing purposes. That man</p>
<p>ana nápéw é-kí-ayát anima sípíhk é-kí-natawé wápamát.</p>	<p>lived at the river from where he would go and see them [mémékwésiwak].</p>

White Mud Falls, where the first story took place, is north of Sagitawak. This second story took place near Natimik at what some people call the “Devil’s Stairs”. I will call them the “Mémékwésiwak Stairs”. That is where my great grandfather, Papámohté, John A.

Ross, known as Jonah, used to go to heal people. Although the site has been affected by flooding there are still visible pictographs and, according to my granny, there more are under the water. I feel sad that people call this place the Devil’s Staircase. It shows the Christian influence on our community and it prevents people from connecting with the stories of the *Mémékwésiwak* and from getting healed with the help of the *Mémékwésiwak*.

Agnes Ross Transcript No. 2
 Janice Bone April 2018

<p>Nimosóm wísta kí-nihtá nitawihiwéw. Awa isa ká-kí-ácimostákoyáhk. Kí-kaskihtáw énitawihát.</p> <p>Akwáni péyakwá ká-péhtawak, níkinatomikawin itwéw, é-kí-áhkosit nápéw itwéw.</p> <p>Nínatomikawin itwéw, máka niwí-kocihtán.</p> <p>Niwí-nihtawiháw, itwéw.</p>	<p>My grandfather was also a healer he could work with spirit, we were told. He was able to heal people. I once heard him say, “My help was requested”, he said, “where there was a sick man. I was called,” he said, “but I will try”, he said.</p>
<p>Mácikostán nosisimak, itwéw. <i>Classroom</i> óma towíhkán. Nipíniw é-kwápahahk. Akwáni anita é-kí-astát. Akwáni aspin ká-wanawít. Akwáni</p>	<p>Just see my grandchildren, he told us. It was like a classroom. He scooped some water. He placed it there. He went outside. He entered</p>
<p>anihi towíhkán <i>ashes</i>, ká-kahkitéwak <i>ashes</i>, éwakwéniw ká-pé-píhtikwéhtatát, é-apicácinik.</p> <p>Akwáni ká-itwét, nosisimak, óta óma nika pahkastawénén, nitikonán.</p>	<p>carrying some ashes, just the ordinary ashes, just small ones. Then he said, my grandchildren, I will put this [ashes] in the water.</p>

<p>Akwáni, kika wápahténáwáw, kika péwápahténáwáw itwéw. Kisáspin (ininís) ékota pimisin. Akwáni nika kaskihtán ká-wínihtawihak awa itwéw. Akwáni tápwé nísta nititohtán é-natawé kinawápahtamán anima nipiy. Ékota (ininís) ká-ásikicisihk. Nipíhk anima ká-káskáskaséwinis nípís ká-<i>drwawit</i>.</p>	<p>You will see, he said, you will see. You'll come and look at it, he said. If you see a little person lying there [formed by those ashes]. Then, I will be able to heal this person, he said. It is really true. I witnessed it. I went over to see the water. There, lying face down was a little man [ashes] in the water.</p>
<p>Akwáni é-mino-ayát ana iskwéw. Kí-natawé minahéw anihí iskwéwa, kí-natawé minahéw poko animéniw isa ká-kí-otinahk <i>ashes</i>, anita ká-kí-pakastawéhahk nipíhk. Akwáni óma kíispaniw. Inis-ininew taskootch. Akwáni animéniw <i>water</i>, éwakwéniw ká-kí-natawé minahát.</p>	<p>This woman got well. He had given a drink to this woman. He just gave her the drink which had the <i>ashes</i> that were in the water. The ones that he threw in the water. And this is what happened. That little person showed up in the ashes. He gave that water to her to drink.</p>
<p>Nimosóm awa John A Ross nipápá opápáwa, éwako ana ká-kí-nihtá nitawihiwét. Kí-nihtá nitawihiwéw. Éwako máka ana ká-kí-péwíhpémikoyáhk ká-itwéyán, ká-</p>	<p>My grandfather John A. Ross [Papámohté], my father's father, was also a healer. He was a good healer. He was the old man who used to come over and tell us stores. Her dad would</p>

<p>ácimostákoyáhk. Éwako ana kiséniw. Akwáni, é-kí-wápamak ana kiséniw, é-nitawihiwét.</p>	<p>give him tobacco and he would tell stories as I told you. That was the old man. I saw him doing the healing.</p>
<p>Akwa máka mína maskihkíwáhtikwa, é-nátahk, éwakwéniw ékosi kí-isi mína kaskihtáw. Kíkaskihtáw awiya é-nihtawihát.</p>	<p>He also used to go and get medicine, he was able to do that also. He was able to heal people. That woman got better.</p>
<p>Ékosi mána ká-initénihtmán, óma ékiskistotawak ésa mána, ó kanika nimosóm kípimátisit, kita kí-maskihkíwápohkét, éiténihámán. Ékosi mána niniténihtén. Tápiskóc mána é-ayáyán ayihiw, é-ayán isa ékota mána ká-kiskistotawak, kita kaskihtát kita nihtawihiwét.</p>	<p>I sometimes think when I remember him. I wish my grandfather was alive so he can make medicine, I usually think. That's what I usually think. It's just like, that's when I think about him, because he cured people.</p>
<p>Ékosi mána é-kí-péhtawak é-itwét, tahto kékwán ká-wápáhtamék óta askíhk, askíhk óta, ká-nitawikihk, maskihkíwan, é-kí-itwét mána.</p>	<p>I used to hear him say, when you see something growing here on earth, there will be medicine there, he used to say.</p>
<p>Akwáni wina anohc, <i>Hydro</i> é-pé-wanácihcikét. Móna kékwán nihtáwikin. Apwétikwé nántaw poko nihtáwikin, astéw maskosíhk wánaw. Máka wina óta Cross Lake, móna kékwán (istéw mácísiwin??)</p>	<p>But today, Hydro destroys the environment. Nothing is growing. Maybe it's growing just somewhere else, in the grass far away. But here in Cross Lake, there is nothing.</p>

<p>Paskwáw wina anima misiwé. Wáskáhikana mína astéwa. Namóna kékwán maskihkíwáhtik nihtáwikin. Kayás máka wina kwayas é-kínihtáwikihk maskihkíwáhtik, amwés isa ininiw ayácik óta.</p>	<p>The land is being cleared all over. There are houses all over. There are no medicinal plants growing anywhere. Long ago there were medicinal plants growing, before there were any people here.</p>
<p>Kí-macáyiwiwak kayás ininiwak. Kí-nihtá nitawihiwéwak. É-kí-kaskihtácik énihtawihocik. Akwa anohc mwác awiyak kékwán kaskihtáwak. Mámaskác.</p>	<p>People were intelligent long ago. They were able to cure themselves illness. But today, nobody is able to do anything. It's incredible!</p>
<p>Ékota isi poko ayáwak (mémékwésiwak). <i>They are still living there. Some of them are in the water.</i></p>	<p>They (mémékwésiwak) are still around. <i>They are still living there. Some of them are in the water.</i></p>

<p>Kéhcínác poko ékosi tótamwak, móna máka awiya wápamikwak, akamá wíhkác awiyak ékoté kápé ispanit. Ékoté isa mána pimácísowak. Akamá wíhkác kapé awiyak ékoté ispanit, áskaw poko. Tápwe wina étikwé poko nókosiwak ékota. Ékota anikik ayáwak káyápic. Ékota mána áskaw ácimowak mána cistémáw ékota é-isi-píhciwépinácik ékitocikécik .</p>	<p>They are probably still doing the same thing (mémékwésiwak), they are just not seen, because no one is ever there anymore. They are likely surviving there. No one goes there anymore, just the odd time. They likely still exist and appear and live there. They are still there. Some (people) say they occasionally throw tobacco there - in the falls- you'll hear them making music, singing with a drum.</p>
<p>Akwa mína é-pakastawépiníht cistémáw akwa óma nipíhk é-matwé kostáciwépanik. Poko wánaw awiyak kita nípawit, é-nimitáwépanik anima nipiy, é-pé-ispáhképanik anima nipiy. Épahkastawépiníht (“cistemáw” added), akwáni anima nipiy péhtákwan. Awénikik étikwé anikik ká-tótahkik mémékwésiwak?</p>	<p>When you throw tobacco into the water, the water will make a fearful sound. One has to stand quite a distance from the water, because the water swells up towards us when it [tobacco] is thrown in. It was the mémékwésiwak who do that.</p>
<p>Ékota anikik kapé ayáwak, kapé. White Mud falls anima icikátéw. Namóna wánaw Cross Lake. Kisiwák. Áskaw péhtamwak mána animéniw nété, é-anwástihk, é-mino-kísikák. Péhtamwak mána páwistikoniw, é-matwé péhtákwanik.</p>	<p>They are there, always. It is called White Mud Falls. It is not far from Cross Lake. It's close. Sometimes they [people in Cross Lake] hear it [the rapids] when it is a calm and a nice day. They usually hear the rapids roaring.</p>

<p>Ékosi mána nipéhtawáwak é-itwécik. Áskaw isa mána é-anwástihk, é-tipskákak. Akwáni péhtamwak animéniw páwistikoniw. Móna wánaw. Ká-sákitawák péhtamwak animéniw. Kostásinákwan itwéwak animéniw. Móhkác niwápahtén anima nína, máka kostásinákwan itwéwak. Sóhkánépaniw mací nipi.</p>	<p>Sometimes I hear them say that. Sometime when it is calm, at night, they hear that rapids. It is not far. They hear it at the narrows. It (animate) is apparently fierce looking. I never see it myself, but apparently it (animate) is fierce looking, they say. He/she apparently, is very swift.</p>
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Pápámohté Okimáw

Agnes Ross Transcript No. 3

Janice Bone April 2018

<p>Kí- ahtáwisiwak kayás ininiwak, kayási kiséniwak. Akwáni mána mína, kayás isa. Norway House poko kí-ispánániwan treaty.. Óta ohci ininiwak, akwáni <i>Norway House</i> kí-ispániwak. Ékoté treaty é-kíayácik, mwác wina óta. Ékoté kahkinaw kí -ispániwak treaty mací énatáwé ayácik. Norway House kayás <i>treaty</i>.</p>	<p>People a long time ago had powers, the old men back in the day. Anyways, a long time ago. They went to Norway House to have a treaty. They had treaty. They only had treaty in Norway House not in Cross Lake. Everybody went there. They went to talk for themselves at Norway House a long time ago there was <i>treaty</i> there.</p>
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<p>Máka wina ékoté kiséniw mací é- kínánipahát ininiwa, é-mámáménimát. Kífkostéwak mací ininiwak, kita nipahikocik isa. Akwáni poko cistémáwa é-kí-mámínácik mána. É-kí-nánipahát isa ininiwa, ká-pimáménimát. (talking) Éhé, <i>Norway House</i>. É-kí-macáyiwit isa, ékoté é-kí-ayát.</p>	<p>There was an old man in Norway House who used to kill people, he used to curse them, kill them with curses. A lot of other Cree people were scared of him because he would kill them. They would just give him tobacco to appease him because he used to be able to kill people through curses so people were very careful not to offend him in Norway House. He was bad, that man who lived over there.</p>
<p>Akwáni ókok ininiwak Cross Lake ékoté kí-ispaniwak. Treaty isa poko ékoté, é- kítipahikékaniwan. Akwáni mací íté káispanicik. Akwáni poko cistémáwa ta-</p>	<p>People from Cross Lake went over there. The treaty was being signed over there, They thought they were going to be offered money for settlers coming on their land. So they went over there. You</p>
<p>mínácik. Kéhcínác cistémáw tatahkonáyék, akwa ta-mínáyék cistémáwa!</p>	<p>had to give him tobacco, that medicine man. For sure, you had to give him tobacco!</p>
<p>Akwáni ókok ininiwak, káispanicik, akwáni poko cistémáwa étahkonácik, é- minácik anihí kiséniwa. Ékota é-apit ana kiséniw, tawáciyémiht, akwa é-mínihit tobacco. Inikohk é-kí-macáyiwit, ana kiséniw, é-kínihtá mánénimát isa awiya.</p>	<p>People who went over there had to take tobacco to that old man for sure. These people had to carry tobacco with them and give it to that old man. That man sat over there in Norway House, and then you had to shake his hand, and give him tobacco.</p> <p>That's how bad he was because he knew how to curse people.</p>

<p>Akwáni mací wísta pámohtéw okimáw, ni mosóm, pámohté okimáw itáw. Wístawáw ispaniwak.</p> <p>“Mahti wina nína. Ké-ohci mínak, kita tipahamowak.</p> <p>Nika wáciyéwáw máka móna nika tipahamowáw,” itwéw mací.</p>	<p>Okay now I was told that Pápámohté okimáw “walking boss or chief”, my grandfather, they went there too.</p> <p>“Just watch me. I am not going to pay him give him nothing.</p> <p>I will shake his hand but I am not going to pay him.” That’s what Pápámohté Okimáw said.</p>
<p>Akwáni mací mwác wína cistémáwa tahko néw. Wáciyéwéw mací, “Tanisi, wíci wiméyakicisk,” itéw mací. (laughs)</p> <p>“Háw tanisi niwí wimiyakicisk,” itéw mací.</p> <p>“Á tápwé kitisin,” itéw mací. Ásay kisímik .</p>	<p>I guess according to the story he didn’t carry any tobacco with him. Apparently he shook his hand and said “Hello, you very stinky arse”, he said. (laughs)</p> <p>“Hello, tansi, how are you, stinky arse”, he said it again apparently.</p> <p>He answered, “Is that what your really said to me?”</p>
<p></p>	<p>that’s what that old man in Norway House said. He [Papámohté] made him mad.</p>
<p>Akwáni ésa kí-mínéw, é-wípimánénimát isa.</p> <p>Nisikos awa mána é-kí-itácimot, Ida Hamilton isa, nimámá omisa, é-kíácimot óméniw.</p>	<p>He [Papámohté] said that that guy was going to try to curse him.</p> <p>It was her relative Ida Hamilton who told this story, because she went with them. [Ida is like Agnes’ mother because she as a relative, that relationship is like another mother.]</p>

<p>Akwáni tápwé, ni-pé-kíwépanán,”</p> <p>(repeats) “Asay nété káwápahtamán iskocésa,” itwéw mací. Miton i é-wasteki , “itwéw mací”. Akwáni isa éwako ana kiséniw, kámámánénihcikét. Óhi isa ká-kíítikot wiméyakiciskésis.</p>	<p>“After this we started traveling home.”</p> <p>“They saw strange lights outside their camp.” she said. That’s what she said. That old man was out there, the one who knew how to curse people, the one he called “stinky arse” was there.</p>
<p>Akwáni mací ana kiséniw.</p> <p>“Háw.... iténitamok”, nika natawé nipaháw awa, ká-pé-manenimikoyahk,” itwéw mací.</p> <p>“Akwáni aspin,” itwéw nisikos, Ida Hamilton.</p> <p>Awa Pápámohté Okimáw, ká-ati-sipwéhtét, wanawíw,” itwéw. “Ó móna</p>	<p>Apparently that old man was trying to come and kill them”, she said. “He thinks he is going to come and kill us with his curse.</p> <p>“He left, walking boss, he left. He went outside,” my older female relative, Ida Hamilton, said. Pápámohté Okimáw, he went outside. “Not long after,” she said, “he went out to face that man, she</p>
<p>kinowés,” itwéw, “ ká-amatwé péhtácohkét. Akwáni é- sakátomisik kitácik isa. Kétahtwén ká-amatwé kitocik tápiskóc é-amatwé péhtákosicik,” itéw.</p> <p>Akwáni mací ká-pétohtét.</p>	<p>said. “Oh, he didn’t take very long,” she said. She heard him coming back into the cabin. He had to face that man. They heard them outside. After a while they made a really big noise,” she said. After that sound ended he came back.</p>

<p>“Háw, ásay níki-nipaháw”. “Akwáni kí-nipahéw anihí, wiméyákiçiska.” Kíkaskihtáw énipahát. (laughs)</p>	<p>”I already killed him,” he said. He came back and said, “I killed that stinky arse.” He knew how to kill him.</p>
<p>Akwáni manimá ásay é-kínatawé nipahát ininiwa wiméyákiçisk isa é kí-pé-mánénimát animéniw iskocésiniw. ??? Opawákana ká-ana isa..... ????. Akwáni awa Pápámohté okimáw, kínatawé nipahéw anihí.....poko ?? wísta ?</p>	<p>I guess that guy from Norway House used to kill other people through his curses. Papámohté okimáw knew how to use his powers, his pawákanak to kill that guy. He turned around and killed him with that curse.</p>
<p>Akwáni étikwé nántaw ité kí-natawé mámitonénihtam, á? Opawáminowin isa, é-kí-ápacihtát. Kíkí-nipahéw <i>Norway House</i> ohci anihí kiséniwa. Kímáhtáwisiwak é-nitawihácik</p>	<p>And then, they said, he probably used his dreams and mind to do that [mámitonénihtam – means to think something into being]¹². His dreams and his powers. That is what he used to do, that man from Norway House. They lived powerfully, differently</p>
<p>Wiméyákiçiska anihí kí-nipáhéw. (laughs).</p>	<p>then. They knew how to use spiritual powers then and so he killed that “stinky arse”.</p>

¹²My mother would always say to me, “*Kwesk mámitonénitah*,” think positively about things. She was referring to the power of your mind. *Mámitonénichikan*, means that your mind is a tool for you to use in your life.

<p>Akwáni mistahi mána kíácimowak.</p> <p>Nisikosak isa, é-kípáhpéhtawácik mána é-ácimonit.</p>	<p>Apparently they talk lots about about him [Pápámohté Okimáw], that old man. My Auntie said this. They heard lots of stories about him [Pápámohté Okimáw].</p>
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CHAPTER SIX: *Mémékwésiwak* AND MEANINGS

Having established my research methodology and the relevance of my grandmother's stories and tied her history and that of her family to the archival and written record, we are now going to look at the relevance of her stories and the way that they "subvert official orthodoxies and...challenge conventional ways of thinking" (Cruikshank1998:xiii) . The stories my grandmother tells are told by others elsewhere but she uses them in conversation with me to help me understand the nature of the disruption caused by Hydro, to the Memegwesiwak who used to help heal the people of Pimichikamak and are now alienated and forgotten.

In the 1970s an American anthropologist named Robert Brightman came to northern Manitoba and spent five years in Granville Lake, a Cree community near Pimichikamak. He wrote about *Mémékwésiwak*, crosschecking their stories with historical writing from Western Canada throughout the fur trade period. He concluded that people across the north have a very similar idea of what *Mémékwésiwak* look like and that this understanding is "remarkably uniform among boreal forest, great lakes, and plains Algonquians from James Bay to the west" (Brightman 1990:123). He goes on to talk specifically about the Rock Cree, the same people as those of us who live in Pimichikamak:

Rock Crees say that the *mimikwisiwak*, or 'dwarves', possess the size and stature of a five-year-old child and are covered with hair, or possess long flowing head hair that hangs down over their bodies. They are described as lacking noses, a physical defect that Crees regard as repulsive. They inhabit subterranean dwellings within cliffs and bluffs along the shores of lakes and rivers. Dwarves are of male and female gender, produce young and dwell in colonies or extended family households. A Saulteaux, for example, dreamed of a *memengwesi* whose household including husband and wife, children and the husband's elderly parents (Hallowell

1955: 98, cf Morriseau 1965: 25-6 on the Nipigon Ojibwa). The dwarves are capable of speaking Cree although they possess their own language, unintelligible to most human beings..(Ibid.)

This description of the *Mémékwésiwak* is very close to what my grandmother told me.

She mentions the idea that they are not very good looking and they had no nose.

<p>Akwáni mací é-kí-ati ácimát óho mémékwésiwak ana kiséniw. Óta (okitiwáhk) mací poko é-páhpóskosicik ékota oskísikisiwáwa.</p>	<p>This old man used to describe these mémékwésiwak. They had holes here [points to her nose and they just had holes and two eyes, he said. [They had no nose].</p>
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In an article, “Primitivism in Cree Historical Consciousness” (1990), Brightman describes a kind of classic encounter with the little people who seem to be shy and may even consider themselves a bit ugly. He says that the stories told about them “suggest that the dwarves define themselves as inferior to humans since they experience shame and embarrassment. On the other hand, the dwarves may not define themselves as ugly or deficient and are perhaps only anxious to avoid confrontations with those from whom they are physically different and from whom their physical appearance will evoke ridicule or disgust” (Brightman 1990:123). In any case the usual the encounter starts with a bit of a debate among the little people as to who will converse with the Cree.

Apprehended by the Indians from whom they have been stealing fish, the dwarves flee but are momentarily overtaken or captured by their pursuers. At this point, they attempt to hide their faces, clearly ashamed to have human beings look upon them. One dwarf, who looks more nearly human than the others, is instructed to talk, or reveal himself, to the Indians. Thereafter, the dwarves complete their escape, disappearing into the cliffs (Brightman 1990:123).

This idea seems to be consistent across the north. In a radio documentary about

Memegwesiwag, Stan Cuthand, an elder from Saskatchewan, told a story about them which features the same idea and also introduces the idea that they were very clever with stone and taught the people how to make stone tools and arrowheads.

“My father said there was a man who went across the prairie, hunting, and he came over a rise and he caught *memegwesiwag* by surprise. They were sitting in a circle and they all had rocks in their hands and they were making things. I guess they must have been a stone-age people. A glimpse of the stone-age era that they tell in terms of *memegwesiwag*. I think that’s where it originates from. And the man said to them, “Are you all brothers?” They had their heads down because they had big noses and they’re all very shy. And one of them turned to the other one, “You answer him,” he said. “You’re the only one that looks a little better than the rest of us.” He was the only good looking one and they all laughed. And so the good looking one says, “Yes, we are brothers.” Stan concludes by saying, “That is all I remember about that story to prove that they are the ones that left these stone tools behind. So you connect those stories, you know. You quote the old stories that were told” (Matthews 2007:9)

Like my grandmother, Stan Cuthand thinks the Memegwesiwag have amazing canoes which they fashion out of stone. Stories often mention that the canoes don’t seem to have ribs or seams like a birchbark canoe. Brightman talks about “the ubiquitous small canoes of the dwarves” and says they “are said to be made of stone.” Another common part of the story, according to Brightman, is that they live next to lakes and rivers, sometimes under the water but always associated with water. “The subterranean occupancy of high cliffs adjacent to water bodies is a general trait, except among the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa where the dwarves occupy sand hills; even here, the dwellings are sometimes represented as close to water (Howard 1977: 119;Ahenakew n.d.; Dusenberry 19662: 161-2) (Brightman 1990:120) . This is a common part of the story along with the idea that, as Brightman says, although they are not considered physically beautiful they are associated with great natural beauty especially near the cliffs where they live. “[T]here is a sense that the *memegwesi* worked at it [the cliff] in some artisanal way, shaping places to sit and particular places to cook. This is on the outside although it’s believed

that they lived on the inside. There are descriptions of the dwelling inside the rock where they lived permanently as being extraordinarily beautiful” (Matthews 2007:11).

The American anthropologist Irving Hallowell, mentioned earlier, did fieldwork among Anishinaabe people on the Upper Berens River in Northeastern Manitoba in the 1930s and found similar stories. His friend and collaborator William Berens had visited the home of the memegwesiwag in a dream which he related to Hallowell. Again the story has similarities to the stories told at Pimichikamak. William Berens had been out hunting when he came upon a little family.

As I was going around hunting, carrying my gun with me, I came to a lake. On the lakeshore there was a steep rock, kind of round. I climbed on this rock to see if I could see anything across the lake—ducks or a moose. As I looked down towards the water's edge, I saw a man standing on a rock and leaning on [a] paddle. A women sitting on the stern end of the canoe with a tikinagan [*dikinaagan*, cradleboard] in front of her with a baby in it, a green mosquito netting over the baby's face. The man [held his] head down. I walked right up to him. Knew he was a stranger to me. He spoke to me-- "You are the first man to ever see me. I'm going to ask you to come to my place." And I got in his canoe. As I looked at it I saw no joints or ribs or anything—it was all of one piece (not of bark, could not understand what it was made of) (Berens 2009:93)

My grandmother’s story includes mention of these remarkable canoes. The idea behind the stone canoes is that the memegweiswag are experts at fashioning stone tools especially arrowheads and that they taught the Cree how to make stone tools. They are thought to be so clever with stone they can even make a canoe. My grandmother’s stories talk about their little boats *apihch cimánisa*, saying “*Címánisiniw*, referring not just to the fact that they are small but that they are amazing. My grandmother remarks specifically on how fast they can move in these boats to get away.

<p>Címánisiniw mína mací ékí-áyacik. Péyakwá kínakahwéwak mací kayás</p>	<p>Apparently they also have small stone boats. One time a long</p>
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<p>anihi ininiwak, é-pápanicik mací apihci címánisa. Akwáni mací ispi kisiwák éati-ihácik akwáni mací épátapisícik. (Akwáni mací pámpaniwak). Akwáni poko ékoté é-ayácik. É-tapasícik é-pé-wápamikocik anihi ininiwa, kwáyask isa ininiwak wínawáw.</p>	<p>time ago, these old people came really close to them in a small boat. They apparently met them (the mémékwésiwak and humans). Apparently they (mémékwésiwak) were approaching, and I guess when you come close to them, when they are near, they (mémékwésiwak) want to get away. They spun their boat around quickly in order to escape from the people.</p>
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Brightman would agree. “They venture abroad in small canoes, possessing the ability to disappear suddenly and to paddle their canoes through the faces of cliffs or through apertures that magically appear in them” (1990:120). Brightman would also agree, as Agnes is explaining, that they are usually trying to escape contact with humans.

The most salient behavioural trait of the dwarves is their aversiveness to human contact and their desire to avoid observation. At Granville Lake, Manitoba, the dwarves are said to inhabit caves on the shores of Manitou Island. Children are warned to avoid the area since the dwarves don't like people bothering them: 'They want to be left alone'. Many older persons avoid the area, fearing that the dwarves will punish the invasion of their privacy by abducting the trespasser. (Ibid:120)

However the places where they live are almost always close to regular camps and fishing sites. There is usually a nearby island or cliff face where they are said to live. At Granville Lake the place is called Manidoominis – Spirit Island (Brightman 000) . The two places near Pimichikamak are at the Memegwesiwak Stairs and at White Mud Falls. Agnes’ second story about about her grandfather Pápámohté okimáw healing people takes place at the Memegwesiwag Stairs.

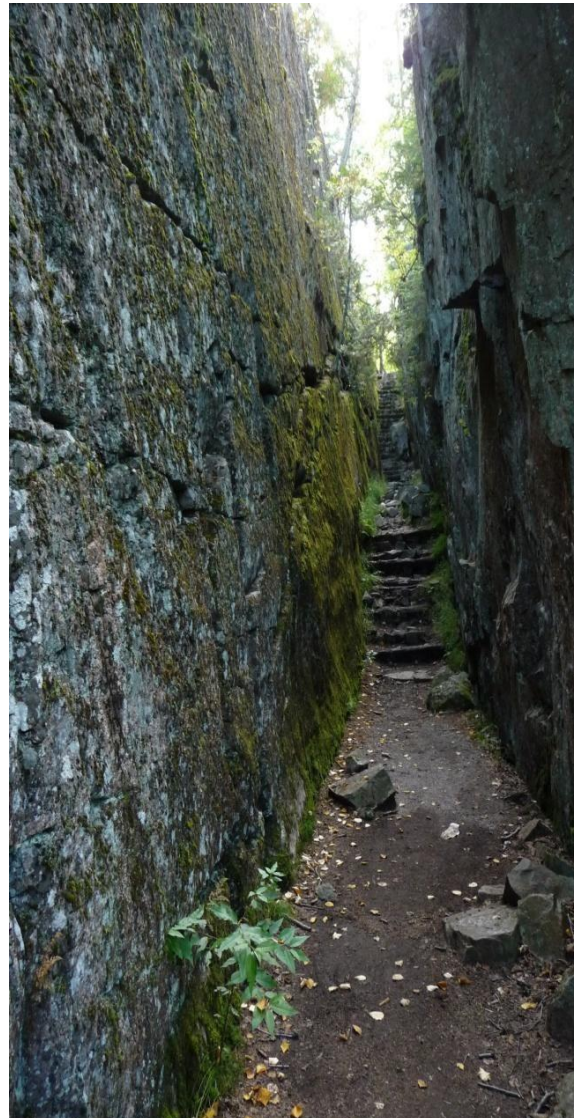


Figure 13-16: *Mémékwésiwak* Stairs at Sipiwick Lake (left) and (right) stairs at Agawa Rock in Lake Superior Provincial Park, the site of famous rock paintings including a boat and little people (below).



<p>Ékosi mána ká-initénihtmán, óma é-kiskistotawak ésa mána, ó kanika nimosóm kí-pimátisit, kita kímaskihkíwápohkét, é-iténihtmán. Ékosi mána niniténihtén. Tápiskóc mána é-ayáyán ayihiw, é-ayán isa ékota mána ká-kiskistotawak, kita kaskihtát kita nihtawihiwét.</p>	<p>I sometimes think this when I remember him. I wish my grandfather was alive so he can make medicine, I usually think. That's what I usually think. It's just like, that's when I think about him, because he cured people.</p>
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Agnes specifically mentions a form of healing practiced by Pápámohté, her grandfather when he went to the Memegwesiwak Stairs to get medicines to heal people. It involves creating an image of a person with ashes or some sort of fine dust that is then consumed by the sick person. Agnes describes the healing this way:

<p>Mácikostán nósisimak, itwéw. <i>Classroom</i> óma towíhkán. Nipíniw é-kwápahahk. Akwáni anita é-kíastát. Akwáni aspin ká-wanawít. Akwáni anihi towíhkán <i>ashes</i>, kákahkitéwak <i>ashes</i>, éwakwéniw kápé-píhtikwéhtatát, é-apicácinik. Akwáni ká-itwét, nósisimak, óta óma nika pahkastawénén, nitikonán.</p>	<p>Just see my grandchildren, he told us. It was like a classroom. He scooped some water. He placed it there. He went outside. He entered carrying some ashes, just the ordinary ashes, just small ones. The he said, my grandchildren, I will put this [ashes] in the water.</p>
<p>Akwáni, kika wápahténawáw, kika pé-wápahténawáw itwéw. Kisáspin (ininís) ékota pimisin. Akwáni nika kaskihtán ká-wí-nihtawihak awa itwéw. Akwáni tápwé nísta nititohtán é-natawé kinawápahtmán anima nipiy. Ékota (ininís) ká-ásikicisihk. Nipíhk anima ká-káskáskaséwinis nípís ká-<i>drwawit</i>.</p>	<p>You will see he said, you will see, you'll come and look at it, he said. If you see a little person lying there [formed by those ashes]. Then, I will be able to heal this person, he said. It is really true. I witnessed it. I went over to see the water. There, lying face down was a little man [ashes] in the water.</p>
<p>Akwa máka mína maskihkíwáhtikwa, é-nátahk, éwakwéniw ékosi kí-isi mína kaskihtáw. Kí-kaskihtáw awiya énihtawihát.</p>	<p>He also used to go and get medicine, he was able to do that also. He was able to heal people. That woman got</p>

	better.
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This story by my grandmother, who still remembers their knowledge of medicines, supports the historical record of Pápámohté Okimáw and Tépasténam as being medicine people (Hallowell 2010, Young 1893 in Lindsay 2012). In Agnes' second story, the healing takes place at White Mud Falls. This is a historic image of White Mud Falls. It is unchanged except that the water flows are unpredictable now.

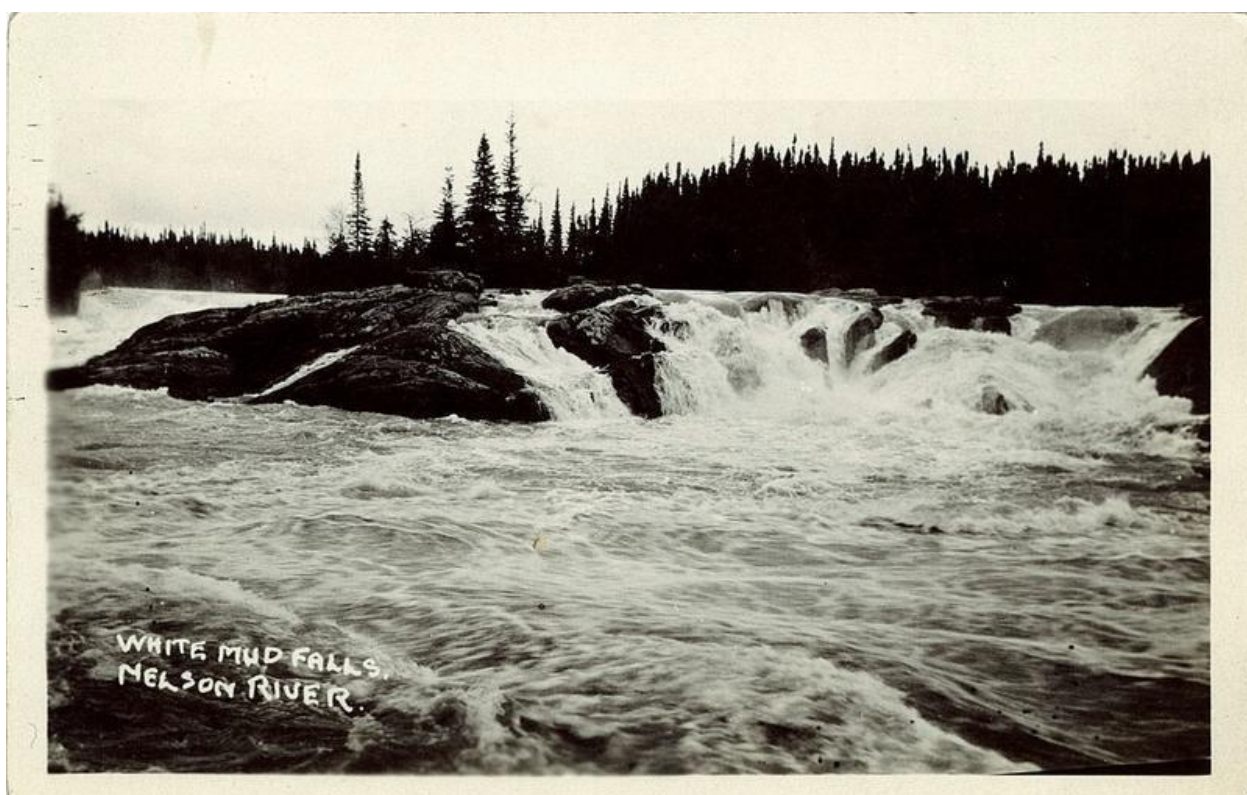


Figure 17: PC000730: "White Mud Falls, Nelson River" is licensed by University of Alberta Libraries under the Attribution - Non-Commercial - Creative Commons

My grandmother recalls the stories her mother Naomi Ross told her about when she was a little girl, going on boat trips to visit the White Mud Falls. She speaks about the *Mémékwésiwak* as living in a “house” under the rock and behind a door, where there is a hollow at the rapids. She says:

<p>Akwáni mací kí-itwéw asiniy, <i>under</i> asiniy wihpáw, ékwa <i>door</i> ihtakwan, akwa nipiy anita épawistikiwahk, awka nété píhci anikik ká-ayácik mémékwésiwak. <i>Inside</i> ékota ayáwak <i>in the rock</i>, mwác píhcipéw ana <i>rock</i>. Wáskáhikan isa tápiskóc, <i>a house</i> ékosi mací, kí-itwéw kiséniw. Ékota ókok ká-ayácik.</p>	<p>Apparently, he said, <i>under</i> the rock, it is hollow, and a <i>door</i> is there, and the water inside is just a rapids, and <i>inside</i> there is where the mémékwésiwak are. They are <i>inside the rock</i> but the water does not enter the (entire) rock. It is like <i>a house</i>, this old man said. That is where they are.</p>
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This is interesting because it describes how the homes of the *Mémékwésiwak* are open to some people and not to others.

<p>“Tánika otáni!” ékosi poko ékí-kí-itwét nimámá. Ékoté kákí-píhtikwét ana nápéw. Tánsi máka wina é-isinihkásot. Kapé ékoté mací kí-píhtikwéw, wina poko. Mwác mína é-ohcinistápawét, akwáni ékoté kipíhtikwéw.</p>	<p>“I wonder!” That was all my mother said. That old man used to enter (in the rapids), what ever his name was. He always used to go in there. He was able to go safely. He never drowned either, entering them.</p>
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He was risking something in approaching because she specifically said that he didn't drown, going into the rapids to access that house. Brightman found the same slight ambivalence toward the *Mémékwésiwak*. Brightman emphasises this point. “Unlike the ancients, the dwarves are reclusive rather than adversarial, and as the controllers of desired medicines and extraordinary *mamahtawisiwin*, or 'power', they command the respect of many Crees.”

(Brightman 1990:93)

“My Cree host at Granville Lake regarded the dwarves with mingled caution and fascination, a potentially valuable resource towards which, however, he had serious reservations. After discussing the dwarves with me, he remarked speculatively, 'Maybe I'll go camp overnight at the high rocks on Manitou Island. Not eat for awhile. Maybe those *mimikwisisk* will come up in my dream. Then I'll be able to do magic'. After reflecting for a moment, he added that the dwarves

resented human visitors and that he would have his boat ready in case a rapid departure became advisable” (Ibid:121) .

This offers a way of looking at Agnes’ story about the woman who drowned at the White Mud Rapids although it seems more likely from the way the story is told that, after she drwned, the *Mémékwésiwak* “took her” and placed the blanket over her respectfully so that she would be found. The healer Agnes mentions in her second story, who was certain of his relationship with the *Mémékwésiwak*, was not afraid to visit them each year to collect his medicines but “*Wéna pogo*,” only him, she said, only he was safe to do this. They are not supposed to be bothered. You can` t play with this stuff but if they are respected, they have important gifts to offer:

When left unmolested, the dwarves cause no harm to human beings. They are the source of botanical medicines whose identity they reveal in dreams and visionary states to select individuals. Reciprocally, the dwarves are enthusiastic recipients of sacrifices of tobacco, meat and manufactured goods which are burned or left on the rocks near their dwellings. (Brightman 1990:120)

Brightman goes on to say that the *Mémékwésiwak* are almost always “associated with botanical medicines, a connexion consistent with the identification of subterranean spheres with plants and their medicinally potent roots” (Ibid:121). This is the most important point for Agnes because in both stories miraculous healing takes place near where the Memegweiswak live and in one, it is the medicine given by the Memegwesiwak that produces a cure for Tuberculosis, long a scourge of First Nations People¹³. Agnes never named this healer, because it was her mother who told her the story.

¹³ Yvonne Boyer sites evidence that TB was endemic in North America before contact. This new idea is based on archaeological work studying the bones of pre-contact people and arguing that “[d]eformities in the bones of some very old skeletons (Huronian and Inca) suggest that they may have had tubercular lesions”. Boyer goes on to observe that at the time of contact when it was reintroduced, there was no useful immunity (Boyer 2014:58)

<p>Akwa éwako anihi maskosíwáhtikwa é-kimínikot. Ó kí-nihtá nitawihowéw ana kiséniw, anihi isa anikik mémékwésiwak é-ayát, é-kí-mínikot.</p>	<p>He was given medicine [a medicine plant] by the mémékwésiwak. He was a good healer that old man because he knew how to get his medicines, which were given to him by the mémékwésiwak.</p>
<p>Akwáni mána mína miskihkíwáhtikwa anihi <i>Indian Medicine</i> óté épéyakot. Akwáni mána ékoté é-kí-píhtáhtawít. Akwáni mána, é-pápanit, itwéw. Akwáni anita ékí-pihtikwét, itwéw.</p>	<p>When he went inside, those [little people] would give him medicine, <i>Indian Medicine</i>. He would climb inside. Then he would return, she said. He had gone inside [there is a house inside the rock behind the rapids], she said.</p>

The medicine this old man got was especially effective for people with Tuberculosis (TB), a disease which continues to be a problem in indigenous communities. Only children who grow up in the far north or on reserves have to be inoculated against TB.

<p>Akwa mací mína péyak nápéw <i>T.B.</i> é-kí-ayát. <i>T.B.</i> isa, é-kínihtawihát ana nápéw. Akwáni mací é-nanátonawát <i>flat stone</i>, mitoni <i>flat</i>. Ékota mací é-kípimisimát anihi nápéwa. Akwáni mací ayihíw, é-ayát <i>white cloth</i> isa é-kí-astát, akwa ékota é-kípimisimát anihi nápéwa. Akwáni mací awa nápéw é-kí-ayát, kíostototam étikwé. Akwáni mací ká-waniskát. Akwáni animéniw <i>white cloth</i>, ékota mací mína káasték animéniw, <i>TB</i> ká-kí-ayát. Akwáni mací ana nápéw, wéwékinahk akwáni mací kímino-ayáw. Inikohk é-kí-nihtá nithahiwíwét mací ana. Páwistikohk ana ká-kínihtawihíwét. Nimámá mána é-kíácimot.</p>	<p>Apparently, there was also a man who had T.B. The usual T.B. He healed him. He looked for a flat rock, very flat. He laid the man there. He had him lie down on that stone. That stone on which he placed a white cloth and he laid the man down there on the cloth. This man apparently coughed. Then he got up. On the cloth he found residue from the cough. That T.B. went on that cloth. The man wrapped it up [residue], and he recovered. That man was so good at healing people. He did the healing of people at the rapids there. That was what my mother used to tell me.</p>
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In Willam Berens story, he was introduced to the place where he might have gone to receive a similar gift of medicinal skill and herbal knowledge. In his account the steep rock simply open up when the *Mémékwésiwak* approach but it gives an idea of what the healer Agnes is talking about might have experienced:

There was a high, steep rock on the northwest side of the lake, and [the man] headed for this. Just one stroke of the paddle in the water made such a speed that we were across. Then he threw the paddle on a flat shelf of rock below (steep part); [I] saw the rock moving. About three feet thick but lifted right up-- [he] took his canoe in.

[We] entered a room. Before I sat down, the man said, "See, this is my father and my mother." The old man's head just like a rabbit skin, all white, same with woman. I could not see a black hair on their heads. [He] told me to sit down and I began to wonder. The articles I could see in the room—knives, pans, guns, clothing they were wearing—and I never saw this man in any store to buy those things. It comes to my head to ask him, "where did you buy this clothing, etc., when you never saw a white man? He answered, "Did you know or ever hear of people [speaking] about pagitcigewin [bagijigan? Sacrifice.] These articles were given to us. This is how we got such things."

Then he took me in the other room; "Now look at all these things laying here." All kinds of meat—moose, deer, 18 ducks. I was thinking, this man must be a good hunter to kill all these things (not sacrifice). [I] came back to the other room. (Berens and Bown 2009:92-93)

Hallowell, in commenting on William Berens visit to the *Mémékwésiwak*, notes that he declined the offered gift. He also explains that William Berens felt the offer was always open to him and furthermore that the opportunity existed at a place he could travel to at any time.

Although it was a dream it happened at a real place. Hallowell remarks:

“In this dream the geographical details are extremely precise. W. B. [William Berens] said that some time later, when awake and out hunting, he recognized the exact spot he had visited in his dream. He could go back any time in the future and obtain the special kind of medicine for which the *memengwécīwak* [Memegwesiwag] are famous. The fact that W. B. said he could act this way in the future with reference to a dream experience of the past indicates clearly enough

that in the Ojibwa world there is a unified spatiotemporal frame of reference for all self-related experience .44

In the full text of this dream Berens continued to describe his visit, marveling at the guns and traps these little people had acquired.

“Of course, I did not know that I was dreaming. Everything was the same as I had seen it with my eyes open. When I was ready to go I got up and shook hands with the man.

He said, “Anytime that you wish to see me, this is the place where you will find me.”

He did not offer to open the door for me so I knew that I had to try and do this myself. I threw all the power of my mind into opening it and the rock lifted up.

Then I woke up and knew that it was a dream. It was one of the first I ever had”

(Hallowell 2009:93-94)

Berens ends his account by wondering why he had never heard of these people before. “I wondered, strange thing that no Indian had ever seen this man before—even when sitting there, thinking of my father who never told me anything about this. I never even knew this was a dream to me. Just as if I had seen it with my open eyes” (Berens and Brown 2009:93). He realizes he has been dreaming and that they were offering him gifts. This idea that the memegwisiwak can help you is important because it is in dreams that powers and talents are given to those who are open to the gift. My grandmother used to say, “*Kaawiichiigun pawaganak*, Your ancestors will help you in your dreams”.

This is another important part of the stories about *Mémékwésiwak*. The places they occupy are near Cree communities. They often have names like Spirit Island or in the case of the Cree at Granville Lake, Manidoominis. At Pimichikimak, the place where they live is White Mud Falls and they also live at the Devil’s Stairs.

This idea that the Cree lands are occupied by beings for which there is no English word is extremely important from a land/water rights and Treaty perspective. The side of the negotiations which took place in Cree would have included this idea that there are

Mémékwésiwak residents of the lands under discussion but it is unlikely to have been translated for Governor Morris in a way that he would have understood their importance. Nevertheless, the Cree would not have offered the White Mud Rapids area in the negotiations as it was so clearly occupied by the *Mémékwésiwak*. They would never had approved the idea that the Memegwesiwak Stairs would be flooded if they had been asked before the Hydro Dam was built.

As my grandmother says:

<p>Nété wina anikik ká-ayácik, White Mud Falls é-áchimot, White Mud Falls, nété, ékoté wina anikik ayáwak, mémékwésiwak, <i>White Mud Falls</i>. Akwáni mána nimámá é-kí-itwét, é-ácimot nimámá. Ékoté máma mína é-kí-isi pósicik, é-iskwésíwit.</p>	<p>They (<i>mémékwésiwak</i>) live over there, at White Mud Falls, as she (her mother) relates, over there, that's where they are, <i>White Mud Falls</i>. My mother [Naomi Ross] used to talk about them. That's where they used to go by boat when she was a little girl.</p>
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It also matters that the discussion is happening in Cree because in Cree the

Mémékwésiwak have a extraordinary connection with the water. Percy Berens said he could hear them singing under the water. It would be tempting to think about the water as animate too and at first it looked like that was what Agnes was saying to me, that the water was doing things and being ferociously dangerous:

<p>Ékota anikik kapé ayáwak, kapé. White Mud falls anima icikátéw. Namóna wánaw Cross Lake. Kisiwák. Áskaw péhtamwak mána animéniw nété, é-anwástihk, émino-kísikák. Péhtamwak mána páwistikoniw, é-matwé péhtákwaniw.</p>	<p>They are there, always. It is called White Mud Falls. It is not far from Cross Lake. It's close. Sometimes they [people in Cross Lake] hear it [the rapids] when it is a calm and a nice day. They usually hear the rapids roaring.</p>
<p>Ékosi mána nipéhtawáwak éitwécik. Áskaw isa mána éanwástihk, é-tipskákak. Akwáni péhtamwak animéniw páwistikoniw. Móna wánaw. Ká-</p>	<p>Sometimes I hear them say that. Sometime when it is calm, at night, they hear that rapids. It is not far. They hear it</p>

<p>sákitawák péhtamwak animéniw. Kostásínákwan itwéwak animéniw. Móhkác niwápahtén anima nína, máka kostásínákwan itwéwak. Sóhkánépaniw mací nipiy.</p>	<p>at the narrows. They (animate) are apparently fierce looking. I never see it myself, but apparently they (animate) are fierce looking, they say. He/she apparently, is very swift.</p>
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But I checked the translation again with Roger Roulette, an Ojibwe linguist, and it is a little misleading. The verb *kostásínákwan* is referring to the water, an inanimate subject, and just means “it sounds scary” – and does not imply anything about the rapids as an animate entity. The rapids are inanimate like the earth, *aki*. If you wanted to say, “she or he sounds scary” – the verb would change and become “*Kostásínákosiw*” - *kosiw* – indicating an animate subject. In one other place I thought maybe the response of the water to the tobacco meant that the water was acting; that it was animate. But the verb my grandmother uses is *é-pé-ispáhképanik*, and it always has an inanimate subject. This verb really only ever applies to water or natural conditions; it is also used to describe snow piling up high – you couldn’t use it to describe the motion of a person. It just says that the water (inanimate) is coming ‘this way’ - *pé* indicates direction, that it is coming towards the speaker - as it rises.

The idea that water moves or does something could possibly be expressed as a metaphor with the insertion of the augmentative – *makan* – but that is not what is being said here. The augmentative makes it possible for an inanimate subject to “seem” to act. The next sentence in the text gives another clue. “*Awénikik étikwé anikik ká-tótahkik mémékwésiwak, eh?* She is pretty sure that it is the mémékwésiwak who cause the inanimate water to rise up like that although she can’t explain why or how

It still matters that the discussion is happening in Cree because and although it would be tempting to attribute animacy to water, the language just doesn’t permit it except as a

metaphorical reference and even then it sounds funny. But in no European language does it matter that the water is home to the *mémékwésiwak*, who seem to communicate only with people they can trust. The many stories about them in Cree, including those told by my grandmother, show that the idea is broadly understood and people know perfectly well that the water is their natural habitat and would never be offered in a Treaty negotiation.

Agnes told me once about various attempts to build control structures at White Mud Falls but they always fail, '*mwatch gaskitawuk*, they don't succeed', she said. This is why. The *Mémékwésiwak* may be underappreciated by non- indigenous people who might characterize the *memegwesiwg* as mythical, but they find a way to make themselves known.

As Hallowell realized in his Ojibwe research, (and it matters equally in Cree) it makes a big difference if things we normally think of as mythical can make things happen.

If we wish to understand the cognitive orientation of the Ojibwa,' wrote Hallowell, 'there is an ethno-linguistic problem to be considered: What is the meaning of animate in Ojibwa thinking?' (Hallowell1960:23).

In a paper on the Anishinaabe language, Matthews, Roulette and Valentine (2010) talk about the unquestioned personhood of *Mémékwésiwak*, the importance of the grammatical attribution of animacy and the presumption of personhood for entities which are, from a contemporary scientific point of view, either inanimate like stones or simply a part of the dreams and mythology of the Ojibwe like the *Mémékwésiwak*. These ideas challenge the conceptual flexibility of others and would have been impossible to communicate at the time of Treaty negotiations. As Matthews et al, point out, this "has led to a number of misunderstandings about the relationship of the *Anishinaabeg* to the natural world. The *Anishinaabeg* have been simultaneously mocked for their mystical illogic and admired for their acute biological observations, their spirituality and their apparently innate sympathy with the natural world (e.g.,

Schoolcraft 1860).” Matthews, Roulette and Valentine 2010:18). This argument was advanced on behalf of four Anishinaabe communities looking to have their traditional territories inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site but they wanted the inscription on their own terms. They wanted their understanding of relationships with the natural world, including Mémékwésiwak to be accepted and they wanted to be seen as legitimate trustees of their ecological environment.

For the contemporary residents of Pimichikamak Okimawin, this is what they want too and they see that in Treaty negotiations, their concerns about their relationships with the spirit world, with which they share, as Hallowell says, the same “spatiotemporal frame” would never have been considered. The main terms of Treaty No. 5 were really negotiated in Berens River and even there, people have long argued that the watery home of the Mémékwésiwak was not included in the Treaties. Ray et al quote Chief Berens in the chapter titled “Treaty No. 5 the Lake Winnipeg Treaty” in *Bounty and Benevolence* (2000) as saying: “When we made this Treaty, it was given us to understand that although we sold the Government these lands, yet we might still hunt in the woods as before and the fish and waters should be ours as it was in our Grandfathers’ time.” (Ray, Miller and Tough 2000:129). They go on to say that although fifteen years had gone by when William Berens made this remark, he was “a participant in those negotiations, and it is therefore strong evidence that assurances were made” (Ibid.). Concerns about environmental relationships, especially their concerns about not giving offence or showing disrespect to the Mémékwésiwak, are unlikely to have come up in discussions like these but as Agnes’ stories show, the relationship is still important to people who live at Pimichikamak.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

“My people will sleep for one hundred years, but when they awake, it will be the artists who give them the spirit back”

Attributed to Louis Riel

I began to feel an affinity for this quote when I realized there is a century between the death of my ancestor *Tépasténam* and my birth (1881-1981). It was the art of writing that woke me up to the spirit of my ancestors. Colonialism blinded me to the knowledge my grandmother was trying to teach me, and colonialism made her repress her knowledge and stories of her grandfather because she had been shamed by the residential school and would often defend herself by saying she was a devout Catholic. Native Studies as writing was the art that awakened me to my spirit. I remember sitting in Sherry Farrell Racette’s class, when she told us “research is spiritual”. She said things happen to her in the archives when she is looking for things, books fall off the shelves; things that she is looking for are usually in that book. I thought, that sounds true—I believe it. The thing is, I did not get full evidence of it until my fifth year of graduate studies, when more of the pieces of my family history had finally come together. I found the oral history and archival documents to show me who my great grandparents were. This is why I had come to believe research is spiritual, it had become just that. All my life I never knew who my ancestors were. Now I know who my ancestors are: my great-great and great-great-greatgrandfathers were Medicine chiefs and performed shake tents and other ceremonial practices.

They healed people and carried ceremonial objects like a drum. My grandfather was one of the most famous medicine men in the Lake Winnipeg area. My kokom’s mother remembers when

she was a little girl watching an old man who knew how to consult for *maskosiwahtikwa* (herbal medicine) from the memegwesiwag. I feel my ancestors guide and speak to me through the writing of missionaries and the Northwest and Hudson Bay archives. Now that I have come to the realization that my kokom carries old legends and that her family were involved in the Midewiwin that this has given me direction for my own life. Her stories that were passed down from her grandfather. As a child she took them with her in the Cree language to Residential school, but still retained them and has passed them onto to me to carry forward into the future, this has given me direction.

Before this, I never really knew who I was because my family was still in the process of trying to put the pieces together after day school and residential school. So I grew up in the aftermath of this, wondering why life was so difficult for Indigenous people. One of the things that I was left feeling was that we were so primitive, but the *Mémékwésiwak* stories gave me a different perspective. Reading Brightman helped me realize that the Cree thought of themselves as technologically sophisticated. They used *Mémékwésiwak* stories to confirm their skills, comparing themselves with the *Mémékwésiwak*, who were famous for hunting and living in a old fashion way.

The *Mémékwésiwak* are said to have chosen a more primitive life away from the hustle of modernity as their response. The dwarves wear animal-skin clothing but otherwise derive their manufactured goods from Cree sacrifices. They subsist primarily on fish. When, for example, the former dwelling of the dwarves in caves near Southend, Saskatchewan was investigated, fish scales and bones were found in abundance. There was no evidence of cooking fires, suggesting to the observers that the dwarves ate their fish raw. (Brightman 1990:120)

They used *Mémékwésiwak* stories, as Brightman also points out, to compare themselves with noisy, incompetent, white people they met through the Fur Trade.

Brightman writes that the stories about them:

serve as the vehicle of a critique of modernity since the aversiveness they felt towards humans matched the ambivalence Crees felt towards intrusive Whites.... Immune from noise, crowding, dependence and conflict, the dwarves selected a traditional solution to discord that Crees reflecting on the disadvantages of modernity may occasionally wish that they too had chosen: a unilateral withdrawal into the hinterland. (1990:124)

In many ways this was the choice made by the people of Pimichikamak, to live in the same way as their ancestors had lived historically. Governor Morris, in his book about treaties, calls of the people of Pimichikamak, the Pagan or Wood Indians and says that they chose their reserve so that they could carry on with their “pagan” way of life (Morris 1990 (1880) in Gillespie 2004:41). The people of Pimichikamak have a reputation for valuing the Cree language and they are proud of their history too. My Grandmother, despite her residential school experiences, still admires the competence of the Cree people Morris is talking about. She says:

<p>Kí-macáyiwiwak kayás ininiwak. Kí-nihtá nitawihiwéwak. É-kí-kaskihtácik é-nihtawihocik.</p>	<p>People were intelligent long ago. They were able to cure themselves from illness. They cured themselves.</p>
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She goes on to connect the wellbeing of the community with the presence and assistance of the Memegwesiwag who are still living nearby, “in the water”:

<p>Ékota isi poko ayáwak (mémékwésiwak). <i>They are still living there. Some of them are in the water.</i></p>	<p>They (mémékwésiwak) are still around. <i>They are still living there. Some of them are in the water.</i></p>
<p>Kéhcínác poko ékosi tótamwak, móna máka awiya wápamikwak, akamá wíhkác awiyak ékoté kápé</p>	<p>They are probably still doing the same thing</p>
<p>ispanit. Ékoté isa mána pimácísowak. Akamá wíhkác kápé awiyak ékoté ispanit, áskaw poko. Tápwé wina étikwé poko nókosiwak ékota. Ékota anikik ayáwak kéyápic. Ékota mána áskaw ácimowak mána cistémáw ékota é-isi-píhciwépinácik ékitocikécik.</p>	<p>(mémékwésiwak), they are just not seen, because no one is ever there anymore. They are likely surviving there. No one goes there anymore, just the odd time. They likely still exist and appear and live there. They are still there. Some (people) say they occasionally throw tobacco there - in the falls- you’ll hear them making music, [singing with a drum].</p>

Small rock dwelling semi-humans whose singing is heard from under the water - this only makes sense in Cree. Non-English speakers struggle with European equivalents like dwarves, gnomes, leprechauns and hildefolke but these figures are all mythical. To talk plainly and with concern about *Mémékwésiwak* as desired neighbours and powerful helpers, you have to speak in Cree. My grandmother insisted on us speaking Cree in the house, and if people tried to speak English, she would interrupt them and say, “You speak Cree to them too. They are going to learn.” She would say to us, “You guys are Indians. You are going to learn how to speak Indian.”

Her insistence on Cree as the language of the family is part of a pattern of resistance embedded in women’s stories and described by Julie Cruikshank who recorded women’s narratives among the Dene. Cruikshank says one of the reasons the kinds of stories Agnes is telling me survive is because they reinforce the use of Indigenous languages. “[T]he narratives provide a vehicle for use of languages which are not now as widely used as in the past and this is important to older people”(Cruikshank 1983:7) and it is true that this was a big concern of my grandmother. It was important and we had to learn the Cree language. At another level, Cruikshank says that “Native Women’s stores differ both from native men’s accounts and from those of non-native women. The recurring theme [in women’s stories] is one of connection to other people and to nature” (1990:3). Cruikshank also says that “the persistence of stories lies primarily in their context, in the overall relationship of the stories to the social order” (1983:8). For my grandmother, the Memegwesiwak are part of the social order and the relationship with them is very important. She goes on to talk about traveling in motorboats and canoes to these places where the Memegwesiwak live, and how important these places were and still are.

The third of Agnes' stories transcribed and translated here, about Papámohté, was one which was passed down by women, from her aunt Ida Hamilton who was there, to her and then to me. As Cruikshank says, women's stories are different. In this case the story is about a rupture in relationships and the confrontation which was made necessary by the Treaty negotiations. It is about *Tépasténam*'s son, Papámohté and his confrontation with the "bad one" from Norway House. The historical records, and these are men's accounts for the most part, (Gillespie 2004, Lindsay 2012), focus on the prestige of *Tépasténam*, his leadership credentials.

By telling me her Cree language stories, my grandmother has demonstrated a kindness that is rooted in memories of her life. There was never really a time that I saw my kokom get mad; he has so much patience, I remember she told me stories about being kind to people who are having hard times in their life. She was kind to me even when I was unable to see the importance of her stories. Although I heard stories of *Mémékwésiwak* that are a significant part of the community's belief system and conversation, it wasn't until university that I began to value them as useful knowledge. It wasn't until I understood the role of colonialism in my own life that I was able to see the importance of locating my research in my family. These ideas had an impact on my identity, and family relationship is where I got insight into a Cree way of seeing the world and realized the value of a Cree perspective. I found this in my relationship to my grandmother. It enabled me to be open to learning. I now see a colonial structure that had distanced me from my grandmother's stories and caused me to devalue them. *Kemamahtiisiwak*, she told me, they lived in a powerful way a long time ago. They had magical powers.

Knowing my language eventually became a part of my own Indigenous research methodology but I was also helped by a few scholars who wrote about Memegwesiwag. Reading their work was very important to me. Rob Brightman who studied and lived among the

Cree in Granville Lake says something very much like my grandmother. He said that the *Mémékwésiwak* gave the Cree access to powers and that because they are “the controllers of desired medicines and extraordinary mamahtawisiwin, or 'power', they command the respect of many Crees.” (1990:131). I learned in these different ways that these stories these told to me by my grandmother are important and we need to remember them.

Theses stories aren't just old women's tales. As Brightman points out, *Mémékwésiwak* stories provide a Cree context for an anti-colonial understanding of history. Brightman says the Cree he works with are very aware of the consequences of flooding in Granville Lake and the rest of Cree territory and he heard many times that the *Mémékwésiwak* did not approve. The stories were used to criticize Hydro development. The *Mémékwésiwak*, he says, “predicted that the Whites would bring 'pollution' to the north. The meaning of pollution in this context encompasses all the physical transformations wrought in the north by an industrial technology whose scope and impact has expanded progressively since the 1940s” (Brightman 1990:124). Cree people had been warned of the negative impact of these hydro dams by the *Mémékwésiwak*.

Implicit in this discourse are reservations about the appropriateness of hydrological and other environmental transformations wrought by White men rather than by the creator being. The antipathy of the dwarves to 'pollution' seemingly embraces both practical and philosophical or moral objections. Some Crees continue to recognise diverse nonhuman animate agencies or 'spirits', but it is exclusively the dwarves who articulate an explicit critique of contemporary reservation society and the non-Indian presence in the North (Brightman 1990:124).

Brightman points to the perception of the “duplicity’ of white traders along with the indictment of “sedentism, towns, Whites and 'pollution’” (Brightman 1990:125) in the *Mémékwésiwak* stories that eloquently and explicitly communicate a critique of modernity and creates a narrative that privileges the Cree past and Cree responses to history in opposition to the colonial narrative. “Cree historical thought explores, at one and the same time, both the virtues and the defects of the past and the present” (Ibid.). My grandmother was well aware of what

Brightman calls “the defects” of the present. She saw the damage of hydro development on her community and in her statement, precisely blames Hydro as a responsible animate entity:¹⁴

<p>Akwáni wina anohc, <i>Hydro</i> épé-wanáhcikét. Móna kékwán nihtáwikin. Apwétikwé nántaw poko nihtáwikin, astéw maskosíhk wánaw. Máka wina óta Cross Lake, móna kékwán - istéw mácísiwin.</p>	<p>But today, <i>Hydro</i> destroys the environment. Nothing is growing. Maybe it’s growing just somewhere else, in the grass far away. But here in Cross Lake, there is nothing - no things that give you life.</p>
<p>Ékosi mána é-kí-péhtawak éitwét, tahto kékwán káwápáhtamék óta askíhk, askíhk óta, ká-nitawikihk, maskihkiwan, é-kí-itwét mána.</p>	<p>I used to hear him say, when you see something growing here on earth, there will be medicine there, he used to say.</p>
<p>Paskwáw wina anima misiwé. Wáskáhikana mína astéwa. Namóna kékwán maskihkiwáhtik nihtáwikin. Kayás máka wina kwayas é-kínihtáwikihk maskihkiwáhtik, amwés isa ininiw ayáhcik óta.</p>	<p>The land is being cleared all over. There are houses all over. There are no medicinal plants growing anywhere. Long ago there were medicinal plants growing, before there were any</p>
	<p>people here.</p>

In Cree she speaks of Hydro as a competent person-like entity where as in English, we might treat “it” as an inanimate corporation that can’t be held responsible. She blames Hydro as a being that could, by implication, cease to do what it is doing and it is true that the muskeg is being killed by unpredictable water level changes and becomes stinky because of methane released by the dying plants. She says that the medicinal plants that give us life have stopped growing, *nihtáwikin*, not like a long time ago when there used to be lots of medicines growing. She often says to me that that’s why everyone, even the animals, fish and birds, are sick

¹⁴ Wina – that person, Hydro,, is the subject of the sentence. If Hydro was a thing, she would have said – anima, that thing Hydro – as the subject of the sentence.

nowadays. “Watch people! *Kinawapamik ininiwag! agwane kape agosinaniwan.*— see how they are sick all the time. *Mwatch ekose ku chiisinagwan.* You never used to see that before.”

She doesn't like what has happened in her lifetime. She was 46 years old when the dam was built so half of her life was before the destruction that it caused. So why did she tell me three stories about neither Treaty nor hydro? I think it is because these stories were significant to her. Her grandpa and her aunt told them to her. She wanted to tell me these stories from before hydro so that I would know the strength of the people. She carries “traditional knowledge”. She has oral history from before residential school and she can only tell it in Cree. It is authentic and it shows that Pimichikamak was not dominated by western society at least until the advent of the dam.

I have always listened to her but now I listen to her with new respect. No one else will honour her because the colonial system has created a social environment where newness and modernity are valued over the tales of old women. Cruikshank says that in women's narratives:

connections with people are explored through ties of kinship; connections with land emphasize sense of place. But kinship and landscape provide more than just a setting for an account, for they actually frame and shape the story..... the extent to which oral tradition can enlarge our understanding of the past particularly in areas where written documents are biased by the circumstances or conditions under which they were produced. Oral testimonies are very different from archival documents and are never easily accessible to outsiders” (1990:3).

This is very true of the stories we are talking about. The third story which Agnes tells is about something which happened at the same time as Treaty and it certainly enlarges our understanding of that historical event and it is also an example of a narrative which would normally be inaccessible to outsiders because it talks about accusations of murder. It challenges the historical narrative which mainly features *Tépasténam*, as the leader of the community, who

on being told there was a Treaty going on, took the initiative to go and secure the community's interests. (Gillespie 2004). As the historians tell it, *Tépasténam* seems to have been a very important figure and from the perspective of the Treaty party he surely was. But in my grandmother's story, she focuses on a battle with the Norway House medicine man who murdered people with curses (see also Brown, Chapter 8, "Bad Medicine and Old Men's Threats":89-100). This old man may be the one cited in Brown 2018:101, who mentions a case of near deadly starvation deliberately caused by a medicine man from Norway House, a "bad one". The family being attacked is that of Naamiwan, who was a young man at the time (cf. Matthews 2016). "In the first part of the winter [troubles began, one time]. The cause- men talking. There was some misunderstanding-insult. One was a Norway House man- the bad one." She says. (Brown 2018:101). In the commentary Brown suggests that the "bad one" may have been *Tépasténam* based on Anne Lindsay's research (ibid: 103) but given Agnes' story, it is more likely to be the man who Papámohté challenges. It is amazing that a "bad one" from Norway House should be so feared so far away from his home town but my granny's story confirms his reputation. This also explains why this story about Pápámohté is more important to Agnes than the treaty negotiations going on.

So going to Norway House had some risks for *Tépasténam* and his family. His son, Papámohté Ogimaw, predicted that this old man would try to kill them. But in Agnes' telling of the story, Papámohté Ogimaw is pretty confident and goes to Norway House with the intention of insulting this old man and showing the Treaty party that Pimichikimak people had their own authority; they would negotiate their own treaty and they weren't afraid.

<p>Akwáni mací wísta pápám ohtéw okimáw, nimosóm, pámohté okimáw itáw. Wí stawáw ispaniwak. “Mahti wína nína ké-ohci mínak, kita tipahamowak. Nika wáciyémáw máka m óna nika tipahamowáw,” it wéw mací.</p>	<p>Okay now I was told that Pápámohté Okimáw “walking boss or chief”, my grandfather, they went there [Norway House] too. “Just watch me. I am not going to give him nothing to pay him. I will shake his hand but I am not going to pay him.” That’s what Pápámohté okimáw said.</p>
<p>Akwáni mací mwác wína cistémáwa tahkonéw. Wác iyéméw mací, “Tanisi, wíci wiméyakicisk,” itéw mací. (laughs) “Háw tanisi niwí wimiyak icisk,” itéw mací. “Á tápwé kitisin?” itéw mací. Ásay kisímik.</p>	<p>I guess according to the story he didn’t carry any tobacco with him. Apparently he shook his hand and said “Hello, stinky arse”. (laughs) “Hello, tansi, how are you, stinky arse”, he said it again apparently. He said, “Is that what you are really saying to me,” that’s what that old man in Norway House said. He [Papámohté] already made him mad.</p>

Papámohté was expecting a confrontation because he knew that old man would kill people and everyone was afraid of him. This also explains why this story about Papámohté is more important to Agnes than the treaty negotiations which made the confrontation inevitable. The challenge from the Norway house medicine man didn’t come until they were on their way back from Treaty. Papámohté was ready for him and he anticipated all this.

<p>“Asay nété ká-wápahtamán iskocésa”, itwéw mací. “Mítóni éwasteki ,” itwéw mací.</p> <p>Akwáni isa éwako ana kiséniw, kámámánénihcikét. Óhi isa ká-kíitíkot wiméyakiciskésis.</p>	<p>“He saw his spirit come from a distance [of the medicine man from Norway House] came there”, she said. “They saw strange lights outside their camp.” she said. That’s what she said. That old man was out there, coming to curse them [the family of <i>Tépasténam</i>]. He came there, the old man he called “stinky arse”.</p>
<p>Akwáni mací ana kiséniw. “Háw.... iténitamok”, nika natawé nipaháw awa, ká-pémanenimikoyahk,” itwéw mací.</p> <p>“Akwáni aspin,” itwéw nisikos, Ida Hamilton.</p> <p>Awa Pápámohté Okimáw, ká-ati-sipwéhtét, wanawíw,” itwéw. “Ó móna kinowés,” itwéw, “káamatwé péhtákohkét. Akwáni é- sakátomisik kitácik isa.</p> <p>Kétahtwén ká-amatwé kitocik tápiskóc é-amatwé péhtákosicik,” itéw. Akwáni mací ká-pétohtét.</p>	<p>Apparently that old man was trying to come and kill them”, she said. “He thinks he is going to come and kill us with his curse.</p> <p>“He left, walking boss, he left. He went outside,” my older female relative, Ida Hamilton, said.</p> <p>Pápámohté Okimáw, he went outside. “Not long after,” she said, “he went out to face that man, she said. “Oh, he didn’t take very long,” she said. She heard him coming back into the cabin. He had to face that man. They heard them outside. They heard them making something like a strange, unusual sound outside,” she said. After that sound ended he came back.</p>
<p>“Háw, ásay níki-nipaháw”. “Akwáni kí-nipahéw anihi, wiméyakiciska.” Kíkaskihtáw é-nipahát. (laughs)</p>	<p>”I killed him already,” Papámohté said. “I guess he killed them,” Ida said. He came back and said, “I killed that stinky arse.” He knew how to kill him.</p>

<p>Akwáni manimá ásay é-kínatawé nipahát ininiwa wiméyakici sk isa ékí-pémánénimát animéniw iskocésiniw.</p> <p>Opawákana ká-ana isa.....</p> <p>Akwáni awa Pápámohté okimáw.</p> <p>Kí-natawé nipahéw anihi.....poko wísta ?</p>	<p>I guess that guy from Norway House won't kill other people through his curses any more.</p> <p>Papámohté Okimáw knew how to use his powers, his awágkanak to kill that old man, that “stinky arse”, through spiritual warfare.</p> <p>He turned around that curse and killed him with it.</p>
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This story of an attack by a medicine man is very similar to the story in Naamiwan's Drum when Naamiwan was attacked by people from a nearby community. He also defended himself by turning that attack back on them. (Matthews 2016: 198-202.)

The point Agnes is making by telling this story is that when they signed the Treaty it wasn't simple. It was a really big thing that involved a war between competing medicine men. In order to exercise their sovereignty, they had to face this rival and it didn't end with the signing of Treaty No.5, as Commissioner Morris might have believed, but with a terrifying battle in the night with a deadly enemy from Norway House. The fact that Norway House, which accepted a Comprehensive Implementation Agreement and Pimichikamak, which has not, have taken different approaches to the colonizers is not surprising. Right from the time of Treaty, there were the Norway House Christians and the Cross Lake “pagans”. They have a long history of a different set of colonial settler relations and the language is a good example. Although there are people in Norway House who know their language and follow their traditions, in Pimichikamak, speaking Cree is valued and people insist on it. They know that the stories they tell in Cree point to the things that really matter to them.

So when I asked Agnes' about water and treaties she told me stories about

Mémékwésiwak. Kulchyski and Craft argue that water was never discussed at Treaty because there was never an intention of exploiting it for hydroelectric development; we can be sure that the *Mémékwésiwak* and their concerns were not part of the discussion although this is what my grandma considers the most important consequence of disrupted water flows and the proximity of white people and hydro technology. When I asked again about Treaty No. 5, Agnes didn't tell me about *Tépasténam* and his political reputation. This was not Agnes' concern. Going to Norway House involved an inevitable confrontation with a rival. The story she tells would have established the right of Pimichikamak people to take an independent course without bowing to anyone from Norway House. Norway House, was, before confederation, the very important inland hub of Fur Trade activity (Tough, 1996), so establishing independence of mind for the community of Pimichikamak by killing a feared medicine man would have made it possible for them to take their own path. We have seen how she privileges the relationships with *Mémékwésiwak* and as Brightman suggests, uses them as "to serve as the vehicle of a critique of modernity" but at the same time she has used these stories to help me in an academic enterprise she may have some trouble imagining.

My grandmother often says that she regrets falling asleep in the middle of a legend called the Rolling Sturgeon Head, one of the first that my Uncle Leonard helped me translate. But then I started reading for a Native Studies class and I found the rest of the story is in Irving Hallowell and saw how it continues and how it is a kind of Cree creation story. My grandmother's recently recorded Cree narratives show how the stories provide cross generational lessons of life-giving direction and guidance for Ininiwag people about the cultural and political importance of respecting water and this is research only family would be privileged to produce. Agnes' stories show how a Cree language perspective illuminates a vital ecological relationship and how stories can help to bring an Ininiwag Cree perspective to history.

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APPENDIX A:

Geneology

Tépasténam (Donald William Sinclair Ross) (1805-1881) m - Mary Ross

↓

Papámohtèhwikima (John A. Ross) m - Mary Ross

↓

Edward Thomas Ross m - Naomi Ross

↓

Agnes Marie Ross m- Lepi M Ross

↓

Pauline May Ross m Rick Rots

↓

Janice Rots Bone m – Jason Bone

↓

Rylie Anangoons Florence Bone/Giizhig Henry Lauder Bone

APPENDIX B

Footnotes from Gillespie 2004 article

- 180 Subsequently, Tyrrell described its situation in a footnote of the first edition of Thompson's narrative: "The place where 'Seepaywisk House' appears to have stood is now [date uncertain] covered with a grove of poplars, with a forest of spruce in the background. Two rocky points project into the lake and form a snug little harbour for small boats. Looking towards the southwest, Sipiwesk lake, dotted with dark green islands, extends away to the distant horizon." See: David Thompson's Narrative 1916, *supra*, n. 157, p. lxvi.
- 181 Oral history from Pé-pé-sa-ban, *infra*, n. 311, records that Thompson's visit to Sipiwesk Lake was known to the Pimicikamak, who called him "ogakimatow" (one who sneaks around), one of several, known as "ogakimatowak", whom an elder (Gideon McKay) compared with surveyors and said that people avoided him, and that there was no contact with him. It was thought that contact with the ogakimatowak could lead to insanity and to becoming a Wihtigow, a giant cannibal.
- 182 A notation in the Sipiwesk House Post History (Archives of Manitoba/Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Post Histories, Post Sipiwesk (MB), Seepewisk, Seepaywisk House, Sepawisk) "1794 House to be abandoned this season, goods to be transferred to Cross Lake" does not confirm that the House was occupied at that date. The notation may indicate abandonment of the potential for future reoccupation. Tyrrell's subsequent edition of David Thompson's narrative indicates that Sipiwesk House was a new winter post that he established in October 1792 and left in the spring of 1793: "In the following [after 1792] spring, when the river was clear of ice, he started from Seepaywisk House, and descended to the lower end of the lake, carried over Cross Portage, surveyed Susquagemow (Landing) lake, carried over Thicket Portage, and entered Chatham (Wintering) lake, where, on a long point extending northward into the lake, the Company had a post." See: David Thompson's Narrative 1916, *supra*, n. 157, p. lxvii.
- 183 The quality of this map is remarkable, especially by comparison with others of the period, reflecting the facts that it was based on personal observation, and that Thompson meticulously used astronomical instruments and observations to determine and map his position.
- 184 "Map of the Rivers and Lakes above York Fort with the communication of Port Nelson River with Churchill River including part of Churchill River", 1794-1795; Historical Atlas of Manitoba, *supra*, n. 99, p. 101. Note that Sipiwesk Lake is not named on this map, but its location and northern end are readily recognizable. As to other sources of information on this map, see also: *supra*, n. 117.
- 185 That is, it does not show the remainder of the lake. This tends to confirm that David Thompson's visit to Sipiwesk Lake was limited to its northern part; see also *supra*, n. 182.
- 186 See also: Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor, *supra*, n. 164, where Tyrrell says, at p.568:

“The two places [Sipiwesk House and Chatham House] were about twenty miles apart in a straight line.” Given the well-defined location of Chatham House, this confirms that Sipiwesk House was located in the north eastern part of the lake.

193 Although archived and annotated as the Cross Lake Post Journal, the entries from July 1 to August 30, 1795, evidently relate to another post (likely Jack River House, see a barely discernable title inside the cover, overwritten in pencil of unknown provenance: “Jack River House Transferred to Cross Lake”). Contrary to the annotation noted *supra*, n.

194 The Cross Lake Post Journal, *supra*, n. 192, which recorded particulars of every trade visit, discloses little trade. There were only 10 visits by Indians to the end of 1795, a total of about 18 canoes. They are not identified, but even if all were Pimicikamak, this would tend to confirm Pimicikamak oral history that, though visited by some, Cross Lake was not the centre of their homeland. See also *infra*, n. 247. 195 This may identify the proximate cause of complaints in the Cross Lake Post Journal about drunken Indians, including, *infra*, n. 197.

196 Archives of Manitoba/Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, RG3/4A/7.

197 The Cross Lake Post Journal entry for May 24 [1796; *supra*, n. 192] is an extraordinary outburst in both content and length among the otherwise dispassionate and laconic daily records: “Tusdeay Wind S E asmall bress Clowdey Mild weather at a 11 a m 2 Conows of Indians Arived brought 28 bever on of them got rigin the Indians all drunk and very Trublsum Misecam eskem and all his young fellows is ben her above amonth they ar ben mor expences then All the rest of the Indians that is ben her thes yer – Indians is killed no Skins thes yer that is worth to spek of it is not Seprising the Canedians is Wested a Canowe Cargo of goods and is got bot 4½ bunels of furs it canot be thowght that I can pay for the goods If I had not given encoregment in the fall I showld had nothing – the Canedian Mastr Told Me him Self it was not for the profetts that they cam to this pless it was to kep the ——— Compney from sepleying the nored with men and canows [obliterated] PS excus Me for what I hav menched”. The following day: “. . . the Men gating redey to embark to morrow if weather and helth permits . . .”. Two days later the Journal ends. The Post History notes “1796 Competition from two Canadian Houses, sixteen Frenchmen in the area”; it would be over 50 years before another Post Manager was appointed, and then only for one year; *supra*, n. 191.

203 Fidler also recorded an 1807 map by Thomas McNab showing Cross Lake; Archives of Manitoba/Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Journals of Exploration and Survey, E.3/3, fo. 49d; and an 1809 map showing Pine River from Moose Lake to Cross Lake by Ah Chappee Bungee Boys-son; *ibid.*, E.3/4, fo. 11.

204 These sketch maps appear in his daily journal; Archives of Manitoba/Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Journals of Exploration and Survey, P. Fidler, 1809, E.3/4. These sketches were evidently unknown to Arrowsmith who published numerous revisions to his Map of North America (*supra*, n. 187) but as late as 1814 showed the upper Nelson (not named) inaccurately and with only arbitrary features; see two sections from Andrew Arrowsmith’s Map of North America (“A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America . . .”), Historical Atlas of Manitoba, *supra*, n. 99, p. 141.

205 This may have been the first exploration and mapping of the west channel of the Nelson River; Fidler calls it “a new way to Nelson River”; *ibid.*, fo. 4.

206 One of Fidler’s sketch maps identifies “Sepawisk House” and notes a location at Lat. 54° 59’ 40”, Long. 116° 4’ 30”; *ibid.*, fo. 6. Unfortunately these measurements (especially, as expected for technical reasons relating to accuracy of long-term time-keeping, the longitude) are so inaccurate as to be of no absolute value, though they may be useful relative to other identifiable features. However, the sketch map details may enable the location to be identified when Manitoba Hydro draws down the water level at Kelsey.

207 *Ibid.*, fo. 14 (microfiche ser. I, 4M103, fo. 1 to 10).

208 This record suggests but does not definitively establish an ongoing non-Pimicikamak presence in the heart of Pimicikamak territory. We did not find other records concerning Laughton Leith or this house, though the Company later employed others named Leith in the north.

209 E.g., *supra*, n. 204 and *infra*, n. 211.

210 *Supra*, n. 144, map 1, p. xv, map 3, p. xvii; both unattributed. In fact the two lakes are separated by some 15 km of river and significant falls.

211 See: David Thompson’s Narrative 1916, *supra*, n. 157, (pocket). The original source of the information is not identified, but could not have been Thompson; *supra*, n. 218.

212 Of course, this does not imply that no such record exists, and certainly does not mean there was no such presence.

297 Sipiwesk Lake was about 100 km long with more than 3000 km of shorelines; see also *supra*, n. 248. Travel to Cross Lake involved paddling some 50 km upstream (south); travel to Norway House involved an additional 100 km, with several portages in each reach.

298 The *kisayman* was respected, respect being perhaps the most fundamental constitutional principle of Pimicikamak.

299 This transliteration is from local sources based on oral history; transliterated as “Tapastanim” in the Archives of Manitoba/Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Post Histories, *supra*, n. 191. No attempt has been made to adopt a single standard for the roman orthography of Cree words in this report and, where the source was in writing, the original spelling has been used in each case.

300 *Ki-say-man-to*.

301 He did not have authority because he was a leader; he was a leader because he had authority. He was *Aski Okimow*. In this, Pimicikamak was typical of Indian societies: “In the absence of formal institutional positions or ‘offices’ to legitimate [sic] their status leaders in traditional Indian societies had to earn and legitimate their status and influence by establishing a reputation for generosity,

service, wisdom, spirituality, courage, diplomacy, dignity, loyalty, and personal magnetism.”
Surviving as Indians, *supra*, n. 8, p. 119.

302 At the date of the Treaty, having had only an intermittent presence since 1795, the Hudson’s Bay Company traded at Cross Lake as an outpost of Norway House. The company established a wintering station at Cross Lake within a month of the date of the Treaty. See: Archives of Manitoba/Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Post Histories, Post Cross Lake (1794-) (MB).

303 Often but inadequately referred to as “headmen.”

304 In Cree, eskuteskawin; *infra*, n. 523. Undoubtedly, the council was m’teowuk (midewin); *supra*, n. 241.

306 It was known that the white men possessed marvelous technologies but were unable to survive without aid. Oral history recounts that Té-pas-té-nam believed that Queen Victoria’s “children” were lost and hungry. He wanted to offer to adopt them and believed that great rewards would follow.

307 This is apparently confirmed by Morris: “The Chief of the Pagan band, who has, however, recently been baptized . . .”; *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, *supra*, n. 284, at p. 148.

308 Donald Ross.

309 The Treaty record shows “TA-PAS-TA-NUM (or Donald William Sinclair Ross)” made his mark as “Chief”. George Garriock and Proud McKay are shown as “Councillors”; see *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, *supra*, n. 284, p. 348. Oral history tells that Garriock and McKay were not part of the kisaywin and had no authority to treat. The Band Council did not yet exist. The annuity paylists record no Councillors until August 11, 1877, when the name Proud McKay appears. He was replaced by George Garrioch on August 11, 1878. 310 Oral history recounts that he returned to select lands where the Queen’s children could live and be fed and protected. *C.f.*, *supra*, n. 306.

311 This is the writer’s compilation from translated accounts. This history was told many times, in Cree, usually around a fire, by Pé-pé-sa-ban (transl.: “streak of dawn”; a.k.a. Matilda Monias) to her grandson Thomas Dennis Monias as a teenager and again when he was 23. She raised him and educated him in traditional ways. She died aged 109 in March, 1975. She heard the history of Tépas-té-nam from her grandfather, who knew him. The history was independently confirmed by the late Sandy Beardy.

312 There is no indication from oral history that either George Garriock (whose name but not mark appears on reproduction of the Treaty document) or Proud McKay (whose name and mark appear on it) was in fact a member of the council though they are recorded on the document as “Councillors;” see *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, *supra*, n. 284, at page 348. See also, *supra*, n. 309.

313 It is unquestioned in Pimicikamak municipal law; see also, *infra*, n. 319; see however, *infra*, n. 316.

314 I.e., the great majority of the population according to oral history.

315 The Treaty itself provides that the subscribing “Chiefs,” “on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting [Treaty 5 territory] do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty . . . ;’ see *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, supra, n. 284, at p. 347. Plainly this undertaking could not bind any such Indians other than those lawfully represented by the signatories. We are not aware of any evidence corroborating that these “Chiefs” (according to oral history an office unknown to Pimicikamak until that day) in fact purported to represent other peoples in that territory. This concept would have been foreign to their culture and incompatible with their fundamental principle of autonomy. The conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor following signature of Treaty 5 at Berens River on September 20, 1875 (namely, obtaining subscription to the Treaty on behalf of the Norway House Indians and on behalf of Pimicikamak five days later, and subsequent adhesions) showed that he thought it prudent not to rely upon this concept. Other Crown representatives, also, sought and obtained further adhesions. The quoted text appears in Treaties 2 to 7, and appears to have been introduced by Morris’s predecessor, Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald, lead signatory to Treaties 1 and 2. Treaty #1 provides instead, “the undersigned Chiefs do hereby bind and pledge themselves and their people strictly to observe this treaty . . .”

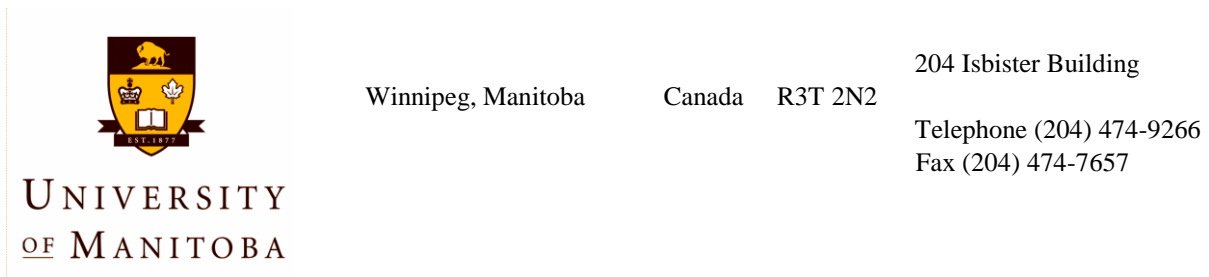
316 The significance of the fictitious election in Norway House may relate to the prescription in the Royal Proclamation, supra, n. 41, that: “if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians.” The Treaty Commissioners did not treat with Pimicikamak in its territory and, for this reason, a “public Meeting or Assembly” of its people as called for by the Royal Proclamation did not take place. Thus the validity of Treaty 5 in Canadian municipal law may, in respect of Pimicikamak, be open to question; see also supra, n. 313.

317 This is confirmed by the observation that no significant or representative body of Pimicikamak “electors” was present at Norway House.

318 We have reproduced Cree terms as variously provided and spelled and have not attempted to render their orthography consistent.

APPENDIX C

Sample consent form for interview:



Department of Native Studies

CONSENT FORM

PROJECT NAME:

Pimichikamik-Cross Lake Nipi-Water Research Project

ACADEMIC ADVISOR: PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Peter Kulchyski

Janice Bone

Full Professor

Department of Native Studies

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Masters of Arts Student

Department of Native Studies

umrotsja@myumanitoba.ca

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION:

The Pimichikamik-Cross Lake Nipi-Water Research Project will conduct research about NipiWater in the Cree and Ojibwe language to assist students, teachers and public to better understand their current environmental reality. This reality involves advanced studies in research, literature, stories/storytelling, and writing processes. A book will be developed to better articulate research, literature, stories/storytelling, and writing processes in ethnographic research methods.

A copy of the finalized thesis will be provided to you. It is anticipated that the thesis will be published, in book forms for dissemination to schools, libraries, and public. You will be listed as a contributor (with other participants) and Dr. Peter Kulchyski (Academic Advisor) will be listed as editor, and Janice Bone (principal-investigator) will be listed as author.

INTERVIEWS:

The interview will take place with the participant and researcher. The interview will begin with the presentation of tobacco or a gift to all participants. You and other participants will provide narratives to the project which will then will be discussed and explored by all the participants to ensure that a satisfactory consensus is reached in regards to accuracy. Copies will be provided to all participants to reference after discussions are conducted; this will also allow for editing and changes to be made immediately. The process will continue until all participants are satisfied with the content of narratives.

PARTICIPANT:

I, _____, consent to participate in the Pimichikamik-Cross Lake Nipi-Water Research Project. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any moment, not participate in any aspect of the interview, or to not respond to certain questions without consequence.

I agree to be cited directly:

Yes _____ or No _____.

I agree to be cited anonymously:

Yes _____ or No _____.

OR

I agree to be contacted if further details

conducted by the researchers:

Yes _____ or No _____.

I agree to be contacted for future research

AND are required after the focus group:

Yes _____ or No _____.

I agree to have my participation in the focus group acknowledged in any subsequent publications which will be made available to other researchers and the general public, in print (journals or books), electronic format (as part of a website) and in class lectures or other public presentations:

Yes _____ or No _____.

I want the article summarizing the project sent to me via:

Email: _____

Mail: _____

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Signature of Participant

Signature of Researcher

Date: _____

Date: _____