

WATERHEN LAKE RESERVE:
An Ethno-History from 1921-1993

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By

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ABSTRACT

In this case study, I have investigated the ethno-history of the Waterhen Lake Band (First Nation). The Waterhen Lake Reserve was created in 1921 by the signing of a Treaty Six Adhesion between the Waterhen Lake Cree and the Canadian government.

Research and understanding of positive development on Indian reserves is scarce. The perspectives, worldviews and goals of Indian people must be articulated beyond the shallow sensationalism of today's media which is excessively devoted to the problems of Indians. The vibrant history of the Waterhen Lake Band, its present state, and its aspirations for the future is examined in this work. This thesis uses oral tradition to reflect the perspectives of the First Nation members. The experiences and aspirations of the Waterhen Lake members are captured on paper.

The thesis highlights several important factors in the development of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. The historical and legal status of the treaties set the background for the formation of the Waterhen Lake Reserve. Treaty Six, to which the First Nation adhered, is emphasized. Of historical significance to the Band are the transcripts located in the federal archives which document the adhesion of the Waterhen Lake Band. The quotations of the first signatories, responding to the proposed adhesion, support the treaty concerns of Indians in the 1990s. The current profile of the organization and programs of the Band are discussed. Over the seventy-two year period of the study, the chiefs and councils and the issues of their times are identified. The self-government development of the Band, which has the potential to impact greatly on the future of the Band members, are detailed.

The Waterhen Lake Band has undergone a dramatic metamorphosis as it attempts to balance its cultural values with the accelerated pace of change. In thirty years, it has evolved from a hunting and gathering society to a technological one, transcending agricultural and industrial societies. In revisiting their rich history, the Waterhen Lake Cree can regain the lost pride and strength, on the journey to finding their rightful place in Canada.

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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY

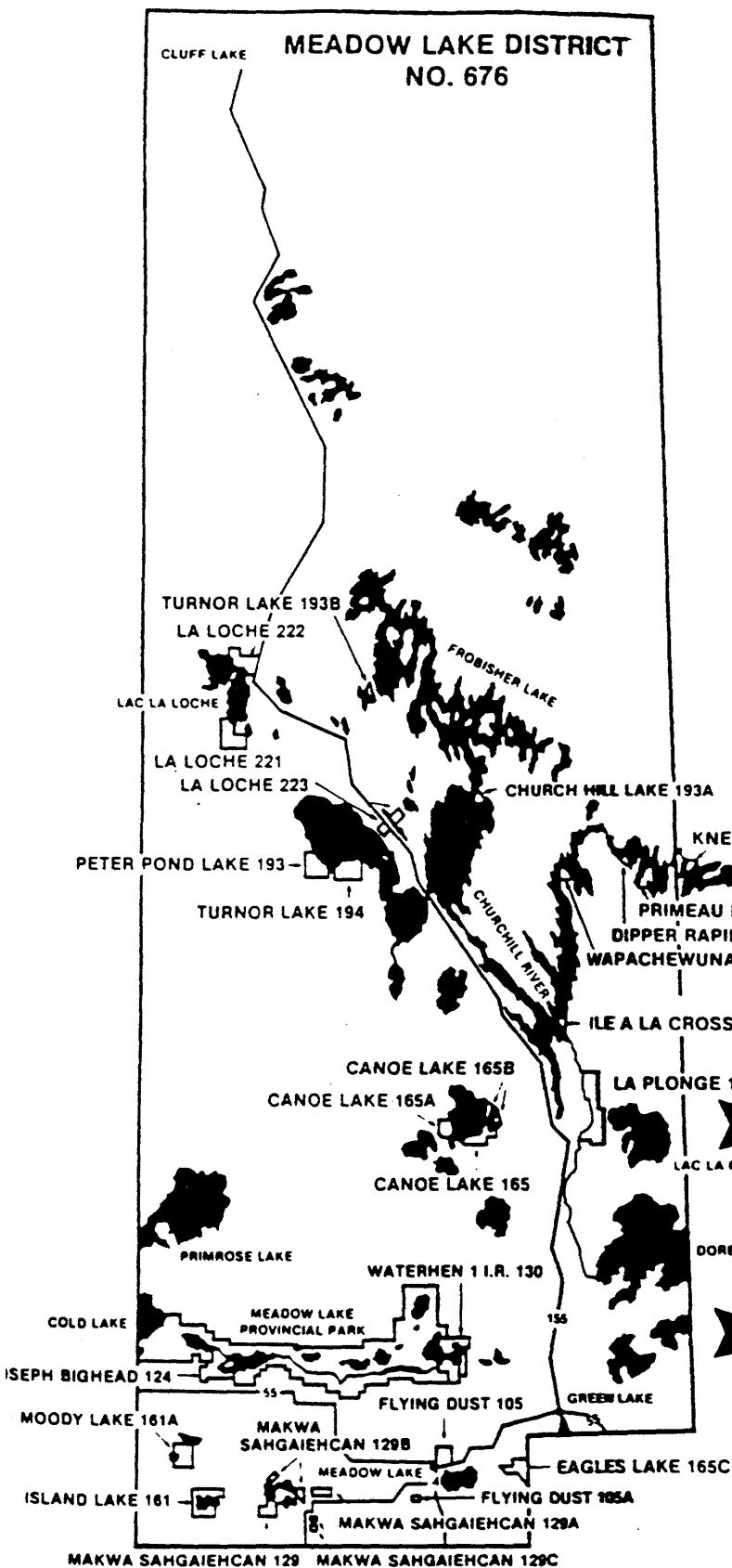
Introduction to the Study

The Waterhen Lake Reserve is located in northwestern Saskatchewan, 70 kilometers by road from the town of Meadow Lake. Adjacent to the Meadow Lake Provincial Park, it is accessed through Provincial Highway Number Four running north from North Battleford and connecting to Secondary Highway Number 904.¹ The Reserve consists of three separate parcels of land totaling 19,773 acres, with most of the land concentrated around Waterhen Lake.²

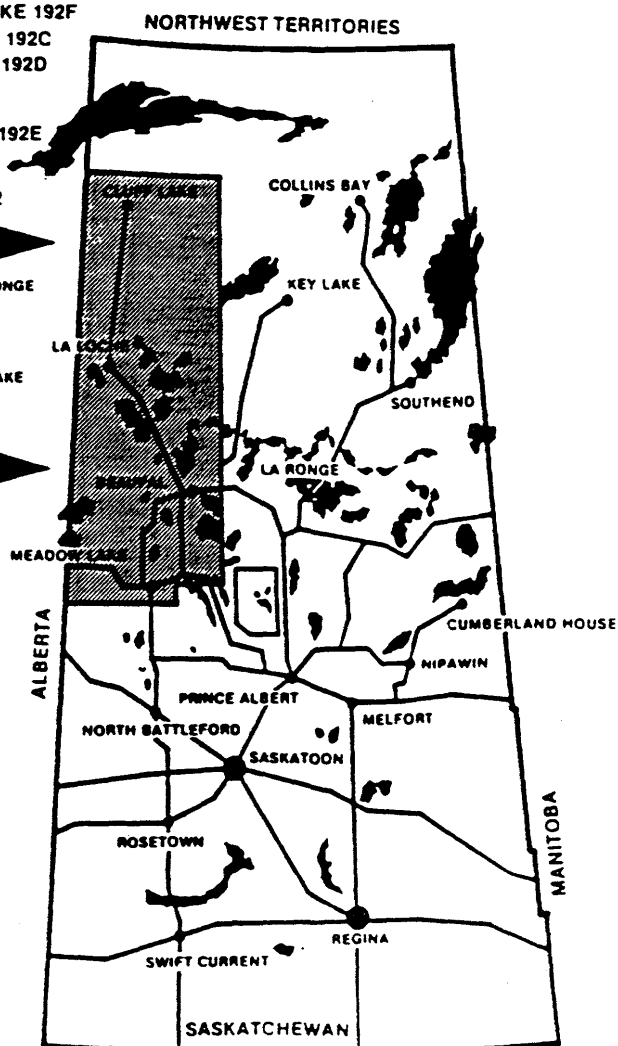
Demographically, the Indian Affairs registry identified the overall population of the Reserve at 999 in 1988, and 1,054 in 1989. The on-Reserve total was 514 or 51.4 per cent in 1988. In 1988 there were 529 females and 470 males. Approximately fifty-two per cent of the population were under 20 years of age.³ The Band's population increased by 42 per cent over 10 years, from 579 in 1978 to the 999 in 1988. Indian Affairs projected 1,600 Band members by the year 2,000.⁴ By 1989, 122 applications involving 244 people under the Federal government's Bill C-31 amendment to the Indian Act had been received by Ottawa; 119 people were reinstated to the membership of the Waterhen Lake First Nation.⁵ (See Appendix A)

According to the 1986 census, 67.3 per cent of the respondents considered the Cree language to be their first language.⁶

The live birth rate for Waterhen Lake is 34.9 per 1,000 population as compared to the Saskatchewan rate of 17.8. The rate of natural increase (births minus deaths) is 31.6 per 1,000. This is significantly higher than the provincial average of 9.8 per 1,000 population.⁷



| SAND NAME | RESERVE NAME | RESERVE NO. | RESERVE SIZE |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|
| BUFFALO RIVER | PETER POND | 102 | 20,406 ACRES |
| CANOE LAKE | CANOE LAKE | 165 | 6,155 |
| | CANOE LAKE | 165 A | 2,935 |
| | CANOE LAKE | 165 B | 537 |
| | EAGLES LAKE | 165 C | 8,596 |
| ENGLISH RIVER | WAPACHEWANAK | 192 D | 959 |
| | LAPLONGE | 192 | 13,882 |
| | ELAK DASE | 192 A | 336 |
| | KNEE LAKE | 192 B | 240 |
| | DIPPER RAPIDS | 192 C | 192 |
| | ILE A LA CROSSE | 192 E | 14 |
| | PRIMEAU | 192 F | 4,176 |
| FLYING DUST | FLYING DUST | 105 | 8,960 |
| | | 105 A | 636 |
| ISLAND LAKE | ISLAND LAKE | 161 | 10,122 |
| | MOODY LAKE | 161 A | 6,698 |
| JOSEPH BIGHEAD | JOSEPH BIGHEAD | 124 | 11,617 |
| MAKWA SAHGAIEHCAN | MAKWA SAHGAIEHCAN | 129 | 4,385 |
| | MAKWA SAHGAIEHCAN | 129 A | 636 |
| | MAKWA SAHGAIEHCAN | 129 B | 9,137 |
| | MAKWA SAHGAIEHCAN | 129 C | 460 |
| BIG "C" | LA LOCHE | 221 | 14,188.45 |
| | LA LOCHE | 222 | 7,055.00 |
| | LA LOCHE | 223 | 2,142.55 |
| TURNOR LAKE | TURNOR LAKE I.R. | 193 B | 231 |
| | CHURCH HILL LAKE | 193 A | 395 |
| | PETER POND LAKE | 193 | 6,044 |
| WATERHEN LAKE | WATERHEN 2 I.R. | 130 | 19,773 |



The 1986 census found a 40.9 per cent unemployment rate at Waterhen Lake. All community residents, such as teachers, were included in the statistics.⁸ An independent study of Band members conducted by Meadow Lake Tribal Council found an 83 per cent unemployment rate (discounting part-time employment created by social assistance dollar).⁹ The average income for individuals was identified at \$10,093.00, compared to the provincial average of \$16,828.00. The main income support was provided by social assistance and family allowance.¹⁰

The Waterhen Lake Band became a Reserve on November 8, 1921, when the Cree at Waterhen Lake signed an Adhesion to Treaty Six (See Appendix B). Treaty Six had been signed in 1876 at Fort Carleton and Fort Pitt between the Plains and Woodland Cree and the Canadian government representing the Queen. The Treaty Six document, drafted unilaterally by the government, was prepared as a legal document setting out certain rights and benefits that were to accrue to the Cree Indians in return for the ceding of their territories to the Crown/government in Canada.

The Waterhen Lake Band is a dynamic community which has experienced much change and adjustment in this century. This thesis traces the history of the Waterhen Lake Reserve over 72 years from November 8, 1921, to December 31, 1993. Whenever appropriate, the Waterhen Lake Band is alternately identified as the Waterhen Lake First Nation, in keeping with current protocol.

This ethno-history uses both oral and written records to tell the story of the Waterhen Lake Band. The oral history which was provided to the researcher by the elders, leaders, and Band members, is crucial to a contextualized understanding of the history of this people. Relevant Band files of oral research conducted earlier supplements the recent oral

component. Government documents, available through the National Archives of Canada, are referenced. Significant research related to the treaties and the issues affecting Indian people have been written over time, and these secondary sources comprise the written sources.

Statement of the Problem

A coherent, chronological ethno-history of the Waterhen Lake Band (Reserve), using oral and written records, does not exist. This history requires research and compilation into a written document. Oral history, which embodies the perspectives of the Waterhen Lake Cree, has not been properly reflected in the written records that are scattered in various government records, and other written sources on the Waterhen Lake Band. Since the elders and leaders recall events and stories on the history of the Band, this precious source of information must be recorded to add the Band's perspective to enrich the written documentation on the history of the Waterhen Lake Band. Indian oral storytelling was an important skill that was featured in the winter months when subsistence activities were minimal. Elders took pride in developing a sharp memory. In the last two decades, Cree legends and stories have been preserved in written form and translated into English and Cree.

Significance of the Study

The study presents a balanced history of the Waterhen Lake Band reconciling the perspectives of Indian and non-Indian society. This is significant in that early history about Indians, written in a less enlightened era, continues to shape how society views the Indian.

There is also a need to capture the wisdom and memories of the elders before the information is lost forever. The work should instill pride and self-esteem in the students and adults of the Waterhen Lake by providing a positive source of self-identity.

Since Indian (First Nation) development in Saskatchewan, particularly In education, is considered at the forefront of Canadian Indian politics, this document adds pertinent research to the body of literature on how First Nations are internally organized to meet the challenges of the future. More specifically, the existing curriculum at the Waterhen Lake school will be enriched and supplemented with much needed Indian content. This history adds to the "spirit and intent" dimension of the treaties by revealing the perspectives and worldviews of the signatories to the adhesion.

Furthermore, the research document sheds light on the Waterhen Lake Band (First Nation) aspirations for self-government. The thesis should assist the First Nation government to initiate a plan for future Indian self-government based on the Band's historical strengths and weaknesses.

Moreover, the history should be an asset to teachers, historians, archivists, tourists, heritage groups, the media, early settlers, and Indian, Federal and Provincial governments that either work for, or study the Waterhen Lake Indians. Finally, it is also hoped that the history will give graduate students a model to follow in the organization of Band/First Nation or community histories.

Delimitations

The thesis is a case study of the Waterhen Lake Band. It examines only one First Nation and does not seek to compare it to others. This research

covers the period that began in 1910 with the treaty discussions, and through the history proper, from November, 8, 1921, to December 31, 1993.

Limitations

The documented government sources are written from the biased viewpoint of the governmental officials. The Indian parties had limited input in any of the correspondence, and treaty documents that were formulated in the earlier centuries.

Although the history of the Band is fairly recent, some of the oral history that is supplied from the memories of the informants may have faded.

Methods of the Study

This ethnohistory was written in the form of a case study of the Waterhen Lake Band. The disciplines of history and anthropology were combined using a qualitative method of inquiry.

As noted earlier, this study examined the history of the Band through the oral and written sources. The primary source of information consulted by the researcher was the oral evidence provided by informants. Pieces of previously recorded interview material of the elders were examined and included in the study. Gifts of tobacco and blankets were offered to the elders in respect of the traditional method of approaching elders for information. To maximize the comfort of the elders in their natural surroundings, the interviews were conducted at their homes. Interviews were recorded on audio-visual tape and the topics of the interviews focussed on the history of the Band. The taped interviews were transcribed from Cree to English. Interviews of non-Band members that impacted on the lives of the Band

members; i.e., missionaries, settlers, area residents, and non-treaty relatives of Band members, were used as supplemental information.

The secondary source of information for this study was taken from the written records found in the National Archives of Canada, local unpublished documents, and from the selected bibliography.

While in Ottawa for a conference on education, the researcher visited the Treaties and Historical Research Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs, where he researched the original Band list to determine who were the early signatories to the Waterhen Lake Adhesion and the year they signed the treaty adhesion. (The list identifying the first Band members is appended to the thesis; see Appendix III.)

Using the oral and written sources, the writer has attempted to place himself in the thoughts and actions of the Waterhen Lake Cree, in the manner prescribed by historian, R. Collingwood.¹¹

The study, developed chronologically in chapter format, specifically identifies the content of each chapter as follows:

In chapter I, the Introduction of the Study is set out in the formal manner prescribed by the University. This chapter defines the purpose, scope, and nature of the study.

Chapter II reviews the historical and legal treaty relationship of the Waterhen Lake Cree to the federal government/Crown in Canada. The evolution of this relationship is evident in the modern definition of the treaty terms.

Chapter III is based on the government correspondence preserved in the National Archives of Canada. This chapter describes the interaction leading to the signing of the Waterhen Lake Adhesion to Treaty Six. This governmental correspondence records the speeches of the Indian elders and

leaders, resulting in perspectives of the treaty terms that support the "spirit and intent" arguments of today's Indians.

The material in Chapter IV takes its content from oral interviews conducted with the elders of the Waterhen Lake Band in 1987. The intent of this chapter is to share the thoughts and comments of the elders since the Band's formation in 1921. The intention here is not only to focus on the history proper, but to include the stories and observances of the elders, adding a cultural context that gives meaning to Indian existence. The information for this chapter stems from interviews conducted with the elders in 1987, through a curriculum project of the Waweyekisik Educational Centre initiated by the researcher. Information gleaned from Band files and follow-up interviews by the researcher, supplement this chapter.

Chapter V, which outlines the contemporary profile of the Band/First Nation, is drawn from two sources. One source is the researcher's 14 years of experience with the Waterhen Lake First Nation and the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC). At Waterhen Lake Band, the experiences consisted of teacher and Coordinator of Education. At the MLTC level, the positions included; the residential high school student services Co-ordinator and the Director of Education. The second source of knowledge on the Reserve is from a technical community study that was done for the Waterhen Lake First Nation, as a background to a self-government initiative examined in chapter VII.

Chapter VI reviews the present and former Chiefs and Councils, over the seventy-two year period since the formation of the Reserve. The oral information supplied by the past and present leaders concerning their political issues and contributions are captured on paper.

In Chapter VII, the self-government aspirations of the Waterhen Lake First Nation are articulated through a formal self-government model that is presently under negotiation with the federal government. The rationale for the "inherent right" to self-government, which was based on historical applications of Aboriginal government, is identified.

In the last chapter of the thesis, the researcher summarizes the study, draws his concluding statements, and adds his recommendations for future research.

Definition of Terms and Abbreviations

For the purpose of this study the following definitions of terms will assist the reader:

Adhesion - A treaty document that formally affiliates a newly formed Indian Reserve to the terms of a larger treaty.

A.F.N. - the Assembly of First Nations, formerly the National Indian Brotherhood, as the political alliance of First Nations/Bands at the national level, with an elected grand Chief.

Band Council - the government of the Band under the Indian Act, consisting of a Chief and a number of Councillors.

Bill C-31 - the 1985 law enacted by the Federal Government to reinstate the Indian women (and their offspring) who had lost their Indian status as a result of marrying non-Indians.

Crown - This refers to the British Sovereign in whose name the Canadian government signed the Indian treaties.

Ethno-history - A historical study of a culture of people, with the historian using oral and written evidence to reconstruct what life was like at various stages of its history through the observances of members of its society. It can also be generally described as a combination of the disciplines of history and anthropology.

First Nation - the modern name used when describing a Band or Reserve in a self-government context.

F.S.I.N. - the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians Nations as the political alliance of Saskatchewan Indian First Nations and represented by a Grand Chief and a number of Vice-Chiefs.

Hegemony(ic) - the exertion of influence and power by one state/group/class over another, based on wealth and size.

Indian - a treaty or status person identified as such in the Indian Act and a member of a Band but not necessarily of a Reserve.

Indian Act - the 1876 legislation outlining the federal government's control and trusteeship over the affairs of Indian people in Canada.

Indian Affairs - an abbreviated form of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs any/or any other Department or Branch that has had responsibility for the administration of Indian people over the timeframe of this study.

Indian Agent - the agency superintendent of Indian Affairs responsible for the Reserves in a district area.

Inherent right - the phrase used to describe the leading argument for the recognition of First Nations self-government. First Nations describe the inherent right as an Aboriginal right to practice the self-government that they once enjoyed before the signing of the Treaties.

M.L.T.C. - the Meadow Lake Tribal Council which is the political alliance of the nine Meadow Lake First Nations.

Self-government - the process that has been initiated to facilitate the negotiation of Indian jurisdictional authorities to enable First Nations to govern their own affairs.

Spirit and Intent - The unwritten verbal agreements and expectations of the signing parties to the Treaties.

Reserve - refers to the land set aside for the use of Indian Bands after the signing of a treaty or an adhesion with the federal government.

Treaty Six - One of eleven numbered treaties, signed in Western Canada between 1871 and 1921, between the Plains and Woodland Cree of the Prairies and the Crown in Canada.

Waterhen Lake Band - The Cree group of Indians that reside on the Waterhen Lake Reserve who claimed the surrounding territory before the signing of the Adhesion.

Literature Review

In Theories of History, editor Patrick Gardiner discussed selections from the philosophers of history, that ranged from the time of the enlightenment in the seventeenth century to 1959. In his selection of works, the evolution of the philosophy of history can be traced. Gardiner argued that the physical sciences, which are based on empirical evidence, became the foundation for the development of the scientific method of inquiry. The blanket application of the scientific method for measuring all research had not been embraced by all research disciplines. Although some social scientists and historians had been critical of the "scientific" methods or paradigm, many early philosophers of history clung tenaciously to the empirical model as a panacea for all research. Eventually, social historians constructed an alternative model for analyzing history and social interactions; they argued that human affairs were distinct from scientific phenomena in that humans embodied unique behaviors that were legitimate in themselves.¹²

Gardner cited Collingwood, a British historian, who concurred that history was an autonomous discipline. The latter did not see a need to apply the scientific method or universal laws to history. He argued that what people

think is the fundamental concept behind historical inquiry.¹³ Collingwood, comparing an event versus the action of an event, stated that the historian:

"... may begin by discovering the outside of an event, but it can never end there; he must always remember that the event was an action, and that his main task is to think himself into this action, to discern the thought of its agent"¹⁴

Collingwood explained the value of historians placing their thoughts in the minds of their subjects by adding;

... that the historian should be able to interpret it, that is, should be able to re-enact in his own mind the thought he is studying, envisaging the problem from which it started and reconstructing the steps by which its solution was attempted."¹⁵

L. Douglas, A. Roberts, and R. Thompson wrote that the phrase, "oral history" was coined in 1948, by American historian, Allan Nevins.¹⁶ Having stated that oral history had made an impact during the 1970s, they added that oral history has been one of the big growth areas in history and is recognized as a valuable historical technique.¹⁷ In 1988, P. Thompson stated that oral history is the oldest skill of the historian, originating in history's formative years.¹⁸

The editors of Kataayuk (meaning elders) recommended that oral interviews be conducted in the homes of Indian elders to maximize informant comfort.¹⁹ J. McCracken, who studied oral history, wrote in her introduction regarding the value of using audio-tape to record oral interviews.²⁰ Douglas, et al., stated the effective use of audio-visual equipment depended on each informant's comfort zone. They added that the use of audio tapes and note-taking was quite acceptable to all informants by 1988.²¹ They also said a flexible interview structure was more effective than a restrictive structure, or no structure at all.²² H. Dempsey, an Alberta

historian, argued that local history is better served by using theme based topics to organize a history.²³

In his 1980 historical work on Mohawk life, Blanchard reflected the Mohawk worldview in his themes, with all outside influences treated as secondary in emphasis.²⁴ Blanchard added that history attempts to give a vibrant reflection of the events, hopes, and dreams which are at the core of any community.²⁵ D. Mandlebaum's work on the Plains' Cree provided an authority on the traditional culture and lifestyles of the Cree before European contact.²⁶ J. Molloy, a Plains Cree author, gave further evidence of the Cree in relation to the way that they conducted trade, diplomacy, and war.²⁷

W. Morris, who negotiated three of the numbered treaties on behalf of the government, wrote a book in 1888 about his experiences with the treaties, which is a primary source of information to all treaty researchers.²⁸ In 1987, J. Taylor, a consultant, reviewed the agreements of Treaty Six for the Department of Indian Affairs in a more liberal context than before.²⁹ Richard Price, an Alberta author, studied the Indian and government treaty relationship in 1991. He examined the interpretation of the treaty terms with a "spirit and intent" perspective.³⁰ He also identified the current issues that are at the forefront of Indian aspirations, including self-government. B. Stonechild, who edited a book for the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, wrote that Treaty Six was signed because the government (Crown), wanted to diffuse Indian unrest and ensure safety for the settlers. He stated that the government (Crown) came into the Treaty negotiations with a mindset to diffuse the potentially volatile situation.³¹

Delia Opikokew investigated the decisions of the Canadian and provincial courts from the period of time that the courts began to rule on legal cases concerning Indians until 1990. She charted the decisions that have

led to a progressive and liberal interpretation of treaties leading to a construction of treaty law.³² The Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Inquiry that was presided over by Associate Chief Justice Hamilton, and Associate Chief Judge Sinclair found that the justice system failed in the Helen Osborne and the J.J. Harper cases. The justices made sweeping recommendations for reform to the provincial and federal governments on Aboriginal justice inclusive of, police services, aboriginal self-government, and aboriginal rights, by encouraging the governments to allow Aboriginals to establish their own justice systems.³³

Conclusion

The structure of this thesis will give the readers an organized view of the Waterhen Lake Band, both past and present. A vast amount of original research has gone into the development of this work. A main goal of this study has been to provide research that adds the Indian perspective on Indian and Non-Indian relationships. In conclusion, the researcher has had to reconcile the written history to the oral history to arrive at his conclusions.

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CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND OF THE TREATIES

This chapter examines the historical and legal background of the treaties as they developed in Canada. The history of treaty-making in Canada is traced, and the terms and provisions of Treaty Six are described. Moreover, the modern, legal interpretations of the treaty provisions are discussed.

The treaty "Adhesion", which was signed by the Waterhen Lake Band, was patterned after the more comprehensive Treaty Six, signed in 1876 at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt. Treaty Six was signed between the Plains and Woodland Cree of what is now the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the British Crown as represented by the government of Canada. As with earlier treaty instruments, the government structured this treaty to get the Cree to cede 121,000 square miles of Indian territory to the Canadian government in exchange for specific benefits. The treaty terms and provisions were to apply to the Waterhen Lake Band, the subject of this thesis.

Prior to the signing of Treaty Six, the Cree grew restless as government surveyors and white settlers encroached upon their traditional territories. A number of times prior to 1876, the Cree had sent word to Ottawa of their displeasure with the government's tardiness to negotiate a treaty with them. Behind the request of the Cree to have a treaty made with them were their concerns with the steady depletion of their primary food-source, the buffalo and the decimation of the Indian population due to the scourge of small-pox. The Cree were distressed, and the tension was mounting in the area. Although no violence had yet occurred to disturb the

peace, Hudson Bay Company officials and government surveyors were voicing apprehensions about the anxieties of the Indians.¹

In 1876, Alexander Morris, senior government negotiator for Treaties Three through Six, was dispatched to this area to conduct the treaty negotiations on behalf of the government.² Morris, former Conservative Member of Parliament for Perth, Ontario and ex-cabinet Minister, had been appointed Chief Justice of Manitoba, in the early part of 1872. In December 1872, Morris succeeded Adams G. Archibald as the Lieutenant-Governor for Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In August 1876, Morris arrived in Fort Pitt for the treaty negotiations with a generic treaty document that was to be discussed with, and signed by the Cree.

On August 23 and 28, of 1876, the Cree at Fort Carlton, under the leadership of Mistawasis, Ahtuhkakoop, and Beardy, signed Treaty Six. However, the treaty document was expanded to incorporate a number of concessions requested by the Cree. On September 8, 1876, the Cree at Fort Pitt, under the stewardship of Sweetgrass, agreed to the terms accepted by the Carleton Indians. Chief Big Bear was out on the land with his people at the time of the Fort Pitt negotiations and did not participate in the treaty agreement.

The Conservative government of 1876 intended that the Treaty Six agreement would be identical to Treaties One through Five. Although the terms and provisions of Treaty Six were similar in many aspects to the provisions in the treaties that preceded it, I will discuss the additional aspects which made this treaty unique.

The History of Treaty-Making in Canada

The Robinson Treaties of 1850, signed between the government of Upper Canada and the Ojibway, set the tone for most of the treaties between the Canadian government and western Canadian Indians, that were to follow.³ These two Treaties were intended to expedite the appropriation of land by the Crown and to relocate the Ojibway onto defined reserves. The government structured these forerunners of Treaty Six to extinguish Indian title to specific geographic areas. The Ojibway received only minimal benefits; the Reserve they retained constituted only a fraction of the land that they had previously enjoyed. The early method of determining the quantity of the Reserve land base to be set aside was arbitrary and not defined until the Manitoulin Treaty of 1862. The Robinson Treaties granted an initial cash gratuity, a cash annuity, and hunting and fishing rights in the ceded territories, with the exception of land that had since been sold or Crown land that was occupied.

Following the Robinson Treaties, the Manitoulin Island Treaty of 1862 between the Ojibway and the government of Upper Canada defined the formula for the amount of land by linking the size of a reserve to the number of families.⁴ However, because the Ojibway considered the amount of land generated by the Manitoulin Treaty to be inadequate, the allocation formula was later increased in the numbered treaties.

The numbered treaties between the Government of Canada and the Indian peoples of western Canada came into force between 1871 - 1921. This series of treaties altered the practice of previous treaty negotiations established in Ontario by increasing the role of the Indian signatories in the negotiation of the treaties.⁵ The numbered treaties added the right to maintain a school on each reserve. The inclusion of agricultural assistance

was also a feature of these treaties. Treaty Three increased the Reserve formula to allow for one square mile per family of five. All of the Indian treaties mentioned earlier and all successive treaties, including Treaty Six, embodied the following terms and benefits:

- a. Mutual observation of treaty and law, maintain peace and order, aid in apprehending Indian offenders, and act as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty.
- b. Reserves consisting of one square mile per family of five. Reserve land may be sold by the government for its own use with due compensation, or by the consent of the Indians for their own benefit.
- c. The Indians would be able to pursue hunting and fishing activities in the surrendered area except in areas taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering, and other government purposes subject to federal regulations. The amount of \$1,500 was to be provided by the government each year for ammunition and twine.
- d. Schools would be maintained on the reserves as the need warranted.
- e. The treaties granted agricultural assistance of four hoes, two spades, two scythes, one whetstone, two hayforks, two reaping hooks, and two axes per family. It also provided for one plough and harrow per three families. On a band basis, it was to provide one crosscut saw, one handsaw, one pit-saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, and one

auger. Sufficient wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes to plant broken land plus one handmill when warranted, four oxen, one bull, six cows, one boar, two sows, and one chest of carpenter's tools. In lieu of the Band items, \$1,000 could be given to the Band at the discretion of the Indian agent to purchase the appropriate agricultural provisions. This expenditure was to be in force only for three successive years after the signing of Treaty Six.

f. The initial payments, annuities, and gratuities were inclusive of \$12 per Band member at the time of signing. Thereafter each member received \$5.00 per annum. Chiefs were to receive \$25 annually with Headmen getting \$15 per year. In addition, the Chief received one horse, one harness, one wagon or two carts, and British flags. Both Chief and Headmen were provided with silver medals and triennial suits of clothing.

In summary, Treaty Six was unique in that it augmented the Indian position in the treaties by adding three benefits that had not been previously negotiated in any treaty up to that period.

1. It identified the "medicine chest" clause which served to address the health requirements of the Indian signatories.
2. The "pestilence and famine" clause in Treaty Six was likewise novel and was negotiated to protect the Indians from future calamities that could lead to starvation.

3. Moreover, the Cree were able to secure an increase in the quantity of agricultural assistance that was to be provided to them. This included a cash concession of \$1,000 to be granted for an initial three year period, to assist them in the cultivation of the soil.

The Interpretation of the Treaties

The interpretations of the treaty terms have been subject to the whims of successive federal governments since 1876. As recently as the 1960s, treaties were interpreted from the government's perspective with minimal consideration of the Indian party to the agreements. Only in recent years has the federal government relaxed its adherence to the narrow definition of the written text in the treaties.

According to the oral evidence, the Indian signatories to the treaties were reassured that the verbal agreements made at the time of negotiation of the treaties would be honoured. At the signing ceremonies, government officials made verbal commitments that were recorded by observers and preserved in written notes. In the oral tradition, the Indian signatories passed on the verbal assurances to their descendants. In the 1970s, the verbal promises were subsequently documented by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians when these assurances were transcribed into English.⁶ As an example, one of the verbal commitments of the government negotiators stated that the treaties would be in force "for as long as the sun shines, and the rivers flow." The reference to the verbal agreements came to be known as the "spirit and intent" component of the treaties, which Indian people passionately promote in the interpretation of treaties. The Indian people soon found that the "spirit and intent" context of the treaties was not to be acknowledged by the government. This did not occur until the 1970s.

The Indians had no reason to demand that the verbal assurances be captured on paper. In the Cree culture, discussions of an oral nature were the means by which binding commitments were made. In both the Indian and non-Indian societies of that period, one's worth and honour was only as good as one's word. Prior to the treaty signings, there had been little requirement for the use of a written language since oral communication had served the aboriginal inhabitants well. Moreover, it had served adequately as a means of communication and agreement in trade relations between the Indian and the Non-Indian for at least two centuries before the signing of Treaty Six.⁷

Shortly after Treaty Six was penned, the government reneged even on its paper obligations, citing financial restraint to justify denying the provisions of the treaty.⁸ Government neglect of the treaties continued for almost a century. In the 1970s, the government finally accepted a flexible definition of the terms of the treaties. The impetus for change, recognizing the verbal commitments made by the government negotiators, first arose because a more informed and tolerant Canadian society had developed in this period that became a watershed for human rights. Secondly, it occurred as a result of the increased political activism as treaty Indians, formed provincial and national organizations to lobby the government to respect their treaties. This change led to increased accountability by the government for their end of the treaties.

In recent times, the "spirit and intent" rationale of the treaties has been respected by society through the legal system, to define the extent to which the government should take responsibility for Indian people. As the judicial arm of Canadian society, provincial and federal courts have increased legal support to the "spirit and intent" argument by recognizing

that the understandings of both the signing parties to the treaties have to be reconciled.

Development of Treaty Law

In early Canadian Court decisions before 1982, the lack of previous legal references resulted in the indiscriminate application of contract law to deal with treaty issues. The Courts recognized that the uniqueness of the treaty relationship between the Indians and the Crown required the legal construction of treaty law. The development of treaty law evolved very slowly and escalated only with the patriation of the Canadian constitution in 1982, which recognized Indian treaties and the position of the Indians. It also enhanced the legal parameters of Indian rights.

In 1991, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations contracted lawyer Delia Opikokew to research the legal status of treaties by chronicling the court cases that have impacted on the development of treaty law.⁹ Opikokew's work is referenced extensively in this part of the chapter to give the reader a legal perspective of the treaties. (see note 9).

In 1895, Mr. Justice Sedgewick of the Supreme Court of Canada, presided over a case on the question of jurisdiction. He tried to establish whether Ottawa or a provincial government was responsible for the payment of treaty annuities under certain treaties. Although Indian people were not directly involved in the case itself, an important principle was established regarding how benefits to treaty Indians were to be construed. Justice Sedgewick wrote in his judgement that the "principle of generous construction" should apply to the Indians when a legal decision is reached. Moreover, he ruled that Her Majesty's "faithful allies" should be dealt with in good faith, justice and generosity, with "the fullest benefit of every possible doubt."¹⁰

In the same period, a landmark decision in the United States Supreme Court was reached in 1899 that had a positive effect on Canadian treaty law. This case involving *Jones v. Meehan*, clarified the status of the technical language found in Indian treaties. The decision held that "Indian treaties must be construed, not according to the technical meaning of their words, but in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by the Indians."¹¹ By considering the understandings of the Indians in the treaties, this case added considerably to the development of treaty law.

In 1932, an Alberta Court of Appeal decision involved a Treaty Seven Indian who had been hunting on unoccupied Crown land in the Province of Alberta, in contravention of the provincial law. The judge adjudicated in favour of the defendant, stating Indians hunting for food were not to be unduly restricted by provincial game laws. Mr. Justice McGillivray added that the "honour" of the Crown was to be maintained when dealing with the aborigines. The Crown's integrity at the time of signing was not to be compromised in the treaties considering that the verbal promises of the treaties were made in the Sovereign's name. He concluded by stating that justice and determined resolution were to be used in removing the causes of discontent.¹²

In *Dreaver v. The King*, (1935) concerning treaty rights to education and medicine, Chief Dreaver of the Mistawasis Band testified that he, being twenty years of age at the time, had been present at the signing of Treaty Six in 1876. His understanding of the discussions was that all medicines and education were to be given free of charge to the Indians. Justice J. Angers ruled in favour of the Chief. This ruling served to legitimize the value of oral testimony and evidence from the perspective of the Indian party to the treaty negotiations.¹³

In the 1960s, a significant treaty decision looked at the validity of a Hudson Bay Company agreement in 1854 allowing Indians to hunt in a given area. These rights were later prohibited by the Province of British Columbia, where the Indians resided. In giving the majority decision, Mr. Justice Davey of the Court of Appeal determined that the Hudson Bay Company had been an instrument of imperial policy in Canadian history, therefore the agreement was in force and, by its existence, absolved the defendants of wrong doing. In concurring with the decision, Mr. Justice Norris added that at the time of British exploration and settlement, an agreement by "the word of a whiteman" was "the most important means of obtaining the goodwill and cooperation of the native tribes and ensuring that the colonists would be protected from death and destruction."¹⁴

In 1981, a retrial in the Ontario Court of Appeal was presided over by Associate Chief Justice MacKinnon. On an issue of treaty interpretation, the Justice found the accused, a treaty Indian, not guilty of taking bullfrogs out of season. In his adjudication, the Justice declared that the history and oral tradition of the tribes have to be considered in determining the treaty's interpretation. He cautioned that new grievances not be created by the courts, by taking an isolated or current view of past events without the context and understanding of history. In his final arguments, he stated that "the honour of the Crown is always involved and no appearance of sharp dealing should be sanctioned."¹⁵

In the 1984 case of *Guerin v. The Queen*, the issue involved a long term lease for a golf course on leased Reserve land. The Department of Indian Affairs agreed to the terms of a lease which were not the terms sought by the Musqueam Band. Mr. Justice Dickson, with the concurrence of his colleagues, ruled that the lease was invalid. The Justice took the

opportunity to develop some basic principles around the treaties that would involve an entirely new category of law. He developed the principle that the fiduciary obligation of the Crown is "sui generis" in nature. By "sui generis" he meant that the treaties were unique. Dickson ruled that the treaties deserved to stand alone under their own treaty law because they were neither merely contracts nor were they treaties in the international sense. He concluded that a fiduciary responsibility exists when one party acts as the trustee for another party, for the purpose of managing the second party's affairs in a trusteeship arrangement. Dickson's remarks in the *Guerin* case greatly facilitated the Crown's accountability of its obligations to treaty Indians.¹⁶

The principle of "liberal" construction was set out in 1983 in a matter at the Supreme Court of Canada. The case involved a man who lived on the Gull Lake Reserve in the province of Ontario. He worked off the reserve in a logging operation for a development corporation that had its head office on the reserve. The issue before the Court was whether income tax should be assessed on the appellant. Mr. Justice Dickson concluded that, since the wages were payable on the Reserve, the income was situated there and was not taxable. Furthermore, he added that treaties should be liberally construed and when in doubt were to be resolved in the favour of the Indians.¹⁷ In support of his ruling, Dickson quoted from *Jones and Meehan*, a 1899 United States case that had ruled that the understanding of the Indians at the treaty signing would outweigh the technical meaning in the treaties.¹⁸

In *Simon v. The Queen*, adjudicated in 1985, the Supreme Court decision augmented the earlier 1983 decision. The case focused on an alleged hunting infraction against the Nova Scotia Land and Forest Act. A Treaty

Indian was found out of the reserve, with a rifle and shotgun cartridges. In absolving the accused, Chief Justice Dickson stated the method of hunting in 1985 did not have to parallel the technology of hunting as it was practiced in 1752. This decision supported the argument for a modern and liberal interpretation of treaty terms. In building on the liberal construction theory, Dickson framed the main principle that "treaties should be given a fair, large and liberal construction in favour of the Indians."¹⁹ Opekokew states that the principle of interpreting treaties in a liberal fashion stemmed from an earlier principle that the treaties must not bring dishonour to the Crown.²⁰

In 1990, a recent decision of the Supreme Court was reached in the case of the Queen v. Sioui. A group of Hurons was charged under provincial laws for camping, cutting down trees, and making fires in undesignated areas. The case hinged on whether an agreement that had been signed by an official of the British Crown in 1760, which allowed the disputed activities, was a treaty that still held force. The court ruled in favour of the Hurons and, in keeping with the principles laid out by Chief Justice Dickson, Justice Lamer advocated the liberal interpretation of what constitutes a treaty. Moreover, Lamer observed that the treaties fall between the type of relations experienced between two sovereign nations and the relations that nations had with their own citizens. This observation supported the principle that treaties are "sui generis" or in a class by themselves. In characterizing whether an agreement is a treaty, the Justice stated that it "is the intention to create obligations, the presence of mutually binding obligations and a certain measure of solemnity."²¹

The Liberal Application of Treaty and Aboriginal Rights

As a result of the trend to a "liberal" interpretation of the benefits of treaty obligations, certain rights and privileges have accrued to contemporary Indians. The "medicine chest" clause in Treaty Six is now defined as providing to Indian people the total benefits of Canada's modern health system. The "agricultural assistance" in the treaties is now being met through the funding of economic development assistance to Indian Bands to create an economy. The "famine and pestilence" clause is now interpreted as the provision of social assistance to needy individuals. The school clause has come to signify education plus for First Nations students. The minimum educational benefit is equivalent to that provided by the Province of Saskatchewan. In addition, resources are available to enrich the curriculum with Indian content, such as Indian language instruction and cultural education.

The principle of Indian control of Indian education was adopted by the federal government in 1973, resulting in the replacement of the colonial education system imposed on Indian students by the federal government. Although the province controls the jurisdiction of education, flexibility remains for First Nation schools to transmit Indian culture and language. The discussion of Indian jurisdiction over Indian education and the role of traditional education principles is currently occurring, simultaneously with the larger constitutional debate over self-government. Indian people aspire to practice self-government in education, as a third order of government, arguing that they never gave up the right to self-government in the treaties. Research has been initiated by the First Nations of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations on the likely scope and content of self-government in education.

Contentious issues remain around the interpretation of treaties which have not been applied against the the fair, large, and liberal position as established by the Supreme Court of Canada. The Indian descendants of the treaties, argue the integrity of the "spirit and intent" of the treaties be fully addressed.

The government position in the written treaty stipulated that the Indian land was to be ceded to the crown forever in exchange for the written benefits stated in the document. There is great concern, by the descendents of the Indian signatories, about the misunderstanding of the government regarding the land cession clause.²² Since the matter had not been thoroughly explained, subsequent clarification by elders on the relationship of Indian people to the land preclude any measure that would enable them to "sell" or give their land to a fellow human being. The sale and private ownership of land was a foreign concept to Indian people. They believed that the land, as with the natural creatures, was owned solely by God, and could not be sold by one person to another. The view of contemporary Indians is that the Indian leaders in respect of Indian custom, and through consensus of their people, agreed to share the land for certain permanent benefits. In light of this situation, the confinement of Indians to small tracts of land with little commercial value may be a contentious issue in the future if the "spirit and intent" or liberal context is to be honoured. The Indians are pursuing the latitude to accrue lands and expand the reserves to develop an economy

There is currently a disagreement surrounding the responsibility of the government for post-secondary education. In capping the post-secondary funding the federal government is standing by its policy that university

education is not a treaty right. This position by the government will have to undergo the liberal test, if it is to take a liberal interpretation of the treaties.

At a very basic level, the treaty annuity payment of \$5.00 per Indian has remained at the same level since the time of the treaties. If the rate of inflation was to apply to this amount, it would more closely approach the purchasing power that it had in 1876. Will a liberal construction be applied here?

In conclusion, it is clear the interpretation of treaties has undergone a profound metamorphosis in recent years. The fact that a legal partnership, with all the obligations inherent in, it was created by the signing of the treaties. This requires Euro-Canadian society to find a new way of doing business with its Aboriginals.

This chapter examined how Treaty Six and its predecessors have shaped the creation of the Waterhen Lake Band. The following chapter will investigate how the Cree of the Waterhen Lake Band came to sign the "Adhesion" to Treaty Six, in 1921, thereby accepting treaty status.

NOTES

1. John Leonard Taylor, Treaty Research Report: Treaty Six (Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1985), 6.

2. Ibid., 2n.

3. William Benjamin Robinson conducted the Robinson treaties on behalf of the Province of Canada. (Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories [Toronto: Belfords Clarke and Company, 1880]).

4. William McDougal, the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs officiated the Manitoulin Island Treaty in 1862.

5. Wemyss Mckenzie Simpson represented the government in Treaties One and Two. Alexander Morris negotiated Treaties Three to Six.

6. The oral commitments as related by the elders at the time of the Treaty Six negotiations, were documented in 1976 in a booklet titled, "The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, Treaty Six" (Saskatoon: FSI's Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1976).

7. In the case involving R. v. White and Bob, this observation is confirmed by Justice Norris in Delia Opikokew and Alan Pratt The Legal Status of Indian Treaties in Relation to the Right to Education A research paper for The Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (Blaney, McMurtry, Stapells, July, 1990).

8. Richard T. Price, Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships (Edmonton: Plain's Publishing Inc., 1991), 59.

9. Opikokew, and Pratt, The Legal Status of Indian Treaties in Relation to the Right to Education.

10. Ibid., 22-23.

11. Ibid., 43.

12. Ibid., 23-25.

13. Ibid., 25-28.

14. Ibid., 30-33.

CHAPTER III

THE WATERHEN LAKE CREE SIGN AN ADHESION TO TREATY SIX

This chapter documents the period between 1909 and 1921, leading to the Treaty Adhesion of the Waterhen Lake Cree. The preceding chapter located the Waterhen Lake Cree in the Treaty Six area, therefore, their "Adhesion" was appended to Treaty Six, which had been negotiated at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt in 1876.

Following the signing of Treaty Six, the majority of the Cree living in the Waterhen Lake territory were oblivious of the treaty agreement reached at Forts Carleton and Pitt. Because they were living in the woodland of Saskatchewan where game was still plentiful, the decimation of the buffalo did not affect them.

When the Waterhen Lake area of Saskatchewan came to be desired for both settlement and its natural resources, the federal government approached the Waterhen Lake Cree in the first decade of this century to accept treaty. Since the Waterhen Lake Cree continued to make a good living from their subsistence activities, they did not see an immediate reason for signing an "Adhesion." On a number of occasions, the Waterhen Lake Band refused to consider a treaty agreement of any kind. They had required little external assistance from the government and European settlement had not yet reached their part of the country. They desired to be left in undisturbed possession of their land to peacefully practice their spiritual and cultural ways.

The Band's imperviousness of pressure to sign a treaty, led the government officials to label the Waterhen Lake Cree, "a stubborn people." In their sustained efforts to bring the Band under treaty, the officials often

enthusiastically over-reacted whenever one or more members of the resident Indians would hint at a willingness to consider treaty status. The officials discovered, to their dismay and often at great cost, that the majority of the Cree Band was not willing to consider this option.

The Treaty Adhesion was finally signed on November 8, 1921, and appeared anticlimatic when compared to the events leading up to the signing. In the historical timeframe of treaty making in Canada, this "Adhesion" was comparatively late. By 1921, Treaty Eleven, the last major numbered treaty in western Canada, had been signed.

Government correspondence written during this period detail the communication that occurred between the Cree and the government party. Moreover, the transcribed speeches of the Waterhen Lake elders, preserved in the form of direct quotations, reflect their perspectives and concerns on the terms of the Adhesion. Since the formal treaties and treaty adhesions were constructed by the Euro-Canadian officials, the comments and concerns of the first elders of the Waterhen Lake Band are significant in that they support the concerns that Indians have had about the construction of treaties.

In this era, the principal leaders for the Waterhen Lake Cree were RunningAround and Uglyfoot. RunningAround was considered the leader of the younger members of the band, while Uglyfoot was recognized as the head of the older generation. As was customary amongst the Cree, the views of others were invited and, as the opportunity arose, elders, leaders, minor leaders, and band members offered their input at the various treaty councils.

Since treaty agreements required the accurate identification of treaty Indian registrants, the names of the Indians had to be identified. Many of the Cree elders and leaders used a descriptive Cree name, which had often

been given as the result of a spiritual experience such as a vision quest. To simplify treaty record keeping for the government officials, the Cree name was translated into its English counterpart, or a new name was given. In some cases, the single Cree identifier was translated into English, becoming the surname, as first or Christian names were added under the increasing influence of the Euro-Canadian culture.

Following a chronological format, the researcher will trace the correspondence documented in government records to tell the story of the Waterhen Lake Band Adhesion to Treaty Six.

The Governmental Transcripts

On May 3, 1910, Inspector of Indian Agencies, W.R. Chisholm, wrote from Regina, to J.D. McLean, the Assistant Deputy Superintendent and Secretary of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, to inform him of the Treaty Ten annuity payments in Canoe Lake in 1909, where a member of the Big Island Lake Cree to the south asked that a government official be sent to explain the treaty to his relatives at Waterhen Lake.¹ Chisholm added that approximately 100 Cree, who were not included in treaty, lived in the Waterhen and Big Island Lake area. He advised that he would be able to visit these Indians on his way to Ile a la Crosse should the Department approve of his plan. In his reply, McLean approved Chisholm's plan to visit the two Cree communities.² However, he cautioned that no further admissions to Treaty Ten would be entertained for that year. Following the visitation, Chisholm was required to submit a report to the Department documenting the discussions between himself and the Cree at Waterhen Lake.

As earlier arranged, Chisholm reported to McLean that he had met with members of the two Bands, individually and as a group, on June 24 and 25, 1910, for the purpose of explaining the treaty provisions.³ He had attempted to take a census of the Indians to ascertain their numbers, but many of the Indians resented the attempt to enumerate them. Despite this reaction, he was able to get a fair estimate of the Indians and their families with the help of a few Indians. This was the estimate that he gave:

At Waterhen Lake; 19 men, 16 women, 28 children, total 63,

At Big Island Lake; 10 men, 10 women, 11 children, total 31,

29 men, 26 women, 39 children, total 94.⁴

Chisholm described the health of the Indians as generally good. He observed that they were "orderly, harmless and law abiding." He reported that the land the Indians occupied was valuable country, abundant with both agricultural and timber resources. On the afternoon of June 24th, the main provisions of the treaty were explained to the Bands. Chisholm suggested the Indians discuss the subject amongst themselves with the intention both parties would reconvene in the morning to share the position of the Cree. On the following day, the Indians unanimously rejected the treaty overtures. Inspector Chisholm paraphrased the position of the Cree:

The Indians had made good use of the interval in discussing the question proposed; and they came to the second meeting all of one mind and fully prepared to give expression to it. They claim as their own the country south and east as far as the Beaver River; and they wish to be left in undisturbed possession of it. This claim was put forward by several of their principal men, with much variety of expression, but all to the same purpose. They maintain that this stretch of country was given to them by the Great Spirit, as a hunting ground, from which to derive their subsistence; and they would regard it as impious to take any measures toward a surrender of rights and privileges conferred in this way. They maintain that they and their ancestors have dwelt here, under the favour of their God, in peace and

happiness; and they believe they would have reason to expect calamity and retribution should they willingly abandon the land which had been assigned to them by heaven for their use.⁵

Chisholm also wrote about the concern of the Cree regarding the work of surveyors in the surrounding territories that they considered part of their traditional grounds. He remarked on the prominence of the Indian women at the meeting and referred to one unidentified middle-aged woman, who made a passionate speech concerning the importance of their ancient inheritance. Her speech was enthusiastically applauded by the men of the band. Chisholm delivered a warning to them by stating that, if a reserve was not taken, the land that they claimed would soon be threatened by settlement. Finally, he recommended to his superiors that the two bands be interviewed periodically. He predicted that they would probably accept treaty status, if money was offered to them along with the other treaty advantages.

In 1910, E. Jean, an Ottawa official, acknowledged Chisholm's letter and, in error, stated that the Waterhen Lake territory had already been ceded under the terms of Treaty Ten and the Indians residing there should be induced to accept the terms of Treaty Ten.⁶ Jean added that the agricultural and timber resources in the Waterhen Lake area would soon be "exploited" by settlers and lumbermen and that assurances needed to be given to them that the Indians would not interfere in their operations.

In 1913, there was much correspondence regarding treaty negotiations with the Waterhen Lake Cree. In January, Chisholm informed McLean of his visit to Waterhen Lake, in 1910, describing how the older men had influenced the younger ones to disregard the treaty discussions.⁷ Chisholm brought to MacLean's attention the opinion of J.H. Reid, the Hudson Bay Company manager from Ile a la Crosse, who had stated that the Indians

wished to sign an adhesion in the coming summer. Although Chisholm opined the band was afraid not only of losing its traditional land but also the portion that had been designated for their reserve, there is no evidence to support the view that the Indians, as a group, were anxious about losing their land if they did not sign a treaty adhesion.

E. Jean, sent a memo to D.C. Scott, head of the accounting branch in Ottawa, requesting funds to pay the forthcoming annuity payments, money for rations, and a salary for the officials who would be attempting to conclude the adhesion of the Waterhen Lake Cree.⁸ Clarification was requested of Scott as to whether the Indians would be offered gratuity payments in addition to the annuity payments. The gratuity offer was a one-time incentive payment to encourage the Cree to sign the Adhesion.

Chisholm responded to McLean's concern about threats made to surveyors in the vicinity of Waterhen Lake.⁹ The sense of urgency around this event, intensified the government's resolve to induce the Cree to sign the treaty adhesion. Chisholm agreed to make another trip to Waterhen Lake to negotiate with the Indians.¹⁰ He requested the money to pay the Indians because this, he advised, would expedite the process. From his 1910 visit, he recounted that 63 Indians resided at Waterhen Lake and 31 at Big Island Lake, located 40 miles west, and that they would likely accept separate reserves.

Chief Accountant Scott wrote to Deputy Superintendent of Affairs in Ottawa, Francis Pedley, regarding the "stubborn" Indians at Waterhen Lake. He discussed the alarm of the Cree with the work of the surveyors, and explained how efforts were being stepped up to take them into treaty.¹¹ He identified that the "Adhesion" was to fall within the Treaty Six territory rather than the Treaty Ten area. For two reasons, he recommended that the

Indians be offered gratuity payments in addition to the annuity payments. First, the Treaty Ten Bands to the immediate north, had received gratuity payments at the time of signing. Secondly, this payment did not set a precedent, since in 1888, another Band from the Treaty Six area had already received gratuity payments, retroactive to 1876. He added that these concessions were necessary to avoid future complications. Scott disagreed with approaching the Cree band in the spring, believing the Indians would not have returned from their hunting grounds. He advised that sending notices to the Indians of the forthcoming visit would be more appropriate at this point with the actual contact occurring in early June when travel by water was good. Scott recommended that Inspector Chisholm be selected for this duty.

McLean wrote to Chisholm directing him to follow the recommendations given to him by Scott.¹² He added that the necessary funds, instructions and documents would be arriving prior to his trip. In reply, Chisholm told McLean that he had served notice to all the Indians concerning his forthcoming visit. The Hudson Bay Company officials, the competing Revellion Company staff, the independent fur and fish dealers, the Catholic missionaries, and Indian Agent Sibbald at Onion Lake, had undertaken to inform the Indians.¹³

McLean sent Chisholm one blank treaty adhesion form for the collective signatures of the principal men of the Waterhen Lake and Big Island Bands.¹⁴ McLean reaffirmed the territory in dispute was located in the Treaty Six area, rather than in Treaty Ten, therefore, the bands were to adhere to Treaty Six. He empowered Chisholm to grant two separate reserves, if the two bands requested it. Furthermore, he added the Waterhen

Lake Band may be granted two councillors, if they insisted on it. He also sent the following articles to Chisholm:

- (a) for the Chiefs; 2 silver medals,
2 flags,
2 blank pay books,
2 estimate forms.

- (b) for the headmen; 2 bronze medals.¹⁵

The Treaty document referred to in McLean's letter to Chisholm was signed on June 25, 1913, but only by the Big Island Band.¹⁶ Although the Waterhen Lake Band had refused the treaty offer, the treaty adhesion document was structured to include the name of the Waterhen Lake Band. Hence, the Big Island Band signed their treaty adhesion in the Waterhen Lake area, rather than at Lac Des Isles, where they subsequently selected their Reserve. The structure of this formal document was responsible for much of the governmental confusion which occurred later, about whether the Waterhen Cree had actually signed an "Adhesion."

Chisholm reported to McLean, describing his communications with the two Bands. He had arrived at Waterhen Lake on June 22, 1913, to begin negotiations with the two Bands.¹⁷ As was customary when treating with the Indians, rations were distributed on the morning of the June 23rd. In the afternoon, accompanied by interpreter, Alex Campbell, he proceeded to meet the Indians individually, to observe their general conditions. As mutually agreed the day before, the Cree of both bands assembled to meet with the Inspector on the morning of June 24th. The rapid settlement of the land and the work of the surveyors were discussed at length. Chisolm read and explained the provisions of Treaty Six to the Cree. He also described the nature and amounts of cash payments related to the annuity and gratuity benefits. When the Indians appeared to be noncommittal, Chisholm called

upon the leading man, whose Cree name was translated as Uglyfoot, to express his views with regard to signing the treaty. Uglyfoot was totally opposed to treaty and never did sign the Adhesion. As the first of the elders to speak, here is what Uglyfoot had to say:

We are trusting as yet to the One that has created everything, and he will provide for us and protect us. I have grandchildren now, and I think God will look after them and care for them as he has cared for me; so I do not wish to accept any treaty offers from the government.¹⁸

RunningAround, a younger leader, was given an opportunity to speak. RunningAround was to become the first chief of the Waterhen Lake Band in 1921. Although he did not favour a treaty agreement at this time, his words are to be noted because of his later role in the signing of the Treaty Adhesion. RunningAround stated: "I like the country here and the way we are living; and I think God will see that we do not suffer without the money from the government." ¹⁹ Sekip, translated as Water Hen, said: "We are all living well, and want to keep on as we are without change. I agree with what the last man said."²⁰ An unidentified Indian added: "I approve of what the others have said. I like the way we are living, and the way our grandfathers have lived; and we would rather trust to God than take the money."²¹

All those who spoke, expressed this opinion in practically the same words. Chisholm warned the Waterhen Lake Cree there was a danger of them losing whatever land they claimed, if the treaty was not signed. In the afternoon, the meeting reconvened with Chisholm attempting to explain the treaty in a new manner he thought might appeal to the Indians, but this was in vain as they rejected his overtures. He observed that they did not object to the terms of the treaty, but to the principle of having a treaty. He

noted in his report, the eight older leaders completely swayed the younger men whom he claimed, were afraid of the bad medicine of the elders.²²

After the rejection by the Waterhen Lake Cree, Chisholm turned to the Big Island Band on June 25, 1913. This Band, although present all along, had remained quiet throughout the Waterhen Lake discussions. After the contents of Treaty Six had been reviewed with them, Joseph Bighead, the leader of the Big Island Band, intimated that they were prepared to sign the treaty and the necessary arrangements were made. Thereafter, the Big Island Band's name was changed to the Joseph Bighead Band, in the Chief's honour.

Once more, on June 26th, Chisholm called the Waterhen Lake Cree together in an attempt to enumerate them and, in Chisholm's view, to gather "other desirable information." The Waterhen Lake Cree declined to give their names or any particulars regarding their families. Chisholm stated that they claimed most of the area for many miles around Waterhen Lake, wishing to be left in undisturbed possession of it. Wanting to promote the treaty, Chisholm initiated a brief discussion on the likely location for a reserve. A passing reference was made to the Island River site by the Indians in this discussion. This river has since been renamed the Waterhen River.

When Chisholm broached the subject of the obstruction of the surveyors, the Waterhen Lake Indians emphatically denied that they had used any threatening or offensive language toward the surveyors. This fact was later confirmed by the surveyors when Chisolm approached them to discuss the matter. There appeared to be some confusion over whether any threat to use violence had occurred. He admonished the band that they still had to obey all the laws of the country, whether or not they were in treaty. In observing the land, he noted that there were still plenty of moose and fur

bearing animals. The Inspector concluded that this particular Band of Cree had not felt the effects of poverty. He observed that the lack of poverty accounted for their present independent attitude. They did not feel the need for assistance and protection from the government. He also stated that, being heathen, they did not want to hear of Christianity and education, or anything pertaining to Euro-Canadian civilization. He concluded his report by noting the Waterhen Lake Cree "appeared to live happy and moral lives."

Not realizing that the Waterhen Lake Band had not signed the Adhesion, M. Roche, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, wrote to the Governor-in-Council, requesting the that Adhesion of the Waterhen Lake and the Joseph Bighead Bands be formally accepted by the government.²³ This treaty adhesion document was registered on November 1, 1913.²⁴ In 1914, McLean placed the recently created Joseph Bighead Band under the management of W. Sibbald, Indian Agent of the Onion Lake Agency.²⁵

In May of 1915, W. B. Crombie replaced Chisholm as Inspector of Indian Agencies. Writing to McLean, Crombie referred to the comments of Battleford Indian Agent, Rowland, who preceded Agent S. L. McDonald, on the story that the Waterhen Lake Band was reported to be starving.²⁶ Crombie proposed to meet with the Band coinciding with the treaty payments to be given out to the existing treaty Bands in the Meadow Lake district. Having been informed of this band's objections to treaty, he asked his superiors for directions and arguments to convince this band to sign an adhesion. In his response, McLean replied that the provision of the reserve land-base, with, the liberal terms of the treaty should be sufficient to induce the Indians to accept an adhesion.²⁷

On March 22 and 23, 1917, Crombie met with the Waterhen Lake Indians and a small group of Loon Lake Cree, to discuss the treaty issue. Government officials described the Loon Lake people as "stragglers,"; that is, individuals who were treaty members who had left the Loon Lake Band and were requesting their own reserve. A report on the transcription of speeches made by the principal leaders of the two Cree Bands was submitted by Crombie to his superiors. These speeches give the reader a sense of the concerns and aspirations that the Indians held regarding the treaty position.²⁸

Roundsky, who later became the first councillor/headman for the Waterhen Lake Band, led the speeches by stating that he had taken treaty status with his father, Nokohoe, at Fort Pitt in 1876. Here is what he had to say:

And now I do want to try treaty. . . . My wife and children had nothing to do with it and now I want them left out of the treaty entirely. When in the future I shall have been convinced that taking treaty is really of benefit to myself I will then know what to say in the matter. On the other hand if I should any time believe that I have not benefitted by taking treaty I will cease taking treaty and when I do so it will be with a good heart. . . .I wish to be permitted to pick out and choose the land I shall want. I will also ask for land where I can get hay, also land where I can get timber. I also want the privilege granted to me to be allowed to continue and follow that kind of worship which has been mine and will be as long as time lasts. I also want the privilege of being able to kill all the game that I shall require for my living as long as the last game is to be found. In the same way I crave permission from the Government to kill fish and furred animals for my own living. . . .What I have said is entirely for myself and has nothing to do with the other members of the band and is to be taken separately because all people can think for themselves.²⁹

Otustiwayo, an elder, added the following:

I thank the creator that he has given us this day to see as friends because it is only by Him that we can live. . . . I cannot see my

way to accepting the proposition that of treaty money and the taking of a reserve at this moment. Is there any law permitting one in my position that, if at any time in the future I should see the necessity of getting into a reserve, by which I can get into some reserve? . . . I was born and brought up at Loon Lake but I never was a member of that band that accepted that agreement. . . . I am asking these questions as I am trying to size up the two ways of living, first- that of taking treaty and living on a reserve and that of getting along by hunting. . . . I do not want to commit myself in any way. . . . I am a friend to all mankind that is why I crave his privilege of being able to move about, camp where I please and move when I please. . . . If ever I take any arms or weapon of any shape it shall never be for a human being, but only for the game that I need to kill in order to make my living.³⁰

Blackbird then spoke:

What this last speaker has said I now endorse in every sense that can be of benefit to us in this country. Never to abuse one another but always to meet and discuss matters as between friends because I think that alone is the way by which we can bring up our children in safety.³¹

Apean said:

I make the prayer of a poor man to be allowed the privilege of enjoying the kind of life which was given to us in the beginning. . . . What my brother has said I am in favour of.³²

Crombie noted that the "brother" referred to was Roundsky, the first speaker.

Netawachemowin stated:

I ask of you that I be granted the privilege of killing game for my own living, not only now but for all time that I and my kind will be here. In asking for this I am also asking the government to extend the same privileges to the Halfbreeds who is of myself because many of the Halfbreeds are poor and must have game for their living and I also ask the government to grant me the privileges of living in peace with him for all time according to the intention of the creator."³³

Uglyfoot, one of the oldest leaders expressed the following:

I was born to the state of life that I am living which was given to me. I am now pretty well advanced in life and the kind of life I have led is suitable to me and I wish to keep the same kind of life all the way. That kind of life has been of benefit to my children and also my grand children up till now. . . . I am altogether against accepting land or treaty money from the government. I do not accept treaty. I object to it altogether. Also I object to an Indian reserve, but I am doing this without any bad feeling and I want him on his part not to have any bad feeling towards me. My father was an Indian. He lived the Indian mode of living. I am the same and I want to be the same and follow my Indian way of living.³⁴

True to his convictions and as stated earlier, Uglyfoot never did sign the treaty.

Water Hen uttered these words:

I agree with what the two previous men have been saying. I believe that we are all of the same mind as Uglyfoot. I think with him in the same way in all these matters.³⁵

Neawasis was greatly concerned about the implications of treaty, its application of laws, and to being crowded out by settlers. This is what he had to say:

Great trouble between races is they don't understand one another. . . . We like this lake, we must love it also for the reason that every time they have come to see us on this matter they have always found us here around this lake. This lake has been to us what a granery is to other people. We have had to look to it for our food in the shape of fish. . . . we do not desire the coming of the nation that was born across the ocean to come into our country and crowd our small tribe out of its lawful domain. . . . I am afraid that accepting treaty is a great deal of putting oneself in the way of law. . . . My idea of this matter which has always been brought forward to us is nothing but law in different forms. I don't think law on a person in any form is necessary. . . . Yesterday I talked about peace I meant peace in its entirety. I meant by that peace to embrace all nationalities even

though they may have and use a language which I do not understand. At the same time desiring that the whiteman will not crowd me out of my rightful domain. . . . I pray you also the power you represent not in any way to think that I refuse to accept treaty with any bad or evil intention on my part. Brothers and sisters have accepted some, why should I think evil of the thing? I am simply following my own conscience having only one desire which I have requested at your hands, that of being allowed to visit my relations if they might be in a reserve.³⁶

Neawasis asked about the notices posted on trees. It was pointed to him that the notices were meant to prevent bush fires. He inquired if the same kind of notices could be posted on the trees to keep the "Whiteman" away from Waterhen Lake. This could have been a cynical view of the Government's negotiating tactics designed to take their land. Forty-five years after the signing of Treaty Six at Fort Carleton and Pitt, the legacy of broken promises and denying of treaty rights were in the minds of the Waterhen Lake Cree.

William John conveyed these thoughts:

When "Running Around" takes treaty I will be with him and also in the reserve. . . . from the time that Running Around shall take treaty and I with him I would expect to be supplied at least with a little ammunition from time to time, also nets and also seeds of different kinds of vegetables, . . . I want also the government to give us the assurance that it shall not at any time interfere with our practise of hunting for a living..³⁷

Meatbag shared these words:

I cannot say much only to say that I think I am making a good enough living today and I think as long as I can keep on getting my living the same way I am safe, therefore I do not see why I should take treaty and I can't take it.³⁸

Ochin added:

I simply want to say that I cannot accept the proposition he has placed before us. I followed the advice of older people here. I love my children and am not willing to sell them to the government.³⁹

Walker offered these words:

I think I am too young to take it upon myself to speak before old people. . . . I will not go out and bother the thing that you call the Government and I expect the Government to leave me to live in my way so that I may keep on my ordinary life, as well as form of worship, by the pipe of peace."⁴⁰

RunningAround had earned respect and was now looked upon as the leader of the younger members of the band. Despite his favouring of an adhesion at this particular time, those that opposed the treaty were to overrule him. Here are RunningAround's words:

Will he be kind enough to give us a very minute and thorough explanation why he is here because in my opinion I think that the majority of this crowd does not understand exactly as to what is the reason of his coming here. . . . I am going to tell him what I think and if what I ask be granted I am ready to treat with the Government, but if the Government don't grant what I ask for I will not accept treaty nor will I deal with the Government in the future. What I am talking about is that piece of land where I have been born. I want him to grant it for me. When I say land I mean an Indian Reserve, also timber land and hay land. I don't want to beg or borrow any land belonging to another Band and I want him to grant me and enjoy the freedom of the kind of life that I have long enjoyed which I wish my children to, also their children to enjoy. I do not wish to be ever deprived of the right to kill all that has been customary for me to kill in order to make my living. Never also I want to promise that he is never to dictate to me as to how I am to bring up my children. Never to send for and take away my children and people in general away from my land. Never to send for and take away my children in order to do some kind of dangerous work (war) that it may have at hand.⁴¹

RunningAround, referring to band members participating involuntarily in any wars, continued:

All this to be the solid truth founded upon oath so that no race even the white race of diverse languages shall never be able to violate the same. . . . That whoever might be in the reserve will

never have cause to be ashamed to state his wishes. . . . And if I get this land I would like to be permitted to take in one halfbreed that I have confidence in. . . . I want to have it understood that I am to be allowed the full privilege of continuing in the kind of worship I was brought up to and those descendents of ours that may live in the future to enjoy the same privilege. . . . I do not want this land to be extremely small and also that same land not to be cut off or diminished in size in any way. Amongst the Indian Reserves in this country there must be a large one amongst them. I would want one of the same size. The reason that I am so anxious about getting a reserve of a suitable size is because I am convinced that in the future I will have a band of a size to be able to use it. . . . I want the other members of the band to once more come and say something. I know they have said too little and that the opinion of the band has not been yet fully expressed. . . . I want to be informed as I am dealing with a responsible servant of the Government as times will also come when I shall have dealings with servants of the Government. . . . The reason of this is that we seldom see one official more than once. We have met them, these officials of the Government. They see us, they go to some other parts of their many duties then others new to us come along. . . . Regarding the agreement now before us I want to once more emphasize to you my strong wish that this agreement of ours today by which I am accepting treaty and reserve shall never turn out to be a farce.⁴²

It is obvious by the tone of Runningaround's speech that he would have been willing to sign an adhesion if the treaty document and the gratuity and annuity payments had been available at this meeting. Dinnertime, the last speaker, added these brief words:

I am with this last speaker [RunningAround] and when he takes treaty I will also take it. About the reserve I am also with him and my wish was that when getting this reserve it would be about the size that the last speaker [RunningAround] wants.⁴³

At the conclusion of this meeting, Crombie took a survey of those who favoured and those who did not favour the treaty. RunningAround, Dinnertime, William John, Dancer, and their wives and offspring totalled 12 in favour. Uglyfoot, Meatbag, Otchin, Neawasis, Waterhen, Walker, and their wives and offspring equaled 18, opposing the treaty. This meeting of

March 22 and 23, 1917, came to a conclusion with the majority of the Waterhen Lake Cree rejecting treaty status.

In late 1917, F. W. Paget, the new Chief Accountant of Indian Affairs, wrote to his predecessor, now the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, D. C. Scott, to discuss Crombie's report on the March meeting with the Waterhen Lake Band.⁴⁴ Crombie had requested that his superiors in Ottawa allow him to pay the annuities only to the Indians in favour of the treaty at Waterhen Lake. The Ottawa officials determined that the band as a majority would have to be admitted into treaty. There was a reference in the letter to an attempt by Crombie to persuade the Waterhen Lake Band to amalgamate with the Joseph Bighead Band. This offer the Waterhen Lake Band declined. Paget compiled a list of expenses to be incurred if the Waterhen Lake Band were to adhere to treaty in the near future. In his estimates, he included the cost of giving the small group of 32 Loon Lake "stragglers" their own reserve. Crombie was of the opinion that the Waterhen Lake Band would not consent to take in these stragglers if they did agree to a reserve. Using Crombie's census, Paget noted that 83 Indians were Waterhen Lake Cree. He concluded by writing that Mr. Crombie communicate the most suitable time to visit this band once more.

In early 1918, McLean informed Crombie of his correspondence with Paget and directed Crombie to once again make the arrangements to take an adhesion of the Waterhen Lake Cree.⁴⁵ McLean was encouraged by the fact that a number of the Indians under the leadership of RunningAround appeared to desire treaty status.

In his reply to McLean, Crombie prepared to purchase the treaty rations and provisions in readiness for his journey.⁴⁶ He asked that gunpowder, shot, and gun caps not be supplied since, he thought, most of

the Indians possessed high powered rifles. It is doubtful that this was the case since many of the Waterhen Indians continued to use gun powder well into the 1930s and the 1940s. In lieu of these items, he sought additional cod lines for fishing and extra snare wire for rabbits.

A draft formal treaty document dated for 1918 is located in the National Archives of Canada.⁴⁷ The document was intended to adhere the Loon Lake "stragglers" to Treaty Six and to set aside a reserve for them. This is of interest considering this group never signed a separate treaty, but eventually merged with the Waterhen Lake Band. The Island River Reserve was to have been located four miles from the Waterhen Lake. Today, this would be about two miles West of the Waterhen River bridge at the park entrance gate near Dorintosh, Saskatchewan.

Crombie advised McLean about a change in his duties which necessitated that he move to Regina from Prince Albert.⁴⁸ He had been reassigned to work in another section of the Indian Department. Having kept in touch with the Waterhen Lake situation and seeing no reason for optimism, his opinion was that it was futile to send an official to the area until the majority of the band were willing to sign an adhesion. After Crombie's departure, the question of a treaty for this Band, lay dormant for three more years.

In early 1920, Commissioner W.M. Graham replied to a letter sent by Cree interpreter Peter Villeburn concerning the desire of the Waterhen Lake Cree to have a reserve set aside for them.⁴⁹ Graham acknowledged that arrangements would be made to approach the band. By midsummer of 1920, Acting Indian Agent, Lang Turnor of the Onion Lake Agency, informed McLean that some Indians from the Waterhen Lake area had requested admission to the Joseph Bighead Band and that a government

representative should be sent to review the position of the Indians concerning the signing of an adhesion.⁵⁰

In January 1921, P. Pelletier, Assistant Undersecretary of State, returned to J. Caldwell of Indian Affairs, a registered adhesion to Treaty Six to be corrected.⁵¹ It was the 1913 Big Island Band treaty document which, in error, had including the name of Waterhen Lake Band.

On June 10, 1921, RunningAround, with the help of Peter Villebrun of Green Lake, wrote a letter to the Indian Commissioner stating that his people were now ready to sign an adhesion and to access a Reserve.⁵² This letter was significant because it represented the Band's desire to adhere to Treaty Six. He inquired why there had been no follow-up to Crombie's visit in 1917. RunningAround emphasized he wanted land around the Waterhen Lake.

In response to Runningaround's letter, Paget contacted McLean, the Acting Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, informing him that according to Runningaround's letter, the Waterhen Lake Band would probably sign an an adhesion, at the next opportunity.⁵³ Paget recommended that Indian Commissioner Graham be put in charge of the work. He suggested that W. R. Taylor, the new Agent for Ile a la Crosse who was to be temporarily stationed in Prince Albert, be selected to deal with the Indians. McLean contacted Graham concerning Runningaround's letter and gave him a brief history of the attempt to sign the Waterhen Lake Band to treaty.⁵⁴ He told Graham of Taylor's availability to officiate over the treaty arrangements.

Graham responded to McLean that he was not sent a copy of Runningaround's letter, but, once he received it, he would take up the matter with Agent Taylor, so an adhesion could be concluded.⁵⁵ In another letter, Graham informed McLean that Taylor would be sent to the band at

an early date with the assistance of Agent McDonald from the Battleford Agency.⁵⁶ He urged that Mr. Fairchild, the government surveyor, be sent at once to define the boundaries.

In early September of 1921, Graham informed McLean that he had found the misplaced adhesion documents in Crombie's records and that he was preparing for the excursion to see the Band.⁵⁷ He requested medals, flags, and forms along with the necessary gratuity and annuity monies to pay the Band members. Moreover, he asked for rations to be provided, along with ammunition, twine, lines and snare wire. Expense money for Taylor and McDonald was requisitioned. On September 24, 1921, Graham communicated to McLean that the Indians were out hunting at the time therefore, Agent McDonald would keep him posted as to when would be a good time to send Taylor to meet with the Band.⁵⁸ Taylor, telegraphed Peter Villeburn, the translator from Green Lake, asking him to be present at the signing of the "adhesion."⁵⁹

Immediately following his visit, Taylor submitted his report to Commissioner Graham, detailing the interaction with the Waterhen Lake Cree.⁶⁰ He reported that he left Regina on October 27, 1921, for Waterhen Lake through Battleford. After purchasing supplies at Battleford and arranging their freighting, he left with Agent S.L. McDonald on Monday, October 31, arriving at Midnight Lake on the same evening. They left Midnight Lake on November 1, arriving in Meadow Lake at 8:00 p.m. Their supplies reached Meadow Lake the following day, and they stayed in Meadow Lake until November 3, waiting for the interpreter. They left early on Friday, November 4, for Waterhen Lake. On the way a wheel struck a stump, breaking the reach of the loaded wagon; this resulted in an unscheduled, overnight camp. Saturday, November 5, brought nasty

weather with snow falling and a cold north wind blowing. At 11:30 a.m. they arrived on the south side of the Waterhen Lake, in the area that was normally the winter home of the Waterhen Lake Cree.

That the government party was less than enthusiastically received by the Cree was made obvious by the absence of any Indians. Traveling on, they came upon one woman and a child, the woman's husband having gone duck hunting until evening. Since the members of the Band were on the north side of the narrows, which separates the big Waterhen Lake from the small Waterhen Lake, Taylor decided to wait for the woman's husband to return, with the intention of sending him across the narrows with a message for the others. Upon his arrival, Taylor arranged to have him deliver a message, to the Indians camped across the lake, inviting them to meet in council. Sunday, November 6 brought heavier snow, accompanied by a strong northeast wind, creating high waves on the lake, necessitating that the Cree messenger postpone his plan to cross the lake for one more day. In the meantime, a few Indians had arrived and on Monday, November 7, the weather having moderated, two messengers were sent across the lake to deliver the invitation to meet.

Runningaround arrived shortly with some of the larger families. Since the number of Indians did not yet warrant the start of discussions, Taylor decided to send two more messengers to encourage more of the Cree to come across. When, in Taylor's view, a sufficient number of Cree had gathered, he initiate his treaty overture by handing out a light lunch from his supplies.

The deliberations ensued at 6:30 p.m. on Monday, November 7, 1921 with McDonald opening the meeting with a speech that extolled the benefits of entering a treaty, and of securing a reserve land base. While McDonald

spoke to the assembled Indians, Taylor with the assistance of J.H. Morin, the local Hudson Bay manager, took a census of the Indians, which resulted in a total count of seventy persons. This number included a family of four from the Loon Lake "stragglers." Roundsky, the recognized head of this family, and leader of the Loon Lake group was present, while his other members had already gone to winter at Loon Lake.

After McDonald finished his speech, Taylor delivered a lengthy address to the Indians, adding his perspective to the benefits they would receive if they accepted the terms of Treaty Six.

The importance of allowing the various Indian speakers to express their opinions resulted in the meeting lasting until one o'clock in the morning of November 8. The majority of concerns voiced, paralleled those recorded earlier and will not be reiterated here. Taylor and McDonald documented all of the concerns and questions of the Waterhen Lake Cree at this meeting. Roundsky voiced the only additional concern of note, not referenced in earlier discussions. This was that the Waterhen Lake be closed to commercial fishing to conserve the fish for the band. This concern was subsequently relayed to the Department of Indian Affairs by Indian Agent Taylor. At the culmination of the meeting, Taylor called for a show of hands to all those in attendance at the moment to see who favoured treaty. The result of the vote showed thirty-one in favour and thirty against, with nine undecided. As noted earlier, the day's discussions ended at 1:00 a.m. on Tuesday, November 8, 1921, with an agreement to meet at ten o'clock a.m. on this same day.

At the appointed time, the Indians regrouped to discuss the matter amongst themselves. In the meantime, two more messengers were dispatched across the lake with the promise of a good feast to those who had

not yet come over. By 1:00 p.m., nineteen more of the Waterhen Lake Cree, had arrived to attend the meeting and the feast. Without taking another vote Taylor added the nineteen new arrivals to the thirty Indians opposed to the treaty. Taylor decided to distribute the treaty payments and to get the Treaty Six Adhesion signed, satisfied that he had the support of a "good percentage of the band."

Finally, on Tuesday, November 8, 1921, the Waterhen Lake Adhesion to Treaty Six was formally signed, between the representatives of the Waterhen Lake Cree, and Taylor and McDonald on behalf of the government⁶¹ (See Appendix A). The treaty document was witnessed and signed by various local citizens and officials. They included Peter Villebrun, Antoine Chotla, J.H. Morin from the Hudson Bay Company, and P.R. Rafuse from the Natural Resources Department.

Roundsky, leader of the Loon Lake group, decided to transfer to the Waterhen Lake Band with his family. The matter of dealing with the majority of the absent "stragglers" was discussed by both parties to the agreement. With the consent of RunningAround, Taylor encouraged Roundsky to convince the missing stragglers to be present in the following year, when the annuity payments were to be distributed, where they would have the opportunity to transfer to the Waterhen Lake Reserve. This proposed amalgamation of the Loon Lake "stragglers" with the Waterhen Lake Band did occur eliminating the need for a separate reserve for them.

Respecting future gratuity payments, McLean was to rule that the gratuity payments would be extended until 1923, after which time, it would cease to apply to new signatories. This ruling was to expedite the signing of the Indians that had not signed the Adhesion in 1921. It provided for additional signatories to sign in individually and to receive the gratuity

payment as a bonus which typically would have been eliminated by the Adhesion signing.

Nominations for Chief and Councillor were held, with RunningAround nominating Roundsky for Chief and Alex Larocque for Councillor. Roundsky declined his nomination for Chief and, according to Taylor, Larocque did not appear to want the Councillor position. Taylor proposed to the Indians that RunningAround be made chief, as it was largely through his efforts that the treaty had been made with them. Roundsky seconded this motion and the motion passed unanimously. Taylor subsequently proposed that Roundsky to be the Councillor. Running Around seconded this motion which was also acceptable to all.

Some members from the Joseph Bighead Reserve, who had been present at the Adhesion signing, requested to transfer to the Waterhen Lake Reserve. Netachimooyin, Ahpetowkisikow, and William John with their families, were later approved for transfer.

J.H. Morin, the Hudson Bay Company employee and interpreter, having built a nice shack and log stable on the land claimed for the reserve, stated that he was willing to sell his property to the government at a price of \$150.00, suggesting that the buildings be used for Indian Affairs storage and use. The Indian agents recommended this deal to their superiors leading to eventual approval of this purchase. On December 1, 1921, the Clerk of the Privy Council in Ottawa submitted to the Governor General, the Waterhen Lake Band Adhesion to Treaty Six as taken by Indian Agents W.R. Taylor and S.L. McDonald, on November 8, 1921.⁶²

In summary, it is evident that the Waterhen Lake Cree were cautious about accepting a treaty. The current oral testimonies of the elders of the Waterhen Lake Band confirm the discussions that occurred during this era

and the reluctance of the Waterhen Lake Cree to take treaty.⁶³ It is clear that they would not be easily pressured into the signing of a treaty that they believed was more favourable to the government than to them. For this reason, the writer has not referred to the treaty discussions as negotiations.

At times, the government officials put their faith in money in the form of the gratuity and annuity payments, to entice the Cree to accept the Adhesion. Although this tactic had worked in earlier treaties, the Waterhen Lake Cree were not impressed by the poor record of the government concerning treaty agreements and promises. Consequently, in the three attempts to sign the Waterhen Lake Cree into a treaty, the Canadian government officials were turned down. Clearly, the Waterhen Lake Indians considered the treaty process a serious development that would impact drastically on their future lives, if prudence was not taken. In the treaty discussions, RunningAround expressed the concern of the Indians about whether the government officials would honour the discussions in good faith.

Furthermore, Canadian democratic principles were not stringently followed by Taylor in his effort to get the Cree to sign the Adhesion to Treaty Six. A final vote of all the Cree assembled at the end of the treaty discussions was not taken. The earlier vote had been conducted amongst those most in favour of the "adhesion" with those opposed staying away until later. It is widely acknowledged that, in the Cree decision-making structure, unanimous consensus was often the case. In spite of the majority of the Waterhen Lake Cree seemingly against the proposed Treaty Adhesion, the Indian agent arbitrarily recognized the treaty document as an agreement in force. The file on the Waterhen Lake Reserve does not indicate how many of those opposed to treaty, declined to sign the Adhesion on November 8,

1921. However, we do know many of those that did not sign, did so in later years.

The concerns and views of the Waterhen Lake Cree in 1921, regarding treaty sentiments were invaluable to the writer. The quotes of the elders and leaders were well documented in the correspondence located in the National Archives of Canada. Agent Chisholm in particular, kept meticulous and accurate records of the concerns of the Cree. The writer deliberately emphasized the use of quotations to capture verbatim, the transcribed words of the Cree leaders. The government officials were quite meticulous in recording the speeches of the elders to illustrate to their superiors the articulate arguments that the Waterhen Lake Cree made against the acceptance of treaty. This may have been to show that they had adequately executed their duties. The transcripts support and supplement earlier evidence on the "spirit and intent" of treaties.

This chapter reviewed the signing of the Waterhen Lake Treaty Adhesion to Treaty Six in 1921, resulting in the formation of the Waterhen Lake Reserve. Chapter IV will capture the changing face of the Waterhen Lake Reserve since the Adhesion was signed by means of an ethnohistory of the Reserve gathered from oral interviews conducted of the reserve's residents, notably, the elders.

NOTES

1. Indian Affairs Records, Series RG 10, Volume 4072, file 429,511 Pt.1, National Archives of Canada, May 3, 1910.

2. Ibid., May 12, 1910.

3. Ibid., November 15, 1910.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., November 24, 1910.

7. Ibid., January 15, 1913.

8. Ibid., January 27, 1913.

9. Ibid., February 28, 1913.

10. Ibid., March 22, 1913.

11. Ibid., March 26, 1913.

12. Ibid., April 17, 1913.

13. Ibid., April 25, 1913.

14. Ibid., June 4, 1913.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., June 25, 1913.

17. Ibid., August 16, 1913.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. This explanation offered by Chisholm reflects his ignorance of Indian culture. In the Cree culture, respect for the wisdom of elders is a given, and the young men were clearly respecting the advice of the elders.

23. Ibid., October 24, 1913.

24. Ibid., November 7, 1913.

25. Ibid., March 19, 1914.

26. Ibid., May 1, 1916.

27. Ibid., May 8, 1916.

28. Ibid., April 13, 1917.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.
 44. Ibid., December 20, 1917.
 45. Ibid., January 8, 1918.
 46. Ibid., January 22, 1918.
 47. Ibid., 1918.
 48. Ibid., November 29, 1918.
 49. Ibid., January 12, 1920.
 50. Ibid., July 21, 1920.
 51. Ibid., January 10, 1921.
 52. Ibid., June 10, 1921.
 53. Ibid., August 11, 1921.
 54. Ibid., August 19, 1921.
 55. Ibid., August 26, 1921.
 56. Ibid., August 30, 1921.
 57. Ibid., September 8, 1921.
 58. Ibid., September 24, 1921.
 59. Ibid., n.d.
 60. Ibid., November 15, 1921.
 61. Ibid., November 8, 1921.
 62. Ibid., December 7, 1921.
 63. Charlie Lasas of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 20 May 1992, Waterhen Lake Reserve.
- George LaRocque of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 20 May 1992, Waterhen Lake Reserve.

CHAPTER IV

THE ELDERS SPEAK: MEMOIRS AND STORIES

The focus of this chapter is the changing culture of the Waterhen Lake Band, captured through the eyes of the elders, from November 8, 1921 to December 31, 1993.¹ This was an era when the lifestyles of the Waterhen Lake Cree had seen the most recent and greatest influence by the Euro-Canadian culture.² A Cree perspective of the historical development of the Waterhen Lake Band is given.

In the Cree community, the knowledge and wisdom of the elders is actively sought by the members of the Band.³ Stories and legends based on the oral tradition were handed down from generation to generation. Over many centuries, the Cree mastered oral history with elders priding themselves on developing sharp memories.

The oral tradition, drawn from interviews of elders, leaders, ex-leaders, band members, missionaries, and others serves as the primary source of information in this chapter. The results of these interviews were captured in a school curriculum development project, initiated by the Waterhen Lake Board of Education in 1987.⁴ The chairperson of the committee was Mr. Stewart Boston, the principal. The purposes of the project were: (i) to gather local historical facts and stories and (ii) to compile a school curriculum supplement for the benefit of the school.⁵

To minimize formality and to ensure the comfort of the elders, which was a high priority in the interview process, the interviews were recorded at the homes of the elders. In the traditional custom of the Cree when approaching elders for their knowledge, elders were presented with tobacco, cloth, and gifts several days before the interviews were conducted. To add

some structure to the interview process, the elders were requested to comment on a number of selected topics. These topics included subsistence activities, transportation and communications, health and medicine, traditional and modern dances, marriage, death and burial, learning and education, and major events that impacted on the history of the Band. Since all the comments of elders are valuable, general stories and observations of the elders not directly related to this thesis are included in the back material (see Appendix D).

Subsistence Activities

Most of the Waterhen Lake Cree elders stated that, prior to the signing of the Waterhen Lake, Treaty Six Adhesion, traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing, trapping, and berry picking were the mainstays of their subsistence activities. The comments of elder Neawasis, in chapter three, summed up the feelings of the Waterhen Lake Cree about the natural resources. He drew an analogy between the whiteman's dependence on his wheat granary, and the Indian's dependence on his "granary", the lake and its contents. The comments of the elders emphasized the bond between Indian people and the natural resources. To maximize food-gathering abilities in their search of game, the Cree required expansive traditional hunting grounds.

After the signing of the Adhesion, there was no marked difference in the subsistence activities of the Waterhen Lake Band members until the advent of social assistance on reserves in the 60s. Up to this point, the traditional subsistence activities had been sufficient to meet the needs of the community. While the men engaged in hunting, fishing, and trapping, the women looked after the children, smoked meat and fish, and cooked and

hailed wood. They also smoke-tanned the hides of the game and constructed warm clothing items like gloves, jackets, moccasins and wraparounds to supplement the Euro-Canadian clothing that was in common use by 1921. The children assisted the women in the hauling of wood and water.

However, in the early 20s, some elders stated that a major fire broke out scorching a large area of the Band's traditional hunting territory, greatly affecting the Band's livelihood. Moose and beaver populations dwindled considerably, causing many hardships. Over a period of time, the game were replenished easing the burden of making a living.

Some elders recalled the scourge of diseases on their people. There were cases of where people starved to death because they were too weak to practice their traditional subsistence activities. The pestilence and famine clause of the treaty was not consistently activated in the early formation of the Band. Infrequently, rations were provided by the government.

The Natural Resources Transfer Agreements of 1930, between the federal and provincial governments altered the subsistence activities of the Waterhen Lake Band. By this transfer, the federal government turned the management of lands, hunting, fishing, and trapping activities to the provinces. The Province of Saskatchewan has since, frequently restricted and curtailed Indian treaty rights to hunt. In 1944, the government established a formal trapping block for the Waterhen Lake Band. This was a defined area where the Band members were to carry on their traditional subsistence activities. According to the elders, the traditional hunting area, as they knew it, exceeded the size of the current trapping block. In recent years, the Band governments have attempted to research this discrepancy. A few elders stated that the military bombing range, centered around Primrose

Lake, was also a part of their hunting territories. The issue of compensation has been discussed with the federal government.

When the Meadow Lake Provincial Park came into being in 1960, additional seasonal restrictions were placed on the treaty rights of the band members to practice their subsistence activities.

In 1962, the federal government provided welfare or social assistance to the members of the Reserve. The lack of an employment base on the Reserve has necessitated the majority of Band members accept social assistance. According to government statements, the social assistance provided to the band members fulfilled the pestilence and famine clause of the treaties, long overlooked. The moose population increased temporarily offering some stability to the hunting lifestyle, but the traditional pursuits did not regain the key role they once had in the economy of the Waterhen Lake Band. The subsistence activities have remained important functions of the members in their efforts to make a living. These pursuits have enabled the members to supplement their diets, and to extend their meagre incomes.

Transportation and Communications

The elders stated there were traditionally three main modes of travel at the formation of the Reserve. These modes were also the vehicles of communication. There was the canoe, the horse team, and the dog team. Birchbark canoes common on the Beaver and Waterhen rivers were used to freight cargo and officials into the area. Dog teams were used mainly for cross country treks covering long distances. Before motorized vehicles came to Waterhen Lake Reserve in early 1960, almost every family had a team of horses and a wagon. In the summer, wagons were hooked up to the horses; a sleigh was the most practical vehicle in the wintertime.

Communications improved with the arrival of the automobile. In the 1960's a two way radio was operated by the school. In the mid 1970s, a radio phone was installed at the Band office. This was followed by regular house phones in the early 1980's.

Health and Medicine

The traditional healing method of using Indian medicine to treat illness was prevalent in the early formation of the Reserve. This method of healing embraced not only the physical treatment, but a strong belief in spiritual faith to overcome the affliction. The traditional knowledge and use of plants and herbs was one of the most important components of the culture. A number of elders stated that the traditional way of healing had been ignored because the band members today were too dependent on modern medicine. One of the elders remembered Peter Lasas, a local medicine man, practiced traditional medicine in the early 1940s. Another elder stated that many causes for sickness at Waterhen Lake were due to "physical weakness" in the members. This elder had probably observed a general decline in fitness amongst the band members. He said that health could be regained without having to run to the nearest doctor for every minor ache and pain. A concurring elder mentioned cancer was a recent ailment amongst Indian people and that, in earlier times, it was non-existent in the Cree population. Many elders stated most of the illnesses could be readily cured. Some disease-related afflictions responsible for death at Waterhen Lake included measles and flu-induced fevers. If one could not recover and be healed, the family accepted the death with the belief that it was the will of the Great Spirit.

One elder recounted how his elders would admonish the children to avoid lakes and rivers as they were breeding grounds for diseases. The concern may have been with the stagnant water. It could also have been a deterrent to keep children from playing around lakes and rivers where drowning was a possibility.

Childbirths were presided over by the elderly women of the Band with very good rate of success. Complications resulting in the death of a newborn were rare. In the early 1960s, the first automobile on the Reserve, owned by Chief Fred Martell, transported the sick, the elderly, and pregnant women to the nearest hospital in the town of Meadow Lake. It was not uncommon to have babies born in the vehicle while the patients were in transit.

Traditional and Modern Dances

When the day was done and the traditional subsistence activities subsided, the Band members socialized around dances. At the time of the formation of the Reserve, the elders shared the traditional round dance, sun dance, prairie chicken dance, grass dance, and the popular pow wow were the dances of choice for the Cree. Although now considered Woodland Cree, many of these traditional dances had come with them in the migration from the prairies. The spiritual realm was interwoven into these traditional dances as was much of the daily lives of the early Cree.

In later years fiddle music was introduced, with square dancing, polkas, waltzes, and jigging adopted into the lifestyle of the community. Despite the expansion of dances, the round dance continued to play a significant part in the lives of the Band members. The number of local

members and visitors who have attended these round dances at Waterhen Lake, attest to the timeless attraction of this dance.

Marriage

Traditional Cree marriages were the norm in the Waterhen Lake area before the arrival of the missionaries in the early 30s. The parents often gave their girls to young men who were thought to be good providers. To be ready for marriage, a suitor had to prove to the elders that he was capable of being a provider. Moreover, a young man had to own a gun before he could be considered a prime candidate for marriage. When subsistence activity was the sole means of survival, a gun ensured that the young man could hunt and provide for his wife. The suitor had to give a gift to the parents of the girl as a token of his gratitude with the exchange often including horses. In some cases, marriages of convenience were arranged by the parents with the expectation that the young people would grow to love one another.

Before the arrival of the clergy, some couples went to Battleford to have their marriages legally recognized by the government. A Catholic priest, Reverend Jules St. Pierre, was transferred to Waterhen Lake in 1933. In the following year, the first couple to be wed by the priest in the Christian fashion was Theodore Fiddler and Marrienne Morin.

Death and Burial

Some elders remembered stories told to them about the time when the dead were suspended on a raised platform lashed firmly to four poles. The body was exposed to the heavens to enable the spirit of the deceased, freedom to take the journey to meet the Creator. To facilitate the journey, the personal belongings of the deceased were added to the platform.

At the time of the formation of the Waterhen Lake Reserve, the standard procedure of laying the dead to rest was to bury them almost immediately while offering a prayer to the Great Spirit. The deceased were wrapped in a covering and buried in a shallow three foot grave. In a tight formation, poles were laid across the length of the grave. The grave was also covered with grass or hay. Occasionally, the dead were buried in the dirt floor of their log cabins.

The traditional Cree practice of holding a three day wake in memory of the dead, continues at the Reserve in 1993. The wake is an opportunity to console the grieving family members. The elders, leaders, family members, and clergy are encouraged to address the crowd in support of the grieving family. As the wake progresses, and the atmosphere lightens, visiting, story telling, card playing, and laughter is common. The present form of burial resembles the modern practice of burial using a coffin and a six foot grave.

Learning and Education

In the early years of the Reserve, the concept of a formal education, to make a living, was foreign to the Waterhen Lake Cree. Traditional practice involved the socialization of children for subsistence living. The skills of observation and mastering repetitive tasks were used. The grandparents played an important role in the teaching of the children. The extended family, as opposed to the nuclear family, consisted of grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins interacting to provide a strong network of support for children. In order to build a work ethic in the children into adulthood, an elder emphasized that it was crucial for parents and relatives to teach the child how to work by being a good example.

Formal education for the Waterhen Lake children began in the 1930s. During this period, the children were sent to the residential school in Delmas, Saskatchewan, where the Thunderchild Band had Reserve land. The residential schools had been federal governmental policy since the late 1800s, and they arrived on the prairies in this period. At the age of 15 years, Indian students had to leave school to pursue other interests. By this policy, the Catholic Oblates operated the Beauval Indian Residential School for the federal government. Up to the mid 60s, many students from Waterhen Lake attended this church institution.

Indian students from across Canada who attended residential schools in that era, claimed to have been subjected to emotional, psychological, physical and sexual abuses in varying degrees.⁶ Since no public disclosures or charges have materialized at the time of this writing, it would appear that this kind of abuse at Beauval were minimal compared to other areas in Canada. However, the use of Cree and Dene language and culture was strictly forbidden to the Indian students. Systematic racism using coercive methods such as physical beatings was followed to discourage the Cree and Dene cultures.

On the positive side, the residential schools provided many additional activities to the students. At the Beauval mission, a boy's choir was formed that was very popular in the North. At these institutions many lasting friendships were established amongst the students.

In 1954, the government finally honoured its treaty commitment to the Waterhen Lake Band to build a local school by erecting a one room school on the Reserve. In 1960, additional classrooms were added to the earlier structure to accommodate additional students. After completing

grade three, the students were bussed to Dorintosh, Saskatchewan, where they attended the provincial school.

A new nursery/kindergarten to grade nine school was completed in 1976 at the present school site. The facility consisted of the following; a principal's office, staffroom, Nursery/Kindergarten room, six regular classrooms, library, and a science lab. A year later, two portable classrooms were added to contain the overflow of students. The high school students were sent to the residential high school in Beauval where the program had been completely revamped, and placed under the control of the District Chiefs, to encourage a bi-cultural education. The Catholic church had ceased to operate the residence at Beauval in the mid-60s when the Cree and Dene leaders lobbied the federal government for changes.

In 1986, a two million dollar high school extension was added to the above structure resulting in the realization of a comprehensive high school. This addition featured facilities for Industrial Arts and Home Economics, and included a gymnasium, four classrooms, a new staffroom, and new administrative offices. This meant that high school students could complete high school in their home community.

The guest speaker for the grand opening of this landmark event was University of Saskatchewan Professor Cecil King, an Odawa Indian from Manotoulin Island. In support of an academic schooling, he exhorted the Band members to pursue a cultural education to restore pride and self-esteem. Moreover, he gave examples of positive attributes great Indian leaders had role modelled in leading their people. At the conclusion of his speech, Dr. King was soundly applauded by the Cree community.

The parents acknowledged education as the heart and soul of the future. The members understood that parental responsibility for their

children was the cornerstone for improved education. The school program was viewed as a catalyst for change that could lead to a better quality of life for the members. Cecil King exemplified the aspirations that the members held for the value of education, one of a strong bicultural education system.

Major Events

Two of the elders mentioned that the treaty adhesion had been signed on the southern area of Waterhen Lake at a place called "Wekananaskihk", where many of the people lived when the treaty adhesion was signed. People also lived around the "Puktahonihk" or fish plant while others resided around what is now called Greig Lake. Most of the people lived in those areas when they were not moving around in search of game. In the 1940s, they began to migrate to the north side of the lake where the Band population is currently concentrated.

A few elders spoke about the huge fire that occurred in the early 20s covering the areas of Waterhen Lake, Meadow Lake, Ministickwan, and Green Lake. The fire spread rapidly, fueled by high winds which carried the fire briskly from one area to another, resulting in human tragedy and extensive damage to the natural resources. In Ministickwan, about 75 miles away, some people burned to death, while others died from smoke inhalation. People in the path of the fire suffered various degrees of burns to their bodies. One elder recalled spending an anxious day and night in the middle of a field in Meadow Lake where they were surrounded by the fire. In the wake of the fire, the Cree at Waterhen Lake faced much hardship and suffering. Game and fur bearing animals became scarce after the disastrous fire.

The elders recounted that in 1962, a major flood ensued when the Beaver and Waterhen Rivers overflowed their banks. A family in the Beaver River area had to be evacuated by helicopter to higher ground, when the rising water threatened their camp. In this same period, an elder noted that the bay area of the present Reserve had also flooded. This extensive flood greatly curtailed the subsistence and transportation endeavors of the Band members.

The hockey arena housing a natural ice surface, was built in 1977. This recreational facility was named the Wascapachas (Running Around)/Moonhawk (Moonoch) Arena, in honour of the first two chiefs. The hockey center served the recreational needs of the Band members. On any given winter night this facility has been teeming with hockey and broomball players and their fans. The development of a minor hockey program, although often irregular, was an activity available to the youth in the community. The recreational center features a mezzanine, where meetings and group activities are held. It was fortunate that this facility was built in the same year, because the old Band hall which had been housed in an old army barrack, had burned down.

In 1986, the new combined Band office and health clinic was completed and ready for occupancy. This new office complex was connected to the existing school by an insulated corridor to ensure school children would have easy access to the clinic. This complex was the centre for the coordination and administration needs of the Band which was increasing yearly.

The Seven Hills location, facing the lake, had been reserved for traditional ceremonies. Cultural camps were held there to teach the spiritual component of the Cree culture. The frames of old lodges provide evidence

that sweats are conducted here and have been for several years. The burial ground for the Cree traditionalists was also located in this area. A band member stated that the elf spirit resided on top of one of the seven hills and the traditionalists would leave gifts for protection, particularly prior to going onto the lake.

Sun dances have been held on a relatively regular basis on the reserve. Cree individuals who inherited or are given the role of leading a Sun dance do so at approximately the same time each year. This activity required a fairly large land area and is now conducted away from Seven Hills in a place where there is sufficient room.

Feasts were organized by family members in memory of their loved ones. People were invited to eat while some food was burned and offered in memory of the family's deceased relatives. In Cree culture, this is a method of contacting and communicating with the spirits of the dead relatives. The above ceremonies are currently practiced by the traditional members of the Band.

Christianity was introduced to the Waterhen Lake area in the early 30s. When Reverend Jules St. Pierre arrived in Waterhen Lake in 1933, he performed his first services in a log cabin owned by the fire ranger. The priest, with a lot of help from the band members, notably Bruno Martell, built the present Catholic Church. The first mass at the new church was celebrated on May 14, 1953. The steeple and roof, along with the windows, were taken from the old church in Green Lake which was built in 1903. The church bells were donated by the Canadian National Railways.

In summary, the researcher has given a thematic view of the Waterhen Lake Band's history through the perspective of the elders. The input of the elders will impact significantly on the younger generation of

band members. In the Cree culture, the younger people seek and respect the guidance of their elders. The elders are the gatekeepers for the preservation of language and culture.

The elders have stated that the younger generations have to take the best of both the Cree and non-Indian cultures if they are to improve their lives. The elders would appear to support a modern Cree philosophy that will be based on the strengths of each culture; one based on the Cree worldview and values which will not require the loss one's own culture to participate and succeed in today's diverse cultural milieu. As this evolving philosophy develops it will enhance self-actualization in the youth, to access an improved quality of life, in a modern world. Lastly, the collective lifestyle of the Band members has shaped the history of the reserve and will continue to direct the development of the Waterhen Lake Band.

In the next chapter the writer examines the contemporary profile of the Waterhen Lake Band. This gives the reader information on how the reserve is currently organized.

NOTES

1. Many of the elders wishing to remain anonymous requested that they not be identified individually. In respect to their wishes, I have not referenced the individual informants, but have identified them collectively. The list of interviewees are arranged in alphabetical order as follows:

- a. Edward Abraham
- b. Angeline Aubichon
- c. George Blackbird
- d. Jackpine Blackbird
- e. Bruno Ernest
- f. Albert Fiddler
- g. Bruno Fiddler
- h. Gilbert Fiddler
- i. Joe Fiddler
- j. Laura Fiddler
- k. Malvina Sanregret
- l. George Larocque
- m. Jules Larocque
- n. Marguerite Larocque
- o. Basil Lasas
- p. Charlie Lasas
- q. Lydia Lasas
- r. Marjorie Markel
- s. Bruno Martell
- t. Edwin Martell
- u. Fred Martell
- v. Judile Martell
- w. Victoria Morin
- x. Joe Openeyes
- y. Louise RunningAround
- z. Peter Roller
- aa. Reverend Jules St.Pierre

2. If the reader is interested in the traditional lifestyles of the Cree Indians prior to European contact, D.G. Mandlebaum, has written a book called The Plains Cree, An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study (n.p., Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1979)., which describes the ancient plains Cree lifestyle from which the Woodland Cree evolved.

3. The Reserve is commonly referred to as the Waterhen Lake Band and this identifier is used in this chapter. Moreover, the term Reserve has come to signify the legal and physical parameters of the land, while the name Band, applies to the people that are members of the Reserve.

4. A curriculum committee of the Waterhen Lake Band was formed under my supervision as the Band's Coordinator of Education. The Curriculum Committee, comprised of volunteers, gave the direction to the project and consisted of the following individuals listed in alphabetical order;

- a. Rose Alma Bellegarde (teacher)
- b. Stewart Boston (principal)
- c. Mary Ernest (student counsellor)
- d. Albert Fiddler (portfolio of education)
- e. Charles Fiddler (coordinator of education)
- f. Mary Anne Martell (Cree teacher)
- g. Micheal Roszell (teacher)
- h. Muriel Teece (teacher)

The people that worked on the project included;
Dwayne Lasas (project coordinator)
Alvin Lasas (interim project coordinator)
Barbara Lasas (project assistant)
Zoltan Farkas (video taping)
Doreen Martell (interviewer)

The typists that worked on the transcriptions included;
Joanne Fiddler
Flora Fiddler
Jean Mistickokat

5. After I left the Coordinator position, the project was not seen to completion. However, the raw, hand-written interview notes were made available to me by the Band. Because the specific dates of the interviews were not recorded, I have placed all of the interviews in the year 1987, when the project was in the interview stage. Partial information of the early attempts to summarize the interview data were also found, again without dates. All of this material has been invaluable as a source of information for this chapter. On the one hand it is unfortunate that video-tapes taken of the interviews with the elders, were misplaced or lost. On the other hand, it is fortunate that the majority of the written transcripts are preserved, especially of the elders interviewed in 1987, who have since died. A record of their words and thoughts are captured on paper for the benefit of future generations of band members. Since 1987, I have conducted additional interviews with elders and band leaders to complete this chapter.

6. A number of books have been written about the residential school experiences of Indian students in Canada. In J.R. Miller's *The Irony of Residential Schooling*, Canadian Journal of Native Education, Volume 14, No. 2, 1987. Miller writes about the effects of residential schooling on

students. Jane Willis in Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood (Toronto: New Press, 1973) and Basil Johnston in Indian School Days (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988) also add their experiences on boarding and residential schools.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTEMPORARY FIRST NATION PROFILE

The previous chapter examined the history of the Waterhen Lake Band as given by the elders and other key people. In this chapter the researcher builds upon these historical components to provide a composite analysis of the contemporary structures and programs of the Waterhen Lake Band in 1993. This analysis examines governance, education, social development, economic development, health, and housing, maintenance, and infrastructure. The data are drawn from two sources. The experiences of the writer is the primary source of program information at the Band level.¹ The secondary source of information consists of statistical information, with specific information on tribal council programming that has been drawn from a study completed in 1990.²

First Nation Governance

The political organization of the Waterhen Lake Band is manifested in four levels of government. Following the constitutional debate in 1982, Indian government was organized on the principle that the Band Councils (Chief and Councillors) are the first and paramount units of Indian government. The authority of the Band Councils is delegated from the constituents or Band members through the election process. By this vested authority, the Band Councils are recognized as autonomous political entities by other First Nation government levels. The three other Indian government levels, which will be described here, are collective organizations of the First Nations for advancing the political goals of the individual First Nations.

Prior to 1982, the Saskatchewan Bands were organized in the typical top down, pyramidal structure which gave authority to the provincial Federation of Saskatchewan Indians to direct political development on behalf of the Bands. In response to the patriation of the Canadian Constitution and the new awareness it created for Indian self-government, the organizational structure changed. The top down configuration was inverted, thereby recognizing Band Councils (First Nation governments) as the fundamental units of self-government directing development for their members. In this chapter the name of the Waterhen Lake Band will be alternated with the Waterhen Lake First Nation in keeping with current protocol.

The Waterhen Lake First Nation is governed by a band council consisting of a Chief and nine Councillors. The Chief and Councillors are elected every two years pursuant to the Indian Act. The Chief is elected by a majority of the on-Reserve members. Under the Indian Act, a non-Indian can run for office although this has not yet occurred. Up to nine Councillors can be elected for office with one Councillor representing every one hundred (100) band members listed in the Band registry. All prospective Councillors are listed in one ballot and each voter can select up to nine candidates from the ballot.

Although there have been misgivings about the Indian Act election system, the Band custom method has not been exercised by this First Nation. Band custom is more flexible using traditional principles to select leaders, while allowing for a longer term of office. Why this option has not been exercised to date has not been articulated. From the writer's experience it probably stems from the fear of establishing an oligarchy; there is already much mistrust of the elected officials under the Indian Act system. The

electorate may be feeling powerless as a result of many decades of colonial government. The apathy must be reversed if the Band members are to take control of their lives.

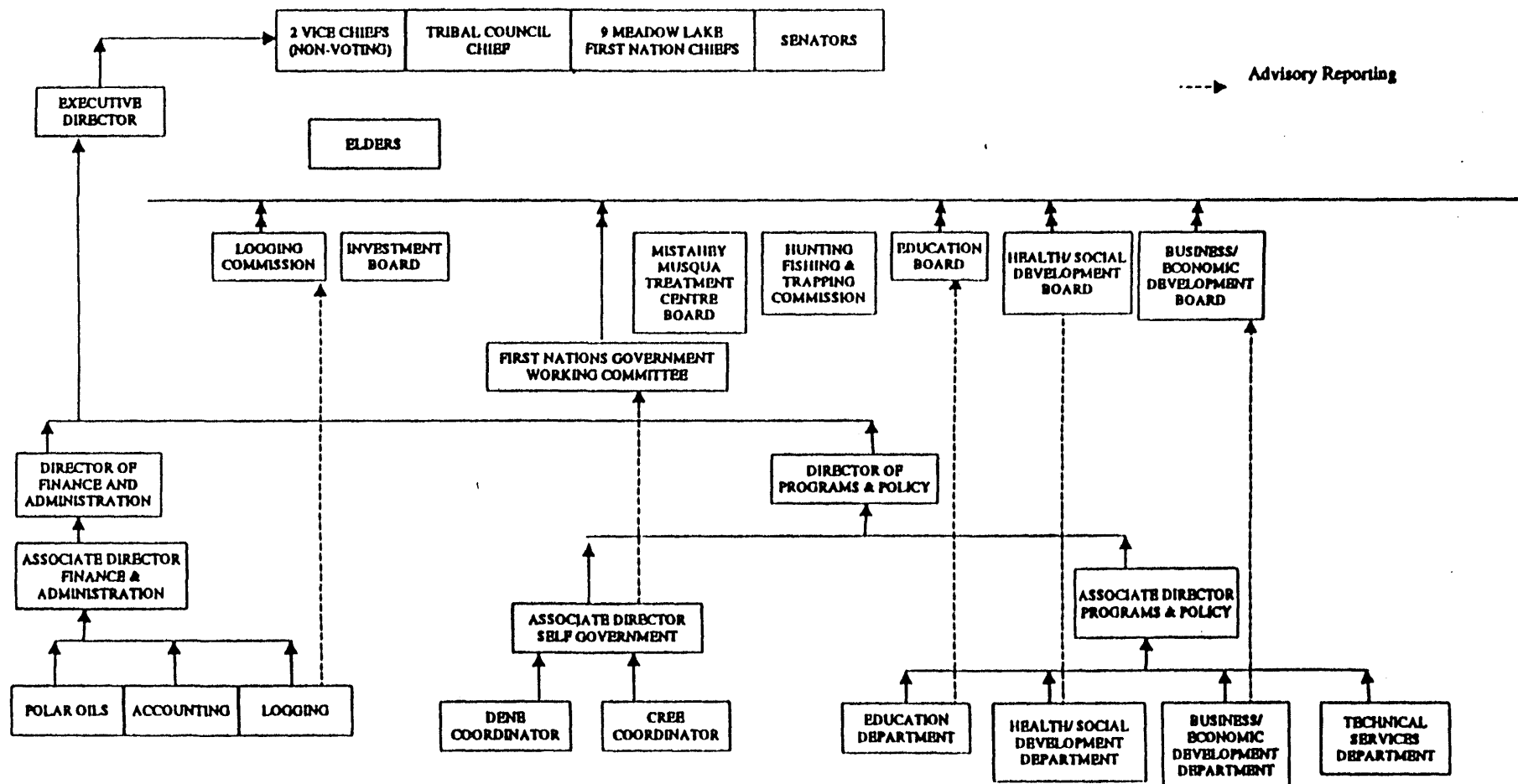
The Band Council is responsible for all sectors of development within the Band. The Councillors are each responsible for program portfolios in the various sectors. They are required to coordinate the services in their program areas and to deal with any issues that may arise.

An Executive Director of Operations, under the authority of the First Nation or Band Council, directs and supervises all personnel in the various program areas. This administrator is accountable for the overall fiscal and program management of all First Nation administered programs reporting directly to the Council.

The Waterhen Lake First Nation is represented on the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC) through their Chief. The MLTC organizational chart identifies the reporting structures. MLTC is the political union, and the second level of government for the nine First Nations, comprising the Tribal Council. The nine First Nation Chiefs sit as the executive of the Tribal Council. The Chief of each First Nation and two First Nation councillors elect a main Tribal Council Chief to represent the group. One Cree vice-chief and one Dene vice-chief are elected to assist the Tribal Council Chief. Of the nine First Nations, five are Cree and four are Dene.

An Executive Director, who reports to the executive of nine chiefs, is responsible to develop and manage the affairs of the Tribal Council. A Director and Associate Director of Programs and Policy assist the Executive Director in the administration of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, which employs, directly and indirectly, approximately two hundred employees. Each program area or sector is each headed by a Program Director providing

MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE



services to the Tribal Council First Nation members, inclusive of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. The sectors of services at this level include education, economic development, health and social development, maintenance and technical services, and childcare. The Tribal Council also provides a self-government support service to the First Nations which we will describe later.

The third level of First Nations government, occurring at the provincial level, consists of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. The Federation's General Assembly, consisting of the seventy-two provincial chiefs, elect a chief, four vice-chiefs, and one secretary-treasurer to represent their collective political interests. The Chief of the Federation oversees all the lobby efforts on behalf of the Legislative Assembly. Four vice-chiefs are each responsible for various portfolio assignments in a number of program and lobby areas of concern. The Federation lobbies in support of the issues identified by the First Nations.

The Assembly of First Nations, which is located in Ottawa, represents the national political affiliation of the First Nations. This fourth level of Indian government ensures that the treaty commitments are honoured by the government which represents the Crown. Moreover, the Assembly promotes the right of First Nation governments to practice Indian self-government. (See Chapter VII.)

The Waterhen Lake First Nation currently derives its authority to manage the affairs of the First Nation from the treaties and the Indian Act. Although recent policies and regulations have been formulated by the federal government to give the First Nations more control of their lives, the Waterhen Lake First Nation, like others, considers the practices of the federal government to be colonialistic, unreasonably restrictive, and

counter-productive to Indian self-government. The Indian Act requires that the Minister of Indian Affairs, through his officials, approves all legal transactions by the Band. The loss of power and the subservient role of the members, over many generations, lies with the effect to the Indian Act. In structure, the Indian Act still retains its controlling features although they have been sanitized by the federal government. Finally, the Indian Act was initially implemented to protect the aboriginals from outside interests but, it quickly became a tool to prohibit, repress, and coerce reform in the aboriginals.³ Nevertheless, the Band is attempting to operate within these restrictions to improve the quality of life for its band membership.

The federal Department of Indian Affairs funds the First Nations sectors through a funding mechanism called the Comprehensive Funding Arrangement (CFA). The CFA stipulates that funding is to be expended only in the appropriate sector and cannot be used to offset deficits in other sectors. The funding contribution arrangements between the federal government and the First Nation governments are signed with specific terms and conditions that determine how the funding is to be expended. The annual funding is released to the First Nations in quarterly amounts over the fiscal year, which runs from March 31 to April 1 of each year. An independent financial audit is conducted for examination by the government and is mandatory for continued funding to the First Nations. Under the comprehensive funding arrangement, First Nations are not allowed to operate accumulating deficits. Deficits at year end have to be covered off from the next year's funding, which may result in program reduction. If Indian Affairs deems that certain First Nations and Tribal Councils have established proven financial accounting systems, The First Nation may opt for an alternative funding arrangement. This type of funding is considerably

more flexible and global in nature because it allows the expenditure of funds across the major service sectors.

Through the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, a Self-Government Initiative has been signed between the nine chiefs and the federal government.⁴ The purpose of this agreement is to define what an Indian self-governmental framework might entail for the member bands. It was formulated to establish the main principles and assumptions of self-government.

The Education Sector

Education is a program sector that is considered a catalyst for positive change by the Waterhen Lake First Nation. For the last two decades, education has been viewed as the key to the future of the First Nation members. Many accomplishments and milestones have been achieved in this area which we will discuss in this section.

Waweyekisik Educational Centre is the nursery/kindergarten to grade 12 (N/K-12) school on the Waterhen Lake Reserve. Constructed in 1976, this school is the nucleus of the education program at Waterhen Lake.

"Waweyekisik" is the Cree translation for Roundsky, who was the first Councillor of the band and in whose honour the school was named.

Waweyekisik Educational Centre serving an enrollment of 225 students, includes a nursery and kindergarten program, as well as an elementary and a high school program. The school has a total of eleven classrooms, a gymnasium, a science lab, a home economics room, an industrial arts shop, a staffroom, an administration area, and a library. The building occupies 2,909 square meters of Reserve land.

In 1973, the Indian Affairs Department adopted the major of the policy paper entitled "Indian Control of Indian Education" proposed by the National Indian Brotherhood.⁵ This policy on Indian education turned over the operation of the Indian schools to the control of First Nations. The Indian control document emphasized the role of the parent in the school system while promoting local control of education at the reserve level. This development enabled the Bands to infuse cultural programming into school curricula. For the first time they were able to hire teachers that would support the goals of Indian self-determination. The policy helped to facilitate the improvement of the self-esteem of students and parents by giving them ownership of the school.

Concern for the loss of the Indian languages enabled bands to place the proper emphasis on the preservation of First Nation languages in the schools. In 1974, Waterhen Lake school hired a Cree language instructor to replace the French language instructor. Before this, Cree students had been required to learn French as a second language. This did not make much sense considering that the students were already Cree speakers.

In the 1984-1985 school year, the Band hired a Coordinator of Education to prepare the First Nation with the development of personnel and program policies for the onset of Band control.⁶ The Waterhen Lake First Nation assumed total control over their education program in the 1985-1986 academic year. Over the period of one decade, the First Nation had gradually brought all the facets of the education program under Band or First Nation control. Today, the education program is operated by a Board of Education that is appointed by the Band Council. The Board, reporting to the Band Council, is responsible for the operation of the school which includes staffing, program planning and approval, and formulating policies

regarding all aspects of the education program. The Board of Education hires an Education Coordinator to manage the daily operations of the education program.

The curriculum is flexible enough to allow for a bi-cultural education. The provincial curriculum is taught at the school, and the core curricula is emphasized. However, Cree classes from nursery-kindergarten to grade nine are built into the program with added emphasis on Indian culture. Periodically, elders are brought into the school to talk to the students. When outside resource people came to do presentations in the community, the older students participated in the meetings or workshops for the learning experience. Occasionally, students were allowed to participate in various activities that enhanced their education such as the annual treaty day. In certain seasons the school made special arrangements for the student whose family was involved in trapping or other subsistence activities to be excused from the education that occurred within the four walls.

In the classrooms, grouping students with the same ability was common. The teachers taught to the level of the students within the groups. This resource and experiential education provided to the Cree students at Waterhen Lake, and in other Aboriginal schools, was practiced long before the Saskatchewan government began to promote resource-based and experiential education as a learning process.

The ratio of Aboriginal staff to other teachers at Waterhen Lake fluctuates each year, but averages about 30 per cent, an improvement compared to 10 per cent 15 years ago. A significant need exists to prepare more local teachers. The provincial universities provide a number of specialized Aboriginal teacher education programs: the Indian Teacher Education Program (ITEP), Northern Teacher Education Program

(NORTEP), and Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP). Moreover, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC), provides off-campus teacher education programs in First Nation communities.

In 1986, ongoing constitutional developments in Canada, were a wake-up call to the Waterhen Lake First Nation, which like other Bands in Saskatchewan, drafted a local Indian Education Act to guide self-government in education. The problem with the local Indian Education Act was, it was that it was not recognized by the federal and provincial governments. The Education Act was to have undergone three readings before receiving ratification, but this procedure was not followed to completion. It was replaced in 1989 by a formal Self-Government Initiative negotiated with the federal government through the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC), as part of the process of pursuing formal self-government.

In addition to the academic education provided by the Waweyekisik Educational Center, MLTC provides supplementary educational services to the Waterhen Lake First Nation and to the eight other First Nations. These services, commonly referred to as second level services, are provided by the Tribal Council education unit, under the supervision of a Director of Education.⁷ The contracted services of a school psychologist and a speech therapist are available to the First Nation as requested. A Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction monitors the curriculum planning of teachers at the Band schools, to ensure that provincial departmental standards are met. Since teacher accreditation, by subject, does not apply at First Nation schools, the students all write provincial departmental examinations in grade 12. In respect of the autonomy of the First Nation to operate its

education program, educational advice and consulting is provided to the First Nations by the central education unit only when requested by them.

Through the Tribal Council Sports and Youth Program, First Nation students are able to access the annual sports college, summer and winter games, and the youth leadership and development program.⁸ In the past, a hockey school was available to the boys from the First Nations. It was cancelled for two reasons; the high cost and the exclusion of female athletes. The Sports and Youth Coordinator currently administers this program.

The residential, comprehensive high school in Beauval, Saskatchewan, known as Beauval Indian Education Centre (BIEC), is operated by MLTC. On a semester basis, the centre accepts students from the nine First Nations. In the case of Waterhen Lake, which has its own high school, Beauval is still available as an option to those students who might benefit from a residential environment or an educational experience that includes a vocational stream. Industrial Arts, Home Economics, and a work experience alternate program are available to students attending BIEC.

The Tribal Council provides three mobile education programs housed in three trailers, complementing the subjects taught at the First Nation schools. This program offers courses in home economics, computers, and communications/lifeskills to the First Nation students. Until 1992, the New Opportunities Program at M.L.T.C. provided adult education to the adult members of the Waterhen Lake First Nation in lifeskills, career education, academic upgrading, and vocational/trades training.

The policy direction for Tribal Council education services derives from a nine member Board of Education, consisting of First Nation appointees. The Board of Education manages the educational services at the

Tribal Council level under the authority of the MLTC. As discussed earlier, the need to develop a mechanism to identify First Nation claims to jurisdictional control over education led MLTC to pass the Education Act. At the time, the jurisdictional claim of MLTC was not recognized by the federal and provincial governments, although it was internally recognized by the individual First Nations, Tribal Councils and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. The MLTC Indian Education Act will be superceded by the outcome of the Self-Government Initiative. (See chapter VII.) The education sector of the Meadow Lake First Nations has been the only sector that has attempted to deal with the jurisdictional question. In the past, education was always in the forefront of Indian development; it is no different today.

The post-secondary funding enabling Waterhen Lake First Nation students to attend university and technical programs has recently been transferred from Indian Affairs to the control of the First Nations through the administration of the Tribal Council.⁹ The Waterhen Lake First Nation chooses not to administer the post-secondary program, choosing to delegate this responsibility to MLTC. A major issue in the post-secondary area for First Nations in Canada is the capping of post-secondary dollars. In 1989, the federal government announced a freeze in the amount of funding going to Indian post-secondary education. The immediate reaction by Aboriginal students resulted in sit-ins and hunger strikes, to protest the cutbacks. First Nations steadfastly maintain that post-secondary education is an extension of the treaty right to education which must be funded on a basis of simple acceptance of Band members by the universities. A grade 12 level is required to access funding for university and technical programs. Indian people argue that post-secondary opportunities are crucial to a sector of

Canadian society that constantly reports the highest unemployment rate. Indian Affairs gives a limited budget to the First Nations and takes the position that post-secondary education is not a treaty right.

M.L.T.C., through its Board of Education, operates an Integrated Resource Management (IRM) Program to train Resource Management Technicians in four disciplines. This has been a recent change for the IRM program, which previously trained students in the forestry sector alone. The new program offers training components in Parks Management, Wildlife, Fisheries, and Forestry. The program is open to all treaty or non-treaty applicants.

The Social Development Sector

Social assistance, which is available to all Canadians, plays a major role on the Reserve where unemployment far exceeds the Canadian average. The lack of a reserve based economy to employ Indian people is an unfortunate reality at this point. The First Nation Social Development Worker is the program administrator responsible to the Chief and Council for the operation of the social development program. The standard social assistance dollars, that are intended for the unemployed covers food, clothing, and shelter. Special travel provisions, burial assistance, foster home assistance, and emergency relief funding is provided to the people that require these services. At this time, services such as child protection, child welfare, adult/elder care, and limited family services are provided by the province under federal/provincial agreements.¹⁰ The counselling and family services on the Waterhen Lake Reserve need substantial improvement if they are to have an impact on the social development of

the Band members. Very recently, an agreement has been reached with the federal government to develop these child and family services.

A constructive approach to the otherwise restrictive social assistance program was the use of social assistance dollars to create employment and training. This resulted in the development of Work Opportunity Projects to allow social assistance recipients to work by subsidizing the social assistance income with other funding sources. Although these arrangements were temporary, they enabled the able bodied individuals to have an opportunity to develop some work habits and improve their self worth.

The Meadow Lake Tribal Council received funding to identify the childcare needs of the First Nations. Childcare training to prepare childcare providers was offered to the First Nations. MLTC has developed a two year training program to train Band members to establish and manage a professional daycare centre. Under its own program manger, this program has tried to alleviate the barriers that have restricted the educational and career aspirations of many parents, particularly the women on the Reserve.

The Economic Development Sector

The economic development function at Waterhen Lake is a relatively new factor in the development of Indian people. Earlier, the writer noted that the agricultural provision in the treaty provisions came to be defined as the right to economic development assistance to build an Indian economy (See chapter III.). The purpose of the economic development program is to develop an entrepreneurial spirit in the members of the Waterhen Lake leading to First Nation economic self-reliance. The program is intended to alleviate the chronic unemployment situation found at Waterhen Lake. The strategy is to build a market economy by encouraging First Nation

entrepreneurs to pursue business opportunities and development. There are a number of government programs that are available to support the economic development of the Waterhen lake First Nation members. The Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS), the Indian Economic Development Loan Fund, the Indian Community Human Resources Strategy, the Regional Economic and Employment Development program, Canadian Jobs Strategy, and Community Futures, were and are players, in the economic and employment development of treaty Indians.¹¹

The Waterhen Lake First Nation employs an economic development worker to coordinate the economic enterprises of the Band. This manager works closely with the First Nation Council which acts as the Board of Directors directing Band-owned businesses. Band-owned businesses include the Waterhen Lake Store and Resort, the M and N Resort, and the Bison Ranch. Due to poor performance, a steel fabricating shop was liquidated. Private ventures exist in the areas of forestry, farming/ranching, wild rice harvesting, and to a smaller extent, trapping.¹² Commercial fishing on Waterhen Lake ceased in the late 70s with the consent of the Waterhen Lake Cree.

At the Meadow Lake Tribal Council level, support services are available to the First Nation made possible by the funding sources described earlier. A Director of Economic Development and a Business Development Officer provide advice and counselling on business opportunities. These officers assist individuals and Bands in the formation of business plans. Information regarding the various funding sources is offered. Established businesses receive follow-up support counselling to ensure that they continue to be viable. At this early stage, it appears that the relative novelty of economic development and the market economy necessitates a period of

adjustment by the Indian community. In the future, when business acumen increases and business skills become ingrained in the First Nation members, the positive impact of economic development will be realized.

The Health Sector

The health function of the Waterhen Lake First Nation was recently served by the Medical Services Branch of National Health and Welfare, Canada. The key health positions for many years had been a public health nurse and a community health representative (C.H.R.) The nurse had been employed by Medical Services Branch reporting to the zone office. The C.H.R. position was and is currently administered by the First Nation with the incumbent reporting directly to the Band through the Health committee. In 1991, the Meadow Lake Tribal Council signed an Agreement with Medical Services Branch (MSB) to administer the services provided to the First Nations. This transfer of services to the First Nations was to come in stages. In the interim, the positions transferred to MLTC include a Community Health Coordinator, the Public Health Nurse Coordinator, and the Health Adviser. This program is headed by a Director of Health who is responsible to the MLTC, Board of Health. Prior to this transfer, MLTC had conducted a comprehensive study of the health needs of the bands.

The nurse and the community health worker are based out of the local health center, from which they distribute minor treatment services, healthcare advice to parents, clinics, home visits, and health education to the students of the school. They arrange the itineraries of visiting health specialists and assist the physician on his regularly scheduled visit and examinations of community members.

The alcohol and drug abuse program on the Reserve has also been transferred to the First Nation from the auspices of the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program. This program is headed by a Coordinator who provides individual and group counselling services. The incumbent accesses treatment programs for members and delivers Al Anon and Alateen programs respectively for relatives of alcoholics and teenage abusers of alcohol.¹² MLTC operates the Mistahey Musqua Treatment Center on behalf of the members at Waterhen Lake and the other Bands. This centre is a residential program for the treatment of alcohol and drug abuse patients in the district. Alcohol abuse is still rampant on the Reserve and healing programs are required to address the problem. Some factors that ascerbate institutionalized racism on generations of Band members inflicted by the Indian Act and the residential school policies.¹⁴ In recognition of this need, a healing component has been included in the recently signed Child and Family Services Agreement. This Agreement will ensure that First Nation administered child protection and custody, as well as an array of family counselling support services, will be available to the members.

The First Nation hires a Transportation Coordinator to organize and administer the the medical transportation needs of the Band members to Meadow Lake, 50 miles away. The responsibility involves taking individuals to the hospital in emergencies. It also involves taking patients for regular visits to see doctors, or specialists and to take tests.¹⁵

Indian Registry and Records

The Waterhen Lake First Nation transferred the Indian Registry program from Indian Affairs in 1990. An Indian Registry Clerk has been

trained to deliver the program.¹⁶ In general, the function entails the preservation of all registry records on a confidential basis. Specific responsibilities include the registration of births and deaths, the issuing of Indian status cards, and the maintenance of records on individuals affiliated to the Waterhen Lake First Nation.

Housing, Maintenance and Infrastructure

In this sector, the Reserve manages the construction of new homes for Band members and the renovations of existing housing. Working with a housing advisory committee, a housing Coordinator is responsible to the First Nation Council. Four to five units are built each year; the demand far exceeds the supply. Discussions have taken place to review the pros and cons of the C.M.H.C. mortgage program and the C.M.H.C. Social Housing Program. No Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) programs are currently operating on the Reserve.

The Meadow Lake Tribal Council employs a Director of Technical Services to plan the capital and infrastructure needs of the First Nations. This manager supervises the work of two housing inspectors who inspect new homes in accordance with federal standards. Two other individuals assist the First Nations to build a maintenance management system for their assets. A fire and safety inspector insures that fire regulations are maintained.¹⁷

The Waterhen Lake First Nation hires a Maintenance Supervisor to manage the operation and maintenance of facilities, capital assets, and infrastructure. The community takes maintenance responsibility for the school building, the teacherages, water and sanitation systems, electrification, roads and bridges, community buildings, and fire protection

services. Indian Affairs provides the building standards and the funding for the facilities. MLTC gives program support and training.

The Waterhen Lake First Nation is progressing in many sectors as never before. The pace of change has created some stress with the First Nations members; however, there have been some hard feelings in the community to leadership in the wake of rapid changes. Despite the progress, the Waterhen Lake First Nation is still considerably behind the non-Indian communities as far as development goes. In comparison to other First Nations, development is average. Increased training and education of the members has to continue to be emphasized if positive change is to be realized. The harmful effects of mistrust and the sense of powerlessness will have to be addressed.

The Waterhen Lake Band is looking to the self-government process as the next step in its development.

NOTES

1. The researcher was employed by the Waterhen Lake First Nation and its Tribal Council, over a period of fourteen years. This included positions as a teacher, student counsellor, and Director of Education.

2. The researcher has quoted extensively from the community data base, compiled by Ian B. Cowie and Associates in 1990, which was researched in preparation for the Self-Government Initiative. Ian B. Cowie, Meadow Lake Tribal Council-Waterhen Lake First Nation, Community Profile and Data Base, Draft # 2 (Ottawa: n.p., June, 1990).

3. Peggy Brizinski, Knots in a String - An Introduction to Native Studies in Canada, Second Edition (Saskatoon: University Extension Press, Extension Division, University of Saskatchewan, 1993), 178.

4. The Self-Government Initiative started in 1989 with the framework concept and the resulting agreement is intended to replace the Indian Act as a governing instrument for the members of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council First Nations. The First Nations that make up the Tribal Council include Big C, Buffalo River, Canoe Lake, English River, Flying Dust, Island Lake, Makwa Sahgaiekan, Turnor Lake, and Waterhen Lake.

5. National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education - policy paper, n.p.: 1972.

6. The researcher was the Coordinator of Education for the Waterhen Lake First Nation from 1984 - 1988.

7. Since January, 1990 the researcher has been the incumbent Director of Education for the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.

8. The MLTC Sports and Youth Leadership Program was completely cut by the federal government in fiscal year 1992/1993. This deprived the First Nations of youth leadership development opportunities for one year. In late 93, the province decentralized some funding for all tribal councils which revived the Sports and Youth program.

9. The post-secondary program which funds First Nation students to access university and technical training has now been approved by eight First Nation authorities for transfer to the administration of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council except for the English River First Nation which chose to administer its own program.

10. Cowie, 38.

11. Cowie, 67.

12. Cowie, 20.

13. Cowie, 34.

14. The human resource workers at the Meadow Lake Tribal Council have identified this problem through the comprehensive health needs assessment which was formulated for the First Nations. The Waterhen Lake Band members have recognized that they were deprived of their cultural and human dignity by this colonial system.

15. Cowie, 36.

16. Cowie, 58.

17. Cowie, 66.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHIEFS AND COUNCILS, THE ISSUES OF THEIR TIMES, AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

This chapter examines the Chiefs and Councils of the Waterhen Lake Band (First Nation), from 1921 until 1993. It documents the issues and developments that dominated their terms of office and their efforts to change the policies and laws of the government to improve the quality of life for their people. The developments that began under one administration were often completed in the term of the succeeding Chief and Council.

The researcher interviewed all living ex-Chiefs of the Waterhen Lake Band; their oral statements form the primary source of information for this chapter. In cases where the Chief was deceased, the information provided by others familiar with his life were used.

The elected Chiefs and Councils that comprise the government of the Waterhen Lake Band receive their authority pursuant to Section 74(2) of the Indian Act. Under this section, the term of office is two years with elections always held at the end of November regardless of the timing of election appeals and their outcomes. The consensus of all the leaders was that the two year terms are inadequate to develop meaningful changes. The last election was carried out on November 29, 1992; the next will be held in November 29, 1994. In some calendar years this date fluctuates by a day or two, subject to whether the election date falls on a weekend. Nominations for Chief and Councillors normally occur two weeks before the election. To be eligible to vote, band members must be at least eighteen years of age at the time of the election. Eligible voters must have resided on the reserve for at

least six months prior to the election. In the last seventy-two years, the number of Councillors have increased from one to nine. In earlier times, the Councillor was called a Headman.

The band is affiliated with the Meadow Lake Tribal Council(MLTC) through the representation of their Chief. The Meadow Lake Tribal Council, as the union of the nine First Nations or Bands, found its roots in 1964 as the Meadow Lake District Chiefs. Increasing in staff and influence, the Tribal Council has replaced Indian Affairs in the delivery of various services to the member First Nations(Bands).

This chapter will be organized chronologically, beginning with the earliest Chief and Council, followed by the successive band governments. At each term of service, the issues and developments experienced by the Chief will be documented including the names and responsibilities of the respective council member(s).

In the case of a deceased Chief, a relative or leaders familiar with his work were consulted. For those who held office for successive terms, the terms of office are addressed in summary, except where the Chief was re-elected into office after being out for at least one term. In this circumstance, the length of the new term or terms will be examined separately. The names of the deceased Chiefs, Headmen/Councillors, and band members will be followed by a (d). The term(s) of office will follow the name of the Chief. All of the Councillors who served during the tenure of the Chief will be identified by the length of their terms.

As the population of Band members increased, so did the number of councillors. There was one Councillor for every 100 Band members. Whenever applicable the Cree name(s) of the leaders will be identified after

their English equivalent. The First Chief and Headman(Councillor) did not use a given name which was customary in the lives of traditional Indians.

Chief RunningAround(Waskapacas)(d), 1921 - 1937

RunningAround's council consisted of Headman Roundsky (Waweyekisik)(d) who served for the duration of RunningAround's term. Chief RunningAround became the first Chief of the Waterhen Lake Reserve.¹ His election occurred as a result of his support for the signing of the Adhesion to Treaty Six. RunningAround was adamant about two things; he did not want the government to interfere in the traditional way of life of his people, and he did not want a small Reserve. He was a traditional leader preferring his Cree lifestyle over Euro-Canadian ways.

Following the signing of the Adhesion, the formal duties of the Chief and Headmen were few and the level of organization was minimal. In the earlier terms, the office of Chief and Councillor did not have a salary and its function was symbolic in nature. RunningAround listened to the concerns of his band members which he would relay to the visiting government officials on the occasions when they came to the Reserve. He presided over the annual treaty payments. In his tenure, the government food rations periodically provided to the Waterhen Lake Band members, were distributed by band member, Alex Larocque. On an annual basis, the Chief's entitlement was limited to treaty provisions which was a stipend of twenty-five dollars. For his duties, the Headman Roundsky(Waweyekisik), received fifteen dollars.

In 1936, RunningAround attended the 60th anniversary of the signing of Treaty Six where he had an opportunity to give his input into government tardiness to fulfill treaty promises. He served as Chief until his death in 1937.

Chief Moonhawk(Moonoch) RunningAround(d), 1938 - 1947

As with his father, RunningAround's Headman/Councillor was Roundsky(d) who held office of Headman from 1921-1942. RunningAround succeeded his father as chief after the death of RunningAround.² Although Moonhawk was elected, the age old practice of inheriting the chieftainship appeared to be honoured by the band members.

There is no available record at the band administration office or Indian Affairs as to who might have been the Councillor or Councillors for the years, 1943-1947. The record may have been accidentally lost or destroyed. The affairs of the Reserve and the duties of the Chief and Councillors were similar to that of the first Chief and Councillor.

Chief Bruno Martell(d), 1947 - 1952

Martell's Councillors and their terms were:

John Blackbird(d), (1947-1950),

Alex Blackbird(d), (1950-1952), and,

Peter Lasas(d), (1950-1952).

One of the main issues in the term of Chief Bruno Martell was that of building a school on the Reserve so students would not have to leave home to attend school.³ In a 1987 interview, Martell shared his view on education by stressing its relevance to making a better living. The treaty provisions had specified that the government was to provide a school and a teacher on the Reserve at the request of the Indians. For decades the Government reneged on this treaty provision in favour of their own policies of off-reserve schooling aimed at acculturation and assimilation. With his

initiative, this treaty benefit was realized through the completion of the first school in 1953.

Although the time commitment of the Chief and Council increased as a result of more Indian Affairs involvement, requiring additional reporting and record keeping there was still no remuneration attached to these positions.

Chief John Larocque, 1952 - 1959

Larocque's Councillors and their terms were:

Theodore(Muskego) Fiddler(d), (1952-1954),

Peter(Pedro) Lasas(d), (1952-1960), and,

Tom Blackbird(Poosis), (1954-1960).

Chief John Larocque lead the Waterhen Lake Band in this era.⁴ In addition to his regular duties in office, he negotiated a one time contract with a logging company that resulted in a dividend to the Waterhen Lake Band. The money, which totalled \$80,000.00, was held in trust by Indian Affairs in Ottawa for the use of the Band. Each year, funds were drawn from this account to purchase flour for the families in the Reserve.

Chief Fred Martell, 1959 - 1974

In Fred Martell's 15 year tenure, a number of individuals served as Councillors. These Councillors are listed below.

George Larocque, (1959-1964),

Basil Lasas, (1959-1962),

Bruno Martell(d), (1959-1962),

George Fiddler(d), (1962-1964), (1968-1972),

Tom Blackbird, (1964-1966),

Bruno Ernest(d) (1964-1966), (1972-1974),

Arthur Martell, (1964-1966), (1972-1974),
Edwin Martell, (1968-1974),
Albert Fiddler, (1968-1972),
Edward Martell, (1968-1970),
Fred Fiddler, (1970-1972),
Joseph Fiddler, (1972-1974), and,
Martin Larocque, (1972-1974).

Martell served the Waterhen Lake Band as Chief, spanning a total of twenty-five years.⁵ He was elected to two separate tenures in office, with a break between them.

In 1990, in recognition of his years of service to his people, Martell was appointed to the office of Senator to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, which is the provincial political body of the First Nations in Saskatchewan.

He gave a brief history of his youth by discussing his schooling at the Thunderchild Indian residential school in Delmas, Saskatchewan. He stated that having reached grade eight at the age of fifteen he was told to find work. He added that once Indian students reached this age, they were discouraged from further education.

Following his schooling, Martell worked for twenty years away from the Reserve where he established a good work record. Times were very tough on the reserves during this time; young men were expected to leave home in search of employment. For a number of years, he worked at forestry in British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. He also worked in the ranches and sawmills of Northern Saskatchewan. He emphasized that these long periods away from home were hard on Indian families and often resulted in the break-up of families.

Returning to Waterhen Lake Reserve in 1957, Martell was not content to sit around. Soon after his return, he became involved in the set-up and operation of a sawmill that the band had purchased from a person in Regina. A cook shack and a bunkhouse were built and detailed records of the lumber and the profit were kept. Since employment was scarce and social welfare was not provided, the sawmill created needed employment.

In November 1958, at the recommendation of Theodore Fiddler, Martell successfully ran for Chief. Continuing the sawmill operation, Fred was able to complete the construction of six log cabins, for his band members. The extra lumber at the sawmill helped to alleviate the housing shortage.

In his capacity as Chief, Martell did not receive a wage for the first nine years of his first successive terms in office. Despite approaching the responsibility of Chief as a serious and full time job, the traditional amount of twenty-five dollars was the only stipend that the Chief received from the Treaty payments. He worked up to eighteen hours a day to provide services to his Band members. Martell added that the members came first and often at the expense of his own time and family. To support himself, the Chief worked at the sawmill and provided transportation to the students at the school for seven dollars a day.

In 1957, the main road on the Reserve consisted of a well beaten wagon trail running parallel to the lakeshore. With the Band members, he constructed a ten foot wide trail through the Reserve, which was needed for hauling logs to the sawmill, and which became the first non-wagon road. Shortly after this, they built another log road that was fourteen feet wide. In 1971, he reached an agreement with the Department of Highways to have the department construct the road that is currently in use.

In the 1950 and 1960s Indian people were treated as second class citizens. The Department of Indian Affairs discouraged Indians from moving about freely. Indians had little input into the policies of Indian Affairs. Martell gave many examples of how he pressured the Federal and Provincial authorities to improve services for his members.

Martell also recalled approaching an Indian Agent in Meadow Lake for food rations at a time when he could not work due to a work related injury. Turned down by the Indian agent, he went back to his sawmill employment only to have his stitches come apart. Upon re-approaching the agent for rations, the agent, who was aware of his condition, attempted to push him down the stairs. Feeling the injustice of this incident, Martell contacted the agent's superior in Regina. To the agent's embarrassment, the superior directed him to provide the rations to Martell.

In 1960, the Chief purchased a panel-truck, the only vehicle on the Reserve at the time. The nearest hospital was located in Meadow Lake, 50 miles from the Waterhen Lake Reserve. The vehicle often served as an ambulance; Martell transported the sick, trappers, and shoppers to Meadow Lake and Dorintosh. Martell's vehicle served as utility vehicle for the whole Reserve.

In 1968, the Band took over the welfare administration from Indian Affairs. Martell received a three day course in the administration of the welfare program, a cheque book to pay the assistance, and application forms for the band members.

In 1964, Martell first attempted to assemble the other Chiefs together to attempt to improve the lives of Indian people in the district. He felt there was political strength to be gained from the unity of the ten Bands. This

collective effort was organized to counter the effort of the governments to discourage Indian culture.

Martell recalled how the federal government tried to suppress Indian people before 1960; Indian religion was labelled pagan, and Indians were portrayed as savages. Indian religion was outlawed and children were sent to residential schools that attempted to acculturate them into Canadian society by denying them their Indian heritage. Travel by Indian people in the first half of the century was restricted because of the fear that the gathering of Indians in numbers could mean a possible attack on White people. Up to 1951, Indians were even prohibited from public places and denied the right to vote in Canadian elections. Because they were not allowed to consume alcohol, they were barred from entering the drinking establishments.

Martell stated that the 1969 White paper which was drafted by the federal government tried to cancel treaties. It was based on an attitude of cultural superiority intended to undermine Indian self-determination.

In addition to his duties as Chief of his Band, Fred Martell served as the District Chief of the Meadow Lake District Chiefs' organization for a total of twelve years. In 1967, the Beauval Indian Residential School, under the management of the Catholic Church, showed a high student drop-out rate. This was alarming, considering that the institution was an elementary school. Through the efforts of the Meadow Lake District Chiefs, Martell convinced the Department of Indian Affairs to take over the administration of the school; the Chiefs became the Board of Directors for the school.

Close to the end of his first term in 1976, Chief Martell and his Council successfully negotiated for a new school at Waterhen Lake Reserve. The Chief was concerned about students having to travel away from home

again to attend the provincial school in Dorintosh. The new Band school was to become the nucleus for the new high school addition that was to be built later under his leadership. Throughout Martell's first 15 year tenure in office, the Band also addressed welfare administration, commercial fishing, roads, sawmill development, a new school, and better services for the Band members. Assets of the Band included two new skidders, a large truck, a cattle operation, tractors, and a sawmill. It is evident that Martell instituted much progressive change to the community in this early period.

Chief George Larocque, 1974 - 1978

George Larocque's Councillors and their terms are listed below.

Albert Fiddler, (1974-1978),
Fred Fiddler, (1974-1976),
Theresia Fiddler, (1974-1978),
Bruno Ernest, (1976-1978),
Armand J. Fiddler, (1976-1978),
Peter Larocque, (1976-1978),

Larocque served his Band as Chief for a total of six years, in two separate tenures.⁶ He stated that at the start of his administration the Band Council was inexperienced, with some reliance on Indian Affairs to run the business of the Band. However, Larocque and his Council soon took a proactive role. The following issues were addressed by his Council during his tenure.

The backlash against the 1969 White paper, drafted by the Trudeau government, impacted positively on the Band. This paper was intended to do away with treaties and Indian status. In opposition to the White Paper, the issue of Indian control of Indian education was put forth by the National

Indian Brotherhood (NIB). The federal government adopted the NIB document and Indian education dominated the political agenda in the next few years. The federal government relinquished control over education to Indian Bands in 1973. Opting for the gradual takeover of the education program, Larocque and his Councillors added one or two funding categories per year to the the administration of the Band. The E-12 funding guidelines formulated by Indian Affairs to fund educational program areas of the Band were often hotly debated between the Band Council and Indian Affairs. The new elementary/junior school project started by the previous Chief and Council was completed in Chief Larocque's first term. Whenever possible, Band labour was used in the construction of the school to create local employment. Since jobs for adults and students were concerns of the Band Council at this time, funding was accessed for this purpose.

Gradually during this first term, a portfolio system for the Councillors emerged. They started the process of each taking some responsibility for Band affairs. Larocque delegated more responsibility to the Councillors than the previous Chiefs. In 1976, Larocque attended the centennial year celebrations in Duck Lake, where the commemoration of the signing of Treaty Six at Fort Carleton, had occurred. He participated in the event to reflect the support of his Band for the full government's recognition of treaty promises.

Through the Western Northlands Fund, Larocque and his Council were able to negotiate and construct the hockey arena that now serves the Reserve. The facility included a mezzanine area that became the meeting hall, a kitchen area, four dressing rooms, and an office. Local employment was created from the building of the facility, and whenever possible, local building materials were used in the construction. Larocque recalled that the

building of a community center and a bridge across the narrows were considered but not approved.

Since most members had lost the practice of their Indian culture, Larocque nurtured the interest in culture and started the cultural revival in his Band. The Band members had become apathetic about their culture which concerned him.

In Larocque's first tenure in office, Theresia Fiddler was the first woman ever to sit in Council. Moreover, Theresia and her husband, Albert Fiddler, were the first couple to sit on the same Council.

The Meadow Lake District Chiefs (MLDC) office was a fledgling operation in this period. MLDC started to provide services to the Bands and lobbied Indian Affairs for more administrative control of programs by Bands.

Chief Sidney Fiddler, 1978 - 1980

Sidney Fiddler's Councillors and their terms are listed below.

Theresia Fiddler, (1978-1980),
Edwin Martell, (1978-1980),
Albert Fiddler, (1978-1980),
Lawrence Mistickokat, (1978-1980),
Charlie Martell, (1978-1980),
Armand Fiddler, (1978-1980), and,
Peter Larocque, (1978-1980).

Fiddler served his Band as a chief for a two year term.⁷ Prior to his election to office, he had served as the Band administrator for the outgoing Chief and Council. Fiddler's formal education consisted of a two year social

work certificate from the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, federated to the University of Regina. He had been employed previously as an adoption placement officer with the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services in Saskatoon.

Fiddler explained that the portfolio system of responsibilities for Councillors was improved during his term. He stating that the following Councillors had these responsibility areas:

- a. welfare - Theresia Fiddler,
- b. education - Albert Fiddler,
- c. housing and renovations - Lawrence Mistickokat,
- d. roads and maintenance - Charlie Martell, and,
- e. community works projects - Peter Larocque.

Edwin Martell coordinated the alcohol and drug program for five Bands in the area, driving daily to Meadow Lake for this purpose. He was understandably too busy to take responsibility for local management of programs.

Fiddler recalled that better reporting accountability to the Band membership was his particular concern. The budgets from Indian Affairs had been steadily increasing and the administration of the funds required improved book-keeping and management skills. At the start of the financial year, he submitted a Band budget to the Band membership for approval. He conducted regular Band meetings to report on the various developments that were occurring at the Band office, as a matter of involving the Band members. Due to Chief and Council input, funding levels from Indian Affairs were increased and criterion for accountability of funds were adjusted.

In this term, there was an effort to determine if the the nearby Primrose Bombing Range had been created at the expense of the Waterhen Lake Band. The bombing range was located in the Band's traditional territory and the issue of compensation to the Band had not been addressed by the Canadian Armed Forces.

Fiddler facilitated increased Band control of services from the administration of Indian Affairs. The school on the Reserve was operated by Indian Affairs and the federal administrators and bureaucrats controlled the hiring process. Fiddler placed more of his people on the school committee, which was in charge of hiring to ensure that Native teachers were employed. In the area of curriculum, the school committee replaced French language instruction at the school with Cree. Mandatory instruction of Catholicism during school time was curtailed. Parents that wanted their children taught catechism had to sign their approval and the instruction occurred after school. Furthermore, other religious instruction including Cree spirituality would be allowed under the same conditions.

Fiddler was a strong advocate for cultural renewal. He introduced the Cree cultural camp where it did not exist before. The Seven Hills area became the site of traditional gatherings involving dances, cultural speakers, elders, sweatlodges, and traditional singing.

In recreation, Fiddler introduced the multi event, relay race that is now an integral part of the Treaty Day celebrations. He also supported the development of the hockey program.

At the Meadow Lake District Chiefs (MLDC) level, Fiddler was involved in joint business ventures with the other Chiefs. The collectively owned enterprises were shared investments that required monitoring. The

District Chiefs lobbied for the transfer of programs, either to the District Chiefs, or to the individual Bands.

Chief George Larocque, 1980 - 1982

In his second tenure in office, George Larocque's Councillors and their terms are listed below.

Albert Fiddler, (1980-1982),
Theresia Fiddler, (1980-1982),
Edwin Martell, (1980-1982),
Richard Fiddler, (1980-1982), and,
Marcel Martell, (1980-1982).

Larocque spoke of the issues, developments and concerns that were prominent in the second tenure of his service as the Chief of his Band.⁸

He believed that the high rate of alcohol abuse by the Waterhen Lake Band members was decreased partially by the provision of additional cultural activities on the Reserve. In tandem with the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program, the enthusiasm for cultural activities alleviated the boredom and apathy that had often led to excessive abuse of alcohol. As a general observation of the level of alcohol abuse in the community over time, Larocque stated that in the mid 1960s, 100% of the adult members abused alcohol. He estimated the rate had decreased to approximately 60% by 1982. In this period, 1,500 acres of Reserve land was broken for the purpose of planting forage crops. This was intended to provide support to the cattle ranchers from the Band who were using a part of the Reserve for this purpose.

The Health clinic was established in a trailer and a Community Health Representative was employed by the Chief and Council to monitor the health of the Band members.

At the Meadow Lake District Chiefs level, the takeover of the Beauval Indian Residential High School was a main agenda item. The Chiefs were involved in business joint-ventures in the retail, service and forestry sectors. The Chief sat on the Board of Directors for these ventures. At this level, negotiations were conducted by the Chiefs to ensure that government programs were decentralized to the District Chiefs organization and the Bands.

Larocque served his Band as a Chief and a Councillor for a total of twenty years. In closing, he gave credit to the other Chiefs for the collective hard work that went into the development of the Waterhen Lake Band.

Chief Armand J. Fiddler, 1982 - July, 1983

Armand Fiddler's Councillors and their terms were:

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Albert Fiddler, | (November 29, 1982- July, 1983), |
| Edwin Martell, | (" " " " "), |
| Richard Fiddler, | (" " " " "), |
| Martin Larocque, | (" " " " "), and, |
| Mary Ann Martell, | (" " " " "). |

Fiddler was elected and remained in office for approximately six months.⁹ As a result of an appeal, the election results for chief and two councillor positions were overturned by the Department of Indian Affairs. Fiddler did not seek re-election in the following election.

In his brief stint in office, Fiddler recalled that the main item he and his council pursued was tourism. They looked at the feasibility of building a

cultural centre near the park entrance gate, close to Dorintosh, Saskatchewan. On an admission basis, the center was to have offered the park's tourists access to the traditional Cree cultural lifestyle such as the pow wow, hoop dancing, singing and drumming, and round dancing. Although this idea did not have an opportunity to be realized, the economic viability of tourism was established. This tourism potential was later tapped by the incoming Chief and Council.

Fiddler's role on the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, formerly the District Chiefs, was similar to that of the previous Chief. Joint business ventures among the Chiefs had to be managed and the transfer of the Beauval Residential High School was high on the agenda.

Chief Fred Martell, July, 1983 - 1990

In Fred Martell's second tenure as Chief, his Councillors and their terms were:

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Albert Fiddler, | (1983-1990), |
| Edwin Martel, | (1983-1990), |
| Charlie Martell, | (1983-1990), |
| Richard Fiddler, | (1983-January 13, 1987), (July 13, 1990), |
| Fred Fiddler, | (1983-1988), |
| Martin Larocque, | (1983-1988), |
| Alex Mistickokat, | (1986-1990), |
| George Larocque, | (1987-1990), |
| Arthur Martell, | (1988-1990), |
| Armand J. Fiddler, | (1986-1988), and, |
| Peter Larocque, | (1983-1986). |

Martell discussed the issues and developments in this time period.¹⁰ Areas of concentration included education, economic development, and a self-government framework. The Band gained much control of program services in this period. Band administration had become well developed, with the Councillors sharing the responsibility of managing the affairs of the Band. As a result, Martell had the human resources to diversify the development of the Waterhen Lake Reserve.

In the 1984-1985 academic year, negotiations with Indian Affairs for the transfer of the local school to Band control, began. Simultaneously, the Band initiated a capital project to add a high school extension at a cost of two million dollars. In 1985-1986, Indian Affairs transferred the complete education program, to the control of the Band. The high school addition, complete with a gymnasium, was ready for occupation in the 1986-1987 school year.

In the economic development sector, Martell and his Council developed a bison ranch operation, purchased two resorts, and a steel fabricating plant. The steel plant did not prove a viable venture and was liquidated. The other investments have been good ventures. The Band also established a Band-based business assistance and counselling program to assist individual entrepreneurs from the Band.

In conjunction with the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, the Chief and Council initiated self-government negotiations with Indian Affairs.

The roads were further upgraded and a loader and two tractors were purchased. Improved management and accounting systems were developed to deliver all the programs that Indian Affairs once operated for the Band.

During Martell's second tenure as Chief of his Band, the Meadow Lake District Chiefs organization continued to expand their business

ventures. The District Chiefs created an entrepreneur training program to train Band members for private business. An intensive month long, residential program was offered that trained approximately 30 individuals. In 1986, the Meadow Lake District Chiefs organization was renamed the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC), in keeping with the development of Indian self-government principles. MLTC, with Martell's participation, presided over the self-government negotiations with the federal government in support of the individual Bands. After 1983, the Tribal Council began to replace Indian Affairs as the main provider of services to the Bands. MLTC staff increased to one hundred employees by the end of Chief Martell's second tenure.

Martell was involved with various Boards and committees at the MLTC and Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN) levels. He was the Chairman of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, Board of Education for two years. In 1990, Martell was appointed lifetime Senator to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, following his 25 years of service in the capacity of Chief. He has continued his activism in this forum, using his wisdom and experience to improve the lives of his people.

Chief Robert Fiddler, 1990 - 1992

Robert Fiddler's Councillors and their terms are listed below.

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| George Larocque, | (1988-1990), |
| Albert Fiddler, | (" "), |
| Fred Fiddler, | (" "), |
| Richard Fiddler, | (" "), |
| Martin Larocque, | (" "), |
| Arthur Martell, | (" "), |

Mary Ann Martell, (" "),
Armand J. Fiddler, (" "), and,
Alex Mistickokat. (" ").

Fiddler was in office for one term, from November 1990 to November of 1992.¹¹ At this point, the usage of the name Waterhen Lake Band was changed to the Waterhen Lake First Nation to reflect the self-government aspirations of the First Nation. Fiddler gave a breakdown of the portfolio responsibilities of his Councillors. He elaborated that, whenever possible, two or more Councillors were responsible for each of the program areas and they are listed here:

- a. education - George Larocque, and Albert Fiddler,
- b. economic development - Albert Fiddler, and Richard Fiddler,
- c. health and social - Armand Fiddler, and Mary Ann Martell,
- d. justice - Arthur Martell,
- e. Indian government, housing/infrastructure, and water and sanitation - Martin Larocque, and,
- f. hunting, fishing and trapping - George Larocque.

Fiddler stressed that the First Nation Council tried to enhance the accountability of the First Nation government. To this end, committees and Boards with First Nation member representation were organized to give suggestions to the Chief and Council. An Elder's Council was formed to provide advice to the Chief and Council.

Fiddler stated that the hunting, fishing, and trapping sector of the Band became an issue during the term of his office. A study was commissioned by the Chief and Council to compare the size of the current fur block, in relation to the traditional hunting territory. The Band examined the issue of co-management of natural resources between the

province and the First Nation members. He argued that traditional users of the natural resources must be included in the management of the natural resources since the treaties had not relinquished the Band's right to manage the resources in its traditional territory.

Fiddler and Council spent considerable time on the development of the Self-Government Initiative which had been initiated by the previous administration. They hired a local Co-ordinator to lead the self-government work. The co-ordinator formed a local self-government committee to provide assistance with the Initiative.

In the health area, the community started to prepare for the effect of the Health Agreement which was signed by the Meadow Lake Tribal Council Chiefs in 1991. The Health Agreement stipulated that the transfer of health programming to the First Nations would be managed in stages. Awareness and training was conducted with the members in anticipation of this transfer.

In education, the role of the education board was expanded to involve responsibility for all education programming, rather than being limited to the n/k-12 school program.

The bison ranch was revamped to pursue not only a market for the calf and cow operation but to include the marketing of the meat on a wholesale basis.

At the Tribal Council level, Fiddler was party to the signing of a Health Agreement to transfer health services from the control of Medical Services Branch of the Federal government to the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, and in stages, to the First Nations.

Fiddler provided input on the Meadow Lake Self-Government Framework Agreement that was signed with the Federal Government on

behalf of the member Bands, on April 3, 1991. Fiddler was the Chairman of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, Board of Education during his term as Chief. He also sat on other Tribal Council, and FSIN Boards and Commissions.

Chief Richard Fiddler, 1992-

Richard Fiddler's Councillors and their terms were:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| Albert Fiddler, | (1992-), |
| George Larocque, | (" "), |
| Fred Fiddler, | (" "), |
| Charlie Martell, | (" "), |
| Armand J. Fiddler, | (" "), |
| Alex Mistickokat, | (" "), |
| Dorothy Fiddler, | (" "), |
| Gordon Ernest, | (" "), and, |
| Dean Martell, | (" "). |

Fiddler was the incumbent chief at the conclusion of this thesis. He shared his experiences with the writer on the details of his office.¹²

The portfolio responsibilities of the Councillors were as follows:

- a. health and social development - Dorothy Fiddler, and Charlie Martell,
- b. treaty rights, land claims, and culture - George Larocque, and Dean Martell,
- c. capital, maintenance, housing and infrastructure - Albert Fiddler, Alex Mistickokat, and Fred Fiddler,
- d. forestry - Dean Martell, and Alex Mistickokat,
- e. education - Gordon Ernest, and Albert Fiddler,

- f. self-government, justice, and membership - Armand J. Fiddler, Charlie Martell, and Dean Martell,
- g. economic development - Albert Fiddler, Fred Fiddler, and Gordon Ernest,
- h. hunting, fishing and trapping - George Larocque, and,
- i. finance - Dorothy Fiddler, and Gordon Ernest.

In economic development, the Waterhen Lake First Nation has access to the largest harvesting permit available under the Forestry Management and Land's Allowance body (FMLA). Development in this area intensified to take advantage of the business and employment created by this opportunity. Heavy equipment to build roads in the forest were purchased for the forestry operation. This equipment consisted of a gravel truck, a large loader, and a grader. Furthermore, a grapple skidder and delimber, estimated to cost \$800,000.00 were purchased for the forestry operations. This resulted in the creation of additional employment for the First Nation members.

An interim agreement on the co-management of natural resources, i.e. forestry activity, hunting, fishing and trapping was reached with Mistik Management. This co-management arrangement gives a voice to the First Nation in the management of the natural resources in its area.

With the bison venture the Chief and Council are setting up a new marketing plan for the bison. Currently, breeding heifers are sold to other operations. After completing a business tour in the United States, Fiddler, and his Council will be diversifying the bison opportunities. A plan to open up a commercial hunting venture for bulls is now in discussion. He stated that trophy buffalo heads could be attractive to hunters. Wholesaling and retailing the meat to the public or to the hunters will continue to be an

option. The First Nation has been discussing a general outfitting operation for out of district hunters in the big game area.

In tourism, the Waterhen Lake First Nation is examining the feasibility of expanding the M&N Resort. Features under discussion include, a conference center, a giftshop, a dining area, and a demonstration area for traditional dancing.

In agriculture the First Nation is looking at the feasibility of market gardens, fish farming, and wild rice farming.

Under child and family services, the Waterhen Lake First Nation was party to the Child and Family Services Agreement signed in December, 1993 through MLTC. The Agreement will enable the First Nation to offer wellness services, child protection, and various family services at the local level.

In the health area, a Community Health Coordinator was hired by the First Nation to coordinate the ongoing program transfer of the health services.

The Chief and First Nation Council struck an agreement with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to establish a sub-station on the reserve. Considering the distance to the nearest detachment, it is hoped that this measure will be a deterrent to the crime which has been created by the chronic unemployment and resulting social problems.

In maintenance and infrastructure, a new subdivision for homes is in development. A new waterline and water treatment plant are in progress.

In education, most of the teaching staff is remaining this year. The school board has been supervising the development of the school program. Fiddler stated that the post-secondary program for university students, required some attention by the local school board.

A main concern by Fiddler in assuming office was to balance the deficit budget. This task was accomplished to the satisfaction of Chief and Council.

The inadequacy of housing dollars was also a concern. Fiddler mentioned that the matter required an approach that would emphasize buildings, over employment.

At the Meadow Lake Tribal Council level, the corporations were taking a lot of attention from the Chief. Fiddler stated that the tribal council will require some restructuring as we move to self-government. He believes that the function of MLTC should emphasize services to First Nations. Self-government, logging and forestry, health and social development, and child and family services were all mainline items centering around the Tribal Council.

In closing, the researcher has highlighted the contributions of the various Chiefs and Councils throughout the seventy-two year history of the Waterhen Lake Band (First Nation). It is noteworthy that in most cases, where one administration started an initiative, the following administration would continue the development. Through this incremental development, the Waterhen Lake First Nation has progressed steadily.

Progressive development is evident in the education, economic development, health, and social development sectors of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. The critical issue is self-government. Where it ultimately leads, will impact significantly on the Waterhen Lake First Nation members. In chapter VII, the researcher will investigate the self-government aspirations of the Waterhen Lake First Nation.

NOTES

1. Fred Martell of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 14 August 1992 and 16 July 1992.

2. George Larocque of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 14 August 1992.

Fred Martell of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 16 July 1992.

3. Fred Martell of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 16 July 1992 and 7 October 1991.

4. John Larocque of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 20 May 1993 and 14 August 1992.

5. Fred Martell of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 16 July 1992 and 7 October 1991.

6. George Larocque of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 14 August 1992.

7. Sid Fiddler of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 5 August 1992.

8. George Larocque of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 14 August 1992.

9. Armand J. Fiddler of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 22 June 1992.

10. Fred Martell of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 16 July 1992.

Biographical Sketch of Fred Martell., Compiled by Mike Best., 1992.

Fred Martell of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 7 October 1991.

11. Robert Fiddler of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 20 June 1992.

12. Richard Fiddler of Waterhen Lake Reserve, interview by author, 7 July 1994.

CHAPTER VII

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT JOURNEY

This chapter examines the self-government aspirations of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. Since 1982, the Waterhen Lake First Nations, as with other First Nations, has come to consider self-government as a solution to the poor quality of life. Over 100 years of government control has left the First Nation in a difficult predicament. All First Nations argue that self-government will replace the lack of ownership and apathy to result in a happier and more prosperous society.

To give an historical context of Cree self-government prior to European contact, the writer will give a brief synopsis of the functions of traditional self-government. The struggle for formal recognition of self-government will be detailed through a Self-Government Initiative that originated in 1987.

Federal Governance under the Indian Act

The legal authority of the Waterhen Lake First Nation flows from federal legislation known as the Indian Act. Enacted in 1876, the same year when Treaty Six was signed, it has overshadowed all aspects of the lives of treaty Indians. Through this legislation, the dominion government proclaimed its trusteeship of Indian people and their lands. Structured in a colonial era, Canadian Indians now view this Act as a paternalistic piece of legislation, symbolizing oppression and control.

Up to the 1950s, under the authority of the Indian Act, government officials persecuted Indian people by systematically prohibiting the practice of Indian spiritualism in Canada. For example, the traditional Sun Dance of

the plains Indians and the Potlatch in British Columbia, were outlawed.¹ Determined to have the Indians assimilate into the dominant culture, the federal government continued its 100 year policy of removing Indian children from their parents and placing them in boarding and residential schools. In tandem, the church and state formulated a policy of enforced acculturation, banning the use of both Indian languages and culture in the boarding schools.² While the Indian worldview was demeaned, students were coerced to pursue mainstream values such as Christianity, mainstream schooling, and agriculture. These acculturations and assimilation experiment of the residential schools failed to win many Indian converts because the Indians disdained a system that required them to compromise the very essence that gave them a reason for existence, which was their worldviews and cultures.

Canadian society's systematic effort to discourage Indian independence resulted in much damage to the pride and self-esteem of Indians. The despair, apathy, and dysfunctionality prevalent in Indian communities is the result of Euro-Canadian society's ethnocentric interference in the lives of generations of Indians.³ Indians in the thousands migrated to the urban centres where joblessness and social problems were exacerbated. On the reserves, support and services if not jobs are readily available to the residents. The off-reserve members are denied these services by the policy of the federal government.

The Pre-Contact History of Cree Self-Government

Prior to European contact, the early ancestors of the Cree societies lived in North America for up to 14,000 years.⁴ The functions of religion, government, resource management, economics, education, family and

social development, defence, culture, and recreation were present in Cree society. These functions were interdependently organized around the natural needs and processes of the tribe.⁵ Increasingly, scholars now recognize that Indian self-government is an aboriginal right that was never relinquished.⁶

The Indian function of religion promoted a belief in a Supreme Creator, commonly referred to as the "Great Spirit". Many animate, and some inanimate, objects had lesser spirits that required respect and acknowledgement. As an example of the latter, rocks are considered animate in the Cree culture. The influence of religion permeated all of the functions of Indian society. The medicine men, specialists of the spiritual realm, were called on in times of trouble. Indian spiritualism was a stabilizing standard across the tribe that guided and tempered all behavior. The strict adherence to this standard ensured proper discipline to the norms of its society. The respect and utilization of elder wisdom and guidance stemmed from the need to preserve the spiritual and cultural aspects of traditional Indian society.

The governance of the tribe was followed a consensus model.⁷ The council of elders and warriors were the decision-makers. A chief selected by his peers was required to be a wise man who had won much respect from his people. Following the death of a chief, a variation of leader selection was to allow the male offspring to take on the vacant position, subject to the approval of the council. A war chief was selected to lead the tribe in times of war with the traditional enemies. The medicine men were often consulted in the governance of the tribe .

The elders relate that the Cree lived in harmony with the natural environment and took only what was necessary for subsistence. Any plant

or animal taken from Mother Earth for human consumption had to be replaced by a gift, such as tobacco, left in its place as appreciation to the giving spirit. The respect for the environment flowed from Aboriginal creation theories, founded on the belief that humans were subordinate in the order of life, to the earth, plants, and animals.

Economic survival was connected to practical subsistence activities. Hunting was the sole domain of the men; women were involved with berry picking, hauling wood, and crafting clothing from the skin and fur of various animals. Children were trained for the economic activities of the band through the modeling of the adults. Repetition of tasks to master the subsistence skills was common. To ensure conformity to the tribe's economic well-being, males and females of all ages were ridiculed if they did not effectively participate in the subsistence activities of the tribe.⁸

The education of children which occurred outside of a specific center, was intertwined with other band functions. In support of the subsistence activities of the tribe, the wholistic education function incorporated the spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical well being of the members. In the stillness of winter, the grandparents would turn to storytelling; this involved the passing on of good values and attitudes to the children. The stories and legends featured characters with both supernatural and human qualities, widely used to socialize the youth into lives as contributing citizens.

In the institution of the family, Cree history attested to the value of the extended family in the socialization of children. The plain's tribes, where the Waterhen Lake First Nation originated, were patrilineally organized.⁹ Children were often nurtured by aunts and uncles rather than by their biological parents. If one or both of the parents died, the orphaned

youth continued to grow in a loving and supportive environment.

Polygamy, similar to that practiced in the old Jewish custom, was respected within the institution of marriage. Though few in number, social deviants were treated with ridicule and ostracized. Individuals who took the lives of other members were physically cast out from the band to fend for themselves in isolation.

The Defence function evolved to ensure that the tribe could protect its people and territories from enemy attack. This was a survival function to address the security needs of the tribe. Periodically, the tribes and the bands would conduct raids into enemy territory for the purpose of acquiring, horses, women for wives, and to show bravery. Counting coup on an adversary and retreating was considered more valiant than killing the enemy.

The Cree culture was the sole influence experienced in the course of their lives because there were no competing cultures to contend with. Through their life experiences, the elders provided the historical perspective which ensured the preservation of the tribe's culture.

Recreation for males centered on the acquisition of horsemanship and games such as la crosse and handgames for the males. The females gathered around crafts and food preparation where they would have an opportunity to visit and talk. Round-dancing and pow wow were favorite past times of both males and females.

Over many centuries, the Cree developed a society based on a practical and natural evolutionary process. Within that society numerous generations of Indians lived out constructive, peaceful, and orderly lives. Not appreciating the equilibrium that existed within the Cree culture that had developed over many centuries, the Euro-Canadians sought to coerce

the Cree into a Euro-Canadian, Christian lifestyle. It is from this pre-contact society that the Waterhen Lake Cree take hope in the development of future self-government.

Self-Government Aspirations

The modern consciousness of Aboriginal self-government arose in the 1970s, fueled by the 1969 White Paper on Indian Affairs, which intended to do away with Indian treaties and status.¹⁰ Realizing that they could not get fair treatment from the government, Indian leaders began to promote self-government as the solution to their problems. Simultaneously, Indian leaders argued the larger society's government had had sufficient time to improve the quality of life for Aboriginals, but had failed miserably. They argued that the time had arrived for Indian people to govern themselves if they were to achieve equal opportunities and a standard of living equivalent to other Canadians since the Indian leaders were satisfied that Aboriginal self-government had been practiced for many centuries before the arrival of the Europeans. In their examination of the treaties, they found that the right to self-government had not been forfeited to the Crown, but had simply "been usurped" by the colonial policies of the government.¹¹ The right to self-government based on historical aboriginal practice and the treaties is what came to be called the "inherent right" to self-government.¹²

This concept was elevated by the patriation of the Canadian constitution from Great Britain. Consternation of a possible negative effect on the treaties greatly accelerated the self-government aspirations of Indian people. The ill-fated Meech Lake Accord, with its failure to recognize the inherent right to Indian self-government, further strengthened the resolve of Indian people to achieve self-government.

In October of 1992, the Charlottetown Accord, which sought to bring Quebec into the constitutional fold, was defeated in a national referendum. In the status Indian community, 64% of the people voted against the Accord, while 54% of all Canadians rejected the agreement. The Indians rejected the Accord for a number of reasons. There was concern about whether the treaties were adequately protected under the proposed agreement. The lack of financial commitments led to reservations about future financing for self-government. Most community members did not fully understand the agreement or its implications. Lastly, there was a mistrust with the accelerated process of the Charlottetown Accord, which did not allow for a comprehensive examination of self-government. The quick addition of the inherent right to self-government clause was considered to be a government ploy to raise the stakes and to bolster the appeal of the Accord in favour of Quebec.

The Self-Government Initiative

The "inherent right" to self-government is espoused by the Waterhen Lake First Nation. The Waterhen Lake Band began to use the name, Waterhen Lake First Nation in the early '90s, reflecting their commitment to the concept of self-government. The Waterhen Lake First Nation believes that self-government will facilitate solutions to the injustices that their members have experienced under the stewardship of the federal government. In collaboration with eight other First Nations that make up the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, the Waterhen Lake First Nation set out to develop a self-government model for implementation. The First Nations decided to use the community-based self-government process approved by the federal conservative government to develop the self-government work.

This process had been initiated by the Conservative government in 1985, to enter into framework agreements with First Nations. At the onset, the First Nations concurred that the Meadow Lake Tribal Council officials would coordinate the development of the Initiative. The Province of Saskatchewan soon became involved in the self-government discussions.

The nine member Meadow Lake First Nations (MLFN'S) that form the Meadow Lake Tribal Council consist of:

Buffalo River First Nation,
Canoe Lake First Nation,
Clearwater River First Nation,
English River First Nation,
Flying Dust First Nation,
Island Lake First Nation,
Makwa Sahgaiehcan First Nation,
Turnor Lake First Nation, and,
Waterhen Lake First Nation.

Asserting their "inherent right" to self-government, the Meadow Lake First Nations through the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, utilized the federal self-government process to submit a proposal called a Tentative Framework Agreement. Four years later, agreement with the government on the scope of self-government negotiations was reached through an official Framework Agreement signed on April 3, 1991, which identified the agenda items to be negotiated.¹³ Any final agreement reached on the self-government negotiations, requires approval from the Meadow Lake First Nation members and the nine Chiefs that comprise the Meadow Lake Tribal Council. Moreover, the final comprehensive self-government agreement

was to be approved in the respective Cabinets of the federal and provincial governments.

The self-government negotiations with the federal government developed incrementally. Once the federal government agreed to the scope of constitutional/ jurisdictional areas, the province government was invited to join the negotiations and to delineate the provincial jurisdictions that affect on First Nations.

At the start of the self-government process, the Meadow Lake First Nations stressed to both government that the "inherent right" to self-government itself, was not negotiable. Central to the process were the representative teams of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, selected to negotiate the Agreement. The general objectives of this Initiative were twofold;

1. To establish a new relationship between the M.L.F.N.'s and the governments and people of Saskatchewan and Canada.
2. To re-establish control over our own lands and resources and our own political, social and economic development for the future.¹⁴

The Self-Government Initiative is intended to articulate a vision for the constitutional recognition of the MLFNS by the federal and provincial governments. The Initiative was founded on a full recognition of the status and powers of the First Nations, built on a mutual respect of the treaties. After reaching agreement on self-government, each First Nation was to develop a constitutions that would embody these powers and from where their laws would flow.

Current and subsequent programs had to be reajusted to reflect the self-government objectives of the Meadow Lake First Nations. An important principle of the Self-Government Initiative was to ensure all

First Nation members were centrally involved in the discussions and activities of the Initiative. Since the outcome of the self-government work would impact significantly on First Nations members, the Chiefs wanted to ensure that on-Reserve and off-Reserve members were consulted at each step of the Initiative. Moreover, the Chiefs insisted that the pace of self-government development be acceptable to the First Nations members.

The Self-Government Initiative is funded by Indian Affairs according to the steps of the Framework Agreement. In 1991, the funding allocation for the Self-Government Initiative was increased to allow for broad consulting of the First Nation memberships. This escalation of work on the Initiative required additional human resources.

Consequently, the Waterhen Lake First Nation, as with the others, hired a local self-government Coordinator to facilitate the consultations with the First Nation members. This Coordinator established a self-government committee of First Nation members to supervise the self-government work in the community. To support this thrust of the First Nations, the Meadow Lake Tribal Council hired a self-government Director to coordinate the self-government work for all of the nine First Nations. At this level, a working committee was struck to provide liaison and support to the First Nations, and to review the proposals from the First Nations level. The individual First Nation Coordinators made up the majority of this central working committee.

In late 1991, an impasse developed between the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and Indian Affairs. The Department wanted to limit the scope of the work to two years. The Tribal Council argued that a deal without community support would be a waste of time since it would probably not be

ratified in community referendums. The Chiefs suspended the negotiations until a satisfactory resolution of their concerns could be achieved.

The priority areas of negotiations were formalized in Sub-Agreements in Principle (SAIPS) signed in 1992 and 1993. The agenda items consisted of the Structures of Government, Legal Capacity, Citizenship/Membership and Procedures of Government. First Nation approval would consist of a referendum at each First Nation to ratify the contents of all the Sub-Agreements in Principle, through a final, Comprehensive Sub-Agreement in Principle. Following First Nations approval of the substance and contents of the SAIPS with both levels of government, the sections of the Indian Act that they displace would be replaced by the negotiated First Nation legislation.

Sub-Agreement in Principle on the Structures of Government

The negotiating teams of MLTC and Indian Affairs signed this Sub-Agreement on March 18, 1992.¹⁵ This Sub-Agreement stated that "the Meadow Lake First Nations are hereby recognized as possessing the authority to develop, establish, mandate, implement and amend as required their own structures and institutions of First Nations government at the First Nation level."¹⁶

Since individual First Nations members are the primary constituents of Indian government, this agreement sought to determine how the First Nations government structures would be organized under self-government. The relevance of existing administrative structures had to be reviewed in the context of self-government. Any structures missing in a self-government scenario had to be incorporated into the SAIP as new additions. The role of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, and its relationship to the First

Nations, was discussed. How other external Indian and non-Indian governments would relate to the Meadow Lake First Nations was also addressed in this sub-agreement.

Once the internal structures of the First Nations were identified, the structure of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council as the amalgamation of the nine First Nations was to be defined in this SAIP. As in subsequent SAIPS, the federal government would have no power of review, or approval and disapproval, over the individual First Nation Structures of Government or the Meadow Lake Tribal Council Structures of Government.

Sub-Agreement in Principle on Legal Capacity

The Sub-Agreement in Principle on the Legal Capacity of First Nations was also signed on March 18, 1992.¹⁷ The opening statements on the legal capacity of First Nations, held that:

the Meadow Lake First Nations are hereby recognized as legal entities, which, subject to the provisions of any other agreements that may be reached by the parties, are recognized as having the legal capacity, rights, powers and privileges of a natural person at law, and without restricting the generality of the foregoing, and subject to the provisions of the constitution of a First Nation may:

- a) Enter into contracts or agreements with any person, government or organization;
- b) Acquire and hold property, real or personal, including bequests and gifts, or any interest therein, and sell or otherwise dispose of that property or interest;
- c) Expend or invest any monies;
- d) Borrow, lend or provide guarantees in respect of the repayment of any monies;
- e) Create, operate and contribute to trusts;

- f) Carry on a full range of business activities;
- g) Subject to a later discussion of the issue of First Nation/Tribal Council immunity as provided for in section 5.1 of this agreement to sue or to be sued in its own name;
- h) Do such other things as are conducive to, or required for the exercise of its rights, powers and privileges.¹⁸

The Agreement in Principle on Legal Capacity was intended to articulate the legal capacity of the Tribal Council as a decision making body. The legal status and capacity of any Boards, Commissions or other agencies or bodies created by the Tribal Council, were to be given force in the legal instrument constituting that particular body. The issue of the considerations of First Nations immunity was to be discussed under this Sub-Agreement in Principle.

Sub-Agreement in Principle on Membership/Citizenship

The Sub-Agreement in Principle on Membership/Citizenship (SAIP) was signed on December 3, 1993.¹⁹ The key statement in this SAIP, vests authority in First Nations to define and determine their own membership. However, Indian Affairs has not been comfortable with relinquishing the federal legislation that determines the granting of Indian Citizenship. Further clarification and negotiations are occurring on this issue which has been identified as an "exemption from agreement."

Once the above point is addressed, the results of this SAIP will be reflected in new First Nations Membership Codes which will replace the existing federally authorized Bill C-31 Membership Codes, viewed as inappropriate by the First Nations. The existing Codes, drafted in response to

the new legislation, will constitute the initial Membership Codes for the purpose of attaining a comprehensive self-government agreement.

The issues to be examined in the First Nation review of the existing Membership Codes include:

- a. Eligibility for membership or categories of eligible persons,
- b. Criteria to be applied in determining membership,
- c. Enrolment structures and processes,
- d. Appeal structures and processes; and
- e. Issues relating to revocation and abandonment of membership and reinstatement to First Nation membership.²⁰

In the development of First Nation membership issues the rights of off-reserve members and non-members resident on First Nation lands are to be determined. This SAIP will respect the rights of those who have acquired First Nation membership under the Indian Act revision known as Bill C-31. The rights of those who have not yet been reinstated under the federal legislation, but are eligible for membership are to be respected. In the Meadow Lake Tribal Council domain, the member First Nations shall through their individual First Nations acquire membership in the tribal council along with any rights, privileges, duties, and obligations that may be involved under the documents constituting the tribal council.

Sub-Agreement in Principle on Procedures of Government

The Sub-Agreement in Principle (SAIP) on the Procedures of Government was signed on February 19, 1993 between the federal government and the Meadow Lake First Nations.²¹ This SAIP on Procedures of Government was negotiated to "recognize the First Nations as having the authority to

develop, establish, implement and amend as required the procedures to govern the establishment, operations, administration, and other activities of all structures of First Nation Government at the First Nation level."²²

The areas of Meadow Lake First Nations (MLFN) authority where procedures can be determined include:

- a. Selection of leadership,
- b. Exercise of powers/decision-making,
- c. Community participation in decision-making,
- d. Procedures governing administration,
- e. Appeal processes,
- f. Reporting and accountability.

The MLFN Procedures of Government, will be reflected in written form in the structures of government and other related bodies. The instruments where procedures will apply may include:

- a. The First Nation Constitution,
- b. First Nation laws,
- c. First Nation regulations,
- d. First Nation policy, program and administrative guidelines and directives.

The broad principles and parameters to guide the development of procedures of government will be inclusive of the following:

- a. General respect for the broad principles of democracy, fairness, equity and justice,
- b. Respect for custom, traditions and spirituality,
- c. Involvement of First Nation members,
- d. Procedures to reflect rights of redress,
- e. Review of government operations and access to information,

f. Accountability of First Nations leadership and officials.

It is probable that a proposed Bill of Rights and the application of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms will be incorporated into the procedures of government in some fashion.

The areas of authority with procedures of government for Meadow Lake Tribal Council will be determined by the member Meadow Lake First Nations and may be reflected in the Meadow Lake Tribal Council Constitution/Convention Act or such other documents as may be agreed to by the political leadership of the participating First Nations.

Sub-Agreement in Principle (SAIP) on Jurisdiction/ Legislative Authorities, and Lands, Natural Resources, and Environment.

At one time, the above SAIP consisted of two separate SAIPS. The Jurisdiction and Legislation SAIP was first tabled on February 19, 1993. The Lands, Resources and Environment SAIP was first tabled on September 8, 1993. Due to budget constraints and the government's desire to fast-track the self-government work, these two SAIPS are to be combined into one SAIP in two parts. This SAIP is in draft form and remains unsigned to date.²³

Part I - Jurisdiction and Legislative Authority

The general purpose of this section was to ensure that Meadow Lake First Nations are recognized as possessing the authority to exercise full powers of government, and more specifically, the power to enact laws and exercise full governmental authority in the areas identified in this Agreement. Moreover, this Agreement identifies the jurisdictional areas to be recognized and the manner in which the legislative authorities involved will be exercisable in the future.

The legislative powers in this Agreement are exercisable by the individual First Nations and they reserve the right to delegate such authority, in whole or in part, in a manner and form to be determined by the individual First Nations.

Some of the broad principles that would guide First Nation exercise of legislative powers in this Agreement in Principle speak to respect and accountability of office, similar to the ones identified in the SAIP on Procedures of Government and will not be reiterated in this section. The Sub-Agreement proposed a First Nation Bill of Rights and a relationship to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Agreement reaffirmed the two main objectives of the Self-Government Initiative which were;

- a. safeguarding and developing its language, culture, economy, identity, institutions and traditions;and
- b. developing, maintaining, and strengthening its relationship with its lands, waters and environment so as to determine and control its development according to its own values and priorities and to ensure the integrity of its own society.

The jurisdictional areas tabled for negotiations included these general areas;

- a. The People/Citizens of the Meadow Lake First Nations,
- b. The Natural Environment,
- c. The Social Environment, including Education and Health,
- d. The Cultural and Spiritual Environment,
- e. The Economic Environment,
- f. The Physical Environment,
- g. The Legal/Administration of Justice Environment, and,
- h. The First Nation Government Environment.

This section of the Sub-Agreement incorporates the First Nation citizenship and on and off reserve provisions. It talks about the legislative powers in relation to persons on MLFN lands who are not MLFN citizens. As with the other SAIPS, in this Agreement, no federal power of approval/disapproval would apply to the First Nations and Tribal Council jurisdiction and legal authorities. A dispute mechanism arising from the interpretation and implementation of this Agreement would be further examined under a Sub-Agreement dealing with a dispute resolution.

Part II - Lands, Natural Resources, and Environment

The second part of this Sub-Agreement in Principle relates to Lands, Natural Resources, and the Environment. This part of the SAIP is also currently in a developmental stage.

In the first section of this discussion there are three categories of land types. The first category deals with the Reserve lands and addresses the title and ownership of these lands. The second category recognizes the role of traditional lands and territories. The third category discusses the lands found in the large treaty areas. In the last two categories the SAIP serves to increase the control of First Nations in the form of co-management involvement of these particular lands with the provincial government.

Under natural resources section, the SAIP designated that it would encompass control, management and preservation of all natural resources both renewable and non-renewable, including water bodies.

In the environment section, Meadow Lake First Nations are recognized as having the jurisdiction to manage and control their own immediate environment.

Agreements Forthcoming in other Areas

At the end of December 1993, the areas where future sub-agreements in principle and discussion papers may occur, include Financial Costing, Implementation Schedule, Dispute Mechanism, Non-Resident Citizens and Ratification Issues. Some of these area in draft form. The draft tentative agreement to discuss self-government with the Province of Saskatchewan will require signatures and formal acknowledgement. At the end of the negotiations, a final Sub-Agreement in Principle on the Comprehensive Agreement is to be ratified by each First Nation in the form of a referendum, before a final agreement is reached with both levels of government. The federal and provincial governments are to approve the final agreement through their respective legislatures.

Analysis of Impediments to Self-Government and Possible Solutions

The self-government aspirations of the Waterhen Lake First Nation, through its formal Self-Government Initiative, may be the catalyst to attain the dreams and aspirations for a prosperous and healthy long term future. Caution is to be heeded whenever far-reaching changes are made that can affect the status quo. Groups that perceive a loss of power are often reluctant to agree to changes unless a convincing argument is offered.

Contemporary Indians argue that self-government must flow from aboriginal worldviews and perspectives if the "Indian problem" is to be resolved. Aboriginal government, it is said, must be the foundation of any new constitutional relationship with Canada. If healing and recovery from discriminating governing policy is to occur, Indian leaders state, self-government is the key factor. Reconciliation with Euro-Canadian society

will only occur if Indian self-government is based on mutual respect and support.

Concern must accompany any negotiations of self-government, where a confined timeframe is given which can have the effect of limiting the powers of self-government even if this is not intended. By dealing with individual First Nations and Tribal Councils there is a concern that the federal government may be using a divide and conquer approach to dilute the effectiveness of Indian self-government. This is the risk taken when smaller political units are involved in negotiations of any nature. The preferred alternative would be to have the main principles of Indian self-government recognized in a constitutional agreement at the national level. This larger agreement can be followed by detailed negotiations according to the needs of the specific treaty and tribal units.²⁴ This would negate the effects of bureaucratic manipulation in negotiating self-government with the federal politicians. Some aboriginal leaders have argued that self-government negotiations should occur at a government to government level. First Nation autonomy is an admirable objective in the long term, but, influence and numbers do matter when negotiating important concepts like new constitutional partnerships. If self-government occurs only under a government policy it can be changed subject to new government policies.

Canadian society has been cautious about the cost implications of self-government. The millions of dollars already targetted to Indian affairs under the Indian Act has been well publicized. There has to be some guarantee that self-government will eventually result in reduced costs to the Canadian public.

A possible solution to the financing of long term self-government is to restructure financing in a the manner that respects the special and

historical relationship to the land and its resources of the status Indians. In chapters II and III, the research documented that the land is the integral factor in the treaty agreements signed between the Cree and the non-Indian society. The elders cited earlier and Richard Price in his book, Treaty Relationships, state that the land belonged to the Great Spirit (God) and was for the use of everyone. The land could not be bought or sold. By the treaties, the Indians agreed to co-habit the land with Canadians in return for specific benefits. In keeping with this position, the land's resources may be the funding catalyst for Indian government.

Canada's economic wealth is anchored mainly by its natural resources. Some of the natural resources include mineral resources like uranium, gold, potash, etc. Other natural resources consist of oil and gas, forestry, water bodies and hydro-electricity, and land transactions. The funding mechanism for Indian self-government could be derived from land-based profits and revenues or through the taxing of these components.

Based on this aboriginal relationship to the land, three principles can be identified for generating self-government revenues. The first principle is that any sector development of the natural resources must include the First Nations as co-partners. The second principle is that companies that currently invest in the natural resources must arrange profit sharing arrangements with the First Nations in their area, or through the taxation of their companies. Moreover, the funding of Indian Affairs through the incomes of individual Canadians should be reduced and eventually eliminated as self-government becomes implemented. This would lead to reducing the tensions caused by unnecessary intrusion into the private incomes of Canadians. Taxation would be restricted to resource-based revenues. The third principle of self-government funding should be to

enable the First Nations to be economically self-sufficient. The objective of self-government would be to create a market economy for First Nations that would create jobs and prosperity for the First Nation members. The market economy would revolve around the natural resources and expand to other areas. Companies that use the natural resources would have to joint venture with the First Nations to get access to the natural resources. To build this economic infrastructure may mean that financial resources must be increased at the early stage, to initiate this economy. The federal transfer payments have been mainly for the purpose of providing services to the First Nations with little effective long term development and solutions.

Once the First Nation economy stabilizes and matures, First Nations will be required to reduce their dependence on governmental transfer payments.

Conclusion

The Waterhen Lake First Nation has taken its self-government aspirations to a new level by embarking on this self-government initiative. In the final analysis, it is not clear how much of this work the federal and provincial governments will recognize in a final agreement. To the credit of the Waterhen Lake First Nation and the MLFN's, they have exhibited a proactive position on the First Nation definition of self-government. The writer acknowledges that the Waterhen Lake First Nation is generally progressing toward a solution that may result in the First Nation taking its proper status in the constitutional framework of Canada. If Aboriginal self-government is honoured by all governments, the relationship between mainstream society and First Nations can take on a partnership arrangement based on respect and mutual benefits. The trusteeship

relationship established by the Indian Act would be obsolete and therefore eliminated. The treaties would be enshrined in the constitution of Canada, with the federal government and provinces recognizing the historic third order of First Nations governments.

NOTES

1. Peggy Brizinski, Knots in a String - An Introduction to Native Studies in Canada, Second Edition (University Extension Press, Extension Division, University of Saskatchewan, 1993), 178.
2. In J.R. Miller's "The Irony of Residential Schooling", Canadian Journal of Native Education, Volume 14, No. 2, 1987. Miller writes about the effects of residential schooling on students. Jane Willis in Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood (Toronto: New Press, 1973) and Basil Johnston in Indian School Days (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988) also add their experiences on boarding and residential schools.
3. Brizinski, Ibid., 15.
4. Ibid., 31.
5. Jeanette C. Armstrong, Traditional Indigenous Education, A Natural Process (A Paper prepared for a theme speech on Traditional Education., for World Conference: Indigenous Peoples' Education, Vancouver, B.C., June, 1987.)
6. Brizinski, 293; C.E.S. Franks, Public Administration Questions Relating To Aboriginal Self-Government (Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1987), 5.
7. Brizinski, 296.
8. Franks, 8.
9. Ibid. 7.
10. In Harold Cardinal's The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians (Edmonton, M.G. Hurtig, 1969), Cardinal reacted to the '69 White Paper which was typical of the status Indian community.
11. Delia Opikokew, The First Nations: Indian Governments in the Community of Man, Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, 1982., 17.
12. Brizinski, 332.
13. Ian Cowie, "A Self-Government Framework Agreement, 1991 Document prepared for the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.
14. Ibid.,

15. Ian Cowie, "Sub-Agreement in Principle on Structures of Government", March 18, 1992.

16. Cowie, Ibid.,

17. Ian Cowie, "Sub-Agreement in Principle on Legal Capacity", March 18, 1992.

18. Ibid.,

19. Ian Cowie, "Sub-Agreement in Principle on Membership/Citizenship", December 3, 1993.

20. Ibid.,

21. Ian Cowie, "Sub-Agreement in Principle on Procedures of Government", February 19, 1993.

22. Ibid.,

23. Ian Cowie, "Tentative Sub-Agreement in Principle on Jurisdiction/Legislative Authorities and Lands, Natural Resources and Environment", pending approval.

24. Franks, v.-vi.

The First Nation has to find a way to ensure that the expertise of its educated members are used for the benefit of the Band. These members are able to provide the organizational and technical skills that are required to develop the program areas. Band constitutions, local bylaws, and legislation, contracts, policies and regulations require development, even if self-government is not immediately realized. Throughout all of this, the First Nation has to retain its culture and this has to be balanced with the benefits of modern society's technology. This ability to adjust to the age of rapid information, while retaining traditional cultural values, is the immediate challenge for the Cree of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. In keeping with the independent spirit of its founding members, the First Nation must continue to shape its own future, utilizing its internal resources

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study provides the reader with an ethnographic and history of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. Chapter I set out the parameters of the thesis. The writer explained his research methodology while reviewing the literature that supports his study. It established a setting by using a map, tables, and relevant information and statistics.

In tracing the historical and unique relationship of the Indians in Canada to the Euro-Canadians, chapter II examined the historical and legal perspectives of the various Indian treaties that were signed in Canada. This was to acknowledge the context for the legal authority of the Waterhen Lake Band under the treaties and the Indian Act. The development of treaty law was of particular interest as the researcher examined the contemporary legal relation of Canada's Indians to Canadian society.

Chapter III went on to detail the 1921 signing of the Waterhen Lake Adhesion to Treaty Six. The quotations of the Waterhen Lake elders in the years leading to the Adhesion signing in 1921 are invaluable in establishing the mindset of the Waterhen Lake Cree in relation to treaty promises and the spirit and intent of the treaties.

Chapter IV gave an ethnographical sketch of the development of the Waterhen Lake Band from 1921 to the present. In the tradition of Indian cultures the wisdom and experiences of the elders were called upon to provide this local perspective. Supplemental oral interviews were conducted with band leaders and members in the compilation of this chapter.

Chapter V captured the current profile of the Waterhen Lake Band, describing how it is organized in 1993. The Waterhen Lake Band (First Nation) has developed into an entity that offers a number of government services to its people similar to the way federal and provincial offices provide services to their constituents.

Chapter VI recognized contributions of the various Chiefs and Councils to the development of the Waterhen Lake Band. Considering the cross over from largely a hunting and gathering society, just 20 years ago, into the age of micro-technology is a phenomenal transformation for the Waterhen Lake Band and First Nations in general. The Chiefs and Councils have attempted to bridge the accelerated changes and their efforts are to be admired. Although communications are sometimes strained in the hectic pace of development and change the collective well being of the First Nation members has always been in the forefront.

Chapter VII introduced the self-government aspirations of the Waterhen Lake First Nation based on the historical application of aboriginal self-government. The need for organizational skills to meet the challenge of self-government will require the training of First Nations members in the various sectors of government. Business entrepreneurs and managers will have to be developed. Educated First Nation members must be recalled to help build the government infrastructures that will be required.

The Waterhen Lake First Nation has to find a way to ensure that the expertise of its educated members are used for the benefit of the Band. These members are able to provide the organizational and technical skills that are required to develop the program areas. Band constitutions, local bylaws, legislation, contracts, policies, and regulations require development, even if self-government is not immediately realized. Throughout all of this, the

First Nation has to retain its culture and this has to be balanced with the benefits of modern society's technology. This ability to adjust to the age of rapid information, while retaining traditional cultural values, is the immediate challenge for the Cree of the Waterhen Lake First Nation. In keeping with the independent spirit of its founding members, the First Nation must continue to shape its own future, utilizing its internal resources.

There are many recommendations for further research that flow from this study. Research is required in each of the sectors of Indian government that require development. With the evolution of self-government, research will have to be conducted on the effectiveness of the developing sectors to ensure progressive maturity. The family/kinship patterns and family trees of the Waterhen Lake First Nation members require further study. This will ensure that the genealogies of the Band members are preserved and the connection continued to the ancestors who signed of the Adhesion. The traditional values of Cree society require study; educators need to learn how these values can be infused into the educational curriculum and social systems. Moreover, traditional Aboriginal education needs to be examined. Other First Nations in Saskatchewan and Canada require research into their specific First Nation histories and their self-government aspirations.

The Waterhen Lake First Nation has retained its reputation for being independent in its own affairs. During its early history, this characteristic exasperated the Indian agents when the Band refused to be hurried into signing the "Adhesion." Although affiliated to the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, the Waterhen Lake First Nation continues to exhibit this characteristic by taking care of internal First Nation business with a minimum of external assistance. Changes in the relationship of the federal

government and the Indians are occurring as this thesis is being concluded. Almost on a daily basis, the media reports of new developments in the relationship that is leading to a new reality for Indian people. We have not yet seen the culmination of the relationship between the Waterhen Lake First Nation and the Canadian society.

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Many of the elders requested that they not be identified individually, wishing to remain anonymous. In respect to their wishes, I have not referenced the individual informants by footnotes, but I have identified

them collectively in the end notes. The list of band members and non-band member informants are arranged in alphabetical order as follows:

- a) Edward Abraham
- b) Angeline Aubichon
- c) George Blackbird
- d) Jackpine Blackbird
- e) Bruno Ernest
- f) Albert Fiddler
- g) Bruno Fiddler
- h) Gilbert Fiddler
- i) Joe Fiddler
- j) Laura Fiddler
- k) Malvina Sanregret
- l) George Larocque
- m) Jules Larocque
- n) Marguerite Larocque
- o) Basil Lasas
- p) Charlie Lasas
- q) Lydia Lasas
- r) Marjorie Markel
- s) Bruno Martell
- t) Edwin Martell
- u) Fred Martell
- v) Judile Martell
- w) Victoria Morin
- x) Joe Openeyes
- y) Louise RunningAround
- z) Peter Roller
- aa) Reverend Jules St.Pierre

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APPENDIX A
WATERHEN LAKE INDIAN BAND MEMBERSHIP CODE

WATERHEN LAKE INDIAN BAND MEMBERSHIP CODE

WHEREAS the Waterhen Lake Indian Band is desirous of assuming control of its own membership, the following provisions shall constitute a Membership Code for the establishment and maintenance of the Band List.

- 1) Unless otherwise specified, the definitions contained in the Indian Act, 1970, c. 1-6, as amended, apply to this Code. "Meadow Lake Tribal Council" means the organization incorporated pursuant to the laws of Saskatchewan to represent 10 Member Bands.
- 2) The Membership Code may be amended or repealed by a majority of the electors upon one month's notice to the electors.
- 3) The Chief and Council shall determine membership pursuant to the provisions of this Code.
- 4) The Chief and Council may appoint persons to assist in the administration of the Code and the recording and keeping of the Band List.
- 5) Decisions on membership within the Band shall be subject to review by a Membership Tribunal to be established by the Meadow Lake Tribal Council. The Membership Tribunal shall consist of not more than five persons who may be appointed from time to time. The Membership Tribunal shall consist of not less than three persons who have been entered in one or other of the Band Lists of the Member

Bands represented by the Meadow Lake Tribal Council who are knowledgeable of the customs and values of all of the member Bands. The Membership Tribunal shall have the power to investigate and confirm, suspend or reverse decisions on membership.

- 6) An application for the review of a decision on membership by the Membership Tribunal may be made by the council of the Band, any member of the Band, or the person in respect of whose name the application for review is made or his representative within one month of a determination being made pursuant to Section 3.
- 7) Commencing on the date this Code comes into force, a person is entitled to have his name entered in the Band List if:
 - a) that person was entered in the Band List or was entitled to be entered in the Band List immediately prior to this Code coming into force;
 - b) both of that person's parents are entered or were or are entitled to be entered in the Band List; or
 - c) one of that person's parents is or was entered in the Band List and the other parent is or was entered in the Band List of another Band;
- 8) A person who is entered in the Band List shall not be a member of another Band.

- 9) A person who is already a member of another Band but who wishes to change membership is entitled to apply to the Chief and Council for the purposes of being entered in the Band List.

THIS MEMBERSHIP CODE consented to on the 15th day of June, 1987
by the Waterhen Lake Indian Band.

APPENDIX B
WATER HEN LAKE ADHESION TO TREATY NO. 6

TY ▲ FILM 4
(Copy)

ADHESION to Treaty No. 6 of the Indians
at Water Hen Lake.

We the undersigned principal men of the non-Treaty Indians resident at the place hereinafter mentioned at which this adhesion has been signed having had communication of the Treaty with certain Bands of Plain and Wood Cree Indians, known as Treaty No. 6 and the adhesions thereto, hereby, in consideration of the provisions of the said Treaty being extended to us, it being understood and agreed that the said provisions shall not be retroactive, transfer, surrender and relinquish to His Majesty the King, his heirs, and successors, to and for the use of the Government of Canada, all our right, title, and privileges whatsoever, which we have or enjoy in the territory described in the said treaty and adhesions thereto, and every part thereof, to have and hold to the use of His Majesty the King, and his heirs and successors forever.

And also, all our right, title and interest whatsoever to all other land wherever situated, whether within the limits of any other treaty heretofore made, or hereafter to be made with the Indians, and whether the said lands are situated in the Northwest Territories or elsewhere in His Majesty's Dominions, to have and to hold the same unto and for the use of His Majesty the King, his heirs and successors forever.

And His Majesty hereby agrees to pay once for all to each member of the Bands hereinbefore mentioned the sum of \$7.00 in addition to the annuity payments provided by Treaty No. 6, with a view to showing the satisfaction of His Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of his Indians and in extinguishment of all their past claims.

Indian Affairs. (IG 10, Volume 4072, file 429,511 Pt.1)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

And His Majesty also hereby agrees to set apart a reserve of land of a like proportionate area to those mentioned in the original Treaty No. 6.

And His Majesty further hereby agrees to provide a grant proportionate to that mentioned in the original Treaty, to be yearly and every year expended by His Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians.

And we hereby agree to accept the several benefits, payments and reserve promised to the Indians adhering to the said Treaty No. 6, it being understood and agreed by us that the said benefits and payments shall not be retroactive. And we solemnly engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein contained on the part of the Chief and Indians therein named to be observed and performed, and we agree in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty, as if we ourselves and the Band which we represent had been originally contracting parties thereto and had attached our signatures to the said Treaty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, His Majesty's Special Commissioner and the Chief and Councillor of the Band hereby giving their adhesion to the said Treaty hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Waternen Lake this eighth day of November in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

Signed by the parties hereto)
in the presence of the under)
signed witnesses, the same)
having been first explained to)
the Indians by)

Peter Villebrun, J.P.
Interpreter.

his
Antoin x Chotton
mark

W. K. Taylor,
Indian Agent,

S. L. Macdonald,
Indian Agent

his
Running x Around
mark Chief.

Continuation of Signatures.

J. H. Morin
P. R. Rafuse

his
Round Sky x Councillor.
mark

his
Narewasia x
mark

Alex. Laroquo

his
Ochin x
mark.

APPENDIX C
THE TREATY PAY LIST FROM 1921-1929

TREATY

No. 6

Waterhen Lake Band Paid at Waterhen Lake

| Band No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | | ANNUITY | | | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid when last paid | SIGNATURE OF RECEIPTER (if able to write) |
|----------|------------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|---------|-------|------|-------|------|-----------------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|--|
| | | of Treaty | Amount | Year paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Male | Female | Number paid | Amount | | | | |
| 1 | Running Around (Chief) | 4 | 25 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | | | | 4 | 40 | | Paid Sel. |
| 2 | Round Sky (Councilor) | 4 | 25 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 4 | 30 | | |
| 3 | Starewasio | 1 | 7 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 4 | Daniel Deroyer | 9 | 63 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | | | | | 9 | 45 | | |
| 5 | Alex. Larocque | 5 | 35 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 5 | 25 | | |
| 6 | Wm. Jno. Martel | 2 | 14 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 2 | 10 | | |
| 7 | Alex. Martel | 1 | 7 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 8 | Vapiskis | 1 | 7 | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 9 | Frank Harry | 1 | 7 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 10 | Ueskeho Chas | 1 | 7 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 11 | Fred. Cardinal | 3 | 21 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 3 | 15 | | | |
| 12 | Ochin | 5 | 35 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 5 | 25 | | |
| 13 | Pa-ha-mu-ko-chin | 1 | 7 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 14 | Mrs. Walker (widow) | 3 | 21 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 3 | 15 | | |
| 15 | Louis McCallum | 4 | 28 | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 4 | 20 | | |
| 16 | John Blackbird | 3 | 21 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 3 | 15 | | |
| 17 | Ke-ta-wi-se-mo-we-yin | 1 | 7 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| Totals | | 49 | 343 | 172 | 13 | 9 | 14 | 12 | | | 1 | 49 | 275 | | | |

Wabikun Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| No. | NAME | ANNUAL | | | ANNUITY | | | | OTHER RECEIPTS | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid when last paid | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (if able to write) |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------|--------|-----------------------|---------|-------|------|-------|----------------|---------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|--|
| | | No. of persons | Amount | Pay to last year paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Males | Females | | | | |
| 1 | Running Around Chief | | | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | | 4 | 40 | 4 | |
| 2 | Round Sky. Councillor | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 30 | 4 | |
| 3 | Harwasit | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 4 | Daniel Darche | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | | | 9 | 45 | 9 | Transferred letter 24/1 |
| 5 | Alex. Larocque | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 25 | 5 | |
| 6 | Wm. Jno. Martel | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 2 | |
| 7 | Alex Martel | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 8 | Wapiskis | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 9 | Frank Harry | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 10 | Keskipochas | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 11 | Fred Cardinal | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 | Female |
| 12 | Ochin | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 25 | 5 | |
| 13 | Papamus Sachin | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| 14 | Mrs. Walker, (Widow) | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 | |
| | Carried forward | | | | 9 | 8 | 14 | 10 | | | 41 | 225 | 41 | |

993

TREATY

No. 133

Wabash Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| Band No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | AGE | | | | | | OTHER | | Number paid at Res. | Signature of Recipient (if able to write) |
|----------|----------------------|--------|-----------|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|---------|-------------|--------|---------------------|--|
| | | Amount | Year paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Males | Females | Number paid | Amount | | |
| | Bought furnished | | | 9 | 8 | 14 | 10 | | | 41 | 235 | 41 | |
| 15 | Louis McCallum | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | 6 | 30 | 4 | Married to Jim Lake Band |
| 16 | John Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | Paid 202 June 14/22 |
| 17 | Shka-wi-si-mo-we-jin | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 18 | Julia Martel | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 19 | Ohsakahway | 2 | 14 | | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 10 | | Entered 1922 |
| 20 | Jno. Obichon | 3 | 21 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | | |
| 21 | Wm. Drew | 1 | 7 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 22 | Louisa Gladu | 1 | 7 | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 23 | Ben Jimeaux | 1 | 7 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 24 | Fred Jimeaux | 1 | 7 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 25 | Jimeaux (children) | 3 | 21 | | | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | | |
| 26 | Antoine Red Iron | 3 | 21 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | | |
| 27 | Wawecsimaye | 1 | 7 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 28 | Theodore Fiddler | 5 | 35 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 25 | | |
| | in Tappan | 21 | 147 | 10 | 15 | 21 | 16 | | | 70 | 350 | 49 | |

1197

TREATY

No. 6

Waterloo Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| Serial No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | AMOUNT | | OTHER RELATIVES | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid in full |
|------------|------------------------|-----------|--------|---------|---------|-----------------|--------|-------------|--------|---------------------|
| | | By cheque | Amount | By cash | By cash | Male | Female | | | |
| 1 | Running Around Chief | - | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 40.14 | |
| 2 | Round Sky - Councillor | - | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 30.44 | |
| 3 | Narewanis | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5.11 | |
| 4 | Daniel Desrocher | | | | | | | | | 9 |
| 5 | Alex Larocque | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 25.5 | |
| 6 | Wm. J. Martel | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 15.3 | |
| 7 | Alex Martel | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 10.1 | |
| 8 | Walpuskie | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 10.1 | |
| 9 | Frank Harry | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5.11 | |
| 10 | Keelepochar | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5.11 | |
| 11 | Fred Cardinal | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 10.3 | |
| 12 | Ochin | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 25.5 | |
| 14 | Mrs. Walker | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 10.3 | |
| 15 | Louis McCallum | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 30.6 | |
| | Carried Forward | | | 8 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 38 | 220.19 | |

SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT
(If able to write.)

99

TREATY

No. 2

Waterloo Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| Roll No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | | | | | | | | | Oversubscribed | Number paid | Amount | Number paid | Amount | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (If able to write) |
|----------|------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|----------------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|--|
| | | By Person | Amount | By Person | Amount | By Person | Amount | By Person | Amount | By Person | Amount | | | | | | |
| | Brought Forward | | | | | | | | | | | | 35 | 220 | 47 | | |
| 16 | John Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | Paid 20 th June 26 |
| 17 | Nelawosimoweyin | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 18 | Julia Martil | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 19 | Ohsakaleway | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| 20 | John Obichon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 21 | Wm Brewer | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 22 | Louisa Gladu | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 23 | Ben Jimeaux | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 24 | Fred Jimeaux | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 25 | Jimeaux | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 26 | Antoine Red Iron | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 27 | Wouscasimaye | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 28 | Theodore Fiddler | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 5 | 25 | 5 |
| 29 | Mrs. Bonholme | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 10 | 1 |
| | Brought Forward | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 16 | 80 | 73 |

No.

Band Paid at

Reserve

| Serial No. | NAME | ARRIVAL | | ABSENCE | | | | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | Number paid for at post | | |
|------------|-----------------|----------------|--------|---------|-------|------|-------|-------|---------|-----------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|--------|
| | | No. of persons | Amount | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Males | Females | Number paid | Amount | | | |
| | Brought Forward | | | 16 | 16 | 19 | 13 | | | | | 64 | 350.73 | |
| 30 | Necawatelemoway | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | |
| 31 | William John | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 2 | 10 | |
| 32 | Noon | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | |
| 33 | Chipwayan | 1 | 7.72 | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | |
| Total | | | | 1 | 7 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 19 | 13 | | | 69 | 370.73 |

SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT
(If able to write)

97

TREATY

No. _____

Band Paid at _____

| Band No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | | AGE & SEX | | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid when last paid | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (If able to write) | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------|--------------------|-----------|-------|------|-------|-----------------|---------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|--|------|
| | | No. of Persons | Amount | Pay when last paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Males | Females | | | | | |
| Waterbury Lake Band Paid at Reserve | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | June |
| 1. | Running Around | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 4 | 40 | 4 | | |
| 2. | Round Sky. H.M. | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 30 | 4 | | |
| 3. | Karcwassie. | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | | |
| 5. | Alec Larocque | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | 6 | 30 | 5 | | |
| 6. | H ^m J. Martch | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 | | |
| 7. | Alec Martch | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 2 | | |
| 8. | Wahpiskie | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 10 | 2 | | |
| 9. | Frank Harry | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | | |
| 10. | Kenkepoche. | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | | |
| 11. | Fred Cardinal | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | 3 | 15 | 2 | | |
| Carried forward. | | | | | 6 | 6 | 8 | 8 | | | 28 | 170 | 25 | | |

Waterbury Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| Serial No. | NAME | ANNUAL | | | PROPERTY | | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid at band | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (if able to write) |
|------------|----------------------|--------------|--------|-----------|----------|-------|------|-------|-----------------|---------|-------------|--------|---------------------|--|
| | | Male Persons | Amount | Year paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Males | Females | | | | |
| | Brought forward. | | | | 6 | 6 | 8 | 8 | | | 28 | 176.25 | | |
| 12. | Ochin. | | | | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | | | 6 | 30.5 | | |
| 14. | Mrs. Wacker (Widow). | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 10.2 | | |
| 15. | Louis McCallum | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 7 | 35.6 | | |
| 16. | John Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | Paid 20 th June 26/13 |
| 17. | Ketawisemogwin. | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5.1 | | |
| 18. | Julia Martch. | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5.1 | | |
| 19. | Oharakahchway | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 10.2 | | |
| 20. | John Obichon. | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | | 4 | 20.4 | | |
| 21. | Wm Drevet. (Dumb). | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5.1 | | |
| 22. | Louisa Gladu. | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5.1 | | |
| 23. | Ben Juncans. | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5.1 | | |
| 24. | Fred. Juncans. | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5.1 | | |
| 25. | Juncans. | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | 15.3 | | |
| | Carried forward | | | | 13 | 13 | 15 | 17 | | | 59 | 320.56 | | |

Wahkhepdate Band Paid at Reserve

| No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | AMOUNT | | OTHER | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid when last paid | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (if able to write) |
|-----|----------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|--------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|--|
| | | By person | Amount | By person | Amount | Male | Female | | | | |
| | Brought forward: | | | 13 | 13 | 15 | 17 | 58 | 320 | 56 | |
| 26. | Antoine Red Horse | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 15 | 3 | |
| 27. | Howeasemaye | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 28. | Theodore Fidler | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 30 | 5 | |
| 29. | M. Ronkalms | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 10 | 2 | |
| 30. | Kat a yah-cho-moyyos | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 31. | W. John | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 15 | 2 | |
| 32. | Koon | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 33. | Shipuwayan | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 34. | Peter Lakah | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 35. | Ohsulachane | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 36. | Margline Mcballeum | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 5 | | |
| 37. | Peter George | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Totals | | | 20 | 19 | 22 | 18 | 79 | 425 | 72 | |

Wabash Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| NAME | ADDRESS | | AGE | | | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid before last paid |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-------|------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-----------------|--------|-------------|--------|------------------------------|
| | City | State | Male | Female | Infant | Child | Adult | Male | Female | | | |
| 1 Running Around ^{CHIEF} | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 6 | 50 | 4 |
| 2 Round Lily H.M. | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 4 | 30 | 4 |
| 3 Kerewasia | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 5 Alex Laroque | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | 6 | 30 | 6 |
| 6 W. J. Martel | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 7 Alex Martel | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 8 Wahpikie | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 2 |
| 9 Frank Harry | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 10 Kestipochas | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 11 Fred Cardinal | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 12 Ochim | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 5 | 25 | 6 |
| 14 Mrs Walker | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 15 Louis Melbaldum | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | 6 | 30 | 7 |
| 16 John Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Carried Forward | | | 27 | 12 | 12 | 1 | | | | 39 | 225 | 46 |

SIGNATURE OF RECEIPT
(if able to write)

Paid 20 - June 20/05

99

TREATY

No. 6

Wages Herdike Band Paid at Reserve

| NAME | AMOUNT | | | AMOUNT | | | OTHER | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid |
|-------------------------|--------|----|-----|--------|----|-----|-------|--------|-------------|--------|-------------|
| | By | At | For | By | At | For | Male | Female | | | |
| Brought Forward | | | | 7 | 7 | 12 | 1 | | 39 | 225 | 46 |
| 17 Ketawimowigim | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 18 Julia Markot | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 19 Ohsartcheway | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 20 John Obichon | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 4 |
| 21 Wm Drev | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 22 Louisa Glahn | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 23 Ben Juineant | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 24 Fred Juineant | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 25 Juineant | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 26 Antoina Red Iron | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 27 Wocassumaye-Isotibes | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 28 Theodore Fiddler | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | 6 | 30 | 6 |
| 29 Mrs Bonhomme | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| 30 Ketayatshe | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 31 Wm John | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 32 Koon | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 33 Chipwayan | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 34 Peter Lasakha | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| 35 Ohsaklone | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 36 Magline Roballum | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 37 Peter George | | | | | | | | | | | 5 |
| 37 Jos Ernest | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 10 | |
| 38 Harry Seniors | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 10 | |
| Totals | | | | 19 | 18 | 20 | 14 | 1 | 77 | 390 | 84 |

SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT
(if able to write)

Paid in 1926

Paid in 1926

Paid in 1926

TREATY

75 Made in the Red Band Paid at *Rever*

No. 6

REMARKS OF REPORTING

(If able to write)

| NAME | Amount | Per what Year paid | Sex | Woman | Boy | Child | Male | Female | Married paid | Amount | Married paid when last paid |
|--|--------|--------------------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------|--------|--------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Running around CHIEF | 1.21 | | | | | | | | 6.50 | 6 | |
| 2. Rowa Hdy H.M. | 1.11 | | | | | | | | 4.30 | 4 | |
| 3. Alt Arapue | 1.11 | | | | | | | | 7.35 | 6 | |
| 6. W. J. Thakie | 1.11 | | | | | | | | 4.20 | 3 | |
| 7. Alt Thakie | 1.12 | | | | | | | | 5.25 | 4 | |
| 8. Hesthrie | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 9. Frank Mary | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 10. Kuntapackie | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. Fred Cairnane | 1.2 | | | | | | | | 3.15 | 3 | |
| 12. Oelrin | 1.12 | | | | | | | | 5.25 | 5 | |
| 15. Low McCallum | 1.12 | | | | | | | | 7.35 | 6 | |
| 16. J. J. Blackbird | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 17. Helmsmeyer | 1 | | | | | | | | 3.15 | 3 | |
| 20. John Blackor | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 21. Wm. Brown | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 22. Louisa Glaser | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 23. Ben Brown | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 24. Joe Brown | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 25. Brown | 3 | 15 1975 | | | | | | | 3.15 | 3 | |
| 26. Anton P. Brown | 1.12 | | | | | | | | 4.20 | 4 | |
| 27. John Brown | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 28. Theron Thaler | 1.14 | | | | | | | | 7.35 | 6 | |
| 29. Ben Brown | 1.2 | | | | | | | | 3.15 | 3 | |
| 30. Thakie | 1 | | | | | | | | 1.51 | 1 | |
| 31. Wm. Brown | 1.12 | | | | | | | | 4.20 | 3 | |
| 32. Brown | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Totals forward 5 25 1975 15 2.16 1 74 400 72 | | | | | | | | | | | |

77

TREATY

No. 6

Wadei Hen Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| Band No. | NAMES | Amount | | Amount | | | | | Original Relative | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid what last paid |
|----------|-------------------|----------------|--------|--------------------|-----|-------|------|-------|-------------------|--------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|
| | | No. of Persons | Amount | For what Year paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Male | Female | | | |
| | Brought Forward. | 5 | 25 | 1925 | 16 | 15 | 26 | 16 | 1 | | 74 | 400 | 77 |
| 33 | Chipwayan | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 34 | Peter Lasas | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 2 |
| 35 | OsceRochose | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 36 | Angeline Mahallum | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 37 | Joe Ernest | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| 38 | Harry Deunion | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 2 |
| 39 | Lusie Bernt | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | |
| 40 | Abraham Mahallum | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | |
| 41 | Ernest Squawap | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 5 | 25 | |
| 42 | Mary Cardinal | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | |

SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT
(If able to write)

Sept. Letter 70
3-105 Dec 16 1925

Totals 5 25 1925 21 27 20 19 1 93 495 81

75

TREATY

No. 6

Wahkiakum Tribe Band Paid at Reserve

| No. | NAME | AMOUNT | | AGE & SEX | | | | | | OYER | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid when last paid | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (if able to write) |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------|--------|-----------|-----|-----|-------|------|-------|------|--------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|--|
| | | No. of persons | Amount | Age | Sex | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Male | Female | | | | |
| 1 | Running Arrow, CHIEF. | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | 50 | 6 | |
| 2 | Round Bay H.M. | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 30 | 4 | |
| 5 | Alex LaRagne | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | | | 7 | 35 | 7 | |
| 6 | W.J. Martel | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 4 | |
| 7 | Alex Martel | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 25 | 5 | |
| 8 | Wahpiskie | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 9 | Frank Harry | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 10 | Keedupocha | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| 11 | Frederick Bardissel | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 | |
| 12 | Ochim | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 5 | |
| 15 | Louis McCallum | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | 6 | 30 | 7 | |
| 16 | John Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | |
| 17 | Netauasumogin | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 20 | John Obichon | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 3 | |
| 21 | Wm Dene | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 22 | Louisa Glaser | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 23 | Ben Dumont | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 24 | Frederick Dumont | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 25 | Dumont | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 | |
| 26 | Antonie Reddon | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 | |
| 27 | John Silvers | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 28 | Theodore Liddler | | | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | | | 7 | 35 | 7 | |
| 29 | Mrs Bonhomme | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 | |
| 30 | Netayatche | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | |
| 31 | Wm John | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 4 | |

Paid 20th June 26/1

Barrie Forward

16 15 25 15 1 72 39 78

Wake Hen Lab Band Paid at Reserve

| Band No. | NAME | ARREARS | | AMOUNT | | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid not paid | SIGNATURE OF RECEIPIST (if able to write) |
|----------|------------------|----------------|--------|-------------|-----------|-----|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|---------|----------------------|--|
| | | No. of persons | Amount | Py. in full | Year paid | Men | Women | Boys | Girls | Males | Females | | |
| | Brought Forward | | | | | 16 | 15 | 25 | 15 | 1 | | 72 | 390.78 |
| 33 | Chipwayan | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 51 |
| 34 | Peter Lasa | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 153 |
| 35 | Ohsee Rochase | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 51 |
| 36 | Maglain Moballum | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 51 |
| 37 | Joseph Ernest | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | 152 |
| 38 | Harry Devion | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 | 103 |
| 39 | Ludie Bent | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 51 |
| 40 | Absalom Mobadum | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 51 |
| 41 | Ed New Synago | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | 5 | 255 |
| 42 | Brady Cardinal | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 101 |
| 43 | Bruno Martel | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 4 | 20 |
| Totals | | | | | | 22 | 23 | 31 | 19 | 1 | | 96 | 510.97 |

Water Hen Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| No. | NAME | ANNUAL | | | ANNUITY | | | | OTHER | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid |
|-----|--------------------|--------|------|------|---------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------------|--------|-------------|
| | | May | June | July | Mar. | June | Sept. | Oct. | Mar. | June | | | |
| 1 | Runningbround bluf | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | 50 | 6 |
| 2 | Round Sky H.M. | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 30 | 4 |
| 5 | Alex Larogae | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | | | 7 | 35 | 7 |
| 6 | W. J. Martel | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 7 | Alex Martel | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 25 | 5 |
| 8 | Wapuskis | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 9 | Frank Harry | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 10 | Keskeupachao | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1 | Fudgardinal | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 2 | Chim | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 5 | Louis McCallum | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 7 | 35 | 6 |
| 6 | John Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 7 | Melauasimowigen | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 20 | John Obicton | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 1 | Wm Duver | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 2 | Louisa Gladen | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 10 | 1 |
| 3 | Ben Dumont | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 4 | Fud Dumont | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 5 | Dumont | | | | | 0 | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 6 | Antony Red Iron | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 25 | 4 |
| 7 | John Silver | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 8 | Theodore Fudeller | | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | | | 7 | 35 | 7 |
| 9 | Orvs Bonnehoname | | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 30 | Melauaschehl | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 1 | Wm John | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 3 | Chikwayan | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 4 | Chik Ladas | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 5 | Chsekachase | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| | Forward | | | | 19 | 16 | 28 | 19 | 1 | | 83 | 415 | 77 |

SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT
(If able to write.)Paid 20th Jan 26/36

Water Hen Lake Band Paid at Reserve

| Serial No. | NAME | ABROAD | | | ABROAD | | | OTHER RELATIVES | | | Number paid last year | Number paid this year | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (If able to write.) |
|---------------|---------------------|--------|--------|---------|--------|--------|---------|--------------------|--------|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| | | Male | Female | Infants | Male | Female | Infants | Male | Female | Infants | | | |
| | Forward | | | | 19 | 16 | 28 | 19 | 1 | | 83 | HW 5 77 | |
| 36 | Maglorie, Drakellum | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 7 | Joseph Ernest | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 8 | Henry Kenion | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | 15 | 2 |
| 9 | Susi Bent | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 40 | Abraham Drakellum | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 1 | E New Squayo | | | | | 1 | 3 | 2 | | | 6 | 30 | 5 |
| 2 | Mary Cardinal | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| 3 | Bruno Martel | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| | | | | | 23 | 22 | 34 | 24 | 1 | | 104 | 550 | 96 |
| | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | |

TREATY

Heller Hen Lake Band Paid at 222228

| Serial No. | NAMES | Amount | | | | | | Over Balance | | | Number paid | Amount | Number paid |
|---------------|------------------------|--------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|---|---|-------------|--------|-------------|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | | | |
| 1 | Running Ground (Chief) | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | 6 | 30 | 6 |
| 2 | Round Sky (H M) | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | 5 | 35 | 14 |
| 3 | Alv Laregal | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | | | | | 7 | 35 | 7 |
| 6 | W J Martel | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 7 | Alv Martel | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 5 | 25 | 5 |
| 8 | Wahpiskis | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 9 | Frank Harry | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 10 | Kitskepachas | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1 | Ind Cardinal | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 2 | Uchem | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 3 | Louis McCallum | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | 7 | 35 | 7 |
| 6 | Joe Blackbird | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 7 | Welausimouigen | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 20 | Joe Utiolen | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 10 | Wm Curry | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 2 | Louis Gladwin | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 2 |
| 3 | Ben Clement | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 4 | Joe Clement | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 5 | Wm Clement | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 6 | Antoni Red Iron | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 5 | 25 | 5 |
| 7 | Joe Silver | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 8 | Theodore Liddler | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | | | | 7 | 35 | 7 |
| 9 | Mrs Bonnehonane | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 30 | Welaupakepi | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 1 | Wm John | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | 4 | 20 | 4 |
| 3 | Chiquayan | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 4 | Alv Lelas | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 5 | 25 | 4 |
| 5 | Chockachase | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |

SIGNATURE OF RECEIPT
(If able to write)

Paid June 2

19162820 1 414450/89

77

TREATY

No. 6

Main Hon Lake

Band Paid at 02114

| Band No. | NAMES | Amount | | Amount | | | | | Oversubscriptions | | Number paid | | SIGNATURE OF RECIPIENT (if able to write) |
|----------|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|----|----|----|-------------------|---|-------------|--------|--|
| | | Full | Amount | Full | Year paid | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Number paid | Amount | |
| | Toward | | | | | 17 | 16 | 28 | 20 | 1 | 84 | 1150 | 83 |
| 36 | Magdalen McCallum | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 7 | Joseph Ernest | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 8 | Harry Kincaid | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | 4 | 20 | 3 |
| 9 | David Grant | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 40 | Abraham McCallum | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 1 | Edwards | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 25 | 6 |
| 2 | Mary Cardinal | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| 3 | Bethel Martell | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | 5 | 25 | 4 |
| | | | | | | 23 | 22 | 35 | 26 | 1 | 107 | 565 | 104 |

APPENDIX D
STORIES AND OBSERVATIONS

STORIES AND OBSERVATIONS

The method of selecting a wife in the Cree community was to look for industrious characteristics in the eligible females. A female elder told the story of how a suitor planned to marry a girl who had the reputation of being a poor worker and, therefore, was not considered suitable for a wife. The suitor replied to his critics that he was only looking for a wife and not for a "woman to hitch up like a horse."

A number of elders expressed some concern about the lack of work habits amongst the youth. They felt the youth were not industrious enough with their home responsibilities. Some felt that because the youth of today were constantly on the road, the wood was not chopped and the water was not hauled. An elder commented that the solution to teaching a youth to rise early was to pull the blanket off the sleeping person.

An elder remembered the Hudson Bay Store which was operated by a Metis by the name of Joe Morin, who once ran for the Liberal Party of Canada. The elder added that a couple of his daughters had married into the Fiddler and Martell families at the Waterhen Lake Reserve, therefore making him an ancestor to many of the Indians that resided on the reserve. The elder related a story told to him by Morin, who was fluent in French, about the Cree elder Uglyfoot, who played a large role in the pre-treaty discussions outlined in chapter III. Uglyfoot had come to visit Morin one day at the trading post. Uglyfoot was welcomed to the trading post and told to feed his horse from the stack of hay in the corral. When Uglyfoot pushed the fork into the pile of hay a pig ran out of the haystack squealing in pain. Back at the store, Uglyfoot, who often attempted to speak French, excitedly told Morin of how he poked "le bacon". Morin clarified to our informant elder that "le porc" or "le cochon" was the proper word to describe the pig.

An elder added that in the town of Meadow Lake, the horse and wagon teams were often lined up in the same manner that automobiles are presently lined up when parked.

A former leader told of the difficulty that Indian people had with the attitude of the government in the pre-1960 era. Indian people were considered second class citizens and the Indian agents were often insensitive to Indian needs. He spoke of how he battled these bureaucrats to improve the lives of the Waterhen Lake Band members.

One elder shared his experience of trapping in the autumn by skating along the shores of the Waterhen Lake.

Some elders remembered the Second World War. No Band members were involved in the war since the treaty specified that Indians could not be selected for compulsory service. Some of the non-treaty relatives of the Band had been involved in the war. Treaty Indians were, however, allowed to freely volunteer for the Armed Services.

One of the oldest elders remembered the stories that the elders told in his youth regarding the incident at Frog Lake during the Riel Rebellion, where eight lives were taken by the Indians.

Harry Daignault, a Metis man, provided the fiddle music in those years. The method of distributing wedding dances amongst the people involved the placing of a nickel coin inside a wedding cake. The person taking the slice of cake with the hidden nickel was responsible for hosting the next wedding dance for the couple.

Senator Martell recalled that he owned the first vehicle on the Reserve in 1960. Using his panel to transport people during this period, three children were born in his panel-truck. In the mid 60s, Martell owned a chuckwagon outfit and a cow and calf operation. In 1968, he purchased his

first new vehicle.

An elder stated that homemade clay stoves on the Reserve resembled the modern fireplace. The stoves provided both heat and light to the cabin's inhabitants. He added that blankets made from rabbit furs were exceptionally warm. This elder remembered seeing the large birch, hay and wood pole structures where some families lived in earlier years.

One elder had never worked for anyone but himself. He had hunted, trapped, and fished all of his life in the subsistence activities. He is the last band member to regularly use a team and wagon for his principal mode of transportation. Another elder recalled that birchbark canoes were common on the waterways long ago.

The band members told of how their fishing nets were sometimes ripped by an unknown underwater creature. Although there was much speculation, the most logical explanation for this occurrence was that a fish of gigantic proportions was responsible for the damaged nets.

An elder spoke about an incident many years ago, where a fishbox was found on the shores of the Waterhen Lake, wherein body parts were found. After many weeks of anxiety it was finally revealed that one elderly man had killed another elderly man as a result of an argument. These non-Indians, well known by the local Indians, had been long time friends and had worked and lived together for years. When the Band members would ask about the missing man, the other man would explain that his friend had gone to the "gold fields." The discovery of the missing body eventually led to the laying of a murder charge, but the alleged perpetrator of the crime died before the court could hear the case.

The usage of Indian names to identify individuals was the norm amongst the Cree before the arrival of the Euro-Canadians into the area.

Business between the Hudson Bay, the government, the clergy, and others preferred the use of English names. An elder recalled that the late Jules Larocque had assisted in the giving of English names to members of the Band for this purpose.

An elder remembered the first school built in 1954. Some of the students listed in that year included Mary Anne Roller (Martell), Theresia Blackbird (Fiddler), Therese E. Cardinal (Fiddler), Edwin Martell, Arthur Martell, Juliette Martell (Lasas), Victoria Lasas, George Lasas, Leo Lasas, Edward Runningaround, John Dreaver, Edward Martell, Sarah Dreaver, Bella Blackbird (Fiddler), Therese Larocque (Martell), and Peter Larocque. Water and wood were hauled by the boys for the next day's schooling. Hot chocolate and biscuits were served by the girls at ten o'clock a.m. and two p.m. daily.

In closing, the above gives the general observations and stories as shared by the elders. This will be of particular interest to the Band members of Waterhen Lake.