

EPISTEMOLOGICAL
FOUNDATIONS OF TRADITIONAL NATIVE EDUCATION
ACCORDING TO ALGONQUIAN ELDERS

BY

FREIDA AMELIA HJARTARSON

UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

1995

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Epistemological
Foundations of Traditional Native Education
According to Algonquian Elders

By
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of the University of Ottawa
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to define traditional Native education for three Algonquian speaking nations using ethnographic skills of cognitive anthropology. An understanding of traditional Native education from a First Nations' perspective through dialogue using individual audio-taped interviews and an audio-taped group consensus-building dialogue is provided. The Algonquian elders involved are from the Algonquin, Cree and Ojibway Nations.

Ten case studies and a group consensus-building conversation with elders constitutes this study. Each case study contains an individual audio-taped dialogue transcription with contextual remarks. The audio-taped dialogues and group consensus-building conversation are transcribed and analyzed using verbal protocol techniques. The emergent themes across the interviews and group consensus-building dialogue are analyzed and the findings tabulated.

Six female elders and four male elders whose ages cover a fifty year age span, is the composition of the ten case studies. Nine elders, two women and seven men make up the membership of the group dialogue. Some of the participating elders conveyed their thoughts using the assistance of a translator.

Consensus emerges across the individual dialogues and group interview. Elders tell of the existence of a different epistemology for Algonquian speakers that originates in the circle of life and is represented by the medicine wheel. In the cosmology of the circle each person is a whole world and a member of the larger circles of life; the family, the community, the world and the universe. According to the elders the concept of traditional Native education and the process of traditional Native education are embedded in the medicine wheel. Traditional Native education includes learning the Algonquian customs, traditions, values and beliefs and languages.

Traditional Native education is the process of acquiring a First Nation identity.

The importance of the land to all First Nations People is a recurring theme across all the dialogues. Elders disclose that the land holds knowledge and wisdom, and that it is capable of offering direction. They also iterate the interconnectivity of all of life in the recorded dialogues. No apparent difference in the thought patterns of the contributing Algonquian elders to this study is evident.

This study has implications for First Nations' education in particular and for education in general. First, it gives direction to educators involved in educating First Nations children pointing out the need to provide traditional Native education and delineating the components of such an education. Second, it indicates that different epistemologies exist for First Nation Peoples and non-First Nations People and suggests ways of bridging the cultural differences to encourage understanding amongst all people. Third, it offers direction to educators involved in developing cross-cultural education programs.

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I express my appreciation to the First Nations People who permitted me to conduct this study. Their teachings have enriched my understanding of life.

I am most grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Richard Rancourt, for his intellectual direction, patience, incisiveness, and creative spirit during my thesis journey. Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Dionne for his constant support and critical dialogue. Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon's offerings of other ways of understanding, cultural tools, and her generosity of spirit were necessary gifts for this study. I acknowledge Dr. David Hunt who gave encouragement and insight at a distance. Special appreciation is expressed to my readers and outside examiner, Dr. Richard Preston. I have been very well served. Thank you.

I want to acknowledge my parents and other family members who offered understanding and patience. To Betty King and Ernest McGregor a special thank you. I have been honored to have friendship that respected my singlemindedness.

Interdisciplinary work, so much discussed these days, is not about confronting already constituted disciplines To do something interdisciplinary it's not enough to choose a "subject" (theme) and gather around it two or three sciences. Interdisciplinary consists in creating a new object that belongs to no one (Barthes, 1984).

Preface

A critical dimension of this study has been gaining entry into First Nations' communities. Entry into First Nations communities is necessary to access the cultural knowledge of traditional Native education. For the purposes of this research it involves uncovering the thought processes and knowledge of First Nations Elders as it pertains to traditional Native education. It is a challenging task because there is little available written information in the literature. As well, the Euro-Canadian supposition assumes that no distinguishing thought patterns concerning FN's education exists (Chamberlain, 1975; Fisher, 1977; Berger, 1992; Wright, 1992). Also, First Nation People have traditionally been an oral culture. Furthermore, this task is sensitive given the present social-historical context of First Nation People in Canada. A deliberate persistence has been exercised that has taken time and patience. The entrance into First Nations' communities could never be taken for granted nor was it predictable during this study.

My initial entry into this research study was made while I was studying at the University of Ottawa with the late Dr. Jacqueline Fry, anthropologist, art historian, and renowned indigenous art critic. While learning from Dr. Fry a historical perspective on First Nation Peoples' art-making, I was grounded in an anthropological discourse that examines the cultural context and critiques the values embedded in the art of the First Nations' artists under study. Dr. Fry directed me to examine closely the cultural-historical context and she was vigilant about her insistence on understanding the distinctively different assumptions that guide people's lives. While her critique was made from an analytical, historical perspective she directed me to others who emphasized the role of hermeneutics. A many-faceted understanding of world view has emerged through the juxtaposition of distinct perspectives exposing the various, and unique ways, people know about the world and how people constantly adapt to the

social-political matrix of the time. Always present are the implications of world view for the education of children.

Through exposure to the many West Coast First Nation Peoples' cultures during my studies with Dr. Frye, I chose to holiday on the Queen Charlotte Islands, the home of the Haida People. Amongst the Haida People I experienced and acknowledged a distinctively different perception of the world. Furthermore, I was led to inquire as to how world view had an impact on the identity of children and their education.

On returning to the University of Ottawa from the encounter with Haida culture I made the decision to pursue a doctoral degree in psychopedagogy. I was keen to explore, analyze and understand how world view influenced the education process. The late Professor Slesar, a pioneer in First Nations Studies at the University of Ottawa, encouraged me to become involved in the training of First Nation teachers. Subsequently I began teaching in McGill University's Native and Northern Education Program in First Nation communities in northern Quebec while pursuing my academic studies.

While living and teaching on the First Nation Peoples' reserves, I gained greater sensitivity to the research question examined in this study, established contacts, and made friendships. For example, while teaching at Waswanipi, Quebec, the Cree students held a gathering in the bush where I experienced Canada goose cooked over an open fire, rabbit roasted on sticks, and our native beaver hung from a plummet line over an outside fire to broil. I sat on spruce rugs and ate doughnuts fried in a tent setting. Most important, I heard First Nations' teachers-in-training requesting teacher training in the bush.

Further insights into the life of First Nations Peoples were gathered through attending conferences as an observer and, on occasions, as a presenter. Of considerable importance was attendance at The First National Conference on First Nations' Education held in

Ottawa in 1991 and The Elders Conference on the Constitution held at Morley, Alberta in March 1992. Involvement with the Aboriginal Caucus at Carleton University during 1991-2 provided me with the opportunity to meet Maureen Davies, a human rights lawyer and to attend with her the United Nations 1992 Sub-Committee meetings on the formulation of an international charter of human rights for indigenous peoples in Geneva. There I met indigenous people from all over the world, including a Cree Youth delegation from James Bay.

As a recipient of Northern Studies research grants, I travelled to the communities of Whapmagoostui, Chisasibi, Wemendji, and Wasgwanonish in October - November of 1992; to Whapmagoostui and Chisasibi in July- August 1993; and to Chisasibi in 1994. On the second trip north, I lived on a traditional gathering site with the Cree, experiencing life on the land, and I travelled by boat caravan from Whapmagoostui on Hudson Bay to Chisasibi in James Bay with them living the life of the hunter-gatherer along the way. In the fall of 1994 I returned to Chisasibi to live and visit with my Cree friends.

At an early stage in my research, Ruth Norton, then Director of Education for the Assembly of First Nations suggested travelling to Maniwaki to meet the respected Elder, William Commanda. Since the first meeting in January, 1992, many meetings have been held with this wise elder. He has become a prominent force and guide in this research, offering me vitality, respect and confidence. In fact, it was through his assistance that the group interview was arranged on Manitoulin Island during the National Elders Conference in June 1994. He assumed responsibility for the group interview and he offered direction and guidance at the sunrise ceremonies, explaining the ceremonies and rituals to me on request. When I experienced my first sweat lodge he was present to hear and answer questions. Again when I returned from the visit to Dreamers Rock, the sacred Ojibway site on Manitoulin Island, he was at hand.

Gilbert Whiteduck, Director of Education at Maniwaki, Member of the Chief's Committee on Education, has directly and indirectly

provided educational opportunities for me as a researcher. He has led me to First Nations elders. For example, Gilbert Whiteduck directed me to the much respected elder, Dr. Lena Nottaway. She was interviewed at her sugar bush in La Vérendrye Park. Elder Tom Rankin, another informant in this research, was discovered through the aid of Gilbert Whiteduck. It was Gilbert Whiteduck who alerted me to consider the context and the process of the meetings with FN elders as well as the content of the dialogues.

First Nations Peoples have made this research possible. As I worked to understand traditional Native education, they educated me about their life style and values. They gave me a way of understanding and respecting life that I had not encountered previously. Through their generosity, I was given the opportunity to open my heart and mind to their ways of knowing about life. To them I am grateful. Now I humbly offer this research to the greater FN and non-FN communities. It is my understanding bounded by my lived experiences and abilities.

DEDICATION

To my late husband, Biswarup Bhattacharya who showed me the
path and shone the light
and
to
First Nations People.

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But you, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces: they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods ... neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.

Response of the Indians of the Six Nations to a suggestion that they send boys to an American college. Pennsylvania, 1744.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

We Indians have always been clear thinkers within the scope of our understanding, but cause and effect have not formed the basis for our thinking. We do not chart and measure the vast field of nature or express her wonders in the terms of science; on the contrary, we see miracles on every hand - the miracle of life in seed and egg, the miracle of death in a lighting flash and in the swelling deep (Nerburn, 1993, p.13)!

The Peoples of Europe who migrated to the Americas came with an epistemological perspective which was founded in the rational-empirical tradition of knowledge (Cardinal, 1969, 1976; Fisher, 1977; Brody 1981; Mander, 1991; Richardson, 1991). Their way of perceiving reality seemed, on the surface, to be different from First Nations Peoples. Authors such as Nerburn (1993); Neihardt, (1961); Highwater, (1981); Houle, (1992); Richardson, (1993) have suggested that epistemology may help explain the differing ways of conceiving reality of different peoples. Moreover, scholars such as Berger, (1991) Ross, (1992) and Wright (1992) have chronicled how the European immigrants have, over the past five hundred years, questioned the seemingly different way of knowing of First Nations Peoples. They have also recorded their attempts to impose their knowledge system on the peoples of the First Nations of the Americas (Richardson, 1991; Ross, 1992; Monet & Wilson, 1992).

Today, however, scholars such as Knudtson and Suzuki (1992) recognize that the knowledge base of the predominantly rational-empirical world of the Western sciences needs the "undivided Native Mind" to assist in solving the global problems our world is facing at present (Knudtson and Suzuki, 1992, p. 228). Furthermore, as the millennium comes to a close, savants are documenting the need for holistic thought and are beginning to acknowledge that First Nations Peoples may have an intuitive way of thinking that has ensured their

survival over the centuries (Mander, 1991; Richardson, 1993; Kabat-Zinn; 1994).

The First Nations People and Education

First Nations Peoples have, themselves, realized the necessity of making certain their young have the opportunity to learn their traditional way(s) of knowing. For the most part, at present, this does not occur in the Canadian schools most First Nations' children attend. Rather, First Nations' children are taught a curriculum at school that is built upon the philosophical principles of the dominant Euro-Canadian culture. For example, First Nation children in school are taught the scientific method in approaching problem solving, told of human supremacy over nature and often presented education without values.

To that end, the Assembly of First Nations' (1993) submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples has targeted education. Specifically, recommendation seventy-eight states:

Our aim is to make education relevant to the philosophy and needs of First Nations People. We want education to give our children a strong sense of identity with confidence in their personal worth and ability. We believe in education as a preparation for total living, as a means of free choice of where to live and work, and as a means of enabling us to participate fully in our social, political and educational advancement (p. 91).

This is not the first time this intent has been expressed by First Nations' leaders.

In 1969 when the Government of Canada, led by the then Prime Minister Trudeau, presented proposals known as the "White Paper", to create a framework to legally define First Nations People, widespread opposition by Indian Peoples was voiced all over the country. Native people were to lose their Indian status and become assimilated into the population of Canada. The dissent culminated in

1970 with Harold Cardinal's presenting the "Red Paper" to The Prime Minister of Canada. In the "Red Paper", it was recommended that the Indian People assume responsibility for education. Specifically addressed was the need:

to develop techniques that would enable elders to participate in the formal education of young Indian People by conveying our traditions and culture and making it possible for them to participate fully and proudly in both societies (Indian Association of Alberta, 1970, p. 4).

In 1972, the report Indian Control of Education was presented to the Government of Canada by the Assembly of First Nations. In 1988, the Assembly of First Nations document, entitled Tradition and Education Towards A Vision of Our Future, A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education, outlined the need for research in education to:

increase the knowledge about First Nations learning ... ensure that students receive effective instruction in a quality curriculum (p. 16).

The document calls for a balanced curriculum that integrates the knowledge systems of the North American civilization as represented by the dominant Euro-Canadian culture, and the First Nations Peoples' traditional knowledge. However, traditional knowledge in those documents is not defined, nor is the meaning of traditional Native education elucidated.

The Purpose of the Study

This study proposes to identify, analyze and clarify traditional Native education by examining the epistemological foundations upon which it rests. The critical source of this inquiry will be the elders of the Cree, Ojibway, and Algonquin First Nations. The elders are acknowledged by their people to possess the core knowledge needed to elucidate the deep representative meaning of traditional Native education.

The Research Perspective

A phenomenological perspective frames this research. Phenomenology posits that a person is recognized both as a subjective and an objective being, possessing values and purposes. Within this perspective, the person is considered to be an open system thereby becoming someone new every time new information is gained (Strasser, 1985). Accordingly, the phenomenological view describes the human person as a subject relative to, and separate from, the phenomenon under study (Luijpen, 1960).

This study is holistic in its philosophical approach. That is to say, the researcher assumes that people are not separable from the locale in which they live (Benedict, 1934; Geertz, 1983). As well, it is postulated that people's thought patterns reside in their culture, and to understand that thought pattern one must enter into the specific culture of the people (Whorf, 1956, 1975; Bruner, 1990).

Cultural ethnography, a branch of anthropology, is employed to understand the epistemic foundation of the thought patterns of First Nations Peoples. Cultural ethnography uses participant observation with the observer as researcher and as 'subject' to the phenomenon under study. Amongst the scholars who have acknowledged the value of anthropology in comprehending the thought process of the human person are Vygotsky, (1934); Goodenough, (1957); Frake, (1969); Cole & Scribner, (1974); Geertz, (1983); Strasser (1980, 1985); Kozulin, 1988; and Bloch (1991).

The Definition of Terms

Anishinabe is an Algonquian word that means all that is Indian, all that Indians do, and Indian life. For the purposes of this study the term "First Nation Peoples" is used to represent Indians, Natives, Aborigines and Amerindians. In the body of this text, the

term, First Nation Peoples, will be abbreviated to FNP and to FN to denote First Nations. "Euro-Canadians" refers to the immigrants who have come to settle in Canada from Europe since the fifteenth century and is abbreviated to EC. **Algonquian speakers** are those FNP who speak a dialect belonging to the Algonquian linguistic family. In Canada this includes the Micmac, Malecite, Abenaki, Montagnais-Naskapi, Cree, Ojibway, Algonquin and the Blackfoot Nations (Darnell, 1986). More specifically in this study, the term **Algonquian speakers** refers only to the Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway Peoples. **Education** is defined as "any process, formal or informal, that helps develop the potentialities of human beings including their knowledge, capabilities, behavior patterns, and values" (Hawes and Hawes, 1982, p.73). **School** is defined as "an institution primarily for education" (Hawes and Hawes, 1982, p. 197). **Knowledge** is understood to mean information, principles, a body of known truth, as well as authority and power. The knowledge of the culture of a people is found where they live, in their specific locales. This means that a peoples' knowledge dwells in their communities and is scattered in their local frames of mental representation (Geertz, 1983). Knowledge is peculiar to the cognition of the individual whereas wisdom dwells in the dimensions beyond individual cognition inter-relating the knowledge of others, as well as the ethical and affective issues (Dede, 1988, p. 84). **Epistemology** refers to the way people construct the nature and grounds of knowledge within their cultural experience. The framing of knowledge is a function of subjectively understanding the difference between the anticipations and the abstracted representations of events (Agnew and Brown, 1989, p.155). **World view** is defined as how one perceives, describes, and invests reality with values and beliefs that form the tenets upon which a person bases deliberate thought and action (Goodman, 1984, p. 14). **Culture** refers to the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action, and artifacts, and it depends upon a person's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations (Benedict, 1934, pp. 1-5). **Elders** are the wisdom keepers of their people. They are recognized as the traditional Native educators of

FNP (National Indian Brotherhood, 1970; Cardinal, 1977; Assembly of First Nations, 1988, 1991). As the wisdom-keepers of their culture they may be young or old. The important criterion is that they possess knowledge and wisdom.

In summary, the present chapter introduced this study of epistemological foundations of traditional Native education as revealed by Algonquian speakers, specifically Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway. The possibility of different epistemologies existing for the dominant EC culture and the FNP was introduced and the phenomenological perspective framing this research was declared. The role of cultural ethnography in uncovering the epistemic foundation of traditional Native education was explained. The introduction closed with definitions of the concepts and terms used.

The present research report is organized into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the study, and chapter two, "The Review of Related Literature", explores the related literature, investigates the need for research, and states the research question. Chapter three, "Methodology", discusses the research method employed in the investigation of traditional Native education and chapter four, "An Interpretation", is a record of the results. Chapter five, "Towards An Understanding of Traditional Native Education" examines the epistemology underlying traditional Native education. Chapter six, "Bridging Culture", considers the results of this study within the larger context of the FN and EC cultures and offers recommendations for connecting the cultures through understanding. Further research is suggested in this final chapter.

CHAPTER II : THE REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A good description that constitutes the essence of something is construed so that the structure of a lived experience is revealed to us in such a fashion that we are now able to grasp the nature and significance of this experience in a hitherto unseen way. When a phenomenologist asks for the essence of a phenomenon-a lived experience - then the phenomenological inquiry is not unlike an artistic endeavor, a creative attempt to somehow capture a certain phenomenon of life in a linguistic description that is both holistic and analytical, evocative and precise, unique and universal, powerful and sensitive (van Manen, 1990, p.39).

This phenomenological research study of the epistemology underlying traditional Native education as told by Algonquian, Cree and Ojibway elders, defies to some extent the borders of defined scholarly disciplines to grasp the nature and significance of the problem under study in a hitherto unseen way (van, Manen, 1990). It is holistic rather than segmented. Holism refers to a mental act which links together disciplines that are not necessarily experienced (Mink, 1970; Schleifer, Davis, & Mergler, 1992). Diverse areas of research such as epistemology, cognition, learning, culture, art history, native studies, and education are considered in this literature review as a method of understanding the essence of Algonquian traditional thought. To accomplish this, it is necessary to understand the systems of knowledge of the people under study to determine how they think and acquire knowledge, what they value and believe in, and how they create images in their lives. Of equal importance is how others portray them and, in particular, how those with power and influence portray them. To achieve this, the survey of the literature explores various disciplines to comprehend the essence of traditional Native education as it is associated with FNP and, in particular, with the Algonquian, Cree and Ojibway Nations.

To this end, the chapter has been divided into the following seven sections: section one, "The Construction of Reality", is an

examination of the concept and the discernible factors involved in construing reality; section two, "An Indictment of Euro-Canadian Education", is an inquiry into the formal education process for FNP; section three, "A Construction of the Image of Indian", investigates the process of informally defining FNP; section four, "Other Ways of Knowing", is an examination of alternate ways of acquiring knowledge; section five considers the "FNP's Vision of Education in Canada", and reviews their stated intent of education for FNP; section six is an investigation of "The Need for Research". The chapter concludes with section seven, "A Statement of the Research Question".

Construction of Reality

In this section it is argued that migrants to North America came with a preconceived notion of the world they were about to discover. The common adage which states that people see what they want to see applies according to the theories of Watzlawitz (1984) on inventing realities. He explains that the invention of reality is premised on the knowledge that the world is construed by people to enable them to see the world as they understand it (Watzlawitz, 1984, p. 331). For example, Watzlawitz (1984) explains:

... any so called reality is-in the most immediate and concrete sense-the construction of those who believe they have discovered and investigated it. In other words, what is supposedly found is an invention whose inventor is unaware of his act of invention, who considers it as something that exists independently of him; the invention then becomes the basis of his world view and actions (1984, p.10).

The migrants came to North America with preconceived notions of the world they were about to discover. What they saw, and thought they saw, were congruent to them based on their preconceived construction of the world. For example, they believed they were discovering a primitive society because the people they investigated were unlike them and did not live as the migrants thought "civilized" people should live according to their evolutionary vision of the

world. What the migrants found was an invention of their own, but they were unaware that they perceived the world according to their notion of evolution which was merely one possible invented reality (Goodman, 1984).

Today a prolific literature exists that acknowledges that the migrants to North America had an invented or filtered vision of FNP (Cardinal, 1969; Chamberlain, 1975; Fisher, 1977; Brody 1981; Trigger, 1985; Berger, 1991; Richardson, 1992; Wright, 1992). The literature further indicates that the migrants from Europe edited their perceptions to serve their overall purpose (Fisher, 1977; Peck, 1987; Homi, 1990; Berger, 1991; Francis, 1992; Wright, 1992). It was a constructed reality that was founded on economics and history (Whorf, 1956, p. 84). The constructed reality was founded in the mindscape of the Western world view that was acquisitive, valued reason and logic, and recognized a hierarchical class structure.

Before considering why, or how, the migrant Europeans formulated their filtered world view of the reality of the FNP, it is necessary to consider how the factors of culture, thought, language, and education influenced their ways of knowing. More specifically, it is necessary to consider how these factors interact to structure the reality of a group of people. The literature, as it is associated with this issue, will next be examined under the headings: "Values and Beliefs of a Culture; "Culture and Cognition"; "Culture, Cognition, and Language"; "Education (as Transmission of Values and Beliefs)".

Values and Beliefs of a Culture

Anthropologist, Ruth Benedict (1934), in her classic work, Patterns of Culture, relates the construction of reality to the values and beliefs of the culture. Patterns of thought are connected to the patterns of the cultural value system. More recently Heinz von Foerster (1984) explained it in a similar way as "reality = community"(p. 60).

Anastasi, (1937) argued that different cultures stimulate or suppress different mental activities. She makes the claim that, as a measurement of different mental activities, intelligence is a cultural-specific construct. In other words, the idea of what is intelligent adheres to what a group of people identify as intelligence. In fact, intelligence tests are composed of the selected values of intelligence of a specific culture. She cites an example of how, from an EC or European perspective, the FNP are regarded as being interesting, anthropological curios with little or no intellectual worth.

Hallowell (1955) influenced Anastasi's thought. In his work on intelligence and northern FNP, he concludes that different qualities of mind are encouraged by different cultures (pp. 31-45). Judgments about abilities and intelligence are specific to the cultural frames of reference and may be biased towards peoples of other cultures. Specifically, Hallowell (1955) reflects on culture, intelligence, and intelligence tests and considers the testing of FNP to understand their way of knowing as defined by their culture. Using the Rorschach projective test, he found that the Saulteaux Nation projected different qualities of mind onto the Rorschach blots. He came to understand that what he learned about the Saulteaux Nation was similar to what he had read in the journals of the early Jesuits who credited FNP with being imaginative, possessing good memory skills and acute senses, having the ability to find their way, and remembering details without rehearsing (Hallowell, 1955, pp. 32-74). Considering life style, the values of the culture, and art forms such as visual art and music, Hallowell infers that different cultures may value different cognitive styles. Moreover, different cultural preferences based on different social traditions may result in different cultural groups being rated differently by intelligence tests.

Hallowell is not alone in thinking that intelligence is a function of the values of a specific culture. Bruner (1964; 1986; 1990) has invested considerable time in examining how people attribute

meaning to their actual world. He inter-relates cognition, culture, epistemology and linguistics to explain how an act of meaning is assigned to an actual world view. He states:

The moment one abandons the idea that what we take as the world is itself no more nor less than a stipulation couched in a symbol system, ... we are, at last, in a position to deal with the myriad forms that reality can take-including the realities created by story, as well as those created by science (Bruner, 1986, p. 105).

Bruner is strongly influenced by the philosopher, Nelson Goodman, who wrote:

...there is no correct way of describing or picturing or perceiving 'the world', but rather that there are many equally right but conflicting ways-and thus, in effect, many actual worlds (1984, p. 14).

Bruner (1990) writes that culture gives meaning to the many actual and possible worlds that exist. Accordingly, he explains:

... it is culture, not biology, that shapes human life and the human mind, that gives meaning to action by situating its underlying intentional states in an interpretive system. It does this by imposing the patterns inherent in the culture's symbolic systems-its language and discourse modes, the forms of logical and narrative explication, and the patterns of mutually dependent communal life (Bruner, 1990, p.34).

Hannerz (1992) also examines the complexity of social organized meaning within culture and focuses on the multifaceted forces of a culture that influence thought.

Culture and Cognition

Bruner and Hannerz are not alone in relating the power of culture to the molding of thought. Many others including Benedict (1934), Whorf (1956), Landes (1965), Spiro (1965), Hallowell (1955, 1967, 1976), Geertz (1983), Goodman (1984), Marcus & Fischer (1986), and Chomsky (in Peck, 1986); believe culture organizes cognition. For example, one group of people may value sharpness of

perception, while another group may value abstract thinking or imaginative thought (Hallowell, 1967). It is the specific culture of a group of people, with their beliefs and values, that structures one possible world as opposed to any other. To understand the thought specific to a culture, Whorf (1956) and Bruner (1990) direct us to linguistics. The acquisition of a linguistic symbol system is the learning of "the conditions upon which the acquisition of language depends" (Bruner, 1990, p. 71). When learning a language, a person learns what to say as well as how, when, where, to whom, and under what conditions. Whorf (1956) illustrates using the example of the Hopi language. He explains that the Hopi Nation has different ways of expressing the ideas of new and red as opposed to the English language that says simply "I see that it is red" or "I see that it is new"(Whorf, 1956, p.85). Whorf (1956) clarifies:

Why, for instance, do we not, like the Hopi, use a different way of expressing the relation of channel of sensation (seeing) to result in consciousness, as between 'I see that it is red' and 'I see that it is new'? We fuse the two quite different types of relationships into a vague sort of connection expressed by 'that' whereas the Hopi indicates that in the first case seeing presents a sensation 'red' and in the second that seeing presents unspecified evidence from which is drawn the inference of newness. If we change the form to 'I hear that it is red' or 'I hear that it is new,' we European speakers still cling to our lame 'that,' but the Hopi now uses still another relater and makes no distinction between 'red' and 'new' since, in either case, the significant presentation to consciousness is that of a verbal report, and neither a sensation per se nor inferential evidence. ... We even have to think and bobble over the question for some time, or have it explained to us before we can see the difference in the relationships expressed by 'that' in the above examples, whereas the Hopi discriminates these relationships with effortless ease, for the forms of his speech have accustomed him to doing so (p.85).

This example of the Hopi language as rendered by Whorf illustrates how linguistics conveys the subtle nuances of the thought processes of a culture. The Hopi distinguish between sensations such as redness and newness. Besides, they have a separate way of linguistically expressing verbal accounts of qualities such as being told something is red as opposed to seeing and experiencing the sensation of something that is red. Whorf is illustrating, in the

above example, what Bruner (1990) also contends: namely that linguistics is associated with the thought of a culture. Whorf and Bruner also postulate that linguistics is closely associated to the values and beliefs of the culture.

Whorf (1956) argues that the transmission of thought of a culture is done linguistically. Language is the prime vehicle that carries the values and beliefs of the specific culture. Hence, to understand the thought patterns of a particular culture, Whorf suggests the language of the culture be studied. The prevailing thought is not necessarily the most enlightened or elevated but is a function of the economics and history of the culture. He explains:

... From the stand-point of a matured biology, it is precisely the rare aster which has the better claim to high evolutionary eminence; the wheat owes its ubiquity and prestige merely to human economics and history.

The eminence of our European tongues and thinking habits proceeds from nothing more. The relatively few languages of the cultures which have attained to modern civilization promise to over spread the globe and cause the extinction of the hundreds of diverse exotic linguistic species, but it is idle to pretend that they represent any superiority of type. On the contrary, it takes but little real scientific study of preliterate languages, especially those of America, to show how much more precise and finely elaborated is the system of relationships in many such tongues than is ours (Whorf, 1956, pp. 84-85).

Language can sculpt thought (Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956). Inherent to a language is its particular "folk psychology", or culture of the people, accompanied by the signs and symbols (Bruner, 1990, p.138). It is this folk psychology that gives form to the thought reality. Folk psychology is "a system by which people organize their experience in, knowledge about, and transactions with, the social world" (Bruner, 1990, p. 35). Folk psychology is the thought reality of the people; it fuels the creation of what is thought to be reality by the specific people.

Education As Transinission of Values and Beliefs

The folk psychology of a particular culture is conveyed to others using the process of education. Education may be formal or informal. Education uses language, whether verbal or non-verbal, to transmit the thought patterns of the culture (Hall, 1959). However, Freire (1968) claims education is more than language. He claims education is dialogue and defines dialogue as "an encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire, 1968, p.76). Education, he reasons, does not occur without dialogue. Using the metaphor of banking he contests dialogue is not about banking; that is, it is not about one person depositing, or pouring ideas into another. Rather, the dominant aspect of the dialogue between and amongst people is that together they come to name the reality of the world and transform it. Through naming and transforming it, an operant system of knowledge is uncovered. Freire (1968) suggests that true education cannot occur if one is concerned about losing control. He does this by posing the question, "How can I dialogue if I am afraid of being displaced, the mere possibility causing me torment and weakness?" (1968, p. 79).

Education for Freire is generative and transformative, and dialogue is its facilitator. When one party knows and the other party is informed by the first, dialogue is absent. Education is not facilitated and oppression occurs. Oppression attempts to adjust the other to a given reality in order to keep the existing reality intact. According to Freire (1968) authentic education is:

not carried on by "A" for "B" or by "A" about "B," but rather "A" with "B," mediated by the world - a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it (p. 82).

Freire's dialogical naming of the world is equivalent to culture. Furthermore, it is possible to suggest Freire is claiming that education is inseparable from culture and the intent of those who make cultural decisions.

Landes (1965), considering culture and education, concludes that what a culture chooses to teach its children is a product of the values of that culture and is specific to the history and economics of the time. Landes' formulation is exemplified in the work of Price (1950) who acknowledges in his historical survey of white settlers in the Dominions that there were attempts to provide the FNP in Canada with an education system that only served white settlers' interests. For example, Price (1950) states:

Nor could one ignore authoritative criticisms that the ... Roman Catholics deliberately held down standards, in order to keep the Indians ignorant and under control (p.91).

In this first section of the related literature, the thoughts of anthropologists, psychologists, philosophers, linguists and educators, regarding culture, language and cognition have been examined as a means of illuminating the dialogue that is unfolding on traditional Native education. As well as introducing the idea of the structuring of reality, this first section of the literature review attempted to discern the factors implied in the construction of reality. The factors identified as contributing to framing a possible world are the values and beliefs embodied in culture, cognition, language, and education. Essential to the structuring of a reality is education. A distinction, however, was made between education as dialogue and education without dialogue, or as Freire termed it, "oppression".

The next section of the related literature review on epistemology and traditional Native education considers how the EC educational context, especially the process of formal compulsory schooling, was used to "school" FNP.

An Indictment of Euro-Canadian Education

Education became the tool of cognitive manipulation, Through false assumptions and interpretations of their history and purpose, Micmac students were led to accept their poverty and impotence as resulting from their cultural and racial status the modern solution to their despair was described in terms of logical analysis and causal entailment, with the overriding burden being their being Micmac (Battiste, 1986, p.37).

In the above statement, Battiste suggests that education was used as a method of "cognitive manipulation" to subjugate FNP. In this section of the literature review, attention is given to Battiste's allegations. Reports, the writings of FN authors, statements of witnesses, and a formal assessment by Judge Thomas Berger (1991) are analyzed.

Reports Indict EC Educational Offerings

Two recent reports have critically condemned the relevance of EC education for FNP. According to the Assembly of First Nations' report, Tradition and Education: Towards A Vision Of Our Future (1988), the EC school system is judged to have failed to prepare FNP to function and survive in Canadian society or within FNP's communities. Almost every day the newspaper reports provide examples of how the EC school systems have failed Native Peoples.

The second report, Aboriginal Self-Government and Education in Canada, makes known how educational policy for FNP has been characterized by a style of non-decision (Paquette, 1986). He points out, the non-decision was:

In part as a result of the pervasiveness of the assumptions that: a. aboriginal education existed to replace the Native languages and cultures, and b. the best way to accomplish such a replacement was by doing whatever was done in most public schools, and in part because of a fatalism about the efficacy of Native-education ... classroom practice and policies were generally left to the individual teacher's discretion. With no pressure or motivation to do otherwise teachers would after all teach as they were taught - which is precisely what was desired (Paquette, 1986, p. 36-37).

Two other reports (Hawthorn, 1967; Murdock, 1988) tell of educational policies that have ignored and invalidated FNP values and traditions. Though the Hawthorn Report (1967) specifically acknowledges that schooling should integrate the values of a culture, the reality appears otherwise. Teachers were, at best, according to the latter report, only encouraged to become familiar with FN cultures (Hawthorn Report, Vol. II, p. 39). Furthermore, the Hawthorn Report (1967) notes that FN children do not share with their school teachers as many values as the EC children with their teachers. As well, in a busy school day there was little time to explore the differences between FNP and EC values according to the authors of the Hawthorn Report (Vol. II. p.7).

Murdoch (1988) points out how the cognitive style of a hunter-gatherer as represented by the James Bay Cree has not been considered in the design of FNP education. He suggests that the cognitive style is distinctively different from the EC or industrial society paradigm that assumes a social-scientific perspective, and misconstrues or overlooks the hunter-gatherer's view which is based on people synchronizing their actions and co-existing with Nature. As a consequence, Cree education has been based on Euro-American knowledge as well as their ways of learning. For example, the industrial organizational structure is hierarchical, and formal school is built on principles of fairness, size of group, length of concentration as in school period, summer holidays, and length of the school year (Murdoch, 1988, p. 245-246). By neglecting to consider

the variable of cognitive style in educating FN children, ill-formulated assessments of their abilities have been made by EC (Murdoch, 1988, p. 233). Traditionally, the inability to adapt to the educational context of EC or to score well on psychological tests has been attributed to a lack of adjustment to school or an inherent intellectual cognitive inability; hence, inferiority as opposed to distinctiveness in cognitive processing (Murdoch, 1988). Although, the Cree School Board of James Bay is working hard to overcome the shortcomings of an EC school system that is embedded in an industrial mindscape, Murdoch's (1988) critical analysis of schooling for the Cree still applies, although certainly not to the degree it once did (Hjartarson, 1993).

Condemnation of the Educational Offerings to FNP

Several FN authors have critically examined the education given FNP and in general, most authors have faulted the offerings. For example, an incrimination of the formal educational process for FN children is made by the Cree writer Harold Cardinal (1969; 1976; 1977). He writes of how education went from an informal process, controlled by Indian elders and parents; to a formal missionary schooling process that stripped FNP of their culture, language, and religion; to a more government-directed education. FNP accepted the missionaries as educators because they hold respect for the elder as a wise man and a medicine man (Cardinal, 1969). However, the missionaries did not accept FNP values (Cardinal, 1969; Bastiste, 1986; Jaenen, 1984; 1986). Rather, Cardinal explains, the missionaries joined forces with the government agents and they assumed the role of educating the 'heathens'. Missionaries introduced their particular brand of religion with an intent and zeal to make Christians of them. Becoming educated was synonymous with becoming a Christian (Cardinal, 1969).

Bastiste (1986) concurs with Cardinal's educational analysis and claims that the various governments of the times were tending to their own self-interest under the guise of giving the gift of

knowledge. Drawing from the thought of Freire (1968), she explains that the immigrants' interests were in changing the awareness of FNP, rather than in changing the situation that oppressed them. Battiste writes:

The implicit goal of federal education was the annihilation of Micmac history, knowledge, language, and collective habits, thereby making Micmac youths believe that Anglo-Canadian society was culturally and technically superior to Micmac society (1986, p. 36).

Battiste also attributes the European migrants' attempts to change the FNP to their lack of knowledge of the land, the FNP, the FNP's symbolic literacy, and the collective dialogue of the FNP. Their lack of understanding and their self-interests led the EC to conclude the FNP were pagans, with only an oral system of knowledge. They therefore required education (Battiste, 1986).

FN authors such as Cardinal (1969); Battiste (1986); Johnston (1988); and The Assembly of First Nations (1988; 1991; 1993) report that the EC missionaries created residential schools where children lived for ten to twelve months of the year. Separated from their families, parental influence, and the elder's guidance and teachings; children lost their language and culture. At the residential school, their language, religion, and culture were not allowed to be expressed. The consequence of these actions led to the loss of many languages (Assembly of First Nations, 1988; 1993) and a confused sense of self (Cardinal, 1969; Battiste, 1986; Assembly of First Nations, 1988; 1991; 1993).

In his book, The Unjust Society (1969), Cardinal describes the teachers who taught FN's children as misfits. By this he means they were individuals who did not fit into the mainstream EC society (Cardinal, 1969, p.54). Haig-Brown (1988) echoes Cardinal (1969). She writes that the odd, often mean and brutal behavior of teachers, was all too evident (p. 81). Other authors, such as Battiste (1986),

Jaenen (1986), and Johnston (1988) acknowledge these unacceptable behaviors in their writings.

Even today many EC teachers working with FNP on the reserve can be classified as misfits. When not in school, they generally do not participate in FN life on the reserve. Rather, they live in isolation amongst themselves. For example, in a recent conversation with some non-FN teachers from the South who live and teach in the Cree community of Chisasibi, teachers said they do not go camping on the land because they do not want to spend the money to buy the necessary clothing. Besides, they are concerned about what they will eat if they live on the land. The authors of such comments have worked and lived for over ten years on this Cree reserve that is populated with nomadic hunters and gatherers who have an inherent attachment to the land (Hjartarson, 1993). Their refusal to participate in activities that are an integral part of life in the North provides an example of their reluctance to grow in understanding of their students' way of life.

The curriculum of the Canadian residential schools for FNP is generally considered to have been inadequate, foreign, and irrelevant (Cardinal, 1969, p. 54). Few efforts were made to accommodate the curriculum to the children attending those schools (Battiste, 1986; Jaenen, 1986; Barman, Hébert & McCaskill, 1986, 1987). Ridington (1988) recalls meeting a young Beaver boy, Ricky, who told him why he quit school.

One thing I don't like much is that school.
I think it would have been better
if they'd had school in here.
I would have gone straight through.
right from grade one all the way.
stay around here, hunt, stuff like that.
Pretty soon I got pretty tired.
I didn't want anything to do with it.
Just want to go out somewhere. ...
I like to go in the bush a little bit (p. 282).

FN Witnesses Evaluate EC Education Offerings

Reports exist outlining some of the cultural brutality inflicted on students of the residential school. Elder Emma Sand of the Mistawasis Band of the Cree Nation was schooled in a government-sponsored residential school. She recalls that she experienced a destruction of her values, language, spirituality and parenting skills (Assembly of First Nations, 1991, p. 6). As well, Louise Loyie (Indian Education, 1976) vividly narrates how the RCMP took her from her Cree home in the bush with her parents and placed her, her two sisters, and two brothers in a residential school. This occurred while her Father was away from the home securing supplies. Louise recounts how her father, having lost his children, felt no purpose. He never returned to his trapline. Instead he turned to drink. Consequently, her parents' marriage broke up. Her mother initially came to visit the children at the residential school but after a while, Louise reports, her mother was not allowed to come. In the end her mother was accidentally killed. Louise recalls how her father tried to take all his children home for the summer. When his efforts failed, he disappeared and they were never able to locate him. The children believed they were in the residential school forever (p. 2).

Despite the incriminating reports in the literature on FN education, there are exceptions to these reports of cultural insensitivity in the residential school. While in Chisasibi the researcher spoke with Margaret Sam-Cromatry (1988) who shared a poem she had written about her residential experience. She wrote:

I wanted to go back
to my simple ways,
hear the roar of the rapids,
travel wide rivers,

Instead I was drawn
to a big house
full of walls.
I listened to a gentle voice
soothing like the aspen leaves.
It took years
to gain an understanding
of the big house,
my residential school.

It was not bad at all
(Sam-Cromatry, 1988, p. 19).

As well, Jaenen (1986) reports that the Jesuits recognized the innate intelligence of the Micmac and determined that all these children really needed was a good education. However, what the Jesuits interpreted as a good education was, and still is, subject to question.

The Judgment of Thomas Berger

Despite some positive remarks concerning the EC influence on FNP, an analysis of the literature concludes that it is overwhelmingly negative. For example, Judge Thomas Berger (1991) says that the EC goal has always been to make the FNP more EC through assimilation. He argues that if this were to occur there would no longer be a FN world view, FN land, or FN heritage. Berger (1991) questions the right of the European immigrant to take the land and subjugate a group of people, and to continue this subjugation today through attempts to assimilate them. He asks, "Does justice have any claims on us today?" (Berger, 1991, p. xi). Berger (1991) believes moral, legal, and philosophical questions are with us, and have been with us, since the encounter of Europe and the Americas. Although the European institutions have endured, the FNP have not been assimilated. He states that the FNP of the Americas:

... have a claim on our consciences, a claim that we should honor the principle by which we profess to live.

If we are to understand who we are, we must know about the history of our encounter with the Native people of the Americas ... the persistence of attitudes that have too often triumphed in the past: that superiority in arms entitles one nation to subdue another; that land can be taken from a people if we deem them or their use of land to be deficient; that all cultures should be judged by our own; that injustice, if it is of sufficiently long standing, need not be redressed (Berger, 1991, pp. xii-xiii).

The next section of this literature review considers how an informal, pervasive educational process was occurring simultaneously with the formal schooling provided to FN children. EC were imagining FNP. The imagined images, or stereotypes, the EC formed of FNP were based on the inter-related historical, economical, and cultural conditions of the EC. The formed stereotypical images of the FNP proliferated in the larger cultural context.

Construction of the Image of FNP

... until you understand that your own culture dictates how you translate everything you see and hear, you will never be able to see or hear things in any other way (Ross, 1992, p.4).

An abundant literature exists, including the visual and performing arts, that exposes the process of constructing the image of FNP. This body of knowledge reveals how the migrating peoples used their cultural framework to impose an image on the inhabitants of the discovered land that enabled them to maintain their reality and to meet their objectives for economic gain. It is important to realize that the generalized 'other' was, in fact, a many-faceted 'other' from different European backgrounds speaking a variety of European languages. They had migrated from a structured class society that was defined as acquisitive in nature.

The following section considers: Commerce and Legal Definitions of FNP; European Migration, Social and Economic Control

and the Definition of FNP; An Examination of the Public Conceptualization of FNP; and A Transformation by FN Artists of the EC Definition of FNP.

Commerce and Legal Definitions of FNP

The image of the Indian is considered by Fisher (1977) who argues that as long as the motive was to trade with the FNP, traders reacted to what they saw. However, traders inadvertently arrived at faulty conclusions because of a lack of a common language, different cultural values, and conceptual barriers. Misunderstandings were fostered by having to rely on outer behavior to understand inner thought processes.

Images of FNP that exist in the mind of non-FNP have also been examined by several other authors: Chamberlain, 1975; Fisher, 1977; Brody, 1981; Berger, 1991; Ross, 1992; Wright, 1992. Chamberlain (1975) reveals how legal definitions formed an imaginary construct, or ideology, in North American Indian Affairs. According to Chamberlain the definitions existed for the purposes of expediting "civil and religious movements of particular periods and to particular ends ... for the orderly carrying out of trade, settlement, and the process of civilizing a raw land and its rude indigenous inhabitants" (p. 26). He suggests that EC were insensitive to the "intricate logical manipulations" that formed their conclusions (Chamberlain, 1975, p. 115.) The logic, he reasons, was founded in their conservative aspirations, and their history and not from zealousness and blatant cruelty. For example, they were prohibited from eating their food and speaking their language for logical reasons. It was thought that their food was symbolic of a savage race and that they needed to learn a civilized language. Embedded in the reason Chamberlain argues was the ambivalence about the capability of the FNP to manage their own affairs and the various assumptions concerning living more "virtuously and bestly" (Chamberlain, 1975, pp. 111-115). Ultimately, the discussion focused on the educability of FNP,

their ability to control and administer, and their ability to manage resources and money (Chamberlain, 1975, pp. 113-115). Inevitably, the legal system imposed an order.

European Migration, Social Economic Control and Definitions of FNP

The image of the FNP became "less positive" when the intent changed from trading to settling, (Fisher, 1977, p.89). FNP were described as barbaric, savage, and pagan. Furthermore, it was believed "both in Britain and North America that colonization, by definition, involved the extermination of the 'inferior' indigenous peoples" (Fisher, 1977, p, 87). FNP were discussed in animal terms and their intellectual abilities were not credited. As Fisher (1977) explains:

Like most stereotypes the settlers' view of the Indians was nurtured by ignorance. As long as they knew little about Indian society, the settlers had no reason to doubt their assumed superiority (p. 91).

Fisher (1977) also maintains that:

The British colonist established a line of cleavage based on race and could not permit any crossing of that barrier by admitting that the Indian was in any way comparable to Western man. So in their accounts of the Indians the settlers tended to stress those aspects of Indian life that were repellent to Europeans and thus denied their common humanity with the Indians (p. 93).

The settlers reacted to what they expected to see. In this way, they created an image and, subsequently, what was thought, written and said about the FNP influenced how they were treated. Fisher concludes:

... if the settlers' image was largely based on prejudice and ignorance there would be little in their behavior and policies to benefit the Indian and that, as attitudes became more abusive, so would the treatment of the Indians (p.94).

Brody (1981) also reflects on the creation of the images of the FNP. When Brody (1981) considers the ideologies of the Western world view that include ideologies, preferences, and preoccupations to establish and maintain social and economic control, he concludes that the non-FNP sees destitution (p. 51). Ultimately, Brody (1981) perceives the habits of work and the thought of the FNP and the non-FNP in opposition with one another. He explains it as follows:

White observers normally saw poverty, destruction and savagery because of the absence of all that, in their world view, ... Hatred suspicion and fear were aroused by the Athapaskans' forthright manner, indifference to material goods, and lack of permanent dwellings. A corresponding want of religion, morality, and honesty were easily added to what the eye could see by a troubled perhaps even a challenged imagination (Brody, 1981, p. 60).

An Examination of the Public Conceptualization of FNP

Most recently, Berger (1991) and Wright (1992) have considered the conceptualization of the FNP. Berger lays moral charges against the non-FNP for the acts of genocide. He tells about the early Spanish migrants who brought war, disease and famine" and considered they had rights to the land of FNP(p. x). Furthermore Berger points out that FNP were treated as if they had no human rights and today are imagined as living on disintegrating reserves, drunk, and disorderly (p. x). Wright (1992) explores the discovery myth of America and asks how a land and peoples can be discovered when they had already existed. His thesis puts into question for whose vision, and for what purposes, this myth was constructed.

Brody (1981), Chamberlain (1975), Fisher (1977), Berger(1991) and Wright (1992) reflect on imaging and the FNP during the early contact and conflict period of trading and migration. Although Brody (1981) describes more recent events in his writing about the Alaskan pipeline inquiry, there appears to be a certain temporal distance between now and then. However, with Cree artist, Gerald McMaster's (1992) recent Canadian visual arts exhibition-

dialogue Savage Graces: after images, there is a sense of the here and now. This exhibition explores many avenues and, most importantly, it exposes the constructed reality or image-making of FNP, as well as the process of education within the cultural context of Canada.

Savage Graces: after images queries the known and "the knower", the formulated and the formed image of FNP. Gerald McMaster (1992) asks in his installation exhibition Savage Graces: after images:

..."Are you threatened by "others"? Why do you call us Indians? Why do you call this land British Columbia? Is there a universalizing intelligence? Is there a conspiracy to legitimize only one version of the way we see the world? Does western knowledge control the framework of relevant evidence?"

The writings of Chamberlain (1975), Fisher (1977), Brody (1981), Berger (1991) Wright (1992) explore McMaster's (1992) questions regarding the imagining, or stereotyping of the identity of FNP. Their analysis, with the exception of McMaster's (1992, 1993a, 1993b), tends to focus on the past. The research considers early EC trading and colonization. Somehow the reader is protected by thinking it is history (Peck, 1987; Ferguson & Gever, 1990). However, with the more current work of Cree artist, McMaster (1992), the viewer is compelled to face the powerful message that this process of stereotyping continues. The visitor to the exhibition, Savage Graces: after images, is forced to pause and reflect on the commonplace images that are a part of the visual history of our lives and question, like "Where am I in all of this?" Considering this, Charlotte Townsend-Gault issues a warning that is: "... a critique of racism is merely politically correct repetition for the converted" (1992, p. 77).

Visual artist, Hachivi Heap of Feathers, in 1989 made a silk screen banner, "Telling Many Magpies, Telling Black Wolf, Telling Hachivi" which conveys his perception of the present day imaging of FNP by "the other". Hachivi Heap of Feathers names the imaging

process by "the other" in this piece of art that is housed in the Walker Art Center Minneapolis. On this banner is printed:

WE DON'T WANT INDIANS
JUST THEIR NAMES
MASCOTS
MACHINES
CITIES
PRODUCTS
BUILDINGS

LIVING PEOPLE

Hachivi Heap of Feathers' accusation may appear strong but it has to be bracketed within the Canadian cultural context of imaging FNP. It was not until 1992, three years after this piece of art was created, that there was the opportunity for FNP to expose their artistic endeavors in the National Gallery of Canada. Before this time, they were only permitted to be exposed on a national level as artifacts of anthropological collections. Today, FNP are still used to name commercial products and sports clubs; for example, the Cherokee Jeep, the Washington Redskins, the Atlanta Braves and the Edmonton Eskimos.

Whereas authors such as Chamberlain (1975), Fisher (1977), Brody (1981), Berger (1991), and Wright(1992), consider the imaging of the FNP when the Americas were being discovered; and artists, such as McMaster and Heap of Feathers, project the images of present day FNP and force deliberation by the audience; Daniel Francis'(1992, 1994) book, The Imaginary Indian, explores the imaging making process. Francis (1992, 1994) examines how the imagery of 'Indianness', that is FNP's identity, is created in the minds of "the other" and by "the other". Francis' (1992) book is pertinent to the study in that it uncovers a process of education that has paralleled the formal educational process of FNP. Francis' (1992) conclusion is that the identity of FNP was, and is, being created in history by constructing the image of the vanishing Canadian, and then dismissing FNP with the use of alcohol, red coats, and redskins (pp. 13-82). Once the image is construed, it is presented, marketed,

and then implemented through the bureaucratic process. The imaging process informally creates the public's perception of FNP. The process is not dialogical as is the consensus-building discussion, but didactic in nature. For example, Hollywood movies were used to amuse. Little thought or accuracy went into their construction. FNP created "mayhem" whenever needed and the created roles of FNP mostly went to non-FNP (Francis, 1992, p.105). Francis (1992) further exposes an imaging process through considering the public perception of Grey Owl and the actual identity of Grey Owl. Grey Owl posed as an FN person but was English. Francis (1992) writes:

Even his drinking was seen as confirmation of his Native identity. "I am sorry to hear that Grey Owl has been indulging too freely in liquor, " wrote a senior official in the Parks Branch on one occasion." As a matter of fact, with so much Indian blood in his veins I suppose it is inevitable that from time to time he will break out in this connection." There is something wonderfully ironic about the stereotype of the drunken Indian being used to explain away the conduct of an English gentleman (p. 137).

Francis (1992) explains that when Grey Owl's true identity became known after his death, his falseness was overlooked and he was remembered for his positive contribution to the image of FNP as caretakers of the land. Embedded in this are two examples of stereotyping: one the drunken Indian; the other, the conservationist.

In the foreword to Daniel Francis' (1992) book, Randy Red tells of the education that he received within, and without, the formal school. Randy Red's educational experience includes imaginary Indians and EC educational methods:

My first contact with white kids was in grade seven, when kids from the residential school were bussed into town so we could go to a "public" school. We didn't want to be there, and it was pretty clear the white kids didn't want us to be there either. Social studies was the worst class, ... They were savage people, the Indians we learned about in the Social Studies class.

Residential school kids were not to associate with reserve kids-many of whom, where I lived, were my close relatives. The rule was that we couldn't go within ten feet of the chicken wire fence separating the school yard from the reserve. Reserve kids, we were told again and again, were dirty and useless. This was a problem for me, because in the summer I lived on the other side of the fence: for a couple of months every year, I was a reserve kid.

I was in that school for nine years. When I got out of there it was like getting out of jail. ...

I was twenty years old when I woke up in a hospital bed in Jasper, Alberta, and heard a doctor say: "These Indians don't know how to take care of themselves." I had a job, I had a good wage, I had insurance. But there was nothing I could say.

At about the same time, I learned that I was slowly going blind: I had retinitis pigmentosa, as the doctors like to say. Since then my sight has been diminishing. These days I am entitled to a white cane, and when I carry it, I see how easily the white cane blinds people to my Indian-ness. As long as I carry the cane, I hear no slurs when I stumble; but without the cane, I hear enough that will not bear repeating. In 1976 I found myself in Stanley Park on a Sunday afternoon, down by Lumberman's Arch. There was some kind of arts and crafts show happening, and there were several booths-all run by non-Natives, to my dismay-displaying paintings of Indian-like people, all of whom had the same expression of their faces-frowning and looking very mean and stony-even though they had been painted by different artists.

Native people live within a world of imagery that isn't their own; ... (pp. xi-xii).

Other self-reflective statements on the forces composing the image of FNP by the generalized "other" are found elsewhere in the works of art of FNP. Consider Ojibway artist, Carl Beam's (1991), insight into the emergent dialogue on the shaping of his FN identity by forces other than his own. Using self-conscious writings superimposed on autobiographic imagery, Beam communicates his search for a knowledge of himself in the world. On his work, "Notes on Burying the Ruler" Beam writes:

... the being seemed to be part of the problem although no one ever talked about it to any definable degree, ... (1991).

Beam continues recording his reflections under an image of himself holding a ruler. There are measurement lines running horizontally across the image of his body. One possible conclusion the viewer may draw is that Beam is relating how he has been measured, and miscalculated, by non-FNP thought. On the same self-portrait he prints:

... after many years of wandering on various desert floors, it occurred to me that there was a way out of some of the peculiar little problems, but I would have to look at world differently than the way I had been taught ... (Beam, 1991).

Beam (1991) may be suggesting that if he changed his way of perceiving himself and the world, abandoned the way he had been taught by FN tradition, and submitted to the knowledge system of the ruler that measured up FNP, there would be an escape from some of his peculiar problems of identity. What seems to be at work is Beam's acknowledgment that the imaging of his FN identity was other than who he was.

A Transformation by FN Artists of the EC Definition of FNP

Other FN visual artists discuss their image and reflect on the stereotypes to "rick o shay" off the viewing public in a naming process that forces a transformation of the image that is now in FNP's control. Art works in the 1992 Art Exhibition, Indigena, housed at the National Museum of Civilization serve to illustrate this transformation (McMaster & Martin, 1992). For example, Shelley Niro's (1991) photographic piece declares, "I like being a Mohawk Girl" and Richard Ray Whitman's (1986) portrait of Street Chief No. 1., has a FN person seated on the ground, leaning against a wooden wall looking as if he is full of reverence. By taking control of the

"capital" of the images and creating their own stereotypes, FNP are making strong statements about their identity while exposing the hidden dimension of the dominant culture's attempt to image their being. One of the important aspects of this dialogue is that it is self-conscious and self-determined. By naming the signs defining their existence and by creating names, they are entering into a dialogical process of education, and structuring reality in another way. Consider Ojibway writer Lenore Keeshig-Tobias' (1992) writing about "The White Man's Burden":

burden-something
carried, a heavy load, heavy
responsibility or anxiety

the white man's burden
(as he sees it)
to spread culture among the primitive
(indigenous)
peoples of the world

the white man's burden
(as we know it)
a heavy load
that he does not
have to carry
...

WHITE
WHITE
WHITE MAN-IZE
FANTASIZE
DREAM ON
DREAM
the white man's solution
to the white man's burden
No. 6
(as we know it)

PUT DOWN THE LOAD, STUPID (pp. 106-07).

Up to this point in the literature review, consideration has been given to the forces at work in formulating reality within the context of the dominant culture of Canada. Acknowledgment has been given to the formal educational forces that influence FN children in schools on and off the reserves and in residential schools. As well, attention

has been focused on the informal process of imaging the Indian that has occurred, and continues to occur, in the larger context of society. Of note is the deliberate claiming of the "symbol capital" by FN artists in order to deconstruct the image of FNP and to formulate their own epistemic constructs. The following section of the literature review references different epistemologies of FNP, in contrast to the dominant western scientific view of knowledge.

Other Ways of Knowing

What I want them to know is that they can't know that.
That's what I want them to know. Here's a guy having his heart cut out with an obsidian knife and he's saying something in Cherokee and I don't want people that come into the gallery to know what he's saying ... The first text is the real things, turquoise, words, gold, emeralds, obsidian and flint, the second text is the Cherokee counterpoint, and the third text is the fact that you don't know what the Cherokee means (Durham & Ingberman, 1990, p.31).

In the above quote, Jimmie Durham, a Cherokee, discusses ways of knowing as imaged in his New York art show, "The Bishops' Moose and the Pinkerton Men". He confronts the epistemic problems inherent in dissimilar cultures voicing their individual languages with their unlike epistemologies. The diversity impinges upon how people with distinct epistemologies frame their reality. The inability to understand another world view, without the sign and symbol system of language and the experience of being from the specific culture, is emphasized.

Native ways of knowing are unlike world views of EC. The Dene, Cree and Ojibway world views are examined in this section of the literature review. As well, consideration is given to the elders, those who know according to FNP.

A Dene Way of Knowing

The Dene First Nation world view has been described by several authors. In his book, Maps and Dreams, Brody (1981) reveals conflicting world views of EC and the Dene FNP in northern British Columbia. Brody (1981) states:

In a culture where the wisest and most competent members regard outspokenness and adamance as foolhardy, childish, and profoundly self-defeating, how can a way of life protect itself, when protection requires outspoken and adamant protest ? (p.97).

Insight is offered into the existence of a distinctively different epistemology that influences how Dene people live, and perceive, land, community, and knowledge. Within the Dene's communities FNP have a quiet nature, appear to be indifferent to material goods, have a reverence for the land, emphasize community, and place value on experience (Brody,1981). In another study, Make Prayers to The Raven, Nelson, (1983) examines the Koyukon Dene People. Their way of knowing, according to him, is first based on a detailed and precise empirical perception; for example, learning the proper ways of hunting moose and acquiring spiritual beliefs, such as how to unite with the spiritual world through a vision quest. Ridington (1988) in his book, Trail to Heaven, working from the Dene stories of the Beaver People of British Columbia, explains how the Beaver People distinguish between "knowing about something" and "knowing something". "Knowing about something" for the Beaver FNP implies direct experience. For example, a child learns how to snare a rabbit. "Knowing something" seems, according to Beaver FNP, to imply more than direct personal involvement. It demands participation, as in "knowing as a rabbit". These distinct epistemic characteristics have direct implications for the education of all Dene children. According to Ridington (1988), it is important for educators, to situate knowledge in the child's experience. In another study of FNP traditional ways of knowing, Pinxten's The Anthropology of Space (1988) analyzes the semantics of the Dene

conception of space. He found non-Dene mathematics teachers did not know that their Dene students worked from, and with, different assumptions of space. In Dene thought, space is a process rather than a stable configuration.

According to Guédon (1984), the Tsimshian Nation of British Columbia believes the world to be multi-dimensional. Beasts, objects, and all living things are defined by their ability to communicate with beings of different species and kinds (p. 137). Power, according to her, is vested not so much in control and coercion, as it is in the ability to communicate and to change. Guédon relates that it is an individual's essence, or what an individual fundamentally is, that is judged to be important. The transformation of bodily forms, according to the Tsimshian view, is inexorably rooted in the multi-dimensionality of reality.

A Cree Way of Knowing

Preston (1982) attempts to delineate the "Eastern Cree Structure of Knowledge". What does appear to be unique to the eastern Cree epistemology according to Preston is the rooting of knowledge in dreams and unusual perceptions. Much of the knowledge the individual comes to know through dream or unusual perceptions is difficult to express. It is difficult because of the "literalness" that others attribute to the spoken word, especially the non-Cree. The individual knowledge acquired appears to be tacit knowledge; that is knowing and not telling (Polanyi, 1966).

Furthermore, the Cree formation of mind is influenced by their encouraging individual initiative from childhood (Preston, 1982, p. 301). Inextricably related to this is the principle of non-interference. A FN psychiatrist, drawing on an incident from the James Bay Cree, provides the following insight:

I was talking to the dentist one day at Moose Factory, (after) he had been examining (a) man. He said (to this man), "I understand that you have some children that I have never seen or examined for tooth decay." The Indian man said, "Yes, that's right. I do have a couple of kids." The dentist said, "Why don't you bring them in and I'll examine them and see if their teeth are okay or if they need any attention?" The Native person said, "Yes, I'll see if they want to come."

His children were seven and eight. This Native person was willing to allow his children the choice of whether or not they wanted to go to the dentist. The ethic of non-interference would not allow this man to bring his children kicking and screaming and strap them into the dentist's chair, because that would be interfering with the child's right to behave as he sees fit. The child may or may not have some appreciation that it is necessary and wise to go to the dentist, but the child will essentially be allowed to make that decision for himself.

Social workers and truant officers are often annoyed with Native parents who refuse to force their children to go to school. The Native person's response is, "He knows he ought to go to school. What can I do to make him? ... (Ross, 1992, pp. 16-17).

The dominating principles of self-learning and non-interference breed a different way of thinking than do instruction and interference, the prevalent principles in the dominant social schooling structure of Canada. The implicit nature of explanation through subtle hints rather than explicit instruction permeates Cree learning, and, quite possibly, the cognitive style of the people. These apparent differences have direct implications for FNP education.

People exist independently of one another but live together and coordinate their activities (Preston, 1975). From an early age the child learns to initiate. Non-interference is experienced. A quality of mind is bred. Preston (1982) records that an elder informed him, "If you want to find truth, you have to find it by yourself, in the bush. Then, if you tell it to someone, it's not the same" (p. 305). Cree people may be described as practically-minded, but not necessarily literally-minded. Implicit knowledge seems characteristic of this way of knowing.

Early in life, Cree children learn to listen to, and concentrate on, the narratives that are told in the evenings. Narration as metaphor, or as metonymy, characterizes the telling. Cree children learn to transfer their listening and concentration skills to tracking and communicating with the animals in the bush. This special relationship with the animals has spiritual dimensions. James Bay Cree believe the animals offer themselves to the hunters out of love so the hunters may survive and live (Preston, 1982, p.304). Although Preston (1982) does not relate this, it has been told that the ornate decorating of the hunting gear is to please and seduce the animals (Hjartarson, 1993, Field notes). Offerings of thankfulness to the animal spirits who offer themselves are a tradition amongst the Cree.

One other aspect of Cree epistemology to which Preston (1982) refers is the existence of semantic units of qualities that cross the categories of people. For example "witiko is not a person, but a condition that may affect persons of many kinds" (Preston, 1982, p. 305). Semantic units cannot be taken as merely oral. A strong non-verbal component exists (Hjartarson, 1993, Field notes). The watchful silence, which is a feature of this way of knowing, is laden with implications for education.

Adrian Tanner (1979) in his book, Bringing Home the Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters, examines the Mistassini Cree world view. From the Cree People, Tanner learned about traditional ways of life in the bush. Emotional and physical dependency is necessary as are their opposites, autonomy and independence. The Cree, he explains, never showed annoyance or expressed hostility towards him while living in the bush even though he was a liability, physically weak and without the mental attitude necessary to withstand hunger and exhaustion for long periods. They accepted him. Cree people taught him patiently with generous praise even though his accomplishments were that of an adolescent child (Tanner 1979, p. xvi).

Boyce Richardson (1991) also writes about the Cree and their system of knowledge. His book, Strangers Devour The Land, is important to this study on traditional education and world view because it illuminates the effects of epistemologies in collision. It comments on education and it recognizes the value of the elder as guardian of the Cree cultural heritage. In particular, Richardson provides details of the collision of ways of knowing resulting from conflicting teachings that have occurred in James Bay communities in the past quarter century. The following situation described by him illustrates the conflict of values and ways of being:

William Gull, fifty-three ... A complete master of the bush ... Two of his children were still in residential school, where they were learning the ways of the white man, ways very different from William's life. The anthropologists had been investigating Cree children, too, and had discovered that the contrast between the values of their parents and the values they were taught in school was so disturbing that two thirds of the teenagers were suffering from depression, anxiety and other mental and emotional disorders as a result of the identity conflict set up for them. These "discontinuities in the enculturation of the children "... were deliberately created by government policy. And few youngsters were coming out of school equipped neither to command the bush as their parents could do, or to move smoothly into Euro-Canadian society (Richardson, 1991, p. 57).

Another example Richardson (1991) cites is that teaching conflicting epistemologies causes confusion, a breakdown of family, and a lack of regard for future generations. According to him, these social phenomena are alien concepts to Cree traditional life:

Edna was one of only three young Indians from Mistassini and Waswanipi who at this time could be said to have "made it" as the saying goes in white society. ... Edna was looking after twenty-four Indian children, of whom eight had been put in government care because their mothers had neglected them, a couple were illegitimate and some had been abandoned. It was something new for the Cree to produce such children, because in a traditional Indian community, unwanted children were unknown. Even Mistassini, however, was feeling the pressures of change. "When I was young I never noticed so many people staggering about the reserve with beer bottles in their hands, fighting," she said. The drinking is getting worse. It seems everyone is drinking, men, women, and the young people, too. They are drinking to forget."

It was, perhaps, not surprising. Many of Edna's school friends had been brought up to be ashamed of the way Indian people dressed and behaved, and did not want to be identified as Indians. When such children returned home, the parents felt helpless. Traditionally, the parents had always been thinking about their children, had taught them everything. But now the children would laugh at their parents, for they had already been taught different things. Edna herself, under the strong influence of an eighty - year old grandmother, had gone into the bush for a year after finishing school. "It is a really good life," she told me. "I think every Indian Child should do it" (Richardson, 1991, p. 61-62).

Richardson (1991) contrasts the Cree value of living in harmony with the environment, which enabled people to survive and share amongst others, with the Hudson Bay Company's policy of detachment when doing business (pp. 65-75). From the Cree he learned to relinquish his journalistic perspective and turn to the elders, "the guardians of the value system and the traditional skills" (Richardson, 1991. p. 87). From them he learned that the land is the foundation of their culture. It provides spiritual reinforcement and emotional security (Richardson, 1991, p. 339). In this book, he also chronicles Hydro Quebec and the James Bay Hydro Electric Mega Project. The epistemology of the developers who 'devour the land' for power and financial capital is in opposition to the way of knowing of the Cree Nation who are spiritually connected to the land and the way of life it offers.

Richardson (1993) in his book, People of Terra Nullius, Betrayal and Rebirth in Aboriginal Canada, recounts how he opened his mind to the FNP's way of life and values. He reflects:

Until I met aboriginals, I had never thought of human beings as participants in a natural system that is endlessly recycled, with every element dependent on every other element. I had always behaved as if society were perfectible; had never given thought to life as a natural continuum, in which we also are called upon to act as stewards for future generations. Gradually, I began to understand that all of my assumptions about social progress, personal achievement and human control over the hostile forces of nature are not necessarily proper measures of a meaningful human existence.

I also began to understand that for aboriginals, my Western-based attitudes were mere alien baggage. Concern about their material conditions, their housing, poverty and health, although important, somehow did not touch them where it mattered. Approached only with these considerations in mind, Indians inevitably appeared a helpless, almost hopeless lot, always at a disadvantage compared to the aggressive, successful people who surrounded them. When I was able to set aside these assumptions, aboriginal people no longer appeared to be so helpless. Wise, perhaps, would be closer to the mark. Calm. Contemplative. Patient. Although, admittedly, sad (Richardson, 1994, pp. 13-14).

Richardson confirms the existence of a distinctive world view that is unlike the mindscape of the dominant social structure of Canada. This is lived experience research that resonates with commitment.

The La Ronge Lectures of Sarah Whitecalf, The Cree Language Is Our Identity, offer understanding of dream spirits, evil medicine, tobacco, love medicine, alcohol and drug abuse and other topics according to her Cree way of knowing (Wolfart & Ahenakew, 1993). The delicateness of Cree thought and the richness of the Cree spirit world is revealed in these stories. The story of the owl spirit and love medicine are examples. This collection is special in that Sarah Whitecalf was raised as a Cree, never spoke English, and did not attend EC formal schools. Through her stories one is able to grasp the vividness of the thought of her people as well as become more informed about the Cree way of knowing.

Cree teacher, Joseph Dion with the aid of Dempsey (1979) describes Cree life through the stories of his ancestors that go back four generations. He reflects on stories of hunting and fishing, religious life, schooling, and politics and he considers the moral responsibility all Canadians have to assist the FNP in overcoming their difficulties. Dion suggests that the Cree, in the rush to become modern, have "bypassed some of Nature's own gifts which could have made life happier" (Dempsey, 1979, p.191). Moreover, this book affirms that the Cree have different traditions and customs in addition to their own language, values and spiritual beliefs and practices.

An Ojibway Way of Knowing

Writing on the "Ojibway Ontology, Behavior and World View", Hallowell (1960) teases out the components of the Ojibway world view and issues an important caution when studying the epistemology of others:

... a thoroughgoing "objective" approach to the study of cultures cannot be achieved solely by projecting upon those cultures categorical abstractions derived from Western thought. ... the latter are a reflection of our cultural subjectivity. A higher order of objectivity may be sought by adopting a perspective which includes an analysis of the outlook of the people themselves as a complementary procedure (Diamond, 1960, p.51).

The actions of the Ojibway provide insight into their view of the world. Their concepts of animate and inanimate further differentiate their world views. For example, the Ojibway do not consciously articulate in their language the difference between animate and inanimate. A stone may be referred to as a grandfather. Although the structure of the language implies the difference, no dichotomy exists. The difference is implied only because the Europeans imposed this differentiation on the Algonquian speakers (Hallowell, 1960). Kinship terms, such as 'grandfathers,' may refer to spiritual

beings. Animate properties may be projected upon objects and even properties of a person. In the Ojibway world view there is no natural-supernatural continuum. There are social relations with other-than-human beings. For example, Hallowell (1960) tells of an old man who heard the Thunderbird speak to him (p.64). The notion of 'animate being' does not assume the pinnacle of power. In the Ojibway cosmology a mole may have as much, or more, power than a person. Dreams are important events to Ojibway people (Radin, 1927). They are aware of their dreams and they include dream experiences in their remembered events. Dreams offer direction and guidance.

A unified conception of all animate beings exists. All have a similar structure, an enduring inner core, and an outward form that may transform under varying conditions. The life goal of the Ojibway People is translated by Hallowell to be "life in the fullest sense, life in the sense of longevity, health, and freedom from misfortune" (Hallowell, 1960, p. 75). Hallowell relates that the Ojibway believe that this is achieved only with the support of human and other-than-human persons combined with hard work. The value of sharing and maintaining balance with others is considered. Participation in activities is valued and there is a continuum of values depending on the degree of participation. It is within the context of social relations with the world that the Ojibway strive for a full life (Hallowell, 1955, 1960; 1970).

Ojibway author, Basil Johnston, through his prolific writings, exposes myths that make up the cosmology of the Ojibway or Anishinaubaek Nation. For example, he writes of medicine people, their powerful medicines, and the qualities attributed to the natural phenomena (Johnston, 1993). His intimate stories recall residential school experiences with his life-time friends, the subtle differences in perception and the humor that is so much apart of his people's way of life. Basil Johnston life's work is recording the Ojibway heritage for the future generations of the Anishinaubaek children.

An Algonquian Way of Knowing

According to the literature, traditional Algonquian ways of knowing appear to be based on values and beliefs that are different from EC. These values and beliefs are embedded in ways of understanding the world. At present, the Algonquian speakers, a group of FNP, are participating directly in the process of defining their particular way of knowing based on their values and beliefs. Houle (1992) in his essay, "The Spiritual Legacy of the Ancient Ones" explores these values and beliefs and traces them to the ancient ways of thinking of earlier sages. He writes:

... the lack of a linear chronology in myth, storytelling, and dreams, the interchangeable grammar and the interchangeability of perception is what makes wonderful rhythmical patterns of thought in the oral traditions of the ancient ones (p. 44).

According to Houle, this is an intuitive way of knowing, one that has been ignored by Western civilization. He suggests that FNP have the gift of intuition to offer EC society.

Highwater (1981) writes in The Primal Mind about the ways of knowing of Algonquian people. He recalls that he had the opportunity of being schooled in two distinctively different value systems, in the traditions of the Blackfoot Nation, and in the schools of the dominant culture of North America. Given the difficulties he encountered operating in both cultural worlds, he identified a place somewhere between the two different value worlds, a "cherished alienation," as he describes it, which acknowledges the fragility of the objective scientific vision and the failed sense of the primal mind (Highwater, 1981, pp. ix-xvi). He concludes by suggesting the importance of having a multiplicity of world views.

In the writings of Meili (1991), common epistemic themes emerge for Algonquian elders of the Cree and Blackfoot Nations.

There is the belief that all life is inter-related and that traditional education is based on the holistic teachings of the medicine wheel that is founded on the circle, and the concept of four. Education occurs through storytelling. Language must be taught to young children for it contains the cultural values of the people. The values of caring, sharing and affection amongst all people is emphasized. Meili (1991) tells how FNP are bicultural, with their FN values and acquired white-man's ways. FNP are not concerned about the absoluteness of one religion but about spiritual development that is likened to a drive shaft of a car that powers everything (Meili, 1991, p. 255). She reports that in some communities elders have been abused, their importance diminished, and their wisdom underestimated.

An important document that outlines the Algonquian philosophy of life is The Sacred Tree: Reflections on Native American Spirituality (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984). Elders, spiritual leaders and dedicated FN people collaborated to create this treatise that offers insight into the foundational beliefs of FNP and describes their everyday reality. The elders and the spiritual leaders of FNP are the acknowledged keepers of the wisdom of the sacred tree of life and are available to guide all people who sincerely are in search of the path leading to the protective shadow of the Sacred Tree (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984, p. 7). This book is important to researchers on FNP traditional education in that it contains an explicit description of the world view of FNP. In addition, it is a handbook of FN values and beliefs that offers direction to the return to the traditional values of FNP. The ancient teachings of The Sacred Tree are holistic and advocate maintaining a balance of the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects of human beings. Life is to be nourished and protected to allow for the blossoming of potential.

The Sacred Tree sets out principle teachings. Struggle is a prerequisite to achieving new knowledge (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984, p. 29). What is referred as "true

learnings" are gained through the involvement of the four aspects of the person as represented by the four cardinal points of the medicine wheel: mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual. Individuals use volition to develop in a balanced and holistic way, employing all four aspects of their nature (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984).

The Sacred Tree teaches that the spiritual aspect of individuals is based on four related principles:

First, the capacity to have and to respond to realities that exist in a non-material way such as dreams, visions, ideals, spiritual teachings, goals and theories.

Second, the capacity to accept those realities as a reflection (in the form of symbolic representation) of unknown or unrealized potential to do or be something more or different than we are now.

Third, the capacity to express these nonmaterial realities using symbols such as speech, art or mathematics.

Fourth, the capacity to use this symbolic expression to guide future action - action directed toward making what was only seen as a possibility into a living reality (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984, p. 30).

The Sacred Tree also teaches that individuals must be active learners, and employ their volition or will. As well, it teaches that patience is a constant companion for all those individuals who decide to travel the road of self-development, guidance, and spiritual protection. The teachings of the Sacred Tree state that as long as the individual follows the teachings all tasks will be possible (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984, p. 30).

The medicine wheel with the four cardinal directions is explained and the gifts of each direction are described in The Sacred Tree (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984). The Sacred Tree offers a foundation for all traditional FNP teachings, gives a code of ethics to live by, and identifies respect as an important value.

The Elders as a Source of Knowledge

A number of writings exist that have been written by FN elders. One such document is The Soul of an Indian edited by Nerburn (1993), originally written by Ohiyesa (1913), or Charles Eastman, as he was known in the English speaking world. His work straddled both FN and non-FN cultures. Ohiyesa completed a medical degree at Boston University in 1890. He spent his life attempting "to follow a new trail to the point of knowing" that reconciled FN and non- FN ways (Nerburn, 1993, p. xv). He proclaims:

I am an Indian; and while I have learned much from civilization, for which I am grateful, I have never lost my Indian sense of right and justice. I am for development and progress along social and spiritual lines, rather than those of commerce, nationalism, or efficiency. Nevertheless, so long as I live, I am an American (Nerburn, 1993, p. xiv).

In his writings he explores the ways of the spirit, the ways of the people and the coming of white ways. He urges:

Let us not forget that even for the most contemporary thinker, who sees a majesty and grandeur in natural law, science cannot explain everything. We still have to face the ultimate miracle—the origin and principle of life. This is the supreme mystery that is the essence of worship and without which there can be no religion. In the presence of this mystery all peoples must take an attitude much like that of the Indian, who beholds with awe the Divine in all creation (Nerburn, 1993, p. 13).

An important article on knowledge, wisdom and the process of education is "Toward A Redefinition of American Indian / Alaska Native Education" authored by FNP, Eber Hampton (1993), President of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. This study is a comprehensive analysis of education for FN American and Alaskan people and is, most importantly, an outstanding example of the uniqueness of FN thought that is iterative, holistic and metaphorical. He uses the metaphor of the six directions to present an understanding of the research data of his study. A summation that

offers a direction for development of FN education into the next millennium is provided.

Collaborating with elders, Morley (1970) edited Can the Red Man Help the White Man. This book considers the different ways of knowing for the FNP and non-FNP based on intuition. However, a binary system of red man-white man is established. The strength of this book is that it introduces the idea that FNP may prefer the intuitive cognitive style.

As a follow-up to Morley's (1970) book, Can the Red Man Help the White Man, elders from the United States and one Canadian from the Mohawk Nation, Ernest Benedict, were invited to Harper's Ferry, West Virginia to discuss education. Respect For Life The Traditional Upbringing of American Indian Children is the book that resulted from that gathering (Morley & Gilliam, 1974). The participants at this meeting identified respect as a value integral to the traditional holistic view of life:

... respect for the child, for the mother, for the home, the clan, for all people; respect for animals and plants, for the weather, for the sun, the moon, the stars, for Mother Earth; and above all, respect for the great spiritual force that stands behind all and makes life possible and worthwhile (Morley, S. M., Gilliam, O. L., 1974, p. xix).

At this meeting, Elders told of values that influence thought and ways of knowing. For example, the importance of self-control and patience, as well as the value of positive thoughts and feelings, were described as critical values. People were singled out to provide spiritual guidance to the child and to teach a way of life founded on respect and love. The assumptions embedded in this book are that FNP perceive intuitively and that the traditional FN way of education is built on intuitive knowledge. A distinction is made between two modes of thought: reason, thinking with your head; and intuition, thinking with your heart. The broad classification of all white North Americans as non-intuitive thinkers, and all FNP as intuitive

thinkers, is an inherent weakness of the collaborators' position presented in the book.

The power of language is discussed by the elders in Respect For Life The Traditional Upbringing of American Indian Children and attention is drawn to how a child is taught to respect the language (Morley & Gilliam, 1974). Children learn from the adults of the community through lullabies and stories. Through legends and tales, moral teachings are narrated. It is believed that the optimal time for learning is the period just before sleep. Stories are told at this time to build character and instill values. The value of obedience is instilled with the understanding that it is important to believe in something larger than oneself. For instance, obedience is a principle to believe in. With something to believe in, people are able to direct themselves toward the principle. Elders consider their culture as possessing different values from the non-FN culture. They believe children have difficulty in school because they are taught values and norms different from their own culture. The elders explain that conflicting teachings are confusing their children (Morley & Gilliam, 1974 p. 178). They reason that children have difficulty in school because they are raised at home to follow standards and attitudes that are different from the values and norms in the dominant non-FN schools. Crow Elder Henry Old Coyote suggests that one solution is to obtain a formal education. With a formal education, acceptance into non-FN society is more accessible. However, he cautions, there is a need to keep your identity of birth and the good things your own people have to offer, specifically values (Morley & Gilliam, 1974, pp. 163-168).

The elders at the meeting in Harper's Ferry also reflected on the qualities of teachers. They believe teachers need to be sensitized to the customs and values of the people to enhance their teaching. Ideally, the teacher is someone who has formal education and who has the "inner understandings of the people and can project these feelings and ideas in the classroom" (Morley & Gilliam, 1974, p. 168). They conclude that, ideally, the children be returned to their families

to permit the extended family to resume a role in the education of their children. They advocate that coordinated communications between the family and school be maintained. However, today it must be asked whether or not families and extended families are cohesive? Have they not been ravaged by the changing times?

As well, Morley and Gilliam (1974) record that the elders emphasize values and beliefs. Within tribes, the traditionalists are the people who maintain the beliefs and values of the tribe, and provide guidance and direction to others. For example, showing gratitude for what is given is important, while saving and economizing are not. The four qualities are "love, faith, hope, and charity". In life you are remembered for how you have conducted yourself. There is no sense in hoarding. Nature is important. A Supreme Being exists. Gratitude and respect are essential to all life (Morley & Gilliam, 1974, pp. 180-98).

The thesis of the book, Respect for Life, The Traditional Upbringing of American Indian Children, is relevant to this study because it considers the thoughts of elders as representative of the epistemology of the people. The book acknowledges and documents the responsibility the FNP attribute to the elders' educational role. However, a limitation of this book on respect and traditional upbringing of FN children is that it sets forth binary systems that characterize the values of all FNP-non-FNP and projects a way of knowing for whites and non-whites. For example, it generalizes that all FNP value nature, thereby implying that all non-FNP do not value nature. Despite the penetrating insight this book offers into values, such as respect and obedience, it seems to have a reverse racism embedded within its argumentation as presented by the Myrin Institute.

As well as FN elders, non-FN scholars have recognized the qualities of FN ways of knowing. Knudtson and Suzuki (1992) offer the hypothesis that there is a common thread that unites all FNP thought. The care, involvement, passion and, above all, the inter-

connectivity that characterize FNP thought is crucial, they suggest, to the survival of our planet. Levine and Suzuki (1993) write of the narrow focus of the scientific paradigm that isolates, reports back to the world truth, and is based merely on vignettes of separate life experiences as if they were all of life. Missing in this knowledge is the inter-connectivity of thought to which Houle (1992) refers as the legacy of the ancient ones. This missing inter-connectedness of thought in non-FN thinking is uncovered by Beam (1989) when he exposes the dissimilar attitudes towards the world of FNP and EC. Beam(1989) explains the different attitudes towards the world as follows:

The Indian viewpoint is that it was made for its own sake; man has to live in accordance with that structure. One system believes that you are a part of everything, and one says that you are on top of everything, and everything is there for your use- everything else is lower. The hierarchy is already set up. You are it man! The world is yours! You just have to go out there and harvest everything! The sheep and cows and all the good wine, the cigarettes, the real estate- all the prime waterfront footage- it's all yours. The trees and water- if you want to dump all your chemicals in there you can just go ahead. Who else would lay claim to all of that, other than man, anyway (Art Gallery of Peterborough, p.13).

Other Ways of Knowing and Learning

Beam (1992) describes how world views collide. Conflicts in epistemology have an impact on the educational process, specifically learning (Cole, 1980; Rancourt & Dionne, 1982; Denny, 1988; Murdock, 1988; Rancourt, 1993). Specific arguments are made for a FN education process that values and uses the different ways of knowing and learning in the teaching process (Murdock, 1988; Ridington, 1988). Murdock (1988) claims that formal education, to be effective, needs to relate the children's epistemological heritage, that is their shared way of knowing, to the EC school system. Christian and Gardner (1977) found in their study that education for Dene children needs to focus on the teaching of "how- to", (as in how to build a boat), and "how-to-be (as in how to be a beadworker).

Ridington (1988) makes known through a Dene Beaver boy, Ricky, that the EC school mentality does not honor the knowledge base embedded in Beaver thought. The general consensus is that the EC school environments have failed to accommodate the FNP cultural value system (King, 1976; Berry, Irvine & Hunt, 1988; Brizinski, 1989; Hjartarson, 1993). For the latter authors, culture is an independent variable that influences cognition and learning as well as how people come to know their world and construct reality.

Of importance in the literature is evidence that a distinctively different way of knowing precipitates other ways of learning for FNP. For example, Preston (1975) describes the Cree as using metaphor and metonymy, and Murdoch (1988) emphasizes the focus on implications, relationships and effects generated. Authors such as Houle (1992), Ohiyesa (Nerburn, 1993), and Levine and Suzuki (1993) discuss an intuitive way of knowing that inter-connects thought. Ohiyesa (Nerburn, 1993) suggests that dreams, visions, and an integration of the mind and heart are ways of learning for FNP. Huxley (1959) refers to noetic integrators which appear to refer to the ability to merge large fields of reality. Learning and the process of education are linked to ways of knowing (Jordan & Street, 1973). Moreover, cognitive style is also hypothesized to be associated with learning and ways of knowing.

Other Ways of Knowing and Cognitive Style

Cognitive style refers to the different ways individuals give form to thought. Cognitive style is reflected in how people construct their reality. Constructions are built from what a people distinguish as relevant and what they regard as insignificant, how labels are attached to an unlabelled world, how information is coded and retrieved, how people anticipate, and how they define alternate courses of action and make decisions among the different possibilities (Tyler, 1969; Lauzon & Rancourt, 1993). A dense literature describes FNP as distinguishing the world differently from

the EC (Hallowell, 1955; Preston, 1975, 1982; Hampton, 1993). In addition, there is the suggestion that, although there are many different FN, common factors such as the importance of the land and the inter-connectedness of all aspects of life delineate their cognitive style (Cardinal, 1976; Beam 1989; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992; Houle, 1992).

The related literature in this section considered the Cree, Ojibway, and a generalized Algonquian world view. Traditional FN ways of knowing are varied, rich, and "multiversal" as opposed to universal are uncovered in the related literature. Furthermore, it is noted that the source of FN knowledge is not in Western logic. FNP acknowledge the need to teach their children knowledge that is embedded in their ways of knowing as well as in the formal educational ways of the dominant social structure. Besides, there is the recognition that education for their children needs to honor and combine their epistemology and the particular world view. Moreover, there is the realized need to incorporate their cognitive and learning style preference into the formal education process. In recent years FNP have outlined their concerns for education of their people (Assembly of First Nations, 1988; 1991; 1993). The final segment of the literature review considers the FNP vision of education.

The First Nations' Vision of Education

The starting point for organizing the program content of education ... must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people. ... In order to communicate effectively, educator and politician must understand the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people are dialectically framed.

It is to the reality which mediates men, and to the perception of that reality held by educators and people, that we must go to find the program content of education (Freire, 1968, pp. 85-86).

Four published FN education reports (1988; 1991; 1993; 1993) deliberate on the education of their people. Consideration is now given to each report as it is associated with this study.

The Assembly of First Nations' 1988 Report

The purpose of the first of these documents entitled Tradition and Education: Towards A Vision of Our Future is to update the "Indian Control of Education" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1973) paper and to prompt a formal national sanctioning of FN positions on education (Assembly of First Nations, 1988, p.14). First, it considers the failed federal system in educating FNP. Second, it exposes the FN's educational philosophy (Assembly of First Nations, 1988); and third, it gives a summary of FN education with suggested directives for the many FN. The relevance of this report is the proposal to incorporate traditional Native education within the process of formal schooling. However, it does not give a definition of traditional Native education. It was while studying this document that the researcher realized the necessity of defining traditional Native education.

The Assembly of First Nations' 1991 Report

This report is a summation of a national FN conference that focused on the 1988 document, Tradition and Education Towards A Vision of Our Future. It relates the challenge faced by FNP to create an education that addresses:

how White society works, and what it presents in terms of opportunities to people (p.1).

as well as how to:

... learn in our education systems, our history, our traditions, our values, our philosophies, our world views (p.1).

To do this, the Assembly of First Nations is advocating that five factors be considered at the community level to insure this possibility. These factors include educational jurisdiction, quality, management, resourcing, and implementation. Educational implementation is seen as an important factor because it was not considered in the last national report on FN education "Indian Control of Indian Education" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1973). Furthermore, in this Assembly of First Nations' Report (1991) Gilbert Whiteduck of the Kitigan-Zibi Anishinabeg First Nation states:

Our Elders reminded us of the importance of keeping our vision and building on the traditions that exist (p. 42).

As well Wilton Littlechild of the Cree Nation reminds all of the importance of Chief Dan George's statement:

There is a longing in the heart of my people to reach out and grasp that which is needed for our survival. There is a longing among the young of my Nation, to secure for themselves, and their people, the skills, that will provide them with a sense of worth and purpose. They will be our new warriors. Their training will be much longer and more demanding than it was in the olden days. The long years of study will demand more determination, separation from home and family, will demand more endurance. But they will emerge, with their hands held forward, not to receive welfare, but to grasp a place in society that is rightly ours. O Great Spirit, give me back the courage of the olden Chiefs, Let me wrestle with my surroundings. Let me once again live in harmony with my environment. Let me humbly accept this new culture and through it rise up and go on. Like the Thunderbird of old, I shall rise again out to the sea. I shall grab the instruments of the White man's' success, his education, his skills. With these tools, I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society. I shall see our young braves and our Chiefs, sitting in the houses of law and government. Ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedoms of our great land (Assembly of First Nations, 1991, p.10).

Wilton Littlechild alerts his people to remember that it would be a national tragedy to squander the great resource of their children (Assembly of First Nations, 1991, p. 10). This report concludes with Ovide Mercredi emphasizing the necessity to incorporate more

traditions in the education of FNP (Assembly of First Nations, 1991, p. 13). However, he does not delineate what values.

The Assembly of First Nations' 1993 Report on Language

In this more recent document, "The Voice of the Land is in our Language, Wisdom and Vision, The Teachings of Our Elders", that reports on the National FN Elders Language Gathering on Manitoulin Island, June 1993, the elders are credited with possessing the knowledge, history, and heart to bring the people together. It is recognized that their knowledge of the traditional teachings and values is important for the education of their people. Furthermore, it is believed that strength and clarity will come with the elders sharing their powerful understanding with the young people (Assembly of First Nations, 1993, pp. 5-7). The report recognizes how the elders, using the traditional instructional methods, began teaching while planning the conference. Northern Regional Chief Harry Allen pays tribute to the wisdom of the elders. He says:

if you worked with Elders, you will know that it is almost impossible to fully capture the essence of their wisdom, vision, and teachings in a written report. So much is transmitted in a very personal way, and the teachings are not only in what is spoken, but in the relationship between the Elder and the learner and in tone of voice, body language, context, ect. Just as our knowledge loses something in translation from our original language so does it suffer by being transcribed into the written word. Words on paper cannot capture facial expressions, humor, intensity, and atmosphere (Assembly of First Nations, 1993, p. 10).

The report records how elders tell of the need to acquire the ways of knowing that embody the values of respect and sharing. As well, they stress the importance of FNP acquiring the ability to speak their original languages in order to know who they are as people. Education in non-FN ways is considered insufficient. The report concludes with fifty-two recommendations. Resonating through the recommendations is the value of the elders as teachers, the importance of the traditional teachings, and the importance of parenting in teaching the values and language. It is stated, "Efforts

should also be made to record the Elders" (Assembly of First Nations, 1993, p.90).

The Assembly of First Nations' 1993 Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

A recent, and relevant, document to traditional Native education is the Assembly of First Nations, "Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Reclaiming Our Nationhood Strengthening Our Heritage" (1993). It supports the government paper, the MacPherson Report (1991), in its encouragement to continue the process emanating from the "Tradition and Education: Towards A Vision of Our Future" (Assembly of First Nations, 1988). Besides the Assembly of First Nations (1993) reports to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs that the preferred way of progressing with FN education is through constitutional amendments. However, realizing the difficulty with such reform, The Assembly of First Nations recommends a National First Nations Educational Act in the immediate future (1993, pp. 90-91).

All the most recent Assembly of First Nations' (1988; 1991; 1993; 1993) reports, including this one, recommend that traditional Native teachings be combined with the education that is offered to all Canadian children. The FN elders are recognized as having the wisdom to teach the traditional teachings. They are considered living books. Their wisdom is conveyed in the traditional teachings. There is an acknowledged urgency to have their wisdom recorded. Otherwise, when the FN elders die, their traditional knowledge will disappear with them.

As a whole, this Assembly of First Nations report emphasizes the need to secure their peoples' future through education. The education is to be a combination of the FNP traditional knowledge and the skills and knowledge of white people. The traditional knowledge of their people is held by the elders of their nations. It is

to the elders that FNP are turning for direction and wisdom. There is an immediacy about this mission as languages are dying with the elders.

The literature review acknowledges that reality is constructed and that there are many actual and possible ways of constructing it. Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence in the literature to confirm that there was a deliberate attempt to give FNP a constructed reality using formal and informal methods of education. The aim was to assimilate the FNP applying what Freire (1968) labels, "oppressive pedagogy". Within the larger Canadian context, a planned enculturation process was executed. Despite this, FNP have maintained their own world views, although it has taken a massive toll. It has been a silent and hideous genocide (Berger, 1991). As we approach the next millennium, FNP have become more assertive about educating their own children. They want their children educated in their own ways as well as in the ways of the dominant social structure. Elder Daniel Wood, Oji-Cree Nation, explains it as follows:

In the area of education, I have a great concern about the system of education that we have for our children. The education that is being exercised right now, is not complete. When the students complete Grade XII or university, there is still something missing, that they don't have the value system that Aboriginal people have instilled in them, so they are lost. I am very concerned about the education system and that education system that we have. We should go back to our former education system that was complete (Assembly of First Nations, 1992, p. 8).

Need for Research in First Nation Education

Chrisjohn, Towson, and Peters (1988) have suggested that there is a need to study FNP. Ovide Mercredi (1990), the Chief of the FNP, has issued a call to researchers to study FNP. In his closing remarks at The Special Chief's Education Conference (1991), he called for the incorporation of FNP traditions and values in the education of FNP. However, he did not identify what was meant by traditional

education or what specific values and beliefs were to be included in traditional Native education.

Repeatedly in the literature there is reference to the wisdom of the elders and the responsibility they inherently have to educate (Couture, 1977, 1985; Meili, 1992; Assembly of First Nations, 1993; Richardson, 1993; Nerburn, 1993). There is also the sense of urgency about educating the FN young who have been subject to the inadequacies of a formal EC school process that is grounded in ways of knowing and learning that are dissimilar to those of FNP (Assembly of First Nations, 1988). Furthermore, there is an acknowledgment that accompanying the traditional ways of knowing are other ways of learning with preferred cognitive styles.

The literature suggests that investigations into the FNP ways of knowing using the ethnographic skills of anthropology might be one way of establishing the implicit and informal body of knowledge that is crucial to understanding traditional Native education (Cole, 1980; Murdock, 1988, Bloch, 1991). Moreover, Tyler (1969) mandates that cognitive anthropology use ethnography to describe culture from the inside out. The ethnographer participates in the culture of the people to acquire an understanding of the various facets of the culture. Accordingly, Whorf (1956), Tyler (1969), Frake (1969), and Bruner (1990) propose that conditions such as the values and beliefs, or what Bruner (1990) refers to as the "folk psychology", are useful in determining the categorization of cognition of the specific people. Goodenough's (1957) classical lesson on culture reminds us that it is not the things, the people, or the behavior of the people but the organization of the minds of the people that reflect the thought of the people.

Statement of the Research Question

What is traditional Native education is the research question. FN Algonquian elders of the Cree, Ojibway, and Algonquin Nations are asked to define traditional Native education to expose the

underlying implicit epistemological foundations. The elders' thoughts on traditional Native education for Algonquian Nations are recorded using ethnographic skills of cognitive anthropology.

In addition the study will consider whether a common set of principles concerning traditional Native education is reflected in the interviews with the Algonquian elders. The literature reveals that FNP acknowledge the existence of a common set of epistemic principles that unite them, such as: a) the importance of the land, b) the interconnectivity of all life, and c) the need for involvement (Cardinal, 1976; Knudtson and Suzuki, 1992). This common set of principles does not appear to include common beliefs about traditional Native education for all FNP. Sparingly, it is possible that local, rather than common, educational aims and objectives for traditional Native education exist for each of the three participating nations exists. If elders relate local differences amongst the Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway Nations they will be noted and further research will be recommended.

The research employs a phenomenological perspective with the researcher acting both as subject and object to the phenomena under study. No suppositions exist. The methodology is exploratory. The ethnographer will experience the culture from the inside out, facilitating the exposure of the implicit categorizations that organize the minds of the people interviewed. It is thought that the lived experience of the ethnographic methodology provides the necessary insight and means to elucidate the composition of the implicit and informal knowledge base of traditional Native education.

The following chapter considers methodology.

CHAPTER III : METHODOLOGY

In this chapter on methodology, the foundations of phenomenology are explained as they relate to the study and the recognition of the human person. The criteria for defensible knowledge in phenomenological research is considered. Furthermore, the anthropological framework is exposed. The selection of the informants, the interview process, the size and composition of the sample, the questions, and the use of the case study to present the findings are all discussed. The chapter closes with a consideration of some limitations of this research.

The Philosophical Position

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the study of essences: and according to it, all problems amount to finding definitions of essences; the essence of perception, or the essence of consciousness, for example. But phenomenology is also a philosophy which puts essences back into existence, and does not expect to arrive at an understanding of man and the world from any starting point other than that of their 'facticity' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. vii).

In the above definition of phenomenology, Merleau-Ponty (1962) reveals that the search for essences and the placing of essences "back into existence" is the foundation of the philosophy of phenomenology. According to Merleau Ponty phenomenology uncovers essence and essences are the elements of epistemology. As such, the research aims to discover the epistemological foundations of traditional Native education of FNP, in particular Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway Nations, is based in a phenomenological methodology.

A methodology is a means of investigating the question posed (van Manen, 1990, p. 1). The choice of methodology is selected by considering the question and how it is understood. It would be facile to think that there is no relationship between how a question is framed and the methodology chosen (1990, p. 2). For example, in this study an epistemic question is posed: What is traditional Native education according to Algonquin, Cree and Ojibway elders? Before the definition is understood, it is necessary to determine within what epistemology the definition belongs as framed by the participating elders in this study. Hence, a methodology that investigates the grounding of knowledge is chosen. It is selected as a methodology because it attempts to uncover the essences of a phenomenon rather than test predetermined hypotheses. Phenomenological methodology requires an openness. The researcher maintains that she does not hold suppositions about the question under study. Furthermore the researcher is open to and curious about the system of knowledge of the other. A relationship exists between the method and the researcher. In fact, it becomes apparent that relationships exist among the question asked, the method chosen and the researcher. Furthermore, phenomenology recognizes these relationships.

The phenomenological view posits that a human being assumes an openness to experience. Resonating through the nature of the question posed and the positioning of the researcher as an active listener an openness to experience is established in the research. More specifically, the research question is asking for the essence of traditional Native education. The question investigated is open. No a priori definitions are proposed. The phenomenological methodology respects the openness to experience and the researcher as a participant-observer in the culture of FNP.

The Phenomenological Recognition of the Human Person

According to Strasser (1980) the phenomenological recognition of the human person is characterized as follows:

Being contains within itself every possible meaning which we are able to discover. All our discoveries will not succeed in exhausting its wealth. This thought induces us to assume the attitude of humbleness, respect, prudence which is usually indicated by the term objectivity (p.85).

The recognition of the human person as an inexhaustive resource implies an openness to what may be discovered. Inexorably rooted in this position is an objective mind-set that assumes all is not yet known. The phenomenological recognition of the human person as much more than what appears to our senses brings an 'open mind' to any research embracing the philosophy of essences.

There is a phenomenological recognition of FN elders in the study, and that means this research identifies FN elders as people with knowledge and wisdom and endeavors to listen to them. Unfortunately, this has not always occurred in the past. As revealed in the preceding chapter, the migrants to this country assumed FN inhabitants had no system of education (Chamberlain, 1975; Fisher, 1977). Furthermore, the newcomers showed no openness to what did exist amongst FNP (Chamberlain; 1975; Fisher, 1977; Berger, 1991; Wright, 1992). FNP, for many reasons, did not divulge their system of education (Fisher, 1977; Richardson, 1989; 1993). A dialogue on education did not initially occur between the EC migrants and the FNP. A philosophical disposition of openness between FNP and EC has not been a reality in education. Algonquian elders, as traditional educators, have not been heard by the dominant educational authorities. The study acknowledges that the Algonquian elders have essential knowledge to relate on traditional Native education and is dedicated to uncovering the essence of their knowledge. Algonquian elders are respected and thought to be worthy of focused attention in the phenomenological tradition of

openness. This is what is meant by recognizing the FN elders phenomenologically, and it is the initial reason for proceeding with this phenomenological study.

A second reason for proceeding with research which employs the phenomenological recognition of the human person is that a formal dialogue that addresses the wisdom of the FN elders has not formally been examined by most educational institutions concerned with educating FN teachers. Besides, FN elders have not formally been recognized as the educators of their young by society as a whole. Instead, their children have been taken away from them and subjected to other educational forces, such as the missionary and public government EC schools.

The related literature suggests a third reason for acknowledging the human person phenomenologically. For example, Suzuki and Knudtson (1992) recognize the wisdom of the FN elders and their role in preserving the planet earth. They suggest the need for an attitude of humility, respect, and prudence towards FN elders. As well, Judge Thomas Berger (1991) addresses the need to confront the moral wrongs of subjugation of FNP that cast a long dark shadow on our conscience. Similarly Ronald Wright (1992) exposes the myth of the discovery of America and concludes FNP have not been heard. According to relevant literature on the issue the general consensus is that FN elders have not been recognized phenomenologically. In fact, the literature reveals that enculturation through assimilation has been the predominant ethos of the time for FNP (Price, 1950; Chamberlain, 1975; Fisher, 1977; Brody, 1981; Berger, 1991; Wright, 1992). The related literature suggests that listening to FN elders relate their knowledge and wisdom on traditional Native education needs to occur.

Phenomenological Recognition of the Human Person and Researcher

Besides recognizing the FNP phenomenologically, it is necessary to recognize the researcher phenomenologically. As stated in the introductory chapter, the human person is recognized as object and subject in the phenomenological paradigm that forms the foundation of the research. This implicates the researcher. In his writings on phenomenological research van Manen (1990) explains:

Phenomenological human science is not external and top-down, expert, or contract research. It is done by rather than for the people as critical theorists would say. Phenomenological engagement is always personal engagement: it is an appeal to each one of us, as to how we understand things, how we stand in life, how we understand ourselves... (p. 156).

The personal engagement of the researcher in the subject under study precipitates the confrontation of the researcher with the phenomenon. For instance, along with listening to and learning from the FN elders expose and explore their knowledge of traditional Native education, a simultaneous internal dialogue occurs that involves the researcher. The internal dialogue prompts the researcher to realize the 'inexhaustive wealth' of being. Rupert Ross (1992), an Assistant Crown Attorney in Ontario for the District of Kenora, arrived at this awareness while attempting to discover the different ways of knowing for FNP and non-FNP:

... until you understand that your own culture dictates how you translate everything you see and hear, you will never be able to see or hear things in any other way. The first step in coming to terms with people of another culture, then, is to acknowledge that we constantly interpret the words and acts of others, and that we do so subconsciously but always in conformity with the way which our culture has taught us is the "proper" way. The second step involves trying to gain a conscious understanding of what those culture specific rules might be. Until that happens it is impossible for us to admit that our interpretation of the behavior of someone from another culture might be totally erroneous. ... All cultures operate with this myopia, it seems to me, not even suspecting that others may have developed very different rules (pp. 4-5).

In pursuing his research, Ross (1992) confronted his cultural myopia. His self-discovery occurred simultaneously with his uncovering of the facticity of FN ways of knowing.

The implication of the researcher as both subject and object in phenomenological research is acknowledged in the current qualitative research literature (Peshin, 1988; Sanjek, 1991). Barbara Tedlock (1991) describes how the self-conscious examination takes the form of a narrative within the research process. During the formulation of the problem, the examination of the emerging paradigm, and the subsequent analysis and conclusion, a process of self-conscious evaluation occurs simultaneously (Tedlock, 1991). As the research proceeds, the researcher consciously works at defining and making explicit the assumptions inherent in the studied problem and at incorporating the new knowledge into an expanding world view.

Possibly, the underlying assumptions that are central to the ontological foundation of the research problem are dormant until the specific research exploration begins (van Manen, 1990). Perhaps the implicit assumptions hidden in the emerging paradigm only become explicit knowledge through the specific research exploration. Tedlock (1991) as well as Weinstein-Shr (1990), Coe (1991), Osbourne (1991), and Shaker (1990) all confirm the existence of a process of unfolding self-consciousness that evolves as the qualitative research proceeds.

The self-doubt that is 'fueled' by this self-conscious dialogue as the research evolves leads to the birth of new insights (Weinstein-Shr, 1990). Self-doubt also leads to the acknowledgment of the researcher's presence within the research paradigm both as subject to the research and object to the human situation under study. Engagement in the research necessarily influences the reporting of results (Soltis, 1989; Ostrow, 1990; Coe, 1991). In fact, the passion, commitment and dedication of the researcher provokes a passionate response from those who become involved in the problem under

study. This is an earmark of lived human scientific research (van Manen, 1990).

Defensible Knowledge in Phenomenological Research

The question, "What is the criterion of defensible knowledge", must be considered within the phenomenological position of this research. Defensible knowledge claims will need to meet the criterion of rigor within the paradigm of qualitative research standards. According to Giorgi (1988), the terms validity and reliability cannot justifiably be used in the same way in phenomenological research as they are used in more rational-empirical research paradigms (p. 167). Instead, direct experience constitutes a criterion for defensible knowledge. It is proper evidence (Salner, 1986; Giorgi, 1988). Valid, defensible knowledge claims are derived from research which submits to rigorous scrutiny. Such claims are, according to Giorgi (1988):

... based upon all of the precautions taken in trying to arrive at an accurate description; the reduction, the use of imaginative variation, the limiting the claim to pure possibilities (p.173).

In the research, the author has not knowingly attempted to limit, impose or make existential claims about the targeted phenomenon. It is acknowledged that to do this would be to risk serious error of interpretation.

Evidence, according to Giorgi (1988), is more than a subjective feeling (p.171). He writes that the concern should be for proper evidence, and defensible knowledge claims (Giorgi, 1988, p.172). Such proper evidence, Giorgi (1988) suggests, will result from an attempt "to vary the descriptive features of the given phenomenon in imagination in order to see what the truly invariant - or essential - features of a phenomenon are" (p. 172). Credibility will characterize this study only if the interviewed Elders provide the researcher with some of the knowledge base of traditional education.

To ensure this, a test of credibility is built into this research paradigm by the inclusion of a group interview with the participating elders. The purpose of this interview is to arrive at consensus on the essence of traditional Native education as told in the ten audio-taped interviews that comprise the individual case studies.

Anthropological Perspective

Concomitantly to the study being grounded phenomenologically, it is also anchored anthropologically to expose the informal and implicit knowledge base of the FN culture as represented by the Algonquian elders thoughts on traditional Native education. The anthropological perspective provides the possibility of direct experience, and hence, defensible knowledge. The anthropologists' tools of ethnography, cultural critique and dialogical anthropology are used.

Ethnography

An anthropological frame of reference is applied by the researcher to the study using ethnography, a branch discipline of anthropology. According to Marcus and Fischer (1986), ethnographic techniques such as participant observation and description attempt to expose the philosophical, historical, economic, and political conditions of knowledge (p. vii-ix). These techniques necessitate direct experience and engender in those who use them an awareness that there are many ways of knowing and that the ethnographer's way of knowing is but one. Such techniques facilitate research into epistemology through direct experience that focuses attention on observation of knowledge systems. Moreover, these techniques make accessible the unexamined assumptions of the ethnographer's thoughts and actions. They help to expose the assumptions that are embedded in the targeted culture's system of knowledge (Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p. ix).

Cultural Critique

Furthermore, an anthropological frame of reference is applied by the ethnographer in order to culturally critique traditional Native education. Anthropology, as cultural critique, purports to examine a targeted culture by exposing the constructed views of reality of its members by using ethnography. Using anthropology, cultural critique can move beyond interest in the simple description of a single society. It can illuminate other constructed views of reality against the ethnographer's own cultural reality by providing more knowledge about the various other views (Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p. x). Cultural critique, then, represents an excellent tool to help critically examine epistemology, interpretation and divergent forms of mental representations (Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p. 9). Cultural critique permits the ethnographer to realize a hermeneutic perspective. A hermeneutic perspective is interpretive. In this study interpretation is essential.

Dialogical Anthropology

In addition to ethnography and cultural critique the research methodology is dialogical and anthropological. Dialogical anthropology is ongoing interactive communication interpreted from a cultural perspective. The ethnographer interacts with FN elders through dialogue to discover their knowledge about traditional Native education.

It is through dialogue that individuals "address their act of cognition" (Freire, 1968, p. 81). Barbara Tedlock (1991) similarly advocates active involvement through dialogue with informants to access knowledge. Tedlock (1991) draws on the wisdom of Victor Turner's writings:

... to each level of sociality corresponds its own knowledge, and if one wishes to grasp a group's deepest knowledge one must commune with its members (p. 71).

Additionally, Polakow (1985) cautions against regarding the collected narratives in contemporary social science as soft (p. 826). To separate the body, mind, experience, and consciousness can lead to a mere statement of facts that leads us away from comprehending the total human experience (Polakow, 1985, p.826). Tedlock, Turner, and Palakow all argue for a committed dialogue in the social sciences that hears the people's stories in context, and thus exposes the deepest, implicit knowledge of the targeted phenomena. This study heeds the advice. Furthermore, Dennis Tedlock (1983) advocates respect for and awareness of, the dialogical mode of fieldwork that would bring us to consider ethnography itself as 'interaction' (p. 334-338). This research is interaction between, and amongst, Algonquian elders and the researcher.

The next section of this chapter on methodology considers the specific method employed. First, the dialogue that is prompted with informants by question(s), is examined; second, the purpose and the nature of the group interview is discussed; third, ethnographic field notes and their role is examined; and fourth, an investigation of the case study format is made and the procedure for analyzing the transcripts described.

The Research Method

... phenomenological human science is discovery oriented. It wants to find out what a certain phenomenon means and how it is experienced.

The methodology of phenomenology is such that it posits an approach toward research that aims at being presuppositionless; in other words, this is a methodology that tries to ward off any tendency toward constructing a predetermined set of fixed procedures, techniques and concepts that would rule-govern the research project

... Every project of phenomenological inquiry is driven by a commitment of turning to an abiding concern. ... phenomenological research is a being-given-over to some quest, a true task, a deep questioning of something that restores an original sense of what it means to be a ... researcher... A corollary is that phenomenological research does not start or proceed in a disembodied fashion. It is always a project of someone: a real person, who, in the context of a particular individual, social, and historical life circumstances, sets out to make sense of a certain aspect of human existence (van Manen, 1990, pp. 29-31).

The means of "discovery" of the essence of traditional Native education is through a structured dialogue that is prompted by the central question of this research. The research project is to make sense out of traditional Native education from the elders' responses. Although no predetermined methods govern this research paradigm, a direction is set, like a path through the woods. The path leads to those who are identified as the wisdom keepers of their people, the elders. They are asked to explain the meaning of traditional Native education. This is done through individual dialogues, or what is known as the unstructured interview in anthropology. The same question prompts each of the ten dialogues. After the individual dialogues are completed, consensus with the elders is sought through a group interview that is led by the pivotal elder in this study.

The Dialogue (Question) or The Unstructured Interview

Often it is not necessary to ask so many questions. Patience or silence may be a more tactful way of prompting the other to gather recollections and proceed... And if there seems to be a block then it is often enough to repeat the last sentence or thought in a questioning sort of tone and thus trigger the other to continue. ... And whenever it seems that the person being interviewed begins to generalize about the experience, you can insert a question that turns the discourse back to the level of concrete experience: "Can you give an example?" "What was it like?" etc. (van Manen, 1990, p. 68).

The dialogue with the Algonquian elders focuses on the question, "What is traditional Native education?" This question was uncovered through listening to FNP discuss education and reading FN writings on education (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972; Assembly of First Nations 1988; 1991; 1993). As the researcher read the literature, it became apparent that reference was continually being made to 'traditional Native education' without providing an explicit definition.

The central question of the study, "What is traditional Native education?", initially focused the dialogue on traditional Native education. Often this single question was sufficient to stimulate a dialogue that considered the content and the process of traditional Native education. Once the central question was asked, the dialogue often became a monologue offered by the elder to the researcher. The researcher became an active listener. The process of traditional Native education echoed through the 'dialogue-in-process'. In the traditional way the interviewer was taught by the elder. For example, at the sugar bush of Lena Nottaway, Lena, along with her grandson, Jacob, discussed education while making sugar. The context of the sugar bush staged the dialogue. As a second example, Kathleen and Robin Green, while building the sweat lodge at Whapmagoostui talked about its purpose and construction as well as about the 'process of education' The researcher received information through instruction and example.

When a single question was not sufficient, when time allowed further questioning, or when the elder showed an openness to pursue the dialogue, other questions were asked to stimulate the dialogue between the elder and the researcher. The questions were:

What is traditional knowledge?

How do you teach traditional knowledge?

How do you learn in a Native way?

How were you taught about the land, the rivers and the stars?

An encounter with Elder Helen Wassegijig provides an example of how further questioning occurred in dialogue with an elder. Helen Wassegijig is a formal educator at a Native Studies post secondary institution who has given considerable thought to the question. She responded to the question with thoughtful precision. Time permitted and she was open to further questioning. Time was the factor that determined the length of all the dialogues. The Algonquian custom of not telling everything at once was a cultural-specific factor that influenced the length of the dialogue. People are given only as much information as they can absorb at any one time (Hjartarson, 1993, Fieldnotes).

The dialogues with the ten elders on traditional Native education were audio-taped. Following the individual dialogues with the elders, a group interview was held.

The Group Interview / Dialogue / Conversation

The group interview also referred to as the group dialogue or group conversation refers to the meeting held with a number of Algonquian elders to arrive at a consensus of the meaning of traditional Native education. It was held at the FN elders' conference at West Bay, Manitoulin Island in June 1994. At the elders' gathering site the researcher approached the Director of Education

for the Assembly of FN and asked for direction in arranging the group interview. He suggested that the researcher identify the pivotal elder to the study and then approach that elder's assistant and ask for direction in finding a gathering site, setting the time, and gathering the elders together. This advise was followed. Elders came together in a teepee on the conference site, and the researcher, at the request of the pivotal elder, explained the purpose of the group interview as the desire to reach consensus on the components of traditional Native education. Themes of the individual interviews were presented. The pivotal elder assumed the leadership role in the group interview. The group interview concluded after approximately three hours. All the verbal proceedings were recorded on audio-tape. The group interview is analyzed in chapter four.

Ethnographic Field Notes

In addition to the taped individual and group dialogues, the researcher as ethnographer recorded field notes. Field notes are the recorded writings of the ethnographer involved in participant observation (Sanjek, 1990). Recordings of conversations, meetings, social and cultural events, and general observations of the FNP environments are contained in the field notes recorded by the author in the past four years. Writing field notes is an ongoing process of this research. Field notes provide a theoretical sensitivity to the phenomenon under study. They have already been used in the formulating of the research project, and they are used as a referent to the researcher in selecting categories to code the transcribed dialogues. For example, written field notes were kept while attending the elders' meetings on the constitution in Morley, Alberta in March, 1992. At that meeting elders discussed education. Those field notes were referenced when formulating the categories for coding the verbal transcriptions. Although the field notes do not formally shape the case study format, they do record contextual information on the traditional education process such as the process

of building a sweat lodge. They are related to the case study format indirectly. Their relationship is explained more fully in the proceeding segment on the case study format.

The Case Study Format

The case study format is referred to by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as "a slice of life." They note that the case study resonates with the value system of the researcher (Lincoln and Guba, 1990). In fact, the authors claim that a case study can echo the passion, commitment, dedication, and beliefs of the researcher and this passionate commitment "empowers, activates, and stimulates" the audience (Lincoln and Guba, 1990, p. 60). Consequently, the audience is somewhat coerced to consider, examine, explore, and reconstruct the mental representations of the problem under scrutiny. The case study, according to Lincoln and Guba (1990), is an exemplar of the targeted phenomena. Additionally, the case study allows for embedded paradigms of the phenomena under study to evolve. The case study format provides for a more holistic representation of individual views of the phenomenon under study. Besides, its' holistic format is able to accommodate idiosyncratic knowledge patterns that may surface from the subject during the mental representation of the problem embellishing the emergent overall pattern.

It is anticipated that the case study approach will produce observations of the required type to meet the objectives of the research question. Furthermore it is thought that the case study honors the exploratory research paradigm. Case studies are often a preferred method because they provide an epistemological format that is in accord with the reader and will allow for a natural basis of generalizations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 p.120). The case study is the chosen methodological format for the study, as well, because it is a convenient and is not a threatening research approach.

The case study is an explication of the research problem and includes a description of the context or setting in which the inquiring dialogue took place. It also provides an explanation of the relevant processes that occur simultaneously, such as, what is occurring as the dialogue proceeds. For example, when Lena Nottaway was interviewed we sat in front of a large fire watching the sugaring process and the researcher learnt through observation and dialogue about the process of sugaring and preserving. The case study format also includes a statement of the outcome of the problem as a working hypothesis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.362). In this particular research project the case study comprised of the individual audio-taped interview transcribed to print, the contextual remarks, comments on the processes that occur during the interview and the case study summary with the elder's definition of traditional Native education is an exemplar of the essence of traditional Native education.

The procedure of analysis of the case study transcript is now considered

Analysis

Coding is according to emerging categories that become apparent to the researcher while studying the transcript. The categories are analytically developed by the researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This occurs during the process of researching the technical and nontechnical literature. In particular, while reading the literature on FNP's ways of knowing, viewing FN art, gaining entry to FN communities and studying the verbal transcripts the researcher was sensitized to potential categories. For example, during the research study, while reading the literature the researcher became sensitive to the existence of different FN epistemologies. She learnt the Cree have a spiritual relationship to the animals that distinguishes their epistemology from EC. Furthermore, she became familiar with the art work of Cree artists, Robert Houle and Gerald McMaster and acknowledged that there where different knowledge systems in existence for FNP as opposed

to EC. Then, while carefully studying the case study transcripts, epistemology emerged as a coding category. Similarly while experiencing the spiritual ceremonies such as the sweet grass ceremony and the early morning ceremonies in FN communities the researcher became aware of a different spiritual system. References made in the dialogues during the process of transcribing alerted the researcher to acknowledge the necessity of a spiritual belief system as a coding category.

Once the transcripts of the individual case studies were coded they were set aside for a period of six months while the researcher proceeded with other work. After the six month period the researcher returned to the transcripts and coded them again. The first and second codings were compared. Changes were made that combined existing categories. For example, in the first coding traditions and customs were separate categories. During the second coding it became apparent that traditions and customs should become one category. Likewise, during the first coding, values and beliefs were two categories. During the second coding they were merged into one category, values and beliefs. Generally, stability of categories was noted. After the second coding the researcher returned to the leading elder who lives to discuss the codings. While visiting the communities in James Bay, the categories were once again discussed with elders.

In the preceding section the research method that prompts the individual dialogues is considered, the role of the ethnographic field notes commented on, and the case study format introduced. The analysis of the transcript is discussed. The next section introduces the population, and addresses the sample composition, selection, and size.

Population and Sample

Composition

There are ten major speaking groups of FNP in Canada. The Algonquian speakers represent one such group (Darnell, 1988). Within the grouping of Algonquian speakers there are seven dialects representing seven nations (Darnell, 1986). The extracted sample from this population is composed of three of the Algonquian speaking nations, (Cree, Ojibway and Algonquin). Selecting three Algonquian speaking nations out of a possible seven, allows for some diverse sampling within the Algonquian speakers population.

Elders represent the wisdom keepers of the nations and are considered by their people to be the traditional educators (Cardinal, 1969; Knudtson and Suzuki, 1992). Elders may be young or old, male or female. In this study six women and four men participated. All the elders selected for this study were between the ages of forty and eighty-two years.

Sample Selection

The elders for this study were selected from the individual Algonquian elders to whom the researcher was directed by FNP. Initially, a meeting with the past Director of Education at the Assembly of First Nations, Ruth Norton, was held. At that meeting Ms. Norton directed the researcher to two Algonquian elders, William Commanda and Mary Lou Fox. Both elders have been instrumental in this study. Both have informally been involved in directing the researcher, interpreting the culture, and guiding and assisting with the practicalities of travelling and living in FN communities. For example, Mary Lou Fox assisted the researcher with finding housing on the reserve at West Bay, the site of the group interview. One elder became a formal informant.

Other elders who participated in this study were met through the process of 'guiding'. This meant that elders with knowledge of traditional education led the researcher to other FNP. Elders who are education consultants within their school system, or educational counselors, writers, representatives of Algonquian speakers at conferences are the participants in this study. Elders who live in, or close to, urban settings are included in this sample population as well as those elders who live in remote areas, such as the small communities in James Bay, Great Whale and Chisasibi, and Shoal Lake.

The elders are a select group of informants who have been chosen for their expertise, not merely for their representativeness. It is not a random sampling. Rather, it is a search for knowledge. As Russell Bernard (1994) points out, in any given cultural domain some people are more competent than others (p. 170). Furthermore, Bernard (1994) relates:

Key informants interviewing is an integral part of ethnographic research. Good informants are people who you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, and who are glad to give it to you or get it for you (p. 166).

Sample Size

Are a few informants really capable of providing adequate information about a culture? The answer is: Yes, but it depends on two things: choosing good informants and asking them things they know about (Bernard, 1994, p. 165).

Ten elders were interviewed. Factors considered prior to determining the sample size were: 1) the number of elders in Canada, 2) the representation of Algonquian speakers within the FNP population and 3) the number of Cree, Ojibway and Algonquin speakers as sufficiently representative of Algonquian speakers. As it is difficult to know how many elders there are in Canada, the number of elders in attendance at a national elders meeting

representing all FNP was estimated. Next, the number of sub-groupings of speakers within the FNP represented at that national elders meeting was considered, and finally, the number of nations within the specific Algonquian language group was examined.

At the Assembly of First Nations Constitutional Meeting for Elders at Morley, Alberta in March of 1992 approximately 250 elders, representing nine different language groups, attended. Algonquian speakers represented one of the nine groups at this meeting, approximately one ninth of the 250 elders present or approximately 28. Based on this numerical analysis, twelve was arbitrarily selected as the sample size. As Miles and Huberman (1984) point out, "there is never enough time to do any study" and so decisions must be made to start somewhere (p. 41).

This final section of chapter three presents a consideration of the methodological limitations of this study.

Methodological Limitations

The researcher's field notes provide evidence that Algonquian speakers tend to be quiet people who value observing and listening. Three limitations in this research emerge. First, the thrust of this study is mostly verbal. This could be, to some extent, a serious limitation. However, it has been compensated, to some measure, by the researcher's acknowledgment of the importance of her behavior in the process of the research. As a result of a deliberate persistence over years, the FNP have come to know and trust the researcher.

Moreover, the researcher has attempted to overcome the limitation by noting the nonverbal communications during the interview. Pauses, laughter, and other paraverbal elements of the context, including the context of the setting where the dialogue took place, were noted on the protocol transcriptions. However, there was

no direct attempt to account for the nonverbal communications in any meaningful way.

Second, the dialogue as interview demands the respect of certain characteristics such as congruency, empathy, trustfulness, and equality. Although the researcher can strive to ensure that these criteria are met, there can be no guarantees (Jorlman, 1990). For example there is no assurance that there will be congruency or that the informants will be truthful in their comments.

Third, the researcher does not speak an Algonquian language. Although several of the informants speak English, it is not their first language. There is no certainty that the informants' ideas expressed in English have the same inherent meaning for the researcher. Furthermore, translators are used. There is no assurance that the nuances of the Algonquian languages are translated into English adequately.

In the chapter on methodology, the phenomenological foundation was exposed, and the anthropological perspective that employs ethnography as cultural critique was stated. Discovery, through an openness to experience and dialogues, is a resonating feature of this methodology. The procedure for analysis of the case study format was explained as was the elder population and the sampling process. The next chapter is concerned with the results and gives a direct description in the phenomenological tradition.

CHAPTER IV : AN INTERPRETATION

The study takes the perspective of "the other" looking at, listening to, and participating in another culture. When the case studies are summarized an interpretation of "the other" occurs. The focus of the chapter is to present the researcher the first level of interpretation, summaries of the case studies.

A holistic view emerges in the chapter that is constructed from the dialogues with FNP's elders on traditional Native education. This is one perspective that reflects the experienced views of many informants as heard by a researcher who has travelled, lived, and studied with FNP for several years. The ten interviews and one group interview with FN elders, along with accumulated field notes and informal field experience, offer an understanding of traditional Native education. This understanding, in the spirit of the phenomenologist, Merleau-Ponty (1962):

... tries to give a direct description of ... experience as it is ... it is a matter of describing, not of explaining or analyzing (pp. vii-viii).

Merleau-Ponty (1962) courts contradiction when he suggests understanding is description and not analysis. In the text, description is the researcher's analysis and interpretation. Description is hermeneutic phenomenology. According to van Manen (1990), hermeneutic phenomenology suggests contradiction as it is description in that:

... it wants to be attentive to how things appear, it wants things to speak for themselves; it is an interpretive (hermeneutic) ... it claims that there are not such things as uninterpreted phenomena ... "facts" of lived experience need to be captured in language ... this is inevitably an interpretive process (van Manen, 1990, pp. 180-1).

To van Manen (1990) describing phenomena is interpretive and analytical. Within the hermeneutic phenomenological perspective the researcher interprets the ten individual interviews with elders of the Algonquin, Cree and Ojibway Nations and the one group interview with Algonquin, Cree, and Mohawk elders.

Within the context of this hermeneutic phenomenological perspective, the words 'interview' 'dialogue' and 'conversation' are used interchangeably to refer to the formal audio-taped conversation with the individual elders and the recorded discussion of the group meeting of elders on Manitoulin Island. Each dialogue, along with the contextual information constitute a case study. Details of the time, the place of the interviews, and the unusual circumstances occurring simultaneously to the conversations establish the context of the interview.

The chapter begins with the rationale for naming the FN informants and for the method by which initial contact was made with the informants. Following this section, the interview process is exposed from several vantage points: the informal and formal dialogue, and the informal and formal field work practices. Two individual dialogue summaries and the group interview summary are enclosed within the chapter.

The Interviews / Dialogues / Conversations

Naming FN Informants

The research was initially conceived as a study that would include conversations with FN elders, audio-tape the ensuing dialogues on traditional Native education, and record the statements anonymously. FNP challenged this intent. They stated that they did not want to be known as people who were inseparable from their values and beliefs. In respect to the elders who formally contributed

to the study their names appear in the text. They are honored as people with the wisdom of their culture to share with others. Distancing of the values they hold and their personhood does not occur. In response to their disputing the label of 'subject' in the context of this study, they are referred to as informants and participants and credited for their individual beliefs and values.

Initiating Contact with the Informants

It is a FN tradition to offer gifts to their elders when making contact with them. This is a sign of recognition and respect and, also, a request for teaching. Traditional Native educators respond to such requests for education as a responsibility. Tobacco or sage is always given. It is an offering of respect and it is a nonverbal message to the elder that the approaching person is in search of knowledge. Tobacco is used by FNP to communicate with the spiritual world. Amongst the gifts offered to the elders participating in this study were books, food, clothing and a blanket. Tobacco or sage was always given. Sometimes the tobacco and sage were wrapped in little bundles with cloth and ribbon. In one situation, the researcher gave a copy of a paper she had presented at a Native Studies conference in Michigan, USA.

Making contact with FNP began well before this research was conceived. During the winter session of 1990, the researcher enrolled in an art history course that focused on FN art where a number of well-respected contemporary FN artists: Lance Belanger, Rebecca Belmont, Robert Houle, and Gerald McMaster presented their work. The following spring, artist Robert Houle introduced the interviewer to the future informant, Helen Wassegijig. Throughout the next year, Helen Wassegijig and the interviewer continually met in unexpected settings culminating in a scheduled dinner when an interview for this study was recorded.

Ruth Norton, the past Director of Education of the Assembly of First Nations, directed the interviewer to William Commanda, an

Algonquin elder living in Maniwaki, and Mary Lou Fox, an Ojibway elder on Manitoulin Island. William Commanda was formally interviewed for this study after many formal meetings, telephone calls and socials in different parts of Canada. Mary Lou Fox was never formally interviewed. However, she has been an informal informant to the researcher over long-distance telephone. In June 1993 she arranged for the researcher to live with a single parent FN family during the National Elders' Conference on Manitoulin Island where the group interview was recorded. Algonquin elders, Dr. Lena Nottaway and Tom Rankin, were interviewed on the recommendation of Gilbert Whiteduck, Director of the Kitigan Zibi Education Council, Member of the National Chiefs' Committee on Education and FNP advisor to this study. Cree informants were first met while the researcher was involved in teacher training at Waswanipi. This led to travelling to Chisasibi, Whapmagoostui, Wasgamonish, and Wimondji on James Bay during October and November of 1992, July and August of 1993 and in the fall of 1994. While living and visiting on the reserves, Cree elders who participated in this study were met: Margaret Sam-Cromatry, Daisy Herodier, Nancy Sheshamush and Issac Masty. Meetings with Robbie Matthews were scheduled but, unfortunately, never materialized. Lucy Salt was an informal informant.

During the process of interviewing, travelling, and gaining more insight into FNP culture the researcher met two other informants, Robin and Kathleen Green. When the interviewer first met the husband and wife team they were performing sunrise ceremonies, traditional sweats, and healings at The National Elders Conference, "The Voice of the Land is in Our Language, Traditional Teachings of Our Elders" at West Bay, Manitoulin Island, June 1993. They were educating through narratives. At the Cree Nation Gathering at Whapmagoostui later the same summer they were met again. They were interviewed in Whapmagoostui after they extended an invitation to assist in the building of their sweat lodge and to participate in their sweat lodge ceremony. Table I presents an overview of the case study participants. The elder's name, nation,

and the geographic site of the formal audio-taped dialogue is listed in table I. For example, William Commanda of the Algonquin Nation was formally interviewed in Maniwaki.

Table I

The Ten Case Studies

Informant	Nation	Location of Taped Dialogue
William Commanda	Algonquin	Maniwaki
Lena Nottaway	Algonquin	La Vérendrye Park
Tom Rankin	Algonquin	West Bay, Manitoulin Island
Daisy Herodier	Cree	Chisasibi
Margaret Sam-Cromatry	Cree	Chisasibi
Nancy Sheshamush	Cree	Whapmagoostui
Issac Masty	Cree	Whapmagoostui
Kathleen Green	Cree	near Whapmagoostui
Robin Green	Ojibway	near Whapmagoostui
Helen Wassegijig	Ojibway	Ottawa

This research is a cooperative venture between Algonquian elders and the researcher. Without the continual guidance, direction and support of FNP, elders would not have been met and the interviews would not have occurred. All the elders who were approached to participate in the individual audio-taped interviews on traditional Native education agreed to participate.

The Interviewing / Dialoging Process with FN Informants

The interviewing / dialoguing process with FN informants is both informal and formal and this particular participant observation fieldwork encompasses both components. Initially, what appears as unassociated or casual conversations or fragments of conversation are the informal components of the process. They may never be recorded formally. However, they form an important part of the fieldwork process of this study. The informal conversations contribute to the overall understanding of the targeted subject matter by assisting in the identification of the elements of traditional Native education. For example, early in the morning at a sunrise ceremony one sits or stands in silent contemplation with a friend and, as people disperse, a conversation occurs. The conversation does not get audio-taped but it may get written down in field notes at some point in the day or it may fade into forgetfulness and be remembered once again when sparked by another conversation. This remembered fragment may lead to questioning, resulting in the emergence of a facet of the topic under study.

The following episode offers such an example. A conversation with William Commanda occurs one morning as people disperse after the morning sunrise ceremonies. The ensuing discussion on the sweat lodge focuses on the purpose and the deliberated intent that must accompany the taking of a sweat. This goes unrecorded. Several months later the conversation resurfaces in memory when the themes of the dialogues are evolving. In the process of remembering the conversation, it is recalled that no one would tell another to take a sweat. Rather, one might say, if it was thought that another may benefit from a sweat, "I have seen sweat lodges". Non-interference in the path of another's learning is carefully considered. Respecting the other person's way of learning is a component of traditional Native education. Initiative in learning is honored. Equally, the lack of initiative is respected. A recalled informal conversation with an elder is an example of how the informal process, as a component of fieldwork, is important in this particular

study to understanding traditional Native education. The example also illustrates the process of dialogical anthropology that is ever present in building an interpretation.

Formal and deliberate fieldwork occurs in conjunction with the informal fieldwork. Recorded segments comprise the formally acknowledged components of fieldwork. The formal components are the field notes and audio-taped dialogues. An example of the formal field notes is the recorded notes on the elders' discussion of education at the Elders' meeting on the Constitution held at Morley, Alberta in March 1992. Formal fieldwork also consists of recorded individual interviews and one group interview in this study. The audio-taped dialogues are the core elements of this study.

The audio-taped dialogues were recorded in a variety of contexts. Every setting was unique. Interviews occurred on the land, in kitchens, living rooms, at a sugar bush, at a conference and in school buildings. There was one exception. Helen Wassegijip was interviewed in the researcher's kitchen. Before and after this occurred, Helen Wassegijig was met in many of her urban haunts.

In addition to considering the contexts of the audio-taped dialogues, FN advisor to this research, Gilbert Whiteduck, suggested that the researcher be vigilant about attending to the nonverbal components during the process of interviewing the elders. In particular, he proposed that the nature of the interaction and the way the dialogue occurred should be considered as well as the content and the context of the dialogue. For example, when considering where the interview occurred, did teaching occur simultaneously with the process of interviewing? If so how did teaching come to pass? During the process of audio-taping Lena Nottaway's dialogue on traditional Native education in front of boiling pots of maple sugar at her sugar bush, Lena Nottaway explained the sugaring process simultaneously to talking about traditional Native education. On another occasion, William Commanda showed the wampum belts he carries and explained the

metaphors they represent while his assistant performed the sweet grass ceremony.

The interviewing process is complex. It entails far more than the transcribed dialogue. Furthermore, the intensity of the researcher's motivation and curiosity propels the study. It must be remembered that this phenomenological research provides an interpretation based on defensible knowledge claims. As referred to earlier, defensible knowledge claims are derived from direct experience.

The following section provides two case studies and the group consensus--building interview.

Two Case Studies and the Group Interview

The two case studies and the group interview are summarized. The two summaries are not considered to be the two most important conversation summaries. Rather they are a sample of the ten. William Commanda of the Algonquin Nation, the pivotal elder to this study, is the first case study presented here; Helen Wassegijig of the Ojibway Nation is the second case study; and the group interview led by William Commanda with Algonquin, Cree and Mohawk elders is then presented. Although the study focuses on Algonquin elders a Mohawk elder was included in the group dialogue. He was a guest of the pivotal elder of the group. He is an elder who has contributed to a much earlier study on education considered in Chapter Two, Respect for Life The Traditional Upbringing of American Indian Children (Morley & Gilliam, 1974).

The remaining eight case studies are found in Appendix A. To include ten case study summaries in the body of chapter two appeared to be cumbersome and repetitive. The remaining eight case studies are found in Appendix A. While the linear nature of a text may suggest that eight summaries are

relegated to an appendix, that was not the researcher's intent. In a more holistic gestalt, such as in a painting, all ten would appear as a part of a whole.

Each is a synopsis composed after careful examination of the verbatim transcripts of the audio-taped interviews conducted on location with the participating elder. Direct quotations from the dialogue with the participants are "box-framed" within the summary format. The summaries describe the context of the interview as well as events that surround the interview process.

Case Study One: Elder William Commanda

William Commanda of the Algonquin Nation, lives in Maniwaki, Quebec. He was interviewed on January 30, 1993, at his home. William Commanda is a well-respected elder who has travelled throughout the world representing his people. On many occasions, the researcher has observed him performing the sacred ceremonies of the Algonquin Nation at sunrise and at the opening and closing of special meetings. This interview took place on the fourth visit to his home in Maniwaki. It was actually the fifth time in his company. On another occasion, time was spent with him in Morley, Alberta at the Elder's Meeting on the Constitution in March 1992. On that occasion, stories were told of the Wampum Belts that William Commanda carries and a sweet grass ceremony conducted. Besides talking about traditional Native education, William Commanda talked about the rituals, customs and medicines of his people. For example, an important teaching he gave very early in the process was the importance of the researcher "sticking with the women" when in FN communities.

According to William Commanda traditional Native education is:

You have to know who you are. And then supposing I call myself an Indian and I don't talk Indian. Who am I? ...That's an effort you should make. ... First if you don't learn the language from when you are very small, you have got to learn it when you are an adult (1993, p.1).*

It is his belief that you need to know how to think as an Indian, and you are taught to be Indian by Indians. Your first language gives you your identity.

Suppose someone asks you who are you and you don't speak a word of Indian. ... are you going to tell them I am an Indian and I don't know ... And then if you have to talk with another Indian and he starts talking to you in Indian and you have to tell him I am sorry I don't speak my language (Commanda, 1993, p.4).

William Commanda proposes teaching traditional Native education through the use of videos. For example, he offers the following idea. Videos could be made in the FN languages. Children, on returning from formal school, could watch videos in their FN languages. They would see other children in the mountains walking, playing, talking in their FN language to one another. Teenagers who have lost their language and want to retrieve it are able to through this medium, he thinks.

William Commanda believes that language carries the values of a culture. Furthermore, it is his opinion that if you lose your language you lose your values. For example it is not possible to curse the Creator in the Indian language. To curse or criticize the Creator, he declares, you have to borrow from the two official languages in Canada. He offers this explanation:

* Verbal protocol transcript page number.

... you begin to use a cursing language and also you curse the Creator the minute you have a difference with somebody. Even in criticizing Him you criticize your neighbor, you say some bad words and using some bad words you're criticizing Him and in Indian you don't have that. You might say in an Indian way I wonder what's wrong with him, my neighbor, he does not seem to have the same manners. There seems to be something wrong somewhere, but you can not, can't say something wrong against God. There is no such thing. If you have to be bad or you want to say something bad against anything then you want to curse not the Creator, the dead, Satan. You want to put down everything that is bad in your own language. Not the Creator. There is no such word. That's why it is so very important that we should know this. ... if you are a teenager, and you have lost your language you find yourself lacking it. By understanding it and talking it then you begin to understand yourself (Commanda, 1993, p. 5).

A prevalent theme throughout this interview is that traditional Native education is learning your language and acquiring the values that are the legacy of the language. Furthermore, the interview expresses the need to teach all that is related to being an Indian: the treaties, the stories of early Indian life such as Kateri Tekakwitha, and the stories of the wampum belts.

We have to educate the young people to learn about the land and the treaties. Children need to learn about being an Indian. ... We have to educate the young people to learn what I am saying now for education purpose, just talk, to learn to be an Indian (Commanda, 1993, pp. 7-8).

A religious, spiritual tone overshadows all of William Commanda's offerings of knowledge of traditional Native education. William Commanda says that when he refers to the Creator he is talking about Jesus and the Father together. John the Baptist, he explains, came as a witness to the Light and the beheading of John offers a message: It is important that we keep our commitments, for better or for worse.

William Commanda relates how the teachings of his People prior to the coming of the White man were to love, respect and help

each other and to live as brothers and sisters. He cautions against trying to take away your brother's wife or things. Today, he tells, it is a different way of life, whether or not you speak Indian.

Prayer is important to William Commanda. He prays using tobacco and gives thanks to the Creator for everything. He cautions not to take something without paying for it. He also warns not to fool around with the Creator.

William Commanda also teaches values. He reminds us to be very prudent because the grandchildren are learning from us.

We have to be very careful. ... Always (the grandchildren) learn from you. You do not want them to tell you, well this is what you say and you are doing different. You don't give a chance to that. Nobody should do that to you. If you say something you have to always, always to live by that (1993, p. 11).

Furthermore, he explains how in his language a person never tells others to stop what they are doing. Rather, a person suggests by politely encouraging others to change their ways. For example:

We just tell them, would you please stop what you are doing. If you want to we would be very much appreciated if you would stop. We don't have this; you stop this or else. That's a different language. Laugh. And that's one of the teachings that should be done to the grandchildren too all through. And not only the grandchildren, the teenagers need it very much so. But that is part of the language that is very important to learn and the first language in Indian, to be yourself again (Commanda, 1993, p. 11).

The value of respect, according to William Commanda, is always taught to young people. He gives the following example:

Respect is something we are always teaching the young people. An old man may be passing out there and then they go to look and they kind of smile at one another. The old man looks funny, long whiskers and a carrying a bag or something and he looks like a bogey man or some thing and they tend to kind of want to laugh or smile so we talk to them. These are the things we have to respect (Commanda, 1993, p. 13).

He teaches about the importance of respect for the land, the Creator, children, and the elders. Provide for them. Respect the earth, the life force. Give thanks. Show respect. Accept the balancing life force. These are his teachings. He teaches us how he prays while offering his thoughts about ecology.

In our prayer we say Father we thank you for your rivers, all the lakes you have made and all the sea, especially all the life you have put in there, all the different ponds and different things you produce so that we could use to survive. Some of these things we eat and some of these we don't. And we say we thank you for the birds, all the winter the birds that remain. Some of these we eat and some of those we don't eat but there is a balance ... We destroy some when we have too many. They destroy each other. So it is with the wolves, they do that, the wolves they eat each other. All the animals in Africa they are going to eat. The lion eats ... a deer, whatever. It's all balance. Only to have balance is to know. We don't help the wolf or the lion to destroy all the deer that are living across the street. The wolf will take the sick one. They have the nose, they could tell which one, it is not there for life, they are going to destroy it, in order for all the other deer not to be effected by it, by the disease that exists.. It's all balance (Commanda, pp. 13-14).

Values education is a strong theme that echoes through the lessons of this interview. For this man, traditional Native education is a means of teaching the values of his people, the values that he has learnt in his more than eighty years. Strongly associated with his respect for all life is his concern for ecology. Ecological preservation is something he thinks all children need to learn. For example, children are encouraged not to use motor boats because of the possibility of water pollution. But if they must, he insists care must be taken against spilling fuel in the waters. He emphasizes a holistic approach to ecology.

And they are talking about building more roads, to build more machinery to be able to get the paper mills working open again to make a lot of things. While they are doing this they buy more cars, more this, more garbage sites. More pollution will go in the skies. Everytime it rains, it rains on the trees. Rains on the medicines and it causes diseases that are coming out by the dozen. The doctors can not keep up with all of them diseases. They don't know. They call it some name. They just make a name for it just like they do with tornadoes. Some tornadoes they call them names they think they should be named. That's man made as well. It gets, confusing. You try to teach somebody something but they don't ... they want to create more jobs and every election they promise this. They assure this. They are going to build this big mill. They are going to operate, so many men, ten thousand. While they are doing that they are not doing anything to protect the environment. They are poisoning, poisoning everything. Polluting everything the water the ground taking every tree that is there. ... Once every tree has been cut down and the water has been poisoned and all the fish has been caught and you have pockets of money, you can't eat that. You understand that. They want more and more (Commanda, 1993, p. 14).

Respect, balance, and reverence for the life force are what this Algonquin elder, carrier of the wampum belts, believes is so important for his people to learn. It is traditional Native education.

Somebody is making it up. We don't see the Spirit but it is there. It's also talking to them. ... The birds pick up the worms in the morning and brings them to the nest to feed their little ones. Somebody makes them do that. He's not just a chattel or anything. He's a something (Commanda, p. 14).

While informing us about traditional Native education he is teaching us the traditional Native values of his people. Lose your language, he warns, and you lose the values that guide your actions and attitudes of life. You will disturb your sense of balance and, without balance, you do not know who you are or what you believe in, he instructs. You become lost, he warns, without values to guide you.

Case Study Two: Elder Helen Wassegijig

Helen Wassegijig was met through the well known artist, Robert Houle. This interview was conducted at the interviewer's home after supper, approximately a year after the first meeting. Although the interviewer and the informant spoke casually on many occasions in several different locations prior to this taped dialogue, this was the first planned occasion. Helen Wassegijig is a FN teacher of language and cultural heritage at Algonquin College. She has a Fine Arts degree from the University of Ottawa and a Masters degree from Carleton University. The Toronto Harbourfront exhibition, "Visions of Power" was organized by her in 1991. She was on staff at the National Gallery of Canada, assisting the curator of "The Land Spirit Power Exhibition", the first all-Canadian FNP exhibition ever shown at The National Gallery of Canada. After this interview, several planned socials occurred when conversations were intense but not recorded. They included a variety of topics. A favorite theme was FN art. Helen Wassegijig showed her art and gave one of her art catalogues. Discussions on her language and her way of understanding also occurred.

Prior to European contact, Helen Wassegijig explains, traditional Native education was the spiritual vision of life. This vision she describes as consisting of a complete system that included religion, art history, intuition, imagination, and aesthetics.

They had a system of seeing, of knowing, of praying, of thinking, of thinking and knowing the systems of the land in this country, on this continent. They had their own ways of communicating, their own ways of seeing directions and accepting and receiving directions from the Creator or the animals. They were able to communicate with the animals with all of Nature. They could communicate with the trees and the stones. They knew the ways of the elements of the earth and the sky. They knew these elements could do things and they looked on them as people like the tree people or the stone people or the fire people. They had their gifts and they were able to communicate with them when they needed their help in terms of survival or spiritual awakenings (Wassegijig, 1992, pp. 1-2).

FNP knew the ways of the elements, the earth and the sky. They thought of the elements as the tree people, stone people, and fire people, and communicated with them when they needed help for survival or spiritual awakenings. This was destroyed through European contact. Now it is being revived.

During the interview, Helen Wassegijig shared her world view. As people grow and develop they are visited by old friends, relatives, and parents from long ago that are in their DNA, person or soul. The spirits from earlier times surface again in each individual as the individual enters a certain stage of life. Either the person accepts this knowledge, rejects it, or is terrorized by it to the point of suicide she explains. Helen Wassegijig believes Native People have suffered because they have been stripped of rituals, ceremonies, beliefs, confidence, and the old familiarities that were and are no more. Although the familiarities were destroyed or repressed they are still within the People, she affirms. The unfolding of the familiarities, and the reorientation through the powers of the guardians is traditional Native education.

For Helen Wassegijig , education methods vary. There are many orientations based on religion, politics, and culture. She explains that people seek to learn for the sake of knowledge, maybe not to accept the knowledge but to know there are different ways of comprehending.

With the ability to speak your language Helen Wassegijig believes you learn the values of your culture. It is her understanding that drop-outs in education do not know their language or their culture, nor do they have the knowledge of 'Indianness'.

A goal of traditional Native education is to enable the young to help their people. This is how she was taught.

Ever since I have been going to school my parents have always taught me about education that I would always help my People with my education. It is not only my parents that have felt that way but the whole Indian community feels that way. That is one of the goals for education. And it's a good goal and it's a very different goal to obtain (Wassegijig, 1992 pp. 4-5).

For her, traditional Native education is also teaching FN languages, and hence the culture and values of the language. Helen Wassegijig is very much involved in teaching her FN language to others.

Learning occurs through the unfolding of the life experiences of the individual.

I really think people learn from themselves, their own experiences, from their own personal ways of discipline. How they discipline themselves. How they believe in themselves. Through their own experiences. I think really it comes right down to learning about themselves through spiritual experiences or occurrences, the way they perceive and experience themselves in this world. And the rest follows. ... in terms of real education it is really about yourself in relation to life and culture. And learning from people who are like you or close to you (Wassegijig, 1992 p. 6).

Helen Wassegijig does not dismiss the importance of mentors as guides in the learning process.

Her interview underlines the importance of language, the belief in self, and the devotion to one's people. The spiritual dimension of life resonates in this conversation.

The Group Interview Summary

This group interview was conducted in a teepee at the First National Elders/ Language Gathering at West Bay, Manitoulin Island, June 24, 1993. William Commanda, the pivotal elder to this study introduced the topic and led the interview. His assistants provided aid in arranging the location, gathering the elders, and setting the time. The purpose of this group gathering was, through the process of consensus, to tease out the components of traditional Native

education. Present at this group interview were the following people: William Commanda, Algonquin Nation, Maniwaki; Dr. Lena Nottaway, Algonquin Nation, La Vérendrye Park; Tom Rankin, Algonquin Nation, Val D'Or; Frank Decontie, Algonquin Nation, Maniwaki; George Paptie, Algonquin Nation, Lac Simon; Jacob Wawatie, Algonquin Nation, Rapid Lake; Ernest Benedict, Mohawk Nation, Aknesksane; Daisy Herodier, Cree Nation, Chisasibi; Daniel Mien, Algonquin Nation, Lac Simon. There were no Ojibway elders present at this meeting. Interested observers were also present. Some assisted with the audio-taping while others came and went. A visitor interjected his comments during the group interview and, as he is not a member of the FN's communities, his remarks are not relevant to the intent of his study and are not recorded.

While the overall intent of this study is to arrive at an understanding of the meaning of traditional Native education, the purpose of this group interview with Algonquin elders was to arrive at consensus on the definition of traditional Native education. William Commanda, the leader of the group interview, began the discussion by stating that language is very important.

For my part language is very important. First of all it is your language. ... learn the foreign language in order to communicate. You heard the opening prayer this morning in Micmac and I am sure that none of us understood it except if we were Micmac. ... We have to communicate in the English language in order to be able to understand (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 1).

William Commanda says:

we should come to consensus about what we are talking about (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 22).

He then asks Lena Nottaway, the Grandmother, to speak. (Grandmother is a term of respect for those who are ancestors, spiritual, and are the keepers of the wisdom. Grandmother or grandfather may be a more reverent term than elder.)

Lena Nottaway speaks in her FN language of Algonquin. This portion of the transcript has been translated by Ernest McGregor of the Algonquin Nation. Lena Nottaway's contribution to this group interview is summarized from his translation. She begins by saying:

To me all education is learning and learning is good. In the case of our race, the Creator, the Great Spirit, put on the earth all the knowledge that was needed for our benefit, for our survival. It was there for us to learn and pass on to our successors. But it is our knowledge and lore, it is what makes us who we are. So it's important that we learn our own language and culture first so that our own identity is firmly established in our minds and hearts, not the language and culture of the White man.

When we the Anishinabe people were created we were a people with our own language, with our own culture and customs by which we were able to survive and live in harmony with our surroundings, with nature as the Great Spirit created it. Over the generations life was good for our people. They did not disturb nature, taking only what they needed to survive. These are traditions that we must continue to hold to, together with our own language.

As much as I can, I use all the influence I have with children to instill these beliefs in their minds, to be proud in their identity. To me this is education; it is imparting knowledge, and that is a good thing. Knowledge leads to wisdom and that wisdom is what permitted our people to flourish since time began (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 22).

Lena Nottaway expresses her concern that there is no traditional Native education offered to FN children in the formal school system. She finds, however, that there is much attention given to the education of FN children to the ways of the White man,

... there is no consideration given to what I call Indian education (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 22).

She is emphatic about the need for FN children to be taught their language and culture.

But our children must be taught Indian ways, to think as Indians, not as White men. We have our own ways, our own traditions, our own beliefs that we must pass on to our descendants. ... All the knowledge that we have gained from nature since the beginning of our existence, the wisdom and the lore that is locked in our land and our forests, all that which makes us Anishinabes, must not be lost to our children (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 22).

Furthermore Lena Nottaway states:

... the state that our homeland is in today? There is so much that is ugly around us. Long ago our concept of teaching or education did not involve this destruction (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 23).

William Commanda reiterates Lena Nottaway's concerns about the importance of one's language. He tells how she likes to see the children go to school, but then she notes that at school they are losing their language. William Commanda states:

I have seen in my community some of the parents who were taught in Indian. They get married, an Indian boy marries an Indian girl. They both speak fluent Indian. And when they raise their children, they teach them in English. Why? And they don't talk to them in Indian. And the parents do that to their children. It could ... happen that we have to blame the parents (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 2).

He tells how children are losing their language because their parents are not teaching them their language. He notes that Lena Nottaway is an exception to this because she has taught all her children their language. He tells how French is spoken in school and English in other places. The French and English languages are strong. These languages enable FNP to curse the Creator while Algonquin people are unable to curse the Creator in their language. He explains that a communication language is necessary but, first, the children must learn to speak their own language.

William Commanda now invites Tom Rankin to speak. Tom Rankin states that education that teaches the FN children their

language and way of life is important. At present, he finds many children do not want to learn. He believes that FN children need to be shown FN ways of living rather than have them attend school for ten months of the year. If they are not taught their heritage they are going to lose their language and culture.

Now, what do we do now, is to try and teach them. Instead of them going to school ten months of the year we put them out one month, at least one month, to learn something from us ... They are going to lose their language, lose their culture. No more the traditional way of life (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 3).

He tells how his two grandsons dropped out of school.

They said we have no more place in the white society. No more place (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 3).

One grandson told Tom Rankin that he now wants to learn from him. Furthermore, the youth are telling him they want to learn from their ancestors and Mother Earth. He indicates his purpose now is to help the youth as much as possible.

OK I am going to start with the school, education. I would like to see the education ... We need our share ... to give something to them. Not only to learn at the university and places like this. We have to show them too, our life. ... I would like to show the young generation how to prepare themselves for the bush. I am going to work hard there. I know it. All the elders are doing this. All the elders think about how they are able to give to them (Group Dialogue, 1993, pp. 4-5).

Tom Rankin believes FNP cannot afford to lose any more of the youth. While he believes the young who continue in school are well directed, he thinks that one day they will leave and teach themselves. Now, youth tell him that they do not want to stay in school and prepare to work in an office or be a doctor or an engineer and then find there is no work. They know there are no trappers and hunters. That is what they want to do. He realizes that some of the children are going to go a different way. They want to return to the traditional ways of Indian life, to the birch bark canoes and tents.

Tom Rankin has given his drum to such people. (Symbolically the drum is considered to be the heart beat of Mother Earth.) He feels he must encourage them. He is optimistic:

Maybe the world is going to change. Who knows. ... The Creator created us where we live today on that reservation. That's where the Creator came back to create people. ... We are not European. He did not create us over there. Here is where we are. This is the place, they gave ... this Mother Earth we have, we are happy to stay on forever. So that is what happened to those kids. They gave up the schools. They want to go back to Mother Earth. They want to go back and live there without being mixed up with anything (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 4).

William Commanda agrees with Tom Rankin that FN children need to be gathered together for a month by themselves to speak only their language. William Commanda remarks that other ways of funding will need to be found as the financing of such typical programs has been terminated. It is William Commanda's belief that the communication language should be taught only after the children learn their FN language. A communication language is needed because there are many dialects spoken amongst FNP and the languages are not understood by the different FN. Both Tom Rankin and William Commanda agree they would not like to lose their language. If they were to lose their language they would lose the source which would enable them to learn their language. French speaking people for example, always have France to return to, and the Irish have Ireland. William Commanda remarks:

So with all other countries that speak different languages. They could always go back when they lose their language. Go back and pick it up again but for us, it is not so. It is not there. It is not over there. It is here (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 6).

For William Commanda, language is more than a means of communication. He states:

... language itself is culture (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 6).

The researcher asks:

Are you saying the values and beliefs are in the language (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 6)?

William Commanda replies:

Exactly... you learn how to work your hands. You learn from your fathers, uncles how to trap and how to skin your beaver and how to make your craft. She (Lena Nottaway) did a lot of craft work and I did canoe work. I made a hundred canoes in my life time ... it was easy. There was a lot of bark then. But there is no more. They cut everything down. So a lot of people would like to buy birch bark canoes but where are you going to get the bark. Even the cedar. They all have cut down the best cedar. The cedar is cut down. And then there is not more. There is a lot standing that are all twisted. That is not what you need to make ribs or gunwales. You need something straight (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 6).

Tom Rankin responds by saying it is their culture he has to teach his people now:

... I teach them how to live in the bush. I have skinned about a thousand beavers in my life. I could teach them the way to skin the furs, ... any kind of animals, lots of different kinds of animals. We have to know all the animals (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 6).

Tom Rankin thinks it is his job to teach the FNP. Afterwards, they can teach the other non-FNP. He acknowledges that differences exist between his people and others.

This is the way we live. We are not afraid. We are not living exactly the same (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 7).

William Commanda asks Frank Decontie to speak. He begins:

It is with kindness, it is with sharing. It is with respect. It is with honesty. I want to ... explain to you how I feel and the way I was taught and the way I learn today (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 7).

Frank Decontie introduces the four values of the Anishinabe People, kindness, sharing, respect and honesty. Before considering the values he says:

... now the important part that I always try to bring out first before the values. Again I'll say it in my way with kindness the values are important with an Anishinabe, no doubt I believe that, that is the direction, the language, the identity, the culture, the traditional way of life, that is important but first before you go in that direction, as an Anishinabe People, ... we have to bring out the reality, what happened to us as an Anishinabe People. Now in reality, what happened to us, through the years of time there has been a lot of abuse. OK. The abuse of Mother Earth, and even that was stopped within the Anishinabe. The abuse of drugs and alcohol has been taught to an Anishinabe. And as long as this abuse continues how are we going to give the direction to our people when we cannot give it to ourselves (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 7).

The abuse the Anishinabe People have suffered has to be dealt with, not set aside. He poses a number of questions:

How are we going to give the direction to our children when there is something on the side that we are using and abusing. How are we going to do that? How can we hold something of a traditional value that we think we are so proud of yet we are taking something on the side over here. It does not mix. This is not a blender here. When we work and when we talk and when we think; our mentality is something so sacred that has been deteriorating for such a long time. Now we want to make it grow. We have to help it, make it grow right. Are we going to hurt it and by hurting ourselves, we are hurting the children and their children (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 7).

The message he ponders every day is that his people suffer different kinds of abuse: emotional, mental, and sexual abuse. He is hopeful that if this abuse is worked out FNP can find out who they really are and give direction. He questions if it is language that is to be given. He speaks of the need to walk on Mother Earth with pride. He wants pride to return to his people. He then discusses how pervasive abuse is in FNP's lives. He explains that:

When we talk about abuse, we talk about abuse in all areas,... When we abuse an animal, when we take more than we need, we are abusing, when we take more fish than we need we are abusing. When we hurt the land we are abusing the land. This is not our way. When we take something whatever that may be we are abusing ourselves. We are abusing the way we think, the way we feel the way we talk and the way we give our example. That is the cycle that has been going on for many years This did not happen yesterday. This happened from the time of the other culture. This is the truth. Again I speak with kindness. I do not speak of hate and anger. Not anymore. I did at one time. You know where it got me. It got me down. It got me worst (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 8).

Frank Decontie instructs that healing must occur. The acts of abuse, and the environment that cultivates abuse, need to be cleaned up. Once the abuse is cleaned up and the direction of the people found, then FNP will be able to offer the gifts of their People to the children. With healing will come the direction and the pride of FNP. Healing will provide an example to the children. He proposes that the example the children are offered should be two-sided. This includes the traditional ways of the Anishinabe People and the ways of today's society because today it is necessary to know both ways to survive. As Anishinabe People:

... let us not forget who we are. Who are we, as people? And let us not forget the right we got. Let us not forget we are keepers of this land, not the owners of the land. The Creator owns the land. We are only the keeper and we have that responsibility to bring about that work that we have to do. Somebody has to stand up. Somebody has to say something. And somebody has to give direction. Who is that going to be. So, it is very important in how an individual works himself out (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 8).

Healing, or how an individual works himself out, is important according to this elder. More specifically he says:

... if we are able to do it and do it right ... Then it is going to work effectively. It is going to work effectively in language, our identity, our culture, our pride, all these things will come about. This is how I see it (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 8).

The elder, George Paptie, now speaks in Algonquin. Unfortunately the translator was not able to decipher the contents of George Paptie's contribution because of the quality of the audio-tape. However, Jacob Wawatie, at the request of William Commanda, summarizes George Paptie's remarks directly into English immediately after George Paptie speaks in Algonquin. Jacob Wawatie's translation is as follows:

He was saying that he was chief for thirteen years. He has done things that maybe he should not have done when he was drinking, and was trying to lead the people (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 9).

George Paptie did not go to school. His grandfather taught him traditional ways which he is now trying to teach his grandchildren. The language, the culture, and the traditional ways in the woods, such as how to handle the animals, are the teachings he is now striving to give his grandchildren.

Jacob Wawatie, grandson, and official conduit of Lena Nottaway during the interview with her at the sugar bush in April 1993, now contributes formally at this group interview. He tells that he was taught by his grandparents in the bush when he young. He was taught to rely on the woods, living off the resources of the bush and using the medicines found in the woods ninety to ninety-five percent of the time. At boarding school he was no longer allowed to speak his own language. Instead, he was taught French. When he arrived home after completing eighth grade he hardly spoke his own language, was unable to handle the traps or guns, and did not know how to go after the animals.

So it was kind of an outcry for me when I quit school. Because when I quit school for some people it was kind of dumb because like they say in this society you must learn to be like them to be accepted by them. But when I quit anyway then my mum got mad at me, and my dad did not care because he was drinking. So, I started hunting with my grandmother and my grandfather and started living off the land. That is when I started learning about traditional things, about how to live (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 9).

Learning to live in the traditional way is unlike learning to live in the French or English world. Whether French or English is the language, the result is the same. The constructed reality is different from the traditional Native way.

When you speak English or French it is just like you are coloring the Indian world with their colors. And you are not coloring your world with the colors you were suppose to have. Your own proper colors, the way you see the world, the way you vision the world (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 9).

He tells that learning to live in the traditional way was learning to know the world through Indian eyes. The traditional Indian reality is:

... to see the world through Indian eyes where the animals talk to you. You know it is kind of hard to say to you, you listen to animals cause how do you listen to animals. How do you listen to birds and trees and stuff. If you learn it in the books you don't hear these people. The books are insensitive. They have got no feelings, they have got no heart (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 11).

The Indian reality does not have books as the focus. Nature is the focal point. Books are the locus of the English and French worlds. Books are for offering information to your head for understanding.

Jacob Wawatie relates that after learning Indian reality from his grandparents he returned to school because he wanted to know what it meant to be educated in the formal EC way.

What was the goal, the objective? And who was controlling it in the White society and why were they doing it. So I learnt about education through the system ... (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 10).

Obtaining an education meant learning about the different world views. For example, he articulates the difference in the meaning of freedom in the FN and White worlds as he understands it.

In the white society they seek freedom, freedom in the sense that they can decide what they want to be. They decide which job or profession they want to follow. And the Indian people what they call freedom is to be independent. Where no one depends on you and you have to depend on nobody. It is just like the animals that walk on the land. You know they are independent. This society was like so (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 10).

With his grandparents tutelage he learned to make his own snowshoes, sleighs, baskets, medicines, and found his animals. Now he wants, in turn, to teach his own children. For him it is important to be independent. He wants his children to be able to exist despite the monetary system, to be self sufficient and be a part of society. He points out that, even if you do not belong to the society, it is important to be able to exchange some of your gifts such as baskets, canoes, snowshoes for such things as axes and other things that one needs to live. Jacob Wawatie admits it is hard to think of his children in the formal school system but he is married to an American woman who believes in the formal schools. He did go through the system himself (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 10).

The difference in the FN educational ways and the other ways he explains as follows:

I learned from my elders what education is ... the independence that you achieve, by the time you reach adulthood ... you are already able to start surviving. But in the White system, I am not putting it down, its' just that once you have graduated you are suppose to continue your education until you have reached the age maybe of twenty-five or thirty, until you have graduated from university. At that time you have to recapture yourself, like finding how to fit into a society because you were being educated at the time, at a university where you did not have time really to participate in the social activities... (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 10).

Jacob Wawatie concludes his remarks by commenting on those who teach in the tradition of his FN culture. Education in the traditional Native way values the knowledge of children. When

children are talking you are supposed to listen. His people do not differentiate between those who are young and those who are old. This means that children learn from other children as well as adults. Teachings may be given by people of all ages. Respect is a critical value.

... the children are playing in the sand or making little houses and trails. If you walk on their trail and they say daddy or mister please don't step on my trail are they teaching you to respect them? Do they understand respect in that sense that you have to care for other peoples' property. It does not have to be an elder to have people listen. When you say people, it does not mean only the elders. It does not mean only the middle generation. It also includes the children. So when we speak, when we listen, and when we are being educated it does not matter where it is coming from; the nature, the children, the elders, or the middle generation, we have to listen and learn and understand them. I have learnt a lot from the animals, from the people, and the children. Sometimes when we listen to the children it seems that it is abstract, it seems like it is nothing but really they are saying a great deal. What they would like to see in this world because when they are playing a game it is how they perceive the world already. And that is why I like to see the children play. That is why I sit with them. Sometimes I play with them in the sand. It looks kind of funny for a grown man to be playing in the sand with the children. But really I am learning from them and that is what is great about it. Education never ceases (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 11).

At this time Ernest Benedict, a Mohawk elder offers his understanding of traditional Native education to the gathering. He is a well respected traditional educator and friend of William Commanda. Ernest Benedict was a participant in the much earlier study on traditional education and raising American children at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia (Morley, & Gilliam, 1974). Ernest Benedict begins by telling that although few non-FNP have gone far into the bush, somehow their message has gone there. This, he thinks, is important to consider.

Right at the very beginning ... when the first contact was made with the White man buying up furs. He liked those furs of those animals. And the Native people supplied furs. They trapped more than they had ever trapped before in order to satisfy those traders and to fill those boats that were going back over to the other side. And so that began very early. So what kind of a message did they leave with the Native people? That there was such a thing as trade for profit. And to make what you use to do for a living, you could do for profit and you could make more than what you do if you were making a living. You could sell these things and make, maybe trade for some of the doodads that the traders bought over with them. And I am sure it was very good to get the steel knives and steel arrow heads, and after awhile even guns to shoot with and steel traps and all. So everytime that happened it gave you a little change. It was easier after awhile to get more of the animals. And there have been times when there have been so much trapping that there were no more beaver left and they had to make big efforts to replace the beaver. So very, very early that change was made (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 12).

The immigrants have not stayed in the cities and trading posts alone. Over time the social diseases and the physical epidemics have spread to the people of the land. For example, alcohol has created bush alcoholics. At this time healing has commenced. Sometimes the White medicines are used, such as Alcoholics Anonymous. More and more there is an indication that by turning to their own FN people and their own religion, individuals are finding the solution. With this occurring, alcohol might be a problem of the past.

However, Ernest Benedict suggests there is possibly a larger problem now facing traditional Native education. According to Native teachings:

... nobody owns anything. And we can use things for awhile (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 13).

While, according to EC beliefs, ownership is the reality, Ernest Benedict relates:

... those courts say that White society owns all of the bush and all of the land. And owns under the bush, in the ground, deep in there. They own all of the oil and all of the And the Queen owns all of the gold and silver. And so all of that is I think unreasonable. It has got no sense to it at all and I would think that all those learned judges would know that by now. Apparently they don't. I guess they are not as wise as we think they are. So we have got this other problem (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 13).

Furthermore, according to Ernest Benedict, a theory exists that:

... just as soon as the first White man landed on the shore of the east that all the territory belonged to the Queen and the Governments of Europe. And so they came in and established a new government which is Canada. First they established the United States, then Canada. And so that is how the whole thing is gone according to their own way of looking at it. That is not the way we look at it (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 13).

He suggests that the theory does not reflect how Nature works. FNP, he believes, have other ways of understanding and living and he tells that these FN ways need to be re-established.

Maybe through our own efforts we can make a fairly good comfortable living for ourselves as long as we don't encroach on the rights of other people. We have various other customs ... how to deal with one another. And I think we are farther along the way to establishing an idea of peaceful relationship between people all over. Lot further than the White man had and I think those ways that we had, need to be re-established. Then we are going to have to re-establish it ourselves. We had various different ways of dealing with one another that did not involve armies, did not involve a whole nation going to war against another whole nation. So I think that was a big improvement over what countries of today are using in their relationship with other people. I think if we stay firm and keep our principles, keep our traditions that some day maybe the whole world will be appreciative and actually practice some of the things that we teach (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 13).

Traditional Native education, Ernest Benedict suggests, has implications for all people. William Commanda agrees.

Daisy Herodier, from Chisasibi, now expresses her appreciation to be amongst the elders. She shares her gratitude for having experienced traditional Native education as a young Cree child on the trapline. Moreover, she reflects on how her experiences from childhood have assisted her in her work as a Cree culture consultant developing school curriculum for children today.

When I think back as a child my memories ... go to her. She is your grandmother. This is what they would tell me. And my memories of that I treasure. And because I was around elders I think I learnt something as a child. And what I learnt as a child today in relation to my work I acknowledge and I try to use. I am the coordinator for developing curriculum for Cree language and culture programs in the schools among the nine communities. I am also working on developing curriculum to implement using the language as an instructional tool, the Cree language. ... This fall we are going to introduce mother tongue instruction into all our communities (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 14).

Daisy Herodier uses the principles of the medicine wheel to offer understanding of traditional Native education. Four facets make up the medicine wheel: mental, social, physical, and spiritual. Today's public education system addresses the mental and the physical side with some attempt to develop the emotional side of the individual. Little consideration is given, she believes, to the spiritual side which is the most important. Her challenge is how to build the spiritual component into the education program for Cree children today.

Ernest Benedict offers a comment.

... if you do your teaching in the Cree language then you can involve your spirituality right into the Cree language lessons and to whatever other topics you are teaching in Cree (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 15).

Ernest Benedict explains that in the dominant formal school system values are embedded in the subject matter. He cites examples in the subject matter of history, social studies, and mathematics. The

cultural values are found in the content of the individual subjects. For example:

In the school system you say one airplane will fly eighty miles an hour, another one will fly two hundred miles an hour another five hundred miles an hour. How long will it take the second one to reach the first one? What does it mean? Now you ask, what are they teaching? They are teaching time is valuable. Time can be measured. Time is something that depends upon what you have, like material things (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 15).

Daisy Herodier agrees with Ernest Benedict and says that the spiritual content of the Cree world view is inherent in the Cree language. Through the language, Cree culture will be taught to the children. Ernest Benedict suggests to Daisy Herodier that it is possible to teach mathematics from an FN perspective.

You can bring one hundred and fifty raw beaver skins down through the rapids and arrive at a certain place. This is all in a canoe that is thirteen feet long. Another fellow has a sixteen foot canoe. He can put so many ... then your problem is how many canoes would it take to bring so many hides down to the trading post or whatever? So I think you can build a whole mathematics system there just using your own background (Group Dialogue, 1993, pp. 15-16).

If there are complications in using this perspective to educate Cree children, Ernest Benedict makes himself available for consultation.

Lena Nottaway is then asked if she has any further comments to make. Again, she speaks in her Native language which has been translated formally. The summary of her remarks is based on the official transcript prepared by an Algonquin translator.

Lena Nottaway believes that FN children need to be weaned from the bad medicine, alcohol. She refers to alcohol as 'firewater'. She says that never has there been anything in nature comparable to this firewater. Nothing in all of FN history has caused as much harm as the firewater. All the harm that has come to the Native people

since firewater was bought to them by the immigrants is rooted in this bad medicine. Furthermore she states:

... it seems to me that it has been a government policy to use this bad medicine to soften our people's minds, to put us off our guard, while our land and very livelihood and way of life has been compromised as these newcomers came and laid claim to our homeland, claiming it as their own (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 24).

In the traditional Native way she continues to share her knowledge.

I have spoken out many times in the past. I have reminded my people of these rights that were promised to us. I have attended many meetings. I have listened and I have heard many things and I have learned much. ... our people were introduced to beer and whiskey. All these things were used upon us. In that way our people were lulled into forgetting the promises that we were given in the Royal Proclamation where we were promised to be undisturbed on our ancestral lands as long as the sun shall shine, as long as the grass shall grow, as long as the rivers shall flow. Today the governments prefer not to respect those promises because in spite of them, the ancestral lands have been violated and decimated (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 24).

She continues by telling how she, her husband and William Commanda met with the leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM), a group that was formed in the 1940s. When asked, she shared her knowledge and it was accepted. In fact, she was told that these were the traditions and mores that all FNP should know about.

These were the traditions and mores that our people shared in common for untold centuries before the foreign missionaries overran our villages and forced their beliefs upon us. Because there was a time when we had our own unique way of life, our own beliefs, our own form of government. Today the way we stand, the way our leaders stand, money is the principal consideration. ... Long ago there was no need to chase after money if we wanted to attend conferences. Very little was required. We donated what we could to the cause. ... I saw this when I was small. I was allowed to go along and listen. ... I recall that these conferences seemed to be under a cloud of worry and unease. The speaker warned us that the time was coming when we would be trampled underfoot by the White man. He is coming nearer to our most isolated lands making the earth tremble, we were told. He will soon walk over us without any thought of the forest animals we depend on for survival. We will know poverty and destitution. It will seem as if our land is dead. They will destroy our forest so the animals will starve and be unable to reproduce. Everything that we have known will be taken from us and destroyed. ... And today I see the truth of what he warned us about. We can look around our homeland today and see how true his words were. It was a silent and unseen war ... (Group Dialogue, 1993, pp. 24-25).

Lena Nottaway continues to educate in the oral tradition.

One body of Indians was placed or herded into a small space and was told that this would be their home. Other groups were given the same treatment, so that eventually a whole nation was broken up into small bands and scattered at great distances from each other. In this way, our people were divided and moved out of the way ... We were promised that we would be provided for if we moved into these little enclaves. The promises painted a rosy picture where there would be nothing lacking in our lives. Some of these promises I heard myself. They sounded so good, these promises, telling us how much better our lives would become. Still today, none of these promised benefits have come our way (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 25).

Her oral traditional Native teachings tell how non-FNP came to hunt in Parc de La Vèrèndrye. Also, she tells how fishing men who were non-FNP came to fish on FN land.

The oral tradition has been Lena Nottaway's way of learning and educating. She discusses the oral method:

I have heard all these things spoken of down through the years, as they were handed down through the generations from those who were there. I have always listened to the elders speaking and I have always stored their words in my memory so that I in turn would hand them on to the following generations (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 27).

Certain considerations are characteristic of the oral tradition.

There is so much in my memory that I could speak of but that would not do and it is not our way. Only in small amounts can these be told so that the listener may properly understand what is said at each sitting and recall at the proper time so that he in turn can pass on this knowledge (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 27).

Using the oral method, she continues to teach and tell through the example of her own life experience. She teaches about family values, responsibilities for children and her way of life as a hunter. Resonating through her words is her concern and sense of responsibility for children. Speaking from her life history, she tells of how she and her husbands (two, as her first husband died early) cared for and taught their children. Her children were the focus of her life. Alongside her husband, and with her children, she stalked the animals, set traps, built canoes, snowshoes, sleighs and made everything that was needed for their life together on the land. Her children were taught their own language at home. Only in the presence of a White person did they speak English. All aspects of the FN lifestyle that she learnt from staying at her father's side as a child she wants to pass on to the young people.

I want them to be proud of their identity and culture (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 29).

The FN life style and traditions are not what they were. She cites the example of how FN women today cut their hair, wear embellishments and trousers. This is not the traditional way of FNP. Reclaiming the FN traditions is emphasized by Lena Nottaway. She makes reference to the importance of the Great Spirit saying that, "He is the boss".

Lena Nottaway's spiritual concern is underlined by William Commanda.

First of all it is having the faith, and think why we were created. It is very essential. If we would get that then the rest would be easier to come (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 16).

William Commanda also reiterates the need to wean people from drugs and alcohol. If the use of drugs and alcohol is arrested, FNP might come to realize the values of their traditional teachings.

Jacob Wawatie, Lena Nottaway's grandson, speaks again informing that in the traditional setting when someone is learning to make snowshoes they are also learning many other teachings: the language, the culture, and nature. More specifically, when they are learning to make snowshoes they are also learning about the trees and flexibility, acquiring hand-eye coordination, geometry, ways of measurement, and the ways of stringing or weaving the snowshoe. Likewise, when building a canoe, many other teachings are given. Jacob Wawatie tells the legend of the canoe.

The canoe was given to man in the legend. The beaver gave it to him. There is a legend about the beaver. The Indian people saw him swimming, so they got this idea to make a canoe. They wondered how they were going to make it solid. They had to put a rib in. They had seen the inside of a beaver, seen its ribs, that keep it firm, keep it from folding up and sinking. So the beaver was giving them information about how to make a paddle how do you get this thing going. They see this paddle ... so they fixed a paddle. You know if you look at a head of a beaver it makes the shape of the head and then the vertebrae makes the stick and the tail. And so here is your paddle. And so they got the idea from the beaver all along. And so any way it is a legend. It is a teaching. It is everything combined into one, just to make this one canoe. But, yet it is a tool. It is a mode of transportation for the people. And it was a need. So if they wanted to go from point a to point b, then if they had to cross the water, they taught that and it was a part of life. So if they got caught on one part of the shore they just went and got it and made it (Group Dialogue, 1993, p.17).

Implicit in Jacob Wawatie's teachings about the process of traditional Native teachings is the integrative holistic attitude towards teaching and learning. Teachings are interconnected with life.

Jacob Wawatie shares the story of his teacher's learning to build a canoe. The story reflects how teaching in the traditional Native way demands involvement, focus, concentration, and dedication, and ultimately trains for independence.

... an old man we use to call Punmachwon. He past away a few years ago. But the first time he made a canoe he made it with his grandfather. So they made it. So the second canoe they were picking up the materials. It was half way from their home where they were gathering this material. They camped out. After they gathered most of the material the grandfather said there is a big white pine up there, big white spruce. He said go pick up the gum over there. He goes and picks up some gum that was the last bit of material they were going to gather and on his way down he sees his Grandfather paddling away. He says hey come back. "Oh, finish your canoe," the old man says as he left. And he had enough food there for two weeks. And so he had to build his canoe. Two weeks later he came home. He said it was not my best but it was my first one. He said that was when he learnt how to make a canoe. And he taught this in Rapid Lake where I am from (Group Dialogue, 1993, pp. 16-17).

After telling the story, Jacob relates how he was young and maybe too all-knowing to glean from this boat builder all the experienced knowledge he held. As a young man he felt he knew. He then confides he is now looking to his grandmother, Lena Nottaway, to teach him.

Following this, a young man asks to share his personal knowledge. As researcher, it has been my decision not to include his name at this time. He tells that at an early age he was taken from his family in the bush by two Indian agents and placed in a residential school. He says:

I was taught not to cry and I was allowed to hurt my brothers. I learnt how to steal and lie. There was not enough food so we had to steal it. We played out in the dark when we did not have enough family activity. Anger grew. I lost my language, culture and identity. Then I denied myself. My family and everyone else was weakened on the reserve. Violence grew and became my way of life. I was married with three children. I lost my family. My survival was through violence until suicide became my intent. Under all this was buried my experience of abuse by a priest at an earlier age.

A desire came to find another way. To learn about balance. I went to a treatment center for my alcoholism. I learnt how to control my anger, how to believe and to deal with my suicidal tendencies. I travelled to the priest to offer forgiveness. Instead through him I learnt how to control my anger. Then I travelled to my first wife to ask for forgiveness. Today I am with my second family and I now see my children from my first marriage. My second wife accepts them in our home. I have been working as a care giver for the past three years. As a caregiver I work with families. We discuss responsibilities, nutrition and parenting skills. I continually turn to the elders to gain their knowledge (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 17-18).

He then confides that he realized that there was something he did not have.

There was something I did not define for myself. It is my culture and my language. In order to empower myself I gained it. I regained my spirit. Every elder has knowledge that I can have. I can balance with those things every time I am down (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 20).

This concludes the group interview. William Commanda commends the young man who last spoke. He then extends appreciation to all those who participated in this group interview.

The purpose of this group interview was to determine whether there was consensus amongst elders on the topic of traditional Native education. Participants were from the Algonquin, Cree, and Mohawk Nations. Six speakers from the Algonquin Nation, one Mohawk, and one Cree participated in this group interview. One of the six Algonquin speakers was not directly summarized in this text because

of the difficulties the Algonquin translator had interpreting from the audio-tape. William Commanda, most respected elder of the Algonquin Nation, led this group interview. Facets of traditional Native education were explored. The inter-relatedness of language, culture and identity echoed through this consensus building focus on traditional Native education.

The locus of this chapter has been the presentation of two summarized responses of Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway elders to the question, "What is traditional Native education?" The chapter also included the summary of a group interview held at West Bay, Manitoulin Island. On the occasion of the group interview, several of the elders who were interviewed earlier and others discussed traditional Native education together. They stated that language is not separate from thought, identity, traditions and customs or the value and belief system of FNP' culture. They tell of a different system of knowledge. Resonating through the group interview is the message that a FN language and identity are interrelated.

The chapter considered description in the phenomenological tradition. An interpretation in the hermeneutic phenomenological tradition is given in this chapter based on a deliberation of the semantics surrounding the words, description, and analysis. The desire of the participating FN elders to be named and not to be considered "subjects" was stated. Furthermore, the process of initiating contact with the participants and the informal and formal interviewing / dialogical methodology was explained. Two case studies composed of individual audio-taped summaries were presented, and references to the remaining eight case studies; Elders: Lena Nottaway, Tom Rankin, Daisy Herodier, Isaac Masty, Margaret Sam-Cromatry, Nancy Sheshamush, Kathleen Green, and Robin Green can be found in Appendix A. The chapter concluded with the summary of the group interview that took place on Manitoulin Island.

In the next chapter, an understanding of traditional Native education is offered.

CHAPTER V : TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING

Then I was standing on the highest mountain of them all,
and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world.
And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I
understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner
the shapes as they must live together like one being. And I saw
that the sacred hoop of my people was one of many hoops that
made one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, and in the
center grew one mighty flowering tree to shelter all the children
of one mother and one father. And I saw that it was holy
(Neihardt, 1961, p.43).

As this study in the phenomenological tradition proceeded, " I
saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw."
However, to be faithful to the spirit of phenomenological research
this chapter endeavors "to construct a possible interpretation" of the
nature of this particular human experience (van Manen, 1992, p.41).
The interpretation strives to identify the epistemology underlying
traditional Native education in a 'meaningful' manner that is
congruent with the values and traditions of FN culture. To realize
this intent, the interpretation is set within the FN order of the circle.

The circle gestalt is pervasive in all aspects of this study. The
circular images of the teepee, the sweat lodge, the medicine wheel,
the four directions, and the sacred circle recur in the dialogues.
Elders sit in a circle inside a teepee to arrive at consensus together.
In the roundness of the sweat lodge, people sit in a circle marking
the four directions and looking to the central pole of life. The
dialogue format is an open round of communication. During the
process of this study the researcher returned again and again to
people, places, ceremonies and documents to grasp the cosmology of
the circle represented in the text of this chapter.

The epistemology subsumed in the concept of "the circle" is a
temporal understanding. It is temporal because the concept of the
circle implies renewal and regeneration. Furthermore an

epistemology founded on the circle is transitory because an understanding can never be grasped in its totality as it is, in essence, a part of the totality of life (Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

The temporal understanding of traditional Native education offered in this chapter is derived from a studied reflection of the case studies, the group consensus dialogue, and a myriad of associated experiences. Dreaming on Dreamer's Rock on Manitoulin Island, a sweat on the traditional beluga whale-gathering site of the Cree and Inuit near Whapmagoostui, the canoe trip from Hudson's Bay into James Bay with Cree and Inuit companions, the regular trips to Maniwaki to visit Algonquin Elder William Commanda, the yearly live-in visits with the Sheshamush family in Whapmagoostui, and the smoking of the peace pipe at the Elders' Conference on the Constitution at Morley, Alberta in 1992 constitute some of the many associated lived experiences that colour this understanding. The recurring themes that are found in the case studies, group consensus dialogue, and associated experiences mold this understanding of traditional Native education.

The prevalent themes are interconnected like points connecting the circle. The themes form a "whole" world view of life in which every person is a world that interacts with Mother Earth and the cosmos. The themes that form this understanding of traditional Native education are epistemology, language, identity, traditions and customs, traditional values and a belief system. Each theme is considered in a section of this chapter and the text of each section examines dialogue excerpts from the case studies and from the group consensus interview. Overviews in the form of a summary of sample excerpts in the individual case studies and the group dialogue accompanies the thematic text of each section. Following this, there is a consideration of the circular cosmology of the medicine wheel. The medicine wheel is the gestalt used to arrive at an understanding of traditional Native education. The final section in this chapter defines traditional Native education and provides a conceptual map. Appendix B contains a photographic journal of participating elders

and some events, such as the building of the sweat lodge on a traditional gathering site of the Cree. It is a visual glimpse of the world experienced. Appendix C contains a sample page from a case study transcript.

Epistemology is a predominant theme in the case studies and the group consensus dialogue. Elders affirm that a different system of knowledge exists for FNP. Consideration of the different epistemology for Algonquian speakers as told in the individual taped dialogues by an Ojibway Elder, and a Cree Elder, and by an Algonquin Elder within the consensus-building interview is now presented. The discussion is initiated by the wisdom of the acknowledged wise man, Black Elk.

Epistemology

In the old days, when we were a strong and happy people, all our power came from the sacred circle of the nation and as long as the circle remained whole, the people flourished. The blossoming tree was the living center of the circle and the circle of the four quarters nourished it. The east gave peace and light, the south gave warmth, from the west came rain, and the north, with its cold and powerful wind gave strength and endurance. This knowledge came to us from the external world (the transcending world, the universe) and with it, our religion. Everything done by the power of the universe is made in the form of a circle. The sky is circular and I have heard that the Earth is round as a ball and the stars too are round. The wind whirls, at the height of its power. The birds build their nests in a circular way, for they have the same religion as us... Our teepees (tents) were like the nests of the birds and were always laid in a circle - the circle of the nation, a nest made out of many nests, where the Great Spirit willed us to brood our children (Neihardt, 1961, p. 26).

The epistemology of the circle of life as described by Black Elk through Neihardt is an iterative pattern in the ten case studies and the consensus-building group dialogue. Circular images labeling a concrete, conceptual and philosophical world appear in the text of the taped dialogues. Teepee and fire suggest a concrete world; the sweat

lodge, medicine wheel, and the four directions suggest regenerating conceptual processes; the sacred hoop and the sacred tree refer to a philosophy of life that is whole and cosmic. The circular pattern resonates throughout the study and the pattern that emerges is inclusive like an internet or community. It is a complete system.

Table II gives sample dialogue excerpts from the individual elders' audio-taped dialogues that pertain to the theme of epistemology. Also included in this table is the language referent to epistemology. For example, William Commanda refers to epistemology as "Indian way".

Table II

Case Study Descriptors of Epistemology

Informants	Descriptors	Sample Case Study Excerpts
Algonquin		
Elders		
Commanda	Indian way	We have to educate the young people to be Indian (p. 8).*
Nottaway	our knowledge and lore	Walk in the bush because they need that. ... in the bush teach them how to work, to hunt (p. 2).
Rankin	'Indianness'	Living in the bush and being an Indian (p. 3).
Cree		
Elders		
Herodier	the world view on the trapline	... retain those ways of looking at yourself, the community, the world (p. 2).
Masty	the rich knowledge that exists in the Cree society	... a method of understanding (p. 20).
Sam-Cromatry	own traditional way	... to go hand and hand with nature (p. 2).
Sheshamush	our culture	... students are going into the bush to learn their traditional values and culture (p. 3).

(table continues)

* Verbal protocol transcript page number.

Table II continues

Informants	Descriptors	Sample Case Study Excerpts
Cree		
Elders		
Green, K.	teaching the children the present and the past and future	Our people were strong in their traditions ... when they were hunting, they had a celebration and offered their tobacco (p. 1).
Ojibway		
Elders		
Green, R.	traditional teachings	... so important that we educate our own young people (p. 2).
Wassegijig	complete system intuitive system	They had a system of seeing of knowing of praying of thinking and knowing the systems of the land in this country and on this continent ... (p. 2).

A Complete and Different System of Knowledge

Their vision, their spirituality, their world was totally different. ... Their complete system was their religion, their vision, their art history, their intuition, their imagination. ... They had a system of seeing, of knowing, of praying, of thinking, and knowing the systems of the land in this country, on this continent. They had their own ways of communication, their own ways of seeing directions, and accepting and receiving directions from the Creator or the animals. They were able to communicate with the animals, with all of Nature. They could communicate with the trees and the stones. They knew the ways of the elements, the earth and the sky. They knew these elements could do things and they looked on them as people like the tree people or the stone people or the fire people. They had their gifts and they were able to communicate with them and they in turn, the elements, were able to communicate with them when they needed their help in terms of survival or spiritual awakenings (Wassegijig, 1992, pp. 1-2).

Ojibway Elder Helen Wassegijig describes her FNP's way of knowing as "totally different". It is intuitive. Her people do differentiate between an animate and inanimate world. However, they have their own way of communicating with, and receiving direction from, the animals, the land, and the Creator. No distinction is made between communicating with animate and inanimate objects, and living or non-living persons thereby suggesting that there is a difference in the way knowledge and wisdom exists and is acquired. An intuitive, metaphorical way of acquiring knowledge is learned from all of life including other people, the animals, trees, elements, and the whole universe. The world is understood as a complete system of life. It is a pervasive system of acquiring knowledge and wisdom. This system of knowledge defies linear progression. It is all-encompassing. In earlier times, the FN view of the world was considered to be pagan, unenlightened, barbaric, and even heretical (Fisher, 1977). This complete and different system of knowledge was not understood by the migrants (Berger, 1991).

The Teepee and the Land

Daisy Herodier of the Cree Nation also describes a world view that is different from the western thought of the migrants to Canada. She recalls that she acquired her world view in the intimacy of the teepee and on the land with her people. She describes her experience:

As a child we lived on a trapline in a teepee or in whatever dwelling you know you can make as the weather changed. ... The setting, it is quite an unique setting for educating children, I think. You know as an educator I think about it often how in that setting the child's needs are fulfilled in every way by the family members and the extended family. If they were there; emotional, intellectual, physical, or spiritual. I think all those needs were fulfilled in a setting like that and the parents, the brothers and sisters, gave you what you needed to learn to go through life and taught you skills at an early age. For example, at an early age you were asked to go out on the ice. They set you an ice line, a fish line for you. I think that was one of the first skills you would learn as a child. Or you would try and set a snare by yourself. Those are the survival skills you would learn at a very early age. And when you are out there in that setting the child learns the concepts, the early childhood concepts very well. In that setting you learn all sorts of things, you get in a sense the world view I think out there (Herodier, 1993, pp. 1-2).

As a Cree child alone on the land she acquired skills in securing her own food. Whether alone on the land learning how to survive or sharing together with others in the circle of the teepee, she learned the social, emotional, mental, and spiritual aspects of life. An independence was taught as survival skills were acquired. Learning took place in solitude and together with others. Experience on the land was a mentor. The space of the circle and the vastness of the land formed her experiences. The values and the customs of her people tailored her understanding of the world. Bruner (1990) would explain her way of knowing as evolving from the acts of her people who invested her life with meaning thereby molding her cognition. The literature, however, does not deliberate on how the land guided her existence and shaped her thought.

Dr. Lena Nottaway, an Algonquin elder known as a grandmother to her Algonquin Nation, spoke within the group interview in her own Algonquin language about the importance of the land as holding knowledge. For her the land represents a mother and teacher. Some of her thoughts are translated as follows:

Our children must be taught Indian ways, to think as Indians ... We have our own ways, our own traditions, our own beliefs that we must pass on to our descendants. All the knowledge that we have gained from Nature since the beginning of our existence, the wisdom and lore that is locked in our land and our forests, all that which makes us Anishinabes, must not be lost to our children (Lena Nottaway, 1993, pp. 1-2).

She affirms that FNP have their own way of thinking accompanied by different beliefs and values, and the source of FNP's knowledge and wisdom is the land. The land instructs. She repeatedly told that everything could be learned in the bush. The land, while nourishing the people, gives them their values and beliefs. The land is Mother Earth. Traditional knowledge and wisdom are gleaned from the interactive relationship her people have with Mother Earth. She offers a holistic view of life for Algonquian speakers.

A Whole Vision

The literature confirms that a complete and different epistemology exists for Algonquian speakers. For example, Knudtson and Suzuki (1992) acknowledge the different way of knowing for FNP and credit their wisdom of the land. FNP thought is described as holistic, connective and not fragmented (Levine & Suzuki, 1993). FN author, Sioui (1992), refers to the unity of all FN thought and describes the FNP system of knowledge as a sacred circle of life where "each person is a vision, a system, a world" (p.103).

Hallowell (1955) writing about the Ojibway cosmology, and Preston (1982) writing about the Cree system of knowledge, describe

the different ways of knowing for FNP noting that FNP do distinguish between the categories of animate and inanimate as do Westerners who value rational, logical, thought. However they differentiate in dissimilar ways. Sarah Whitecalf's Cree stories such as "Tobacco", "Love Medicine", and "Dream Spirits" tell of another constructed reality that is distinctively different from the dominant EC culture of Canada (Wolfart & Ahenakew, 1993). As well, the researcher verifies, through the taped dialogues with informants, the existence of a different epistemology characterized by a unique categorical cognition for FNP. For example, trees may be people, and both deceased ancestors and stones are referred to as grandmothers and grandfathers. In addition to this already existing literature, the Algonquian elders acknowledge that the land communicates as a teacher and is a receptacle of knowledge and wisdom. When they seek wisdom it is to the Mother Earth that FNP return. With her they dream, have vision quests, and obtain the knowledge and wisdom they need. The knowledge and wisdom they glean from the land is not founded in logical thought framed within the Western rational scientific tradition. Rather, it is thought that is grounded in the land. Land is a metaphor for the whole universe. With Mother Earth as a symbol of the source, the land is nourishment and is considered the origin of power. Land is to be respected and revered. Abuse of Mother Earth is not to be tolerated.

FN elders acknowledge that abuse of Mother Earth exists amongst their people. In this study elders spoke of the abuse of alcohol and drugs. They told how it has scourged the people and resulted in their abuse of the land. Elders do not respect this trait within their own people. In fact, Lena Nottaway acknowledges this abusive behavior to be a source of their own powerlessness as FNP. Moreover, she thinks that it has corrupted the FNP system of knowledge. According to Lena Nottaway, alcohol has softened FNP's minds and put them off guard. The completeness of their thought is tainted by alcohol and drug abuse.

Table III is a summary of sample excerpts from elders who participated in the group dialogue. Note how the elders in the group dialogue referred to epistemology.

Table III

Group Dialogue Descriptors of Epistemology

Informant Epistemic Descriptors		Group Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin		
Elders		
Commanda	language	First of all it is your language (p. 2).
Nottaway	our knowledge and lore	When the Anishinabe People were created we were a people with our own culture and customs (p. 21).
Rankin	traditional way of life	We have to show them our life ... to stay Native (p. 21).
Decontic	values of the Anishinabe	Our mentality is something so sacred... (pp. 3-4).
Paptic	culture, traditions, language	...in the woods teaching grandchildren the traditional ways (p. 7).
Wawatie	Indian culture	Your own proper colours, the way you see the world, the way you vision the world (p. 9).
Mien	culture and language	My spirit (p. 20).

(table continues)

Table III continues

Informant	Epistemic Descriptors	Group Dialogue Excerpts
Mohawk		
Elder		
Benedict	whole Native society	According to our teachings nobody owns anything. We can use things for a while (p. 13).
Cree		
Elder		
Herodier	life on the trap-line	And because I was around my elders I think I learnt something as a child. ... includes the four domains mental physical emotional and spiritual (p. 14).

In this section, entitled "Epistemology", the participating informants confirm that a different epistemology exists for Algonquian and Mohawk Nations. One informant refers to the epistemology of her people as an intuitive system of knowledge that communicates with inanimate and animate beings. Consistently, FN elders affirm that the land is a source of knowledge and wisdom. Learning is acquired by living together in the circle of the community and alone on the land in the vastness of the larger circle of life. It is reported that abuse of alcohol and drugs creates confusion amongst the FNP and modifies their holistic vision of life.

In the following section, the theme of language is explored as it relates to epistemology and traditional Native education. The

investigation begins with Algonquian speaker, Robert Houle, considering semantics and language, and continues with a consideration of the roles of language as told in the case studies and group interview. Summary overviews depict a condensed view of the roles of language as told by participating elders in the case studies and in the group interview.

Language

Robert Houle in conversation with Bell (1993) explains:

... the word artist ... we do not have it in our language. Mizinibiigeka (one who makes images) - a maker of objects- a maker of artifacts. Yes, a maker of objects. Because you see, the way it works, medicine men will make their own objects, too. And we begin to come to a grey area here because making an object also implies that you're making a mushkéke (medicine). The point of putting things together is to create a paradigm to create some type of power (Bell, p. 15).

Robert Houle explains that there is no concept, and hence no word, for artist in his Algonquian language. Medicine man is the English equivalent, but it is a word with a different primary meaning in English. The phrase, 'medicine man', in English is suggestive of a person who may know or acquire knowledge in a non-rational, intuitive manner. Medicine man is a term that may also be a suggestive label in the English language for pagan or primitive. The term may even suggest heretic. Houle's example, as cited above, illustrates how language conveys the thought of the people with its mirage of meanings across language groups. Language may transmit different meanings to different people and may convey, or fail to convey, concepts that are existent in another language.

Table IV gives sample dialogue excerpts from the case studies concerning the theme of language. A relationship between language and identity is established. One elder confides that he understands his purpose is to tell the stories of his people to the young. Another

elder discloses that the land speaks to her implying that language is more than verbal communications. She suggests that the land has the ability to talk.

Table IV

Language Theme in the Case Studies

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	Supposing I call myself Indian and I don't talk Indian. Who am I?... (p. 1).
Nottaway	The language is based on the philosophy of life (p. 18).
Rankin	... the language, they are suppose to learn ours. ... They lose their language and also they lose their culture, their traditional way. People lose their language and they want to live like the White People but they are not White. They could never live like French or English. They teach them only French language, not even English (p. 2)?
Cree	
Elders	
Herodier	... to bring back the stories. Stories from the trappers and hunters. ... I think what happened in history, people were starting to look at themselves and their culture as nothing important (pp. 3-4).
Masty	The Cree are a verbal people. They don't have written records. ... Those stories that were told to us ... I can still remember clearly some of those bed time stories. That was our education system. It was an entertainment, education, social program, all combined together (pp. 8-9).

(table continues)

Table IV continues

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Cree	
Elders	
Sam-Cromatry	Learn the language is very important. ... Stories ... Maybe they won't help right away but eventually they will (pp. 2-3).
Green	Mother Earth she speaks to me. She speaks to me in a lot of different ways she makes me open my eyes. She makes me open my ears and I have to listen (p. 2).
Ojibway	
Elders	
Green	I only believe in passing on the teachings to our younger people. ... Once they have understood why the elders keep talking in this way then they will start to maintain their own culture and their own belief in the traditional way(p. 2).
Wassegijig	Teaching the Native language I know is one of the prime goals of the Native community right now, preserving the Aboriginal languages. They are now being taught and having language instructors to teach the language at all the educational levels from kindergarten right up to high school and university, to teach the public the Native and non-Native the Aboriginal language whatever Aboriginal language the community would like to learn. ... Some people have already started to teach top level business men the language. They are already being asked if they speak the language and if they can write the correspondence in the Aboriginal language (p. 5).

Language and Semantics

Helen Wassegijig, an Ojibway elder, spoke about the tree people and stone people. She explains how her people communicate with the trees, stones and elements and how they realize and understand that the elements are able to assist with survival and spiritual awakenings. Differentiation is made in her language between animate and inanimate. A different meaning is assigned to the word, 'people', in Ojibway and in English. People are not categorized in the same way in the two languages. For example, an Ojibway person explains that she is able to speak to the stones and have the stones give direction. An English-speaking person does not commonly think or express such a thought. In fact, an English-speaking person would consider such knowledge claims suspect and even insane. Such conversation could be sanctioned. Knowing this, FNP may silence themselves when in conversation with members of the non-FN world.

Algonquin elder, Jacob Wawatie, also confirms the existence of a different way of perceiving and categorizing inhabitants in his language. The different meanings assigned to different perceptions of who is a person and with whom one is able to communicate suggest another way of understanding the world. He explains in the group interview:

Now that is how they taught me to see the world, through Indian eyes, where the animals talk to you. You know it is kind of hard to say to you, you listen to animals because how do you listen to animals. How do you listen to birds and trees ... (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 9).

His language provides the possibility of communicating with the animals and trees and birds. He admits that it is difficult to speak this way to an English-speaking person because one does not communicate in English with something that is considered non-human. He asks, "How do you listen to birds and trees?" It is

possible to state that ornithologists listen to birds and do recognize the different bird sounds. Moreover, ornithologists are able to communicate with the birds. Cree hunters pursuing the Canada goose use similar skills. However, what is being explained by FNP, specifically Jacob Wawatie and Helen Wassegijig, is more than communicating with the birds. They disclose that the birds, animals and Mother Earth give them direction and guidance which is something more than recognizing and communicating the songs or mating calls of the various birds. Language in this context is more than semantics. It is an understanding of the world where all of life is connected and capable of interacting and influencing the life of a person. Language carries more than different meanings for the various language groups. Different world views are implicated and reflected in the subtle nuances of language. In fact, Jacob Wawatie tells that he acquired his world of meaning from the traditional education he received from his grandparents. He learned to understand the world from them. His grandparents taught him their vision of reality, their constructed reality. It was taught through the Algonquin language they spoke together. The Algonquin language is similar to all languages in that semantics are embedded in the language. The semantics build a meaning of the world. To use Jacob Wawatie's words, language "colours" the world. Language gives birth to a world view (Whorf, 1956). Geertz (1983) refers to this as local knowledge while Bruner (1990) explains it as acts of meaning that construct a "folk psychology". Bruner (1990) explains:

We learn our culture's folk psychology early, learn it as we learn to use the very language we acquire and to conduct the interpersonal transactions required in communal life. ... its organizing principle is narrative rather than conceptual (p. 35).

Jacob Wawatie relates how his grandparents gave him a way of understanding the world that is particular to their way of life.

In the above examples cited by the Algonquian speakers, Houle, Wawatie and Wassegijig, provide a description of how language is laced with meaning and how it is a conduit for conveying

the meanings of the culture. Language frames the culture by assigning meaning and defining the concepts of a particular culture. The language, and the semantics of the language, construct a reality for the people determining their world view. In the Algonquian world it is possible to think of the stones as people who communicate and give counsel.

Language in the Algonquian sense of the word includes intuitions and dreams. Language has a spiritual sense. Language may be considered as the art of experience. It is comparable to the playwright's play, poet's poem, a musician's music, a prayer.

Language and Traditional Native Education

An Ojibway elder explains that her traditional language taught her how to think and what to value. Furthermore, she makes no distinction between learning a language and acquiring traditional Native education. By this she means that through the acquisition of her Native language a person acquires a traditional Native education.

Traditional Native education is for me being able to speak my language and it is these things I can give my students at the college level and at any level of education. I feel that it was a great gift that was given to me by my parents. I never realized it was a gift until I was able to teach it and now I am mastering the art of teaching it and I am very grateful for that and that is traditional education. I know everything about my culture through the language. And I have learned a lot of good values from it and it's kept me in good stead all these years. and it is just now that I am realizing the gift that I have always carried with me but I was not using it until now. But now I can teach it (Wassegijig, 1992, p. 4).

According to Helen Wassegijig, traditional Native education is to a great extent the learning of your nation's language. The language teaches the traditions of the culture as defined by that language. She also credits language with the transmission of the values of the culture. Helen Wassegijig, in her discussion of language, is confirming what the recorded literature earlier in Chapter II of this study claims: the values and beliefs of the culture mold thought and

construct the reality of a people (Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956; Bruner, 1964; 1984; 1990).

Furthermore, in the above dialogue excerpt, reference is made to the relationship between language and values. It is well established that language carries the values of the people (Whorf, 1956; and Bruner, 1964; 1984; 1990). The elder is acknowledging the existence of a universal relationship between values and language and she is applying this universal to her Ojibway language. Specifically, she tells how learning her traditional Ojibway language gave her a set of values for living in the world. For her, the values she learned with her language have served her well.

Cree elder, Daisy Herodier, in the group interview, confirms the relationship between language and traditional Native education:

This fall we are going to introduce mother tongue instruction into all our communities. Traditional education (Group Interview, 1993, p. 14).

Further along in her exchange with other elders she explains how the Cree language teaches spiritual values. At present, she confides she is working to construct a curriculum of study for the Cree schools that incorporates the Cree spiritual teachings. The visiting Mohawk elder, Ernest Benedict, affirms her intent and offers to assist her.

William Commanda, in the group interview, also affirms the integral relationship between language and traditional Native education:

For my part I would say language is very important (Group Interview, 1993, p.1).

Language, Communication and the Acquisition of Values

Language as traditional Native education is essential, but it is not sufficient according to William Commanda. He states:

First it is your language. But, in order to communicate, if I was only to talk my Algonquin language and if I was to move to Nova Scotia, nobody would be able to understand what I was talking. ... we have to communicate in the English language in order to be able to understand (Group Interview, 1993, p. 1).

Besides the traditional Native language, a communication language is necessary to permit communications between and amongst peoples. However, it is the traditional language that gives the individual values.

Elders throughout the case studies and the group interview maintained that language creates meaning for people by structuring a value and a belief system. For Helen Wassegijig, it was her traditional language that bequeathed her values and her life direction; for Daisy Herodier, it was the Cree spiritual values in her language that gave her a belief system. For Jacob Wawatie, his language "colours" his world view endowing him with a value and belief system.

Elder William Commanda, in a taped dialogue, offered a values lesson according to traditional Algonquin culture.

... if my grandson comes in here real drunk, I am not going to throw him out because he's my grandson. And you can not and you have no right to tell your grandson to stop drinking or else like the White people would do. ... Indian ways have no way of telling them to stop. We just tell them, " Would you please stop what you are doing. If you want to, we would very much appreciate, if you would stop." We don't have this, "You stop this or else." That is a different language. LAUGH. And that's one of the teachings that should be given to the grandchildren and not only the grandchildren, the teenagers need it very much so. That is the part of the language that is very important to learn; the first language in Indian, to be yourself again. Then the second language is a communication language. It could be whatever. If you live among the French, it is your second. If you live among the English speaking people, you speak English. I was talking, praying in the house in Quebec, in Government House. They asked me to and I prayed in Indian. And after I got through praying we were using sweet grass and sage and it lasted for a half hour or more. Thanking the Creator for everything that crawls on the ground, the land where we stand on we thank the Creator... (1993, p. 11).

In the above excerpt, William Commanda suggests that language teaches people how to relate to one another. Specifically, he is explaining how his language maintains respect and tolerance of another person even when the other person's way of life is undesirable or unacceptable. As discovered in this example, someone may suggest that another not follow a certain path of life. However, in the Algonquin language, one person will not give another an ultimatum nor will one person interfere in the life path of another. In this lesson, respect is inherent in the communication between people. Values are found in the language. It may also be extrapolated from the above lesson that values may be interpreted differently by separate cultural groups. For instance, the value of respect that permeates the Algonquin language determines that Algonquin people speak indirectly or suggestively to one another while people of the English-speaking world speak more directly and deliver ultimatums. The grandson who arrives home drunk may be spoken to differently depending on the culture of origin. What may be interpreted as respect and care by one group of people may be considered as neglect and lack of concern, or even dullness, by

another. From this example, it is possible to surmise that in order to built understanding between peoples who live together, an analysis of the language for values is needed. Ross (1992) writes of this need when considering justice within the Canadian legal system.

Assumptions built on the hypothesis that all nationalities value life similarly is naive. What is of relevance as illustrated in this example, is the need for mutual understanding that recognizes cognitive differences exist within the languages of different nations. With this understanding and recognition people may live with one another in a more respectful and tolerant way.

Language, Values and Thought

... you would know if you were to get mad, if you were to curse, then you would remember that you have no word in your own language to curse the Creator. Even if you talk English you are not going to do that, you are not going to curse like that because there are no words in the Indian language ... (Commanda, 1993, p. 5).

This example of metacognition relates the relevance of language to the thought and values of a group of people. As there is no language to curse the life force in the Algonquin tongue, there is no way for a member of the Algonquin Nation to think such a thought. In this example, the elder is suggesting that the people's language gives them direction as to how to behave, what to value, how to think, and what not to think because the concepts are missing in the language. According to this elder, Algonquin speakers do not curse the Creator because they have no words to speak such a thought. They do not think of the Creator in derogatory terms. In fact, it appears that the Algonquin Nation values the Creator, also known as the life force, differently. It is possible to suggest that this dialogue sample indicates that there is an overall respect for all life in the universe. The circle of life is represented by the Creator, and the land, and the inhabitants. For instance, further along in this

dialogue the elder speaks with gratitude and respect addressing the Creator:

We say thank you Father for creating the moon, the moon that you have given, the moon who has also the responsibility to control the woman's life. All the animal life, the fish life is controlled by the moon and the sun forces which are controlled by the One, the life keeper. It could be white, it could be yellow or could be black or could be any colour of people. It's from the moon the morning rise and then all day until it is time for the sunset, that's the length of our life ... (Commanda, 1992, p. 12).

His thought is holistic. All nations of people, regardless of colour, are considered ; and the fish, and animals, the sun, and the moon are included. This sample of cognition represents a global, inclusive, metaphorical way of thinking of the world. It is not an isolated example of thought taken from the group consensus interview that focused on the components of traditional Native education and found language thought and values to be inter-related. Other examples exist. The visiting elder to the group consensus interview, Ernest Benedict of the Mohawk Nations, confirms that his FN values may be taught through language and that thought is shaped by what is taught through language. He provides the following example:

How about arithmetic... In the school system you say one airplane will fly eighty miles an hour, another one will fly two hundred miles an hour, another five hundred miles an hour. How long will it take the second one to reach ... the first one? What does it mean? Now you say what are they teaching? They are teaching time is valuable, time can be measured. Time is something that depends upon what you have like material things? They are teaching that all the time even in the courses you don't suspect. Now you can turn that around and put your own stuff in there if you want (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 15).

Using language as a tool, values and a way of thinking can be taught.

Lena Nottaway, honored with a doctorate from Carleton University and considered to be a grandmother to her people, speaks:

Long ago our concept of teaching or education did not involve the destruction of Nature. What has been the result to our children of the white man's education to this time? To me, it seems to mean a loss of all that is important to us as Indians; the gradual loss of our language, the gradual loss of our identity as Indians, the respect for others that our people always believed in is being forgotten. Our youth are picking up the worst habits that they see in the non-Indian youth and forgetting or putting aside the very teachings that make us what we are (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. p.23).

Besides relating thought, language, values, and way of life as represented by the word, 'habit', Lena Nottaway is connecting all of life. Nature is valued and life is to be respected. She links the loss of language, the loss of identity, and the corrosion of the value of respect to the education of FN children in non-FN schools. It is her belief that the oppression of the languages of FN is resulting in FN children forgetting who they are, losing their language and forgetting about respect. She associates the domination of her Algonquian People to the power of the EC's education.

Language and Power

In the residential schools for FNP, children were not allowed to speak their language (Battiste, 1986; Johnston, 1988; Wawatie, 1993). FN children experienced what Freire (1968) called an oppressive pedagogy that alienated them from their world view (Cardinal, 1969; Battiste, 1986; Jaenen, 1986; Assembly of First Nations, 1988; Haig-Brown, 1988; Johnson, 1988). They were dominated by another language. Children were not taught their language, did not acquire the values of their people as conveyed by their language and did not learn their way of thinking as Algonquian speakers. Algonquin elders disclose that this still occurs today. It occurs implicitly by not acknowledging the language. Elder Tom Rankin tells how the young people come to him and ask:

When are we going to be Indian? I am sick and tired of learning French, French ... we need a different language to live. That's what they say ... that is the way they think (1993, p. 2)

The Algonquin young people feel oppressed by language at school.

While Elder Lena Nottaway likes to see the children go to school, she finds that it is at school that the children lose their language. She relates the loss of language to the general destruction of her people. Other Algonquin elders tell of the loss of language and the subsequent confusion that occurs. For example, Cree Elder Issac Masty, a teacher with the Cree School Board at Whapmagoostui, confides:

Everything that has been taught in the schools in the curriculum that is followed by the southern societies ... the material that is there is not always relevant to the communities so that confuses them. Here you are trying to follow Cree ways and in the school you are taught completely different concepts and you have to learn them at a certain stage. Now who decided that? ... The ones that tend to lose out, act out in today's society are those that have not had enough exposure to the Cree culture... (1992, pp. 19-20).

It is Issac Masty's experience that children who are isolated from their Cree language and way of life in the bush lose out and act out. They are Cree but they do not know what it means to speak Cree or to live as a Cree person in the bush. Failing to acquire their language, they lose the possibility of realizing the legacy of their Cree inheritance.

For Daisy Herodier, it is the Cree language that empowers her people. She understands that her language, in particular, is the carrier of spiritual concepts and thus spiritual power. For her people to learn the Cree language is to learn about spiritual power. She is diligently working to ensure that the Cree language is once again taught to children in the schools. In the group interview, Ernest Benedict confirms the importance of Daisy Herodier's mission and offers practical support in building a curriculum that places Cree values in the program of studies.

A different point of view is offered by William Commanda. He associates the loss of FN languages to the parents' failure to teach the children the FN language of birth even when they speak their FN language.

It could very well probably happen we have to blame the parents. I have seen in my community some of the parents were taught in Indian. They marry. An Indian boy marries an Indian girl and they both speak fluent English. And when they raise their children they teach them in English. Why do they not talk to them in Indian (Group Interview, 1993, p. 2).

The parents, through negligence, fail to give their children the power of their language. Possible explanations may be offered. At school the parents learned that their language was not relevant. In fact, they were punished for speaking FN languages. As well, in an informal, implicit manner the dominant culture taught these same parents not to speak their language, or to value their culture (Berger, 1991; Beam, 1992; Wright, 1992). Consequently, these parents at an early age learned that their language was of no economic value and, hence, of little or no power. Possibly, as parents, they saw themselves as having no legacy other than the dominant language of the social structure in power to offer their children. Perhaps they did not even reflect on the legacy of their culture. The parents merely followed the teachings of the pervasive media culture. After all, their language had been silenced in the formal residential schools, and not acknowledged as a founding language. When the power structure of the dominant social fabric of this country does not acknowledge the legacy of FNP's language and culture, and even punishes those who speak the FN languages, it is not surprising that parents should choose not to teach FN languages to their children thereby failing to give them the FN cultural inheritance. William Commanda is pointing out that parents have failed to teach their children their FN language. This was heard many times in several different situations. Elders throughout the country want parents to teach their children their FN language (Hjartarson, 1992, Field notes).

It is commonly thought by FN elders that children have a right to the power of their language.

To inherit language is to acquire the possibility of understanding the world from a particular cultural perspective as language contains the thought of the people (Whorf, 1956; Bruner, 1990). Learning to speak a language is equivalent to learning to think in a particular way. Language contains the thought of the people and their folk psychology (Bruner, 1990). When language is not taught, or when language is not allowed to be spoken, the operant language dominates the world view of those who are denied the possibility of speaking their language. Language may oppress a people through failure to recognize or acknowledge the thought of another. It does not need to be deliberate oppression. It may simply be that the thoughts and values as expressed by the minority language do not exist in the dominant language. Domination occurs when a group of people fails to experience its language because the dominant language group teaches the minority their beliefs and values through language. Failing to teach the minority language, or even to recognize the language, is to exert control and power. In fact, it is possible to control a group of people by preventing them from learning their language. This results in a group of people disinheriting their language. Children lose the privilege of experiencing their own language with its inherent beliefs, and values and way of thinking. In the case of the Algonquian People, when their language is not taught or recognized, the people are dominated by another language and the thought and values that are embedded in it. For the Algonquian People the dominating language may be English or French.

Table V gives a sample of dialogue excerpts from the group dialogue participants pertaining to language. Language is named as an important component in traditional Native education and is associated with identity, perception, world view and spirituality. For example, Jacob Wawatie tells how language influences how a person "colors" perceptions of the world (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 9).

Table V

The Language Theme Within the Group Dialogue

Informants	Sample excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	I would say language is very important (p. 2).
Nottaway	We learn our own language and culture first so that our own identity is firmly established in our minds and hearts (p. 22).
Rankin	to stay on as a Native ... language (p.3).
Decontic	I believe that is the direction, the language ... but first before we go in that direction ... the abuse of drugs and alcohol we have to clean up (p. 7).
Paptic	... trying to teach ... children and grandchildren now ... language (p. 9).
Wawatie	... when you speak English or French it is just like you are coloring the Indian world with their colours (p. 9).
Mien	It is my culture and my language. ... that is the way I regained my spirit (p.20).
Cree	
Elder	
Herodier	... spirituality is inherent in the language (p. 15).

The section has explored the relationship of epistemology and language as reflected in the case studies and group interview. FN participants maintain a holistic world view that is inclusive of the greater circle of life as represented by a world that includes the Creator and Mother Earth, the trees, birds, and all people regardless of colour. Their language is a means of transmitting their system of knowledge and wisdom with its accompanying values and beliefs. Language is traditional Native education. However, traditional Native education comprises more than language as a body of knowledge and wisdom. Language also offers the ability to communicate with others, to express values, beliefs, and thoughts. When a language is not recognized or denied, or simply not taught, people are silenced. Their thoughts, values and beliefs are not heard and the knowledge and wisdom of the silenced culture is lost (Gysin, 1993). The dominant language assumes power by imposing the inherent world view. When this occurs, the people who have lost their language are oppressed by the offending culture. Their identity as a people becomes confused.

The following section explores the theme of identity and its relationship to traditional Native education as uncovered in this study.

Identity

This, then, is not the tale of a great hunt My friend, I am going to tell you the story of my life, as you wish; and if it were only the story of my life I think I would not tell it; for what is one man that he should make much of his winters, even when they bend him like a heavy snow? So many other men have lived and shall live that story, to be grass upon the hills.

It is the story of all life that is holy and is good to tell, of us two leggeds sharing in it with the four-legged's and the wings of the air and all green things; ...

This, then, is not the tale of a great hunter or of a great warrior, or of a great traveler, although I have made much meat in my time and fought for my people both as boy and man, and gone far and seen strange lands and men. So also have many others done, and better than I. These things I shall remember by the way, and often they may seem to be the very tale itself, as when I was living them in happiness and sorrow. But now I can see it all as from a lonely hilltop, I know it was the story of a mighty vision given to a man too weak to use it; of a holy tree that should have flourished in a people's heart with flowers and singing birds, and now is withered; and of a people's dream that died in bloody snow.

But if the vision was true and mighty, as I know it is true and mighty yet; for such things are of the spirit, and it is in the darkness of their eyes that men get lost (Neihardt, 1961 pp. 1-2).

In this passage, Black Elk, with humility, retells his vision of FNP through Neihardt (1961). Although he admits he is bent with the heavy snow of winters, he emanates hope from the "bloody snow" while warning that it is in the darkness, when the vision is not present, that people get lost. Elders in this study spoke of lost people and of the confusion that lives in the hearts and minds of FNP. They also spoke of healing and ways of affirming the identity of FNP.

Table VI exposes the relationship of identity to living in the bush, food, language and making progress in life. Sample dialogue excerpts from the case studies on the theme of FN identity are presented.

Table VI

The Identity Theme Within the Case Studies

Informants	Sample Dialogue excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	Supposing I call myself an Indian and I don't talk Indian. Who am I (p. 1)?
Nottaway	If you want to live long, stay in the bush (p. 2).
Rankin	Living in the bush and being an Indian and all that. Food, for example. ... I don't want beaver. I don't want this. ... This means that you don't want to live anymore as an Indian (pp. 3-4).
Cree	
Elder	
Herodier	When you go as a Native person to another community or another city or another place where there are Native people you feel close to those people. You feel they are part of you. You feel as if you have known them. Yes, I think that is the way most native people are. ... I think it comes from being close to the land. We all have something in common (p. 5).
Masty	Native People have stressed the importance of establishing an identity to make any progress in life. ... The ones that tend to lose out are those that have not had enough exposure to the Cree culture (pp. 19-20).

(table continues)

Table VI continues

Informants	Sample Dialogue excerpts
Cree	
Elders	
Sam-Cromatry	Well for me I am proud to be an Indian. I am proud to go into the bush and say I know this. This is the way I was brought up (p. 2).
Sheshamush	How to find your identity. Go on a vision quest(p. 1).
Green	... As you travel that path of life we begin to meet a lot of obstacles and that's that alcohol and the drugs (pp. 1-2).
Ojibway	
Elders	
Green	For most of our younger people who are living in the urban settings it is just like a white man walking in the bush and getting lost and not knowing where to go. ... They forget who they are (pp. 2-3).
Wassegijig	Today people are relearning, relearning what happened to them many years ago. The person in life goes through different changes as they grow from a young child to an adolescent. The person starts being visited by these old friends, these old rituals these old ceremonies that were enacted by their friends their relatives their parents many years ago. ...They either accept it or acknowledge it or a friend or they totally reject it or they are terrorized by it to the point of committing suicide (p. 2).

Identity and Confusion

First of all you have to know who you are. And then supposing I call myself an Indian and I don't talk Indian. Who am I? (Commanda, 1993, p. 4).

The ensuing confusion that is created from FNP losing their language and their culture is iterated throughout the case studies and group interview. The social problems of the FNP in the urban environment and in their reserve communities reflects the confusion they as people are experiencing. As Ojibway elder Robin Green reflects, it is as if FNP become lost as White People do when they find themselves in the bush. When FNP become lost they encounter the obstacles that Kathleen Green describes as 'those drugs and the alcohol'. Cree poet and informant, Elder Margaret Sam-Cromatry writes about " Only a Drunken Warrior" (p.78). In her poem, Elder Margaret Sam-Cromatry portrays her people as plagued by confusion, scourged by alcohol and possessed by a sense of hate, shame and blame. She tells how her people feel ill equipped to deal with the world of today, lost in time and beaten. Elders William Commanda, Lena Nottaway and Tom Rankin connect the confusion to the loss of language and culture, and Lena Nottaway names alcohol and drugs as forceful culprits. Accordingly, elders attribute schools that fail to teach their culture and language as fueling the confused identity.

Cree poet, Louise Halfe (1994), vividly portrays in verse the essence of the confusion elders disclose in their dialogues and poem. In particular, in "Loving Obscenities", she affixes Indian Affairs policies with "cheap Indian Affairs glasses" that give the semblance of the slant eyes of the Siamese cat. Depicting the confusion and the effaced FNP she writes:

Loving Obscenities

She always wore
those stupid
Indian Affairs glasses
that looked like
the slanted eyes of
a Siamese cat.

He always walked
stooped
puffing on Export A
disguising his whisky breath
with spearmint gum.

She always wore a black and blue shiner
every Friday and Saturday night.
Those stupid fist marks
of his drama attacks.

His eyes moved swiftly
examining every visible track
poking and stubbing his feet
at the sign of suspected visiting lovers

And
When they were together
Mother and Father
He would walk ahead
muttering his loving obscenities
while she walked softly behind
staring through his head
with those cheap
Indian Affairs glasses (p. 31).

The "stooped" walk, the chewed back taste of whiskey, the suspicious nature, and the denial are all symptoms of the scourge of alcohol and drugs. These symptoms are familiar ghosts to Robin and Kathleen Green, traditional medicine people and Frank Decontie, an Algonquin alcohol and drug abuse counsellor. These are ghosts known to erode identity and create confusion. Cree writers Margaret Sam-Cromatry (1992) and Louise Halfe (1994) portray in their poems, and the elders depict in their dialogues the darkness that Black Elk considers when he metaphorically tells that it is in the darkness of their eyes that men get lost (Neihardt, 1961, p.2). Darkness, the lack of vision,

is barren. It does not know the rich, vibrant, cultural life of FNP. Darkness is a repetitive theme in the dialogues, field notes and literature. Drugs and alcohol, or what Lena Nottaway calls 'firewater', and drugs breed a depraved identity displayed in turmoil and the disarray of lost people. The hope that was found in the story of Black Elk is also present in the dialogues of this study (Neihardt, 1961). Robin Green of the Ojibway Nation addresses the confusion, points toward a road of recovery, and offers hope in the following dialogue excerpt from his case study.

Once they have understood why the elders keep talking in this way, then they will start to maintain their own culture and their own belief in the traditional way. We know that their attitude is negative. We have come across it with a lot of young people because they are so urbanized. Most of our younger people are living in the urban settings. For them it is just like a white man walking in the bush and getting lost and not knowing where to go. It is just about the way it is with our people when they go to the urban settings. They forget who they are. They forget their home and then what do they do. It is what happens all over. They get into alcohol and drugs and all the solvents that they can, to make them go the way they are. They are destroying their lives. I know. I am one of them, but now I am twenty three years sober and I am proud of that, because I came a long way in understanding what is so important for the life of our people (Green, 1993, p. 2-3).

The young FNP travel to the urban centers, forget their homes and the traditional way of life and become victims of drugs and alcohol. In turn, confusion and loss beset them. Robin Green says that FNP find their path by maintaining their culture and traditions through listening to their elders. He confesses that he recovered from the darkness and Kathleen Green, his wife, a member of the Cree Nation offers a similar message.

Traditional Native education is teaching our children the past, and the present, and the future. How are they going to learn from the past? Now our young people are so systematized. They want everything to be handed to them on a silver platter. We keep teaching them. ... It is very hard today with our young people to get across to them that we try to teach them about the past. How are people were strong in their traditions and what they did. They were very strong in the way they lived. ... And as we travel that path of life we begin to meet a lot of obstacles and that's that alcohol and the drugs. I too am an alcoholic. I have been sober for twenty-three years. It has been a struggle for me and I went through some hardships. But going to my elders and offering them tobacco and asking them for that help. Those are my educators, those are my teachers. When I go and sit with Mother Earth, when I go fasting ... (Green, 1993, pp. 1-2-2)

In their respective case studies, Robin and Kathleen Green realize the disorientation and confusion that FN youth are experiencing and they both direct their people to return to their culture and their traditional beliefs. They attest that they found their path through the language, customs, traditions and values of their people when they were lost and confused. Lena Nottaway concurs with Robin and Kathleen Green. She states:

We learn our own language and culture first so that our own identity is firmly established in our minds and hearts, not the language and the culture of the White man (Nottaway, 1993, p. 1).

Although Frank Decontie recognizes the need to follow the traditional path, he believes FNP need first to face up to the reality of their abusive life style and heal themselves in order to flourish as a people. He states in the group interview:

The abuse of drugs and alcohol has been taught to the Anishinabe. And as long as this abuse continues how are we going to give the direction to our people when we cannot give it to ourselves. So no matter how we look at it we have to clean up our act somewhere along the line. This is not to be ashamed of. This is not something to hide in a corner and say it is OK when it is not OK. How are we going to give the direction to our children when there is something on the side that we are using and abusing. How are we going to do that? How can we hold something of a traditional value that we think we are so proud of yet we are taking something on the side over here. It does not mix. ...When we work and when we talk and when we think our mentality is something so sacred that has been deteriorating for such a long time. Now we have to make it grow (1993, p. 9).

Identity and confusion are considered and the diversity that prevents FNP from realizing an identity that is in harmony with their sacred vision of the flowering tree of life. Reference is made to contemporary writings by FNP that concur with the participating elders in this study who hold that alcohol and drug abuse manifest the lost, dark, negative side of people alienated from their culture and language. Besides addressing the confusion that prevents FNP from affirming their identity, elders stress the importance of FN languages and culture and of confronting the abuse and choosing an affirmative path. This next subsection on the role of traditional Native education and FN identity considers the role of language and culture.

Identity and Language

For Lena Nottaway, FN identity is established by first learning the language and culture. This allows the identity of the person to be established in the mind and heart and does not allow the identity of the FNP to become confused. William Commanda also connects identity with language:

Supposing I call myself an Indian and I don't talk Indian. Who am I (Commanda, 1993, p.1)?

He queries how he can say he is Algonquin and not speak the Algonquin language. Algonquin elder, Tom Rankin, offers this insight:

They lost their language and they also lost their culture and their traditional way. You know people lost that and they want to live like the White People but they are not White. They could never live like French or English. This is the thing I see and I don't agree with the teachers very much. I think we should do something better than that. ... they teach them only the French language, French language, not even English. French, only French. Some of them drop out. I ask them why have they dropped out? They ask, "When are we going to be an Indian?" Well that is the question they ask me. "When am I going to be an Indian?" (1993, p. 2).

FNPs are unable to become someone else, Tom Rankin declares. He questions why FN children are taught only French at the expense of the loss of their language and identity. As Cree elder Margaret Sam-Cromatry instructs:

Indian kids should be taught their own traditional way of education like they should not forget who they are. That's the first thing. They should not forget they are Indian. They should always remember they are Indian. (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 3).

In addition to language affirming the FN identity, elders spoke of the importance of culture and the traditional teachings. The following subsection on identity considers the impact of the loss of cultural specific traditions and teachings on the identity of FNPs and suggests ways of remediation.

Culture, Traditional Teachings and Identity

Traditional teachings are the customs, traditions and values of the culture embedded in the language and daily culture of the people. Within Margaret Sam-Cromatry's case study there is emphasis on the importance of knowing who you are within the

context of your culture. Lena Nottaway remarks on the importance of traditions in the group interview.

... traditions we must continue to hold on to ...(Nottaway, 1993 p.2).

Both Margaret Sam Cromatry and Lena Nottaway claim that when you know the customs, traditions and values of your FN culture, your identity as a FNP is established. When your identity as a FNP is fixed, you will not lose your way when you enter another culture. Both women underline the importance of learning your culture first to offset the possibility of getting lost and assimilated in the culture of the other. Margaret Sam-Cromatry instructs:

Indian kids should be taught their own traditional way of education ... That's the first thing. ... They shouldn't forget who they are because if you forget who you are then it will be difficult when learning another culture. You will forget your culture if you don't learn yours first. By learning yours first you are not forgetting who you are. ... you should be able to keep it wherever you are. You should never forget your culture even if you are down south. You should have your culture with you and that means, YOU. It doesn't mean just making a pair of moccasins or doing beadwork or even writing about Cree culture. It doesn't necessarily mean culture. The culture comes deep inside you. To be polite to people. To overcome difficulties like your ancestors did when you are in the bush. You have to overcome these difficulties even if you are down south. You have to remember the culture is within yourself. Like I said, you have to be polite, you have to think of other people first, and you have to understand other people and who they are. Only, first you have to understand yourself. What is Indian culture. The most important thing Indian is to follow your heart (Sam-Cromatry, 1992, pp. 1-2).

According to Margaret, the values of your culture become integral to who you are. As she states, they become "you".

Informant Nancy Sheshamush of the Cree Nation explains that, at present, the Cree Nation is experiencing transition and it is difficult for people to know who they are. Returning to the traditional ways is a path young people are travelling to find themselves as FNP in her northern Cree community. The traditional

teachings of the medicine wheel, the healing circles, the sweat lodges, along with visions quests, traditional dancing and music are practices they are rediscovering and using to redefine their identity.

Ojibway elder, Helen Wassegijig, informs how FNP were alienated from their traditional ways with the coming of European contact and how they are just now relearning what occurred to them as FNP. Helen explains the process that FN youth experience as they evolve a sense of self. They begin to be visited by old friends, old rituals and old ceremonies that were enacted many years ago by friends and relatives. They may accept the experiences or acknowledge them as a friend or reject them totally. If they are terrorized by the visits they may commit suicide (Wassegijig, 1992, p. 2). Helen Wassegijig's revelation is similar to Black Elk's who told of his visions in youth that were often disquieting, although common amongst his people ((Neihardt, 1961). Today, suicides amongst FN youth abound, school drop out rates are equally high, and Canadian prisons are filled with FNP (Assembly of First Nations, 1988; Young, 1988; Ross, 1992). Statistics reflect the desperation that is found in FN communities across this country (Young, 1988).

Traditionally, elders are credited with the knowledge and wisdom to offer direction to their FNP. They are considered the traditional teachers. The next subsection explores the theme of identity in traditional Native education as it is put forth in the dialogues of this study.

Identity and the Elders

Respect for the elders is important. Elder Kathleen Green discloses how she offers tobacco to her elders and listens in the traditional way. That is how she was aided in recovering from abuse and that is where she returns when she seeks direction. Her traditional ways give her guidance. They form her value and belief system, structure her thought, give her balance, and establish her identity. Informant Daniel Mien in the group dialogue also told of his

special and supportive relationship with his elders and their instrumental role in his balancing himself and healing from the ravage of abuse. Elder Issac Masty of the Cree Nation offers another understanding of the relationship the elders and the youth experience in his dialogue. Unknowingly, he recalls that he learned, along with his elders, about violence from television and movies. When later he came in touch with the source of his violence, his acting out, and his feelings of alienation, he discovered he was unable to communicate with his elders about these troubling concerns. He came to understand that a communication problem exists between the youth and the elders. He explains:

So far what I have concluded is that there is a considerable amount of confusion between the two societies, the elders and the young people who are living in the present society. There does not seem to be enough inter - communications between the two of them. What is causing the social problems of the young generation is the elders do not want to understand. They just know that there are problems that exist and they feel them physically at home or they have an impact through relations. I'll just give you one little example of the way I grew up. My parents were nomadic. I come from a nomadic family. Right up until my father had some health problems and couldn't go in the bush anymore. I was exposed to all kinds of influences that came in to the modern society, the different kinds of movies, modern movies that you see that were always available. I was always taken by my father to the ones that were entertaining to him and they happen to be the most violent movies available. If you had movies about nature, he being a person very close to nature that did not interest him. He did not seem to have an interest to see that because he knew about those things that were shown perhaps more than the program on the screen. He had more experience about it. So those things he was not interested in. I was exposed to those kinds of things. It was always violence and after that we started to act out all the violence that we saw. And I think this is still happening. All these T V programs that are coming. Those things people still don't understand. My Father did not take me to those violent movies on purpose. He just did not know they had a tremendous affect on me because he has never seen them when he grew up the kind of effect they would have on me later on or during my childhood. It's those kinds of things, now I think young people should have the opportunity to express these things to the elders and say these are the things that you have done to us, have created these problems to us. It is very difficult because of our nature that we can not contradict an elder or a decision an elder makes. It is very difficult to contradict an elder. And if I confront an elder with an opinion contradictory to normal practices I am looked at as a very disrespectful person. And it just takes that one confrontation and I am almost totally ignored from the community as a person that might be able to help with the development required in the community. So it is very difficult. But that is where I say that there is a lot of things we have to sit down and discuss how we will deal with them. ... I am hoping that you would understand the complexity of it, of what needs to be done (Masty, 1993, p. 5).

While there are strong voices in this study that state that the elders know the direction for the people, there is also the voice of Issac Masty who recognizes the difficulties with that position. In the literature, Ross (1992) lends credence to Issac Masty's

understanding. Before considering the transition occurring within FN communities, the strong presence and influence of the land on the FN identity is considered with reference to the compiled interviews of this study.

Identity and the Land

...walk in the bush, hunt moose, carry my baby on my back...
Nottaway, 1993, p.3).

The culture of FNP revolves around life on the land. In this text, reference to the land is synonymous with the bush and trapline. Bush life represents the traditional life style of FNP. Daisy Herodier believes that the relationship of FN people to the land unites all FNP all over the world. She confides that she acquired her Cree world view on the trapline. Kathleen Green in her interview confides she goes to Mother Earth to listen when she is in search of direction. In Issac Masty's experience, the Cree children who experience life in the bush realize the positiveness of their heritage and come to know that differences exist, not between peoples, but within ways of understanding. Elder Jacob Wawatie recalls that his grandparents taught him his "Indianness" while living in the traditional way in the bush, and Elder George Paptie reveals that he takes his grandchildren to the bush to teach them the traditional ways of life. Tom Rankin suggests, and William Commanda agrees, that education for FNP should include at least a month's experience living a FN life style in every school year.

Earlier in this chapter, it was stated that elders believe Mother Earth holds the knowledge and wisdom. Lena Nottaway affirms that everything can be learned in the bush. The knowledge and wisdom is locked in the land, she instructs. According to Margaret Sam Cromatry, returning to the land and "going hand-in-hand" with Nature is an ideal way of teaching traditional Native education to Cree children. If that is impossible, however, listening to, and

reading stories of the land is the way FNP may learn about their identity and prepare themselves for journeys into non-FN territory.

In the study, a way of thinking is being uncovered that relates the power of the land to learning and cognition. FNP tell that they feel connected to the land. The land is teacher, guide, source of knowledge and wisdom. It is power and a controlling force in their lives. This is a different attitude from a nation of people who believe they are able to control Nature. In fact, it suggests there exists two different epistemologies. One system of knowledge represents a group of people who believe land represents a power, a source of strength, a sacredness. A second system of knowledge represents a group of people who believe that land is a resource to be used, controlled, and subjected to the desires of people.

Besides considering the confused identity of FNP; the influence of FN language, culture and traditional teachings on identity formation; the role of elders; and the presence and power of the land in the epistemology of FNP, it is necessary to refer to the transition that is underway in FN communities as told in the dialogues of the study. Attention is now given to the topic of transition and identity as told by the informants.

Identity and Transition

Some of them drop out. And I ask them why they drop out. And they say when are we going to be an Indian. ... I am sick and tired of learning French. They also say we need a few different languages too, to live. ... Now what the ones who drop out of school say is: "I am sick and tired". It is not only that. "We have no more room to live with the White People. We have to turn back to where we come from." That means living in the bush and being an Indian and all that (Rankin, 1993, p. 2).

In the above excerpt, Tom Rankin provides a glimpse of the attitudinal shift that is occurring with FN youth with respect to

school, and their place in non-FN society in general. At the Oka Inquiry in 1990 -1991 FNP spoke of the attitude of FN youth. For example, a young professional FN person explained that his people are no longer prepared to continue to internalize their anger. Although the rage that grows from the conditions of their lives is still, in many instances, spent on alcohol, drugs and suicide, there are many FN youth who are no longer prepared to allow the frustration and turmoil to fester within themselves. They are now prepared to direct it towards the conditions that they believe are failing to provide them with the possibility of existing in a meaningful and respectful way. The literature and the art also reflects this trend (McMaster & Martin, 1992); in particular, the literature on education and FNP (Assembly of First Nations, 1988; 1991; 1993) and the dialogues of this study report that FNP are empowering themselves to affirm their destiny. Consider, for example, Lena Nottaway's statement in the group interview on the need for change in education.

When we, the Anishinabe People were created we were a people with our own language, with our own culture and customs by which we were able to survive and live in harmony with our surroundings, with Nature as the Great Spirit created it. Over generations life was good for our people. They did not disturb Nature taking only what they needed to survive. These are traditions that we must continue to hold to, together with our own language

As much as I can I use all the influence I have with children to instill these beliefs in their minds to be proud in their identity. To me this is education; it is imparting knowledge, and that is a good thing. Knowledge leads to wisdom and that is what permits our people to flourish since time began.

The government today offers us help in education, but it is the White Man's ways but none in Indian ways. But our children must be taught Indian ways to think as Indians, not as White men. We have our own ways, our own traditions, our own beliefs that we must pass on to our descendants.

All that knowledge that we have gained from Nature since the beginning of our existence, the wisdom and lore that is locked in our land and our forests, all that makes us Anishinabes must not be lost to our children (Group Dialogue, 1993, pp. 2-3).

As the much respected Elder, Lena Nottaway asserts that she has a responsibility to her children. All the knowledge and wisdom that

has been given to her over generations through Nature must be passed on to her descendants. The sense of responsibility felt by Lena Nottaway towards her people is a theme that resurfaces in all the dialogues. In The Assembly of First Nations Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1993), "Reclaiming Our Nationhood, Strengthening Our Heritage," the introduction states:

We, the Assembly of first Nations, want to see fundamental change in our human condition and in our relationship with Canada. We see these changes as providing our social and economic advancement and as essential to maintaining social peace. As First Nation leaders, we have a duty to ensure that our people are treated justly in our home lands and our country. We insist on fair and respectful treatment. This is a responsibility we bear for future generations. ...

Our songs, our spirits and our identities are written on this land, and the future of our peoples is tied to it. It is not a possession or a commodity for us - it is the heart of our nations. In our traditional spirituality, it is our Mother. We are passionate about this land, and we want you to understand that passion is not about power and individual wealth. It is reflective of the strong spiritual teachings which our nations share, of respect for Mother Earth and of all Creation. It is our life (Assembly of First Nations, 1993, p.1).

The Assembly of First Nations Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Reclaiming Our Nationhood Strengthening Our Heritage," demands change, affirms the land as the foundation of FNP identity, and asserts the value of respect for all of life. It considers all aspects of FN life including education. This call from FNP for a transition is recorded in the dialogues, the literature, the art and life in FN communities across this country. A metamorphosis is underway. Lenore Keeshig Tobias (1992) writes about the trickster. The trickster is a mythological character who is foolish, makes people laugh and provides another view of life by turning the world upside down. Consider her writing, "Trickster Beyond 1992: Our Relationship":

And that Nanabush! That good-for-nothing Trickster! Where is he when we need him!

...
NEW ANGLE

shows the complete assembly within the medicine wheel and the LEADER, a woman, sitting in the center, faces north.

We HEAR only the whisper of wind through the grass, then

LEADER
Let's be our tricksters.

...
REVERSE ANGLE

in a now-clear sky, barely visible, is the Eagle riding the currents of air, circling slowly northwest-

We HEAR her exalted cry (1992, pp. 112).

Change is occurring. The radio, television, newspapers, magazines, books, music, and art, all narrate new stories of the FNP of this land. The elders in their dialogues are echoing Eagle's cry. From their deliberations evolve recommendations that facilitate the transition and change that is under way. These recommendations will be put forth in chapter six.

Transition, with its consequences for the identity of FNP, is occurring in education across Canada formally and informally. Although the literature has recognized FNP as having other ways of knowing and understanding than those that have been projected and in many ways still are (Anatasti, 1937; Hallowell, 1955; Murdoch, 1988; Berger, 1991; Townsend-Gault, 1992; Wright, 1992; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992) now an implicit and explicit transformation of the FN identity is under way. FNP in many places have taken control of their education systems. University and community college-based Native Studies programs, Native teacher training programs, Aboriginal Research Center at Carleton University, Saskatchewan

Federated Indian Colleges, community based language programs and FN language immersion programs for FN children in schools exist. Trained human resources are in great demand, and the personnel and educational institutions to provide the energy are in even greater demand. In the non- FN world, scholars, writers, and scientists are acknowledging and educating the public, about the world of FNP (Preston 1975, 1978, 1982, 1986, Brody, 1981; Murdoch, 1982; 1988; Ridington, 1988; Richardson, 1991, 1993). Through the media, an informal education process has begun to imagine the FN world differently. People such as Judge Thomas Berger (1991) and Ronald Wright (1992) have written of the atrocities that FNP of this land have experienced in the past five hundred years and alerted people of the need for the human conscience to redeem itself.

Table VII provides an overview of the identity theme in the elders' group dialogue elders.

Table VII

The Identity Theme Within the Group Dialogue

Informants	Sample Dialogue excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	learn the Indian language, then ... the communication language (p. 2).
Nottaway	We learn our own language and culture first so that our own identity is firmly established in our minds and hearts, not the language and the culture of the White man (p. 21).
Rankin	They gave up the schools and they want to go back to Mother Earth. They want, to go back and live there without being mixed up with anything (p. 4).
Deontic	How are we going to give direction to our people when we cannot give it to ourselves. ... How are we going to give direction to our children (p.7)?
Paptic	done things that maybe he should not have done when he was drinking and trying to lead the people (p.9).
Wawatic	What Indian People call freedom is independence. . It is just like the animals that walk on the land. You know they are independent. ... I started to learn to make my own sleigh, make my own baskets, find my own medicines, find my own animals... (p. 10).

(table continues)

Table VII continues

Informants	Sample Dialogue excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Micn	First you develop a loss of identity and then you deny yourself. ...weakened ...defensive to protect self ... violence ... do not trust any adults ... develop anger ... use my hands to hit women, learn how to abuse how to drink ... too many troubles ... think about suicide (pp. 19-20).
Cree	
Elders	
Herodier	I am a Cree person, yes Cree from northern Quebec... I am very fortunate and very grateful to have experienced the life I experienced as a child. I lived on the trap-line with my parents until I was six years old. ... as a child all of my memories are all of grandmothers and grandfathers (p. 14).

This section on FN identity considers the demand for change that appears both in the dialogues and the literature. Elder Lena Nottaway asserts that all the knowledge and wisdom that has been given to her over generations through Nature must be passed on to her descendants. Ojibway writer, Lenore Keenshig-Tobias (1992), narrates the metamorphosis that is occurring in FN communities through the trickster, the exalted Eagle who is "riding the currents of the air," from a reverse angle. She chronicles the ability of her people to vision and overcome the difficulties that they have experienced. Changes that are occurring in the lives of FNP and their communities have implications for the identity of FNP and education. Subsequently, the consequences influence the whole destiny of Canada.

The next section in this chapter focuses on the place of traditions and customs in traditional Native education.

Traditions and Customs

Elders participating in this study told of the role of traditions and customs of FNP in traditional Native education. Tradition for the purpose of the study is understood to mean the transmission of information, beliefs and customs by word of mouth or example or through writing from one generation to another. It includes an inherited pattern of thought. Customs, the continued practices of generations of peoples, are conveyed by word or example.

Table VIII contains excerpts from the case studies that refer to the role of traditions and customs in traditional Native education.

Table VIII

The Theme of Traditions and Customs in the Case Studies

Informants	Sample Dialogue excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	How are you Indian if you are not taught by your people? It is very essential. ... We have to educate the young people to learn what I am saying now for education purposes, just talk together to learn to be Indian. ... the Iroquois discovered wampum ... shiny discs of shell strung on plant fibers (p. 8).
Nottaway	When I was in the bush I taught them how to hunt, to work , to chop wood, everything, make sleighs, make snow shoes. ... I teach them how to make sugar. In the summertime after the blueberries I teach them how to cook them (pp. 2-3).
Rankin	Trapping and hunting and fishing and making snow shoes. ...All what Indians do, Indian life (p. 4).
Cree	
Elders	
Herodier	When you take families out of those settings and put them into houses you know and put them into two separate rooms I think it breaks the family apart in a way. It separates, it alienates the family members. There is not that contact you would have in the teepee. ... You're not as open (p. 3).

(table continues)

Table VIII continues

Informants	Sample Dialogue excerpts
Cree	
Elders	
Masty	There is a whole confusion within the community because on one hand we want to keep up with the society, not so much that we completely forget where we come from, that we leave our culture and traditions behind (p.2).
Sam-Cromatry	My parents taught me all this. How to tell a green tree from a dry tree. ... these were all taught to you as a child when you are still in the bush. ... something should come from the feel in order to have the Cree culture (p. 2).
Sheshamush	Who are we? That is what the younger generation are wondering about now because we are caught in between the modern and traditional way of life (p. 1).
Green	We try to teach them about the past. How our people were strong in their traditions and what they did. ... When they were hunting they had a big celebration. They offered their tobacco (p. 1).
Ojibway	
Elders	
Green	We were taught about conservation. That is our spiritual law (p. 2).
Wassegijig	Native people saw and suffered along with the person. This is the result of having been stripped of those rituals of those ceremonies or those acknowledgments. That is what has been taken away from the person (p. 4).

The researcher in this section on traditions and customs investigates the oral tradition. Also the significance of customs and their role in traditional Native education is discussed. However, before focusing on the oral narrative tradition, a limitation to this study is revealed.

Many traditions were experienced as they occurred or were shown. The traditions and customs originate and live in the oral and empirical forms and although they may be named and described, their totality eludes the written page. For example, how is the experience of a sweet grass smudge transferred to the printed page? Further, how is a dream on dreamer's rock transferred, or the building of a sweat lodge, or a sweat, or the difference felt between sweats, or the opening and closing prayers of a conference or the sharing of trout bannock early in the morning around a cook-fire in a tent, or the eating of a traditional goose dinner with friends in a familiar kitchen in Whapmagoostui, or the first taste of beaver? The list is long. The experiences may be named and described and their uniqueness uncovered and the discovered differences can be recorded. However, the differences that live in the experiential realm are difficult to capture on the printed page. This is not peculiar. Musicians have music sheets, but the sheets do not convey the experience of a performance. While a compact disc captures the musical performance, it does not capture the visual performance. This study names the experience but fails to capture the totality of the experience of learning from the elders in a traditional way. This is the limitation that emerged as the study progressed. It is not unique to FN research. Strongly grounded verbal societies share this commonalty. What is important to note is that the traditions and customs for FNP are unlike traditions and customs in the non-Native world. They need to be addressed and experienced. For example, the oral narrative tradition takes the place of books in traditional FN life. It is now considered in the next subsection.

The Oral Narrative Tradition

As kids, we used to ask elders to tell us stories we already knew by heart. We'd say, "Can you tell us about this or that historical event? What do you know about it?" What we were really asking for was their analysis, their particular interpretation of the event as it related to life.

... The stories are examples of life's responsibilities and rapport with nature and our environment. The stories deal with people trying to co-exist (Meili, 1991, p.51).

Oral narratives are stories told by one person to another. They tell about events, interpretations and responsibilities of life and about people living together. Oral narratives return to the legends to provide lessons to the present generation. Listening to is encouraged in order to learn and as a means of ensuring transmission through retelling. It is not unlike breathing in and breathing out the life force. Life generates the story and, in turn, the story regenerates life. The elders teach the young, while the young listen and prepare themselves to assume the role of the teller. Elders tell of feeling fulfilled in realizing their responsibilities as narrators. Using stories, they connect life from generation to generation. Elders acknowledged the oral tradition as the method of traditional Native education. Kathleen Green tells:

Traditional education means to me teaching our young people. ... We don't have to write anything down. We don't have to show things. All we do is the oral teachings those hand teachings, and after those hand teachings we rub those teachings off and put them in our hearts and put them in our minds. I know there is a lot to talk about but we have only a limited time. I can talk and talk for weeks about these teachings. They never end because all creation connects. The universe, Mother Earth, the plants, the fish, the birds, there is all those teachings, they all connect (Green, 1993, pp. 1-2).

Kathleen Green's excerpt makes reference to the oral story tradition as a method of traditional teaching and as a method that acknowledges the connectivity of all of life. The oral teachings may be dialogue as therapy. Hand teachings may take on the significance of the living of life as a story that others learn from. Elders affirm

the oral narrative as the methodology of traditional Native education, and a number of elders told stories as they explained their understanding of traditional Native education. Issac Masty gives an account of the methodology of traditional Native education:

Anything that I viewed as entertainment, now I realize had a purpose. Those stories that were told to us. It was the only time you actually had time to spend with your child was just before bed time. ... That was our education system. It was an entertainment, education, social program all combined together (Masty, 1993, p. 9).

He acknowledges the oral method as representative of the education and the social system of his Cree Nation. His favorite story emanates from a certain rapid on the Great Whale River.

My favorite one is one that I show people when they have more time to go up the river. Right at the beginning of the rapids there is a rock and when you look at that rock its' shaped almost like the breast of a bird. And when you look at it from a certain angle you can look down on it like you can almost see a head and that's a bird that challenged the rapids. A little falcon bird. Now that was a long time ago when animate and inanimate objects communicated. The bird challenged the rapids and said, "I can roar and make noise longer than you can." But the rapids say well "Don't be foolish I am always going to make this sound as long as the world exists". "No", the birds says, "I know I can make noise longer than you can." The rapids say, "I don't need the substances that you require." I don't need food, I don't need water. And those are substances that are essential to you. I'll always continue and you can't." The bird says, "No I know I can." The rapids says, "Go, fine, go ahead and try." My Uncle told me this the last time. He said "No one knows for sure how long the bird was able to make this noise. He eventually just fell, starved, starved of hunger because he didn't drink, he didn't eat because in order to continue to make that sound he eventually fell in the river and eventually started to flow and as he started to flow his head caught under and you can still see that rock." That's the story I like to tell people (Masty, 1993, pp. 10-11).

Issac Masty's story of the bird in the rapid is an example of the land holding stories to be told. Through stories that are found on the land, or precipitated from experiences on the land, lessons are taught. This is verification of Lena Nottaway's claim that the knowledge and lore of her people is locked in the land and that learning can occur in

the bush. It also adds credence to Margaret Sam-Cromatry's claim that the ideal way of teaching traditional Native education is to go "hand-in-hand with Nature". Furthermore, this is an argument for the establishment of bush schools to teach FN way of life that Tom Rankin and William Commanda recommend for children.

Other oral stories are told within the body of this study by informants. Jacob Wawatie tells the story of the canoe given by the beaver, and the young man tells his story of abuse and recovery. Many fragments of stories are told as informants share the experiences of their lives. In fact, a multi-composite dialogue builds which contains the seeds of many narratives. Moreover, this is research lived as a story. Visits to people and communities, travels on land, water and in the air build the evolving story of this study and unravel a multi-faceted cognition that is rooted in the oral stories of the land and the inhabitants of the land.

The land-based stories, a legacy of the James Bay Cree, were flooded and covered over in concrete with the building of the giant dam on La Grande River. Scars remain. Elder Margaret Sam-Cromatry tells of the lost inheritance of her people in her poem "The first Rapids of the La Grande (the way I know them years ago)". She explains that a bereavement is suffered from the forced displacement from the land locked with the stories of the ancestors. Knowledge is lost. She feels an urgency to record her stories for the future generations, to bequest the knowledge to her Nation and others before the stories disappear forever with the James Bay II Hydro Development. Margaret Sam-Cromatry, at present, is deliberate about recording her stories before the stories that live in the land and the river, and that prompt the oral tradition, are lost forever. Besides, the land that holds and prompts the stories of life is disappearing, the patterns of thought are vanishing. In field notes recorded during the 1992 visit to Chisasibi on the occasion of the First Cree Culture Conference in the James Bay area, it was noted that the cognition of the people is fading with the resettlement at Chisasibi. Change is inciting new ways of thinking as the people

experience the divorce from the river. No longer does the river have the power to nourish the people. Only inedible fish live in the river now. The people are forced to turn to other means. This has created confusion as was explained earlier in this text.

Besides losing the stories that live in the land, languages are dying. In the tradition of the oral narrative Ruth Norton, while language consultant for the Assembly of First Nations, told the following story in Chisasibi at the Cree Culture Conference.

An old woman who was the last survivor of her Native tongue was often found walking in the cemetery. When asked about this, she said, "This is the only place left to speak my language, to hear my stories." When she died, a way of life died. Knowledge that never was recorded was lost. Stories in her Native tongue will never be told to this woman's survivors. Her children will never know the nuances of their language. They will never inherit their legacy (Hjartarson, 1992, p.20).

It must be asked, if children are taught only a language that is not the native tongue of the people, how will the children learn the stories of their people? How will they learn the inherent code of values of their language? If the experiences do not exist in the language the children are acquiring, how will they learn the cognition that is peculiar to their people? To learn only a language alien to your inheritance implies that a way of thought is not taught and, over time, the cognition is destined to be lost through disuse. In earlier pages of this study the lament of elders over the loss of language is recorded. Now there is a deliberate recording of stories. Many are left unrecorded. An emergency exists. The urgency of the situation is acknowledged amongst FNP (Assembly of First Nations, 1993) and told about in the dialogues that comprise this study.

It must be noted at this time that the oral form of this study adheres to the FN oral narrative tradition. Elders teach through story, referencing their traditions, customs and values. Ten individual voices echo through these pages and they all firmly state that their language is important to their existence. Without their

language their stories are no more. The oral tradition lives in the language as well as in the land.

The customs of FNP are accompanied by the vitality of the oral narrative form in the tradition of Native education. The relevance of customs and their place in traditional Native education are now considered. First customs are defined.

Traditional Customs

Customs are the established habits of the people. Customs build a life style. They direct energy, occupy time and are a cohesive force in folk psychology. For example, the traditional Cree food is found on the land. To obtain the food that consists of beaver, goose, and caribou, hunting and trapping skills are required as are the survival skills necessary to exist on the land while tracking the animals. The knowledge of the traditional spiritual thankfulness is also acquired. When it is time to prepare and preserve the food, other skills that have been passed from generation to generation are indispensable. All this local knowledge rests in the customs of the people. Customs constitute a component of the essential ingredients of life. Where is it taught? Children did not learn it when they went to residential schools. Children do not receive this legacy in the urban schools, or for that matter in any of the schools that are of the dominant culture. Yet, elders in this study spoke of the importance of their people learning the customs to fix their identity in the world. As Tom Rankin stated:

We have to give them something. ... We want to keep them (Group Interview, 1993, p. 3).
--

With Kayo Ohmagari (1994) reporting how the bush skills and traditional knowledge of the western James Bay Cree are disappearing it seems a deliberate effort will need to be made to

insure traditions and customs of the Algonquian Nations are preserved.

Living as nomads on the land in transient dwellings, the Cree People have acquired knowledge about architecture over time. They know how to build shelters for every kind of season. How is that knowledge offered to the children who are now lost to the shopping areas of the communities? How are the values of the teepee with its circular form, and shared intimacy, transmitted to present and future generations while allowing the knowledge of the present day reality to be taught to, and integrated in, the children's lives? How are bridges built to accommodate the transition that is underway? Margaret Sam-Cromatry remarks in the dialogue that makes up her case study:

It is very difficult to teach a person who does not go back to the land and probably you know he is trying to ... It is like trying to teach a business man our Cree culture. He can never learn it because he wants to learn business to survive in the White man's world. So these kids now are doing that in order to know how to survive in the White man's way. This is important. As I said we are living in the White's man's way. We have to pay bills and all that to survive. So everything is not important anymore. ... It is not very promising right now but if only we could go back but we can't go back we can't go back to what we were. The most important thing we must not forget is who we are. We are Cree, not White People. If we don't forget that we are Cree, we we'll make it. Go back to the simple ways we were. Because it is the simple things in life that are going to survive, not the big, not ... living high beyond your means ... These things are going to disappear. But the simple beliefs, the Cree simple beliefs are going to survive (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 3).

Margaret Sam-Cromatry tells of a living paradox. The simple Cree customs are not important to survival in the 'White way'. Young people need to know the White way because there are bills to pay. However, she surmises, the simple Cree ways are going to ensure the survival of her people. The customs and habits that form the simple lifestyle of the people are the components of traditional Native education. Her resolve is to record her knowledge to give to the

generations of Cree, and those who are not Cree, for now and the future.

Lena Nottaway is deliberate about her role in passing on the customs of her Algonquin Nation. In front of the maple sugar fire, as she sits and watches, she teaches about the boiling maple sugar:

Cook it harder and then this makes brown sugar. And then you use that to keep the beaver meat. You cut it string it up, you dry it in the fire, dry it and then put in the basket and put brown sugar in the top so it won't get woody. ... You keep it all summer. ... That is how you keep moose meat and beaver in the summer time. ... blueberries ... You cook it the same way as sugar. You boil it you boil it till it all melts and then you boil it in a pan and then you cut it just like a bannock bread and then you use the big long blueberries. It is good for bannock. You call it bread. The small ones, that's our desert, its sweet after you boil it. You don't have to put any sugar on it. ... I have told all my kids, my grandchildren to do that. I teach them. They are not going to hear it no more after I die. There is nobody to teach the people anymore... (Nottaway, 1993, p. 3).

Again, the urgency of recording and teaching is told. The customs as well as the stories need to be recorded before the "living books" die. As Robin Green reminds:

Life with all of us on this earth is very limited. Our life span is very limited and we can only do so much. For those reasons I use the technology of non-Native society. I only believe in passing on the teachings to our young people (Green, 1993, p. 2).

William Commanda, in his taped dialogue, spoke of his people's customs, medicines, histories, and ceremonies. Besides telling, he showed. On one occasion the histories of the wampum belts were told while sweet grass burned, the scent inhabiting the room as the stories were mentally absorbed and the customs surrounding the belts honored. In subsequent visits, he shared his experiences, told of his journeys, and showed contemporary video tapes that are records of his teachings and experiences. Most recently, he showed the record of his presentation to the General Assembly of the United

Nations, "Cry of the Earth". He has adapted his customs to the present time. While the custom of teaching is respected, his methods have been modified. Now he uses video tapes to record and share with many people. His stories, and the customs he honors of the Algonquin Nation, are preserved.

Margaret Sam Cromatry records the oral stories of her youth. Robin Green allows the video taping of traditional teachings for the young people, and film crews record the building of the sweat lodge. At the traditional Cree Gathering at Whapmagoostui in the summer of 1993, film crews also recorded all of the traditions and customs that occurred during the week. The intent is to provide educational material and evidence of a life lived on the land for future generations. While Robin Green realizes videos are not ideal he also realizes his resources and life are limited. He believes the recording may provide a means of transmitting the cultural ways to the lost youth.

William Commanda advocates teaching the language through television and video, and he makes contemporary videos of the customs and traditions as he participates in the events. Elders are adapting their methods to ensure the traditions and customs of the FNP live. They realize the traditions and customs form a viable component of traditional Native education and that they belong in formal and informal education programs. As traditional educators, the elders are ensuring their knowledge is recorded. In chapter two, artists were acknowledged as image makers dreaming their vision of their FNP into their art as well as building an image record of the history of life as FNP. Notable examples are the films made by Alanis Obomsawin. They include her 1986 National Film Board film, "Richard Cardinal, Cry from the Diary of a Metis Child", her 1988 film, "No Address", and her feature film, "Oka", 1990.

In Table IX sample excerpts from participants in the group dialogue concerning traditions and customs are recorded. Traditions and customs may be learned on the land. They include the skills that

allow people to survive as well as the ways of living that provide meaning to life.

Table IX

The Theme of Traditions and Customs in the Group Interview

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	You learn how to work with your hands and you learn from your fathers, uncles. How to trap and how to skin your beaver and how to make your craft (p. 6).
Nottaway	The very things that had to be known by all our people; these were the traditions and mores that our people shared in common for untold centuries before the foreign missionaries overran our villages and forced their beliefs upon us (p. 23).
Rankin	We want to show them our life. ... I teach them how to live in the bush. I could teach them to skin the different kinds of animals (pp. 3-6).
Decontic	... the traditional way of life but first ... as an Anishinabe we have to bring out the reality of what has happened to us ... there has been a lot of abuse. The abuse of Mother Earth ... the abuse of drugs and alcohol (p. 7).
Paptie	... all the traditional things ... in the woods teaching ... the animals (p. 9).
Wawatie	the canoe was given to man in the legend, the beaver gave it to him (p. 17).
Mien	We provide all kinds of activities to prevent the problems of abuse because the parents are abusing like I have because they do not have parenting skills (p. 20).
CREE	
Elder	
Herodier	I lived on the trap-line with my parents until I was six years old ... as I think back as a child, the memories are all of grandmothers and grandfathers ... (p.14).

Elders make continual reference to the land, ancestors, and the language as sources of knowledge and wisdom for traditions and customs. They report that the sources of the traditions and customs are disappearing. Responding to the emergency, FNP are recording their traditions and customs before they are lost forever. At present, FNP are supplementing the dominant oral tradition with writings, films, audio-tapes and video-tapes. Elders are continuing to search for alternate ways of teaching the traditions and culture to the young to establish their identity as FN. Cultural programs such as: "Cree Way", a formal education program that teaches traditional knowledge and practices of the Cree Nation was first initiated by John Murdoch while teaching in the James Bay area. The Cree Way Program, language immersion programs, the pow wows, visitor programs, the radio, and television are ways that have been in place for some time to build and preserve FN cultures as well as prepare Algonquian people for the transition into non-FN communities. These cultural programs represent formal and informal components of traditional Native education that have as their aim the transmission of Algonquian traditions and customs. Values and beliefs are also an integral ingredient of traditional Native education.

The values and beliefs that elders addressed are discussed in the following section.

Traditional Values and Beliefs

"Someone here told me she was only halfway toward that full light where she wanted to be but she didn't know how to get there. We talked about nature, and I told her to learn all she could about Native religion. You know, the good thing about it is our bible is nature and it's all around us. We can read it day by day and never get tired of it because we see it, feel it - we feel the wind, and it's a spirit. We breathe the wind, and without it we couldn't live. Everything is a gift from the Creator. ... talk to a tree. You don't have to move your lips, talk from your mind. Try to communicate with creation. You'll get something out of it. It'll make you think and something will come" (Meili, 1991, p.151).

Cree elder George Kehewin directs a young woman to learn all she can about nature because nature is the FN bible (Meili, 1991, p. 151). This is similar to the directive given by Algonquin Elder Lena Nottaway in this study, when she says that everything can be taught in the bush. She also believes that young people need to learn to walk in the bush. This teleological awareness of the spirit in nature is a refrain through the dialogues. The undertone to the refrain suggests that the FN languages are the carriers of the values and belief system of FNP.

The section on Traditional Values and Beliefs is an investigation of the transcribed dialogues with the participating elders in this study to comprehend the values and beliefs elders name as belonging to traditional Native education. Table X gives an overview of the theme of values and beliefs. The sample dialogue excerpts from the elders' case studies offer insight into the values and beliefs of the participating elders. Language is valued. Life lived on the land is identified as important. William Commanda reminds people that all in life contains spirit (1993, p.20).

Table X

The Theme of Values and Beliefs within the Case Studies

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Commanda	First of all in the Indian language there is no such word to criticize the Creator. ... everything is Spirit (p. 4, 20).
Nottaway	I teach them to walk in the bush because they need that. ...(p. 2).
Rankin	Respect ... I want to ask you for your feather ... I need protection (pp. 9-10).
Cree	
Elders	
Herodier	We treat them like children and we should be treating them or talking to them the way adults talk to one another. ... When you go as a Native person to another community or another city or another place where there are Native people you feel close to those people. You feel as if you have known them. ... I think it comes from being close to the land. We all have something in common (p. 3).
Masty	There is no real difference (among people) just a method of understanding (p. 20).

(table continues)

Table X continues

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Sam-Cromatry	The most important thing Indian is to follow your heart. We must not forget our Cree culture, our Cree ways. It means what we were before, gentle and good people (pp. 3-4).
Sheshamush	About our culture, the most important thing about traditional values is the respect for each other. Not just Natives but for everybody, especially the young and elders. We do seek help from the elders because they have the wisdom and knowledge that they can give us (p. 2).
Green	There is balance. When the Creator created Mother Earth he put a balance ... all creation connects. the Universe, Mother Earth, the plants, the fish the birds ... they all connect (pp. 1-2).
Ojibway	
Elders	
Green	We try to preserve as much as we can. We were taught about conservation. That is our spiritual law (p. 2).
Wasegijig	... I think really it comes right down to learning about themselves through spiritual occurrences, the way they perceive and experience themselves in this world (pp. 4-5).

The place of values and beliefs in traditional Native education is considered now in three subsections. The first subsection takes into account the traditional values elders associate with their Algonquian life-style which includes the four gifts given to the Anishinabe. The second subsection, on values and beliefs, uncovers the FN belief system as told by the Algonquian elders. Reference is made to those forces in the lives of FNP that work against the values, eroding their life force and fragmenting their spirit. The third subsection considers the medicine wheel as a manifestation of the aspired values and belief system of FNP. Comment is made on the role of the medicine wheel in traditional Native life.

Traditional Values

The reasons Indians have persevered ... are rooted in the spiritual values and traditions that make us who we are. These traditions stretch back into the dawn of our existence as Indian peoples, and it is the morning star of the East that reminds us of what is Indian, the origins of our existence (Hampton, 1993, p. 34).

Eber Hampton (1993) underlines the role of spiritual values in FNP's preservation today. There is consonance with Hampton's (1993) position amongst the elders participating in this study. Elders, through their words, their actions, and their gifts provide an awareness of the human values they esteem to be necessary to traditional Native education. They also consider how the values are transmitted.

Elders name FN language as the predominant means of transmitting the values. Language is assumed to be verbal and non-verbal. According to William Commanda's understanding, the culture is gained through language.

Language itself is culture (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 6)
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This is why he asserts that learning to be FN person is synonymous with learning the respective FN language. If the FN language is not learned while young, then it is William Commanda's belief that it is FNP's responsibility to learn their language as adults.

Daisy Herodier of the Cree Nation believes the spiritual values of her people live in their language. Her challenge is to discover a way of incorporating the values into the Cree culture curriculum. Of particular concern to her, is the lack of emphasis on the spiritual development of the child in the present school curriculum. To her the need and significance of addressing the spiritual values within education is especially important given the disruption of the traditional family in the north and the high suicide rate.

Lena Nottaway, in the group dialogue, states:

When we, the Anishinabe People were created with our own language ... we were able to survive and live in harmony with our surroundings with Nature as the Great Spirit created it. Over generations life was good for our people. They did not disturb nature taking only what they needed to survive. These are traditions we must continue to hold together with our own language (Nottaway, 1993, p. 22).

Language, she suggests, is a means of holding on to the traditions of her people. By this she means the Algonquin language and the thought patterns associated with the language will enable her people to know about the necessity to continue to survive harmoniously with Nature. Speaking in her Algonquin language she instructs to take only what is necessary to live and not to disturb the surroundings. Her value position includes the principles of coexistence, harmony, and respect for life. No reference is made to controlling, or to taking more in order to survive better than others. There is the implication in her presentation that life is to be shared and respected. Through her language, she utters the lessons of her Algonquin legacy. It is these values that she understands to be embedded in her language and to be essential to the education of FN children in the traditional way.

Respect echoes through the language Lena Nottaway uses to express herself. Respect is named as one of the four gifts given to the Anishinabe as related by Frank Decontie in the group dialogue, and it is a value that has been referred to throughout the dialogues and experienced on many occasions in different ways during the process of the study. Respect is a value that opens and closes ceremonies and meetings through the traditional sweet grass smudges, prayers and playing of the drum. Respect for elders is important and is shown through the giving of tobacco and sage, and the nonverbal behavior of silence and listening. Respect is also a value that is implied or spoken in relationship to children. Consider Daisy Herodier's comment:

We treat them like children and we should be treating them or talking to them the way adults talk to one another (Herodier, 1993, p. 3).

Jacob Wawatie confides that children teach respect:

When the children are playing in the sand or making little houses and trails, if you walk on their trail and they say daddy or mister please don't step on my trail are they teaching you to respect them? So they understand respect in that sense that you have to care for other peoples' property(Wawatie, 1993, p.).

With respect, Tom Rankin, and Jacob Wawatie acknowledge that children are educators. Tom Rankin, referring to the young people who are in search of their "Indianness", relates how he "likes that in his heart". ("To like something in your heart" is a sample of mental representation that illustrates how thought integrates reason and emotion. During the course of conducting the study this expression was heard on many occasions.) Elders such as Tom Rankin credit the young FNP with reaffirming for him their respect for the traditional life style. He says:

They even wake me up when they say that (Rankin, 1993, p. 3).

Elders are stating and showing respect through a willingness to listen to others no matter what the age. Besides this being a demonstrating of respect by elders it is a sample of 'dialogue'. This open dialogue that occurs between elders and children Freire (1968) names education. It is characterized by a listening to "the other".

The traditional FN values are manifested in the willingness to open the circle to let a non-FNP enter and proceed with the study. In fact, throughout the field work experience associated with the research, traditional FN values were experienced. Many occasions immediately come to mind. The following incident is one such memory:

During the process of this research, my husband passed. Although William Commanda was aware of my husband's ongoing illness, I had not met with him since my husband's death. On the January day that I was to interview him at his home near Maniwaki I arrived about noon to find his car warming up outside. After entering and greeting him with the traditional gift of tobacco he told me that, "Before we begin, (for today was the occasion on which we were going to tape the dialogue on traditional Native education) I want to take you for dinner." Together we travelled to a restaurant in Maniwaki. We talked about many things while sharing food. What is rubbed in my heart and mind is the respectful way he conversed with me about my husband's death, recalling my memories of an earlier happier time. I remember him saying as we drove back to his home to begin the interview. "I believe your husband was a generous man"

That day William Commanda spoke about traditional Native education while demonstrating the traditional values and using all the domains in his teaching: physical, emotional, social, mental, and spiritual.

Elders that participated in this study were living examples of the traditional values that they esteem to be so important to their FNP. During the constitutional meetings at Morley with First Nation elders in March, 1992 a place was provided to sit and participate in the early morning sacred pipe ceremony. This is, and was, an enormous privilege for a non-FNP. With generosity, Robin and Kathleen Green at the Traditional Cree Gathering at Whapmagoostui

extended the invitation to assist in the building of their sweat lodge. It was with honesty and respect that Gilbert Whiteduck, Member of the Assembly of First Nation Education Committee and FN advisor to the study addressed the behavior expected of a non-FNP living and learning in FN territory. It was also with honesty that William Commanda and Mary Lou Fox explained the etiquette of travelling alone as a woman in their FN communities.

Elders discuss teaching methods in their dialogues. The use of example is integral to teaching the traditional values. William Commanda reflects:

Love, respect and then help each other. Help each other, you know, to live among yourselves as brothers and sisters. Never try to take away your brother's wife or your brother's things. ... You know it is a different way of life today. It is what the trouble is now. No matter whether you talk, Indian or not, he will do that because the mentality is getting to be a different way of life. We have to be very careful. Careful in what you say and what you do because you have grandchildren coming up to always learn from you. Do not let them tell you, "Well this is what you say, and you are doing something different." You don't give a chance to that. Nobody should do that to you. If you say something you have to always, always to live by that. (1993, p. 11).

FN elders' actions, exemplary of the traditional values, were continuously experienced during the field work associated this study. Earlier in this thesis reference is made to how elders teach through example. Elders give hints, and offer direction when asked. They do not interfere.

Although no direct experiences of disrespect were experienced, recorded observations in field notes indicate that FNP do not always receive the respect they deserve. For example, the memory is still vivid of seeing a sick FN woman early one evening dragging herself away from the Chisasibi Hospital Emergency Department on her reserve community. The non-FN medical officer who attended to her health needs disrespectfully administered from the end of a telephone somewhere else. Without examining this woman, he decided she was well enough to return home. When the researcher

queried the on duty nurse who was also not a FN person, he stated that this was not an uncommon occurrence. A conversation with a FN person on the way to the airport some days later confirmed a history of non-FN physicians disrespectful attitudes towards FNP at the reserve hospital.

On occasion, a query that was not congruent with the traditional FN values of respect, kindness, charity and honesty was experienced at a conference in urban environments. For example, the non-FN racial status of the researcher would be addressed. However, respect was the predominant attitude experienced during the term of this research. On many occasions encouragement was given. Helen Wassegijig's statement at the end of her taped dialogue provides an example:

I think they are very good questions. You should continue asking them (Wassegijig, 1993).

Perhaps the positive experiences associated with the informants during the study may be explained as follows. Elders are the ones who are addressed as the wise ones in their Nations and they are the acknowledged exemplars of the traditional values. After all, this is a study dedicated to investigating their metacognition of traditional Native education. In fact, this study involves learning from an elite membership.

Besides the four traditional values of respect, kindness, charity, and honesty, other values have been identified by elders as being important. The Council of Saskatchewan Elders has identified the values of the "Mikiwahp-Teepee". They associate fifteen esteemed values including respect, with the fifteen poles of the teepee, the recognized traditional FN home. The values are: respect, obedience, humility, happiness, love, faith, kinship, cleanliness, thankfulness, sharing, strength, good child rearing, hope, ultimate protection, and control. The circular ground the teepee rests on is the foundation of the values, the center. Its roundness symbolizes the person, the

family, the community, the world, and the universe. Daisy Herodier introduced these values at a Cree immersion kindergarten meeting. Traditional values are needed, she reflects:

I think we need Native People to look at what we did and try and teach young children. We have to find a way to retain and maintain those teachings; the way of looking at yourself or the community or the world. I think we have to find a way and education is one way of trying to hold on to that. ... We are trying I think to instill some of the teachings through the schools but we have a long way to go still. For example instilling societal or human values is a good example, I think. We need to put that into the school system and teach the parents that they have to continue teaching as our society did in the past, as our society did the values. I think those are very important (1993, p. 2).

Daisy Herodier and other members of the Cree culture office are teaching the values identified by The Council of Saskatchewan Elders to counteract the stresses on the traditional families in her Cree communities. The kindergarten, the place where Cree children enter the formal school is where the Cree culture consultants are commencing to teach the established values of the traditional FN home, the teepee. Cree teachers, together with consultants, are developing curriculum material that originates in their history on the land as nomadic people.

On a wall above a word processor affixed with a Cree character keyboard in one Cree Culture Center a poster reminds the consultants of the importance of teaching the traditional values of FNP. The poster reads:

Native people have made a tremendous contribution to me. I would not have been able to create the museum without it. They can make a major contribution to everyone. Academic training is fine, but if you lack a center as an artist then creativity is not possible. I have learned from Native people that the most powerful force is soft power, caring and commitment, together. You need that center to make a contribution creatively. You need to realize its power to make it realize your vision. You can have visions and dreaming but how you realize them depends on caring and commitment. Soft power is more powerful than adversarial or hard power because it is resilient. By its nature, soft power is giving and flexible but strong. It is woman power, female power (Cardinal, 1992, p.96).

Cardinal's writing framed and hung on the wall provide encouragement to the people who dedicate their lives to teaching Cree traditional values and beliefs.

Humor is another value of importance to FNP. FNP report that 'J' in their alphabet is for joking around. It is common to hear laughter when living amongst them. As life is transitory, laughter becomes the constant. In the field notes an explanation of the role of laughter in the Algonquian languages as told by an Algonquian linguist is recorded (Hjartarson, 1994). The verbs of the Algonquian languages are transitory. Built into the Algonquian language through the verbs is the constant reminder of the fluidness of life. Laughter addresses the lack of permanence.

The elders' dialogues disclose that traditional values accompany a spiritual belief system. An understanding of this belief system referred to in the dialogues, experienced during the course of this study, and read about, is now offered with humility. It is an understanding gleaned from standing as 'the other' listening to elders, recording their thoughts, and living with FNP in their communities.

A Belief System: In the Realm of the Spirit

Our religion is an attitude of mind, not a dogma. ...

The Eternal, the Great Mystery that surrounds and embraces us, is as simple as it is exalted. To us it is the supreme conception, bringing with it the fullest measure of joy and satisfaction possible in this life.

The worship of the Great Mystery is silent, solitary, free from all self-seeking.

It is silent, because all speech is of necessity feeble and imperfect; therefore the souls of our ancestors ascended to God in wordless adoration.

It is solitary, because we believe that God is nearer to us in solitude, and there are no priests authorized to come between us and our Maker. None can exhort or confess or in any way meddle with the religious experience of another. All of us are created children of God, and all stand erect, conscious of our divinity. Our faith cannot be formulated in creeds, nor forced upon any who are unwilling to receive it; hence there is no preaching, proselytizing, nor persecution, neither are there any scoffers or atheists (Nerburn, 1993, p. 1-2).

Ohiyesa, the son of Many Lightnings, tells through Nerburn that FN religion is an attitude of mind, not a dogma. An attitude that is mindful of the spiritual presence in life permeates all of the case studies and the group dialogue. This attitude is present when William Commanda explains how he would teach geography. He begins by saying:

In our prayer we say father we thank you for your rivers, all the lakes you have made and all the sea, especially all the life you have put in there, all the different ponds and different things you produce that we could use to survive. Some of these things we eat and some of these we don't. And we say we thank you for the birds, all the winter, the birds that remain. Some of these we eat and some of those we don't eat but there is a balance in it because we destroy some when we have too many they destroy each other. It's all balance. Only to have balance is to know. We don't help the wolf or the lion to destroy all the deer that is living across the street. The wolf will take the sick one. They have the nose, they could tell which one, it is not there for life, they are going to destroy it, in order for all the other deer not to be effected by it, by the disease that exists.. It's all balance. ... We don't see the Spirit but it is there. It's also talking to them. That's how the animals know how to feed their children. The birds pick up the worms all over the morning and bring them to the nest to feed their little ones. ... (1993, p. 14).

A reverence for life, a respect, a sense of wholeness and completeness exudes from his dialogue. It is an attitude that is inclusive. Ojibway elder, Helen Wassegijig advances a similar thoughtfulness when she describes FNP's system of knowledge of her ancestors:

... a system of seeing, of knowing, of praying, of thinking, of thinking and knowing the systems of the land in this country, on this continent. They had their own way of communicating, their own ways of seeing directions and accepting and receiving directions from the Creator or the animals. They were able to communicate with the animals, with all of Nature. ... Their complete system was their religion, their vision... (1992, pp. 1-2).

The mindfulness that exudes from Helen Wassegijig's dialogue excerpt tells of a complete vision that connects all of nature. This mindfulness is found in the solitary vision quests that are practiced on the land, in the sacred pipe ceremonies, and the building of sweat lodges. The vision quests, pipe ceremonies, and the early morning sunrise ceremonies are representations of a connective vision that is on the land in this country and is inclusive of all of life. It is considered to be the FN religion. No reference is made to making judgments or domination. Rather an interdependency with nature exists according to Cree elder, Margaret Sam-Cromatry:

... go hand-in-hand with Nature, it is about Nature, and how to survive in the bush and all that (1993, p. 2).

People live in and with the spirit of nature. They go hand-in-hand with nature. This attitude of mind is premised on balance and thoughtfulness of the life force. People are connected to the wholeness of life. They are not suspended on a ladder that leads from the pit to the heavens. This is a different conception of life than one based on a dogma of domination or of sin and salvation. Kathleen Green explains her Cree belief system as follows:

All creation connects. The universe, Mother Earth, the plants, the fish, the birds, there is all those teachings, they all connect (1993, p. 2).

Life is inclusive and interdependent. It is also a life marked by independence. Life is balance. It is a complete and whole system that is lived in harmony with the balanced principle of nature. It is the Algonquian belief system.

William Commanda confides that, whether he is alone or with others, he regularly performs his early morning ceremonies with sweet grass, his religious ceremonies that are a part of his belief system. He recalls that he remembers his great grandfather telling him that his morning ceremonies would be effective as long as he closed his door or tent flaps and the fire was going while he said his prayers. The smoke symbolically transmits the prayerfulness to the Creator. Tobacco is offered as a symbolic gift. Never is there taking without giving. If you want the medicines to be effective you must give. This is the spiritual understanding he shared.

It became apparent while travelling in FN territories that spiritual development that is an inherent part of the traditional belief system occurs in the world of Nature. It is encouraged through the healing rituals that emanate from the spiritual concept of medicine as found in the medicine wheel. This whole and circular concept of life is founded on the six directions of the universe represented by a mandella-like symbol. Before considering the medicine wheel, it must be told that many elders expressed that the spiritual dimension of their people has been severely damaged by abuse.

The Medicine Wheel: a representation of spirituality

The medicine wheel was referred to in the dialogues and also in the informal dialogues that comprise this study on traditional Native education. Elders gave written material to provide further understanding, and there was reference to books. The medicine wheel represents the spiritual core of life of the individual, the

community, the world, the whole universe. People return to it, again and again, to realize growth and development. It is the embodiment of the vision of the sacred tree that represents the individual as well as the whole universe. It is an all-encompassing vision of life. It is holistic. The medicine wheel is described as follows:

The medicine wheel is an ancient and powerful symbol of the Universe. It is a silent teacher of the realities of things. It shows the many different ways in which all things are interconnected. Beyond that, it shows not only things that are, but also things that could be.

When the medicine wheel is used as a mirror by sincere human beings, it shows that within them are hidden many wonderful gifts that have not yet been developed. For the medicine wheel can show us not only as we are now, but also as we could be if we were to develop the potential gifts the Creator has deposited within us.

Many of these hidden potentialities might never be developed if we did not somehow discover and nurture them, for as the great spiritual teachers have taught, all the gifts a person potentially possesses are like the fruits hidden within the tree (The Four World Development Project, 1984, pp. 32-33).

The ancient symbol of the medicine wheel is a whole and comprehensive vision of life that radiates from the central core of life represented by the flowering sacred tree. Within the cosmology, of the medicine wheel the sacred tree represents the concept of wholeness, health, healing, and transition. It is based on an evolutionary vision which assumes there is a movement towards the sacred blossoming of life. Each person is potentially capable of evolving to that sacred state. It is the realization of the universe as sacred and holy. The world is not perceived as a garden of sin. Rather this is a realization of a life that is full of spirit and sacred. It is the sacred hoop of life which is referred to in the introduction to this chapter and which is explained by Neihardt (1961) in the book Black Elk Speaks.

Algonquian elders confided that the spiritual life force is everywhere and that their people are able to listen and receive direction from everything. William Commanda discloses:

Everything is spirit (1993, p. 17).

Algonquin elder Jacob Wawatie confides that he talks to the trees, Ojibway elder Helen Wassegijip tells how her people talk to the stones, and Cree elder, Kathleen Green reveals that she sits with Mother Earth to listen, see, and receive direction.

The early morning ceremonies, the sweat lodge, the sacred pipe ceremonies, the healing circles, the vision quests represent a way of realizing knowledge that radiates from a central vision of life where each person is a complete world within the universe. This way of knowing is metaphorical. It is represented by the circular image of the wheel. Furthermore it is a connective view of the world that is inclusive like the circle of the early morning ceremonies where people stand and sit together as the day awakens. This is the essence of the spiritual vision of the medicine wheel derived from this lived experience research.

However, Elder, and grandmother to her Algonquin Nation, Dr. Lena Nottaway explained how the spiritual vision of her people is punctured. She says:

To me the way it is with children and youth, something needs to be done about the abuse of what I call bad medicine, that is alcohol. We must find a way to wean our youth from reliance on this bad medicine. ...Today and I mean since this bad medicine was brought to our land. All the harm that's come to our people since the coming of the White man. Firewater (alcohol) has been the root of all the problems we have encountered (p. 24, 1993)

The harm created by the reliance on bad medicine has contaminated the wholeness of vision of FNP as found in the medicine wheel. A balance in education is needed, according to elders, to allow their people to flourish like the sacred tree. The balance will be realized through education that is a combination of traditional Native education and the education offered in the dominant education systems of Canada (Assembly of First Nations, 1988). Traditional Native education is defined in the following section.

Before the researcher concludes the section on Traditional Values and Beliefs, Table XI is presented to give an overview of the values and beliefs elders associated with traditional Native education. The value of language and the relationship of language to the spiritual belief system is addressed. For example, one elder relates how his language and culture empowered.

Table XI

The Theme of Values and Beliefs Within the Group Dialogue

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin Elders	
Commanda	They should be taught Indian (p. 5).
Nottaway	In the case of our race, the Creator, the great Spirit put on earth all the knowledge that was needed for our benefit, for our survival. It was there for us to learn and pass on to our successors. But it is our knowledge and lore, it is what makes us who we are. ... All the knowledge that we have gained from Nature since the beginning of our existence, the wisdom and lore that is locked in our land and our forests, all that which makes us Anishinabes must not be lost to our children. Why do we see the state that our homeland is in today? There is so much that is ugly around us. The presence of the White man has meant devastation and ruin. I see that as a result of the White man's teachings and even of the missionaries. Long ago, our concept of teaching or education did not involve the destruction of Nature (pp. 22-23).
Rankin	Now those boys were happy to grab my drum because they got the religion back. That is what they say. The best religion we have is Native (p. 5).
Decontie	The four gifts the Great Spirit gave the Anishinabe, kindness, honesty, respect, and charity (p. 7).

(table continues)

Table XI continues

Informants	Sample Dialogue Excerpts
Algonquin	
Elders	
Paptic	to help his grandchildren (p. 9).
Wawatie	When we speak, when we listen, and when we are being educated it does not matter where it is coming from; Nature, or the children or the elders or the middle generation. We have to listen and learn and understand them. I have learned a lot from the animals, from the people and the children (pp. 10-11).
Mien	There was something I did not define for myself. It is my culture and my language. In order to empower myself I gained it. I regained my spirit (p. 20).
Cree	
Elder	
Herodier	Because I was around elders as a child I think I learnt something. ... I know that spirituality is inherent in the language. (p. 14).
Mohawk	
Elder	
Benedict	According to our teachings nobody owns anything. We can use things for a while. ... I think we are farther along the way to establishing an idea of peaceful relationship between people all over. ... I think if we stay firm and keep our principles, keep our traditions that some day maybe the whole world will be appreciative and actually practice some of the things that we teach (p.13).

The purpose of the study as indicated in chapter one is to arrive at an understanding of traditional Native education through listening to elders in the Algonguin, Cree, and Ojibway Nations define the concept of traditional Native education. More specifically this chapter is an investigation of the case study transcripts and the group dialogue transcript to uncover the emerging concept of traditional Native education in the dialogues. In the previous sections the themes identified in the transcripts of the individual case studies and group interview have been examined, specifically: epistemology, language, identity, customs and values, and values and beliefs.

The final section in this chapter defines traditional Native education.

Traditional Native Education

To me, all education is learning and learning is good. In the case of our race, the Creator, the Great Spirit put on earth all the knowledge that was needed for our benefit, for our survival. It was there for us to learn and pass on to our successors. But it is our knowledge and lore, it is what makes us who we are. So it's important that we learn our own language and culture first so that our own identity is firmly established in our minds and hearts, not the language and culture of the White man (Nottaway, 1993, p. 22).

This definition of traditional Native education is Lena Nottaway's understanding. It was audio-taped during the group dialogue at the National Elders Conference at West Bay, Manitoulin Island in June 1993. In the final section of the chapter the definition of traditional Native education is examined as it emerges in the study. More specifically the first part presents a conceptual diagram of the Algonquian elders' holistic understanding of traditional Native

education. The second part considers the characteristics of traditional Native education. The third part relates the concept of traditional Native education to the medicine wheel and the flourishing of the sacred tree of life. The fourth part considers the instructive methods of traditional Native education and finally the fifth part of this section acknowledges the sources of knowledge and wisdom for traditional Native education.

Figure I provides a visual conceptualization of the Algonquian vision of traditional Native education as it emerges in the elder's transcribed dialogues.

Figure I

An Algonquin Vision of Traditional Native Education

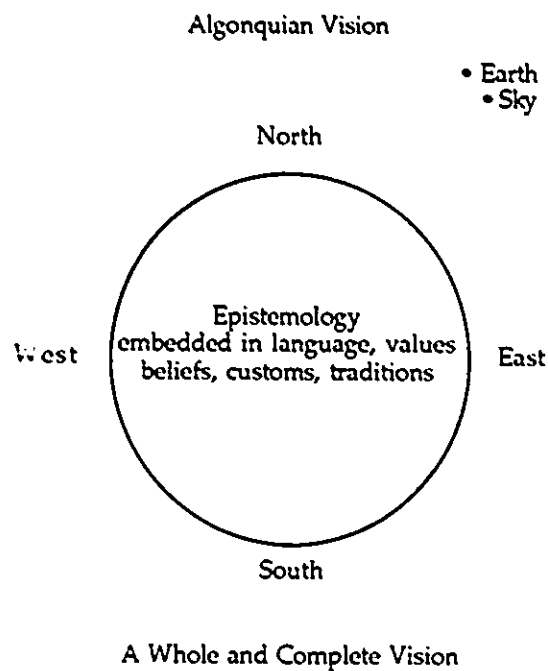


Figure I. Epistemic foundations: language, customs, traditions, values and beliefs. An epistemic foundation is built upon the concept of the circle of life with the six directions: east, south, west, north, earth and sky.

The Algonquian elders describe a holistic vision of life grounded in the spiritual realm. Each person is a cosmology and has membership in the larger circle of the family, the community, the universe. It is an inclusive vision of life. It is traditional Native education and it is the vision of life that the participating elders want to give to their children. This holistic vision of life rests within the concept of the circle of the medicine wheel with the six directions. The components the elders ascribe to traditional Native education are described now.

The Components of Traditional Native Education

Epistemology, language, identity, traditions and customs, and traditional values and a belief system are the components of traditional Native education that emerges. Agreement with the elders is involved in defining the concept of traditional Native education. In the previous sections of the chapter the components of traditional Native education, epistemology, language, identity, traditions and customs, and traditional values and beliefs, were isolated, investigated, and explained. In the following paragraphs summary statements will be made on these identified components of traditional Native education.

Algonquian elders tell of a different system of knowledge for their people that is characterized by a predominantly metaphorical way of knowing. It is both a system of knowledge and a body of knowledge. This system of knowledge that includes a body of knowledge and wisdom is grounded in a spiritual system. As Lena Nottaway states, it is knowledge given to her race by The Creator, The Great Spirit. She confides that it is knowledge and lore given to her people in order that they may survive and know who they are. It is a knowledge that combines both the mind and the heart. According to Lena Nottaway, acquisition of this knowledge and wisdom is achieved through FN language and culture, and it is Lena Nottaway's belief that a person's identity is established through

knowledge of FN language and culture. Elders in the group interview agree with her position.

Lena Nottaway discusses the epistemology of her people and the relationship of their way of knowing to their traditional methods of education. She states:

The government today offers us help in education but it is the White man's education. There is no consideration given to what I call Indian education. All sorts of help is available to educate our children in the White man's ways but none in Indian ways. But our children must be taught Indian ways, to think as Indians, not as White men. We have our own ways, our own traditions, our own beliefs that we must pass on to our descendants (Group Dialogue, 1993, p. 21).

FN education is founded in a way of knowing and thinking that encompasses a belief system with traditions. It is a different way of thinking from EC ways of knowing and believing. The FN languages are the carriers of their system of knowledge

Elders told that in order to understand life as FNP, it is necessary to speak a FN language. Their languages are learned amongst their FNP. If FN languages are not learned in early childhood, then a FN language is to be learned in adulthood. This opinion reflects the consensus of the elders.

FNP learn who they are from their language and their culture. Algonquian elders who participated in this study believe that if FNP do not know their languages, their identity becomes culturally disoriented. They are not rooted in a system of knowledge and there is not a folk psychology to guide them. Their sense of self becomes unsettled.

The FN life style is taught through their traditions and customs. Their traditions and customs include the survival skills and the cultural life skills of dance, music, arts and crafts. The survival skills of acquiring food, as well as the preparing and the storing of food,

are critical in FN traditional life. Equally important are FN traditional skills of shelter construction on the land for protection from the seasonal weather changes. Bush skills such as catching and plucking the birds, making clothing and coverings are essential ingredients of the Algonquian traditional culture. Knowing and being able to make medicinal cures to heal is another aspect of traditional FN life.

FNPs's values and beliefs are acquired through language which is both verbal and nonverbal. Elders in the study told that although they live in different parts of the world and speak different languages they believe that they share with FNP throughout the world common values and beliefs. For example, the respect for land and the creative life force that radiates from the land is a value that is attributed to all FNP (Herodier, 1993, p. 4).

Elders participating in the study told of the relationship of the medicine wheel to traditional Native education. This relationship is now explained. It is given with the implicit acknowledgment that it is not possible to know all about the wheel of life. What follows is a understanding that the researcher expects to grow and develop with time and experience.

Traditional Native Education and the Medicine Wheel

The medicine wheel is about how you find your own spiritual and cultural values. It is all there in the wheel. ... life skills, tradition, Native culture ... (Sheshamush, 1993, p. 2).

The process of education is represented in the concept of the medicine wheel. A metaphor for the FN person, the sacred tree of life, rests at the center of the medicine wheel. The medicine wheel with the six directions, east, south, west, north, earth and sky, is a symbol of life as well as the journey through life. Education is given symbolically through the directions. The understanding is, if individuals attend to the lessons of life as they are offered to them,

they will flourish and become spiritually enlightened in life. However, if people fail to attend to the teachings of the medicine wheel, that is life, their growth and development is arrested, and obstacles obstruct their path. For example, if one succumbs to drugs and alcohol on the path of life, the life journey is stunted. But, if in time, the individual attends to the directions of the wheel, recovery is possible and spiritual growth may occur. Learning from the medicines (lessons) of the wheel of life ensures growth and development as the sacred tree of life. Similarly, attending to the lessons in the formal process of education will ensure success and greater education. To flourish as a sacred tree it is important to respect your path through the world. This means being in touch with your heart as well as your mind, and caring for your physical well being. Motivation and sacrifice are required to continue with the lessons and integrate the knowledge and wisdom. Through attending to the education provided, people will ultimately evolve to wise and spiritual individuals. The medicine wheel is a sophisticated teaching tool and is of value to all educators. It is a source of traditional knowledge and wisdom. Other sources and methods of traditional Native knowledge and wisdom are now considered.

Sources of Traditional Native Knowledge and Wisdom

In addition to the medicine wheel, the elders are a source of knowledge and wisdom. Elders disclose that the land contains knowledge and wisdom. For example, Elder Margaret Sam-Cromatry tells how her homeland marks and prompts stories stored in the human memory. She speaks and writes about her grief experiences associated with the loss of her homeland to the flooding of the La Grande River by the hydro dam project. With the disappearance of the land to the floods and hydro dam buildings, stories are lost and the thought patterns associated with the stories fade. Stories and subsequently the knowledge and cognition of people disappears with the destruction of the land.

Elders tell that other sources of knowledge for them are the sweat lodges, vision quests and dreams. For example, in his writings Douglas Cardinal (1992) tells that the germ seed of his plans for the Canadian Museum of Civilization originated in the sweat lodge. The literature tells of vision quests and dreams as sources of knowledge for FNP (Neihardt, 1961; Nerburn, 1993).

Knowledge is also obtained through experience. Observation is an important source of knowledge. Elder Jacob Wawatie tells the story of a young man who learns to build a canoe alone on an island after observing his relative. Gordon, a young Cree man from Waskaganish, told of the importance of close observation when travelling alone on the trapline. Observation is closely associated with survival in bush settings. Survival in the bush requires observation and the use of the knowledge that is around you.

Methods of Traditional Native Knowledge and Wisdom

Elders tell of methods of education inherent in traditional Native education. The oral narrative method is a traditional Native way of education. As a child living the nomadic way of life, Issac Masty tells how he listened to stories. Earlier in the body of the text, he tells his favorite story, the story of the bird and the rapid. He reflects on this story and offers insight into the traditional Native education methods of story telling. Issac Masty provides the following insights:

So the story, the bird, the small bird is a child or a young person that is starting to develop some intelligence and has already developed certain skills that are past on by an elder. The rapids is the elder. An elder never lectures you. If you ask them something he will tell you there are going to be some consequences and he will tell you right off. He will simply tell you don't do it. If you persist he will give you a warning why you should not do it. And that is what the rapids did. But if you still persist beyond the warning the elder is just going to ignore his advising you and let you face the consequences. Now the consequences can be anything. Something very disastrous. Sometime they can even lead to something very serious. A very serious injury. And that story is very simple. That is why the stories were developed. I realize how intelligent those people in my society were to create those stories. There are other stories that are more lengthy. That one is very short. Now that would probably be a story that maybe read to a first grader or in kindergarten. And as you grow older the story gets more complicated. ... They make me think about something. When I discover the answers, I know they are right. I feel it. I feel, I know and I can tell when my parents are satisfied that I have discovered the right answers. I know. They never had to tell me. Now and then as I grew older they would start giving me some hints that I had done a good job listening. ... They would give me more complicated, more complicated things to think about. When I discovered that the complicated things were their way of telling me that I could now function on my own without their constant advise. So the stories disappeared altogether. But now those hints, they are coming And what that does to me is right away makes me feel good because I know that they have confidence in me to discover the right answers from those comments that they would make and I guess that is the way that our generation functioned. You were constantly educated without knowing it. And all this time you enjoyed what you were doing. When I went to school I didn't hear about the word being lazy so much because I did enjoy every single thing that I did. I didn't have running water, the opportunity to flick the switch on and off when I needed light. I had to work for every single thing. We had to get water, get wood, chop wood. That was all school activity and I knew that if I completed these activities, my part of the work, the water I developed my own schedule. How to complete that and still end up sliding down the hill with my friends. I knew if I did not do my chores I knew I could not enjoy that with my friends. My parents did not have to tell me. Everything we did around the clock was an education process for us. And now that is taken away when we were put in the units that are very comfortable with electricity and running water and that greatly affected that process or ended the process or slowed down. Now you hear comments my children are lazy it is very difficult to get them to do any kind of work in the house, wash dishes, wash the clothes, help out seep the floor. So that's how the societies have collided I guess (pp. 10-11).

Stories are lessons. Lessons are given metaphorically by elders to the children. When the children are able to grasp the meaning of the stories, the elders begin to offer hints which are more complicated directions. Elders never lecture. They may repeat a directive, but if it is not heeded the elder allows the child to experience the consequences even if the results are severe. Initially, children learn cooperatively through story. As children show the capacity to follow subtle hints the elders begin to encourage them to take more initiative in their learning. With time, children are left to learn on their own with the elders providing directives on request. Elders, in the traditional way, do not lecture. They allow individuals to experience consequences.

A young man from Waskagonish told how he learned on the trapline from his father and uncle. He confided that he knew, if he did not watch his father and uncle carefully and learn from them, he would not survive because his elders would not follow him around. He is aware of the consequences of inattentiveness. This same young man spoke about problem solving. He told how important it was to place obstacles in the way to test, to learn through observation and experience.

Helen Wassegijig, an informant and educator, defines a good teacher during the process of this study as:

... someone who really cares about the students, and who really cares about everyone of the students no matter if the student is a high achievement pupil or a very low achievement pupil. The teacher should take care of every kind of student and teach them well, to reach every student. Every student is to learn what is being taught. Also a very caring teacher is to be caring about the student and to help the student all the time and not ignore any student. To do everything in a very caring way. To say everything in a very caring way no matter how insignificant it might be (1992, p. 6).

In summary, the teaching process of traditional Native education involves the oral narrative. Stories are metaphors to give life's lessons. Lecturing is not a traditional method of teaching. Directives may be given by elders on request. Elders may choose to repeat a directive. However, the consequences of not listening or observing may be severe. Granting independence is a form of encouragement. Children traditionally learn through listening, observing and participating. Independent learning is a reward for listening and comprehending. Children are encouraged to learn to rely on their feelings, to know something is right from the way it feels. This implies that the traditional Native methods of education teach children to integrate their feelings with their reasoning abilities. Further research in this area is needed.

In the chapter, "Towards An Understanding," a definition of traditional Native education was given. Figure II, "A Conceptualization of Algonquian Traditional Native Education", gives a visual representation of the concept. It is set in the medicine wheel with the six directions. The tree at the center is a visual metaphor for the person who grows and flourishes when the path of life is respectfully followed. Learning the FN path includes acquiring a FN language, learning the respective traditions and customs of your culture, and the traditional values and beliefs. It also includes overcoming the influences of the obstacles of drugs and alcohol. Traditional Native education means establishing your identity as a FNP.

Figure II

A Conceptualization of Algonquian Traditional Native Education

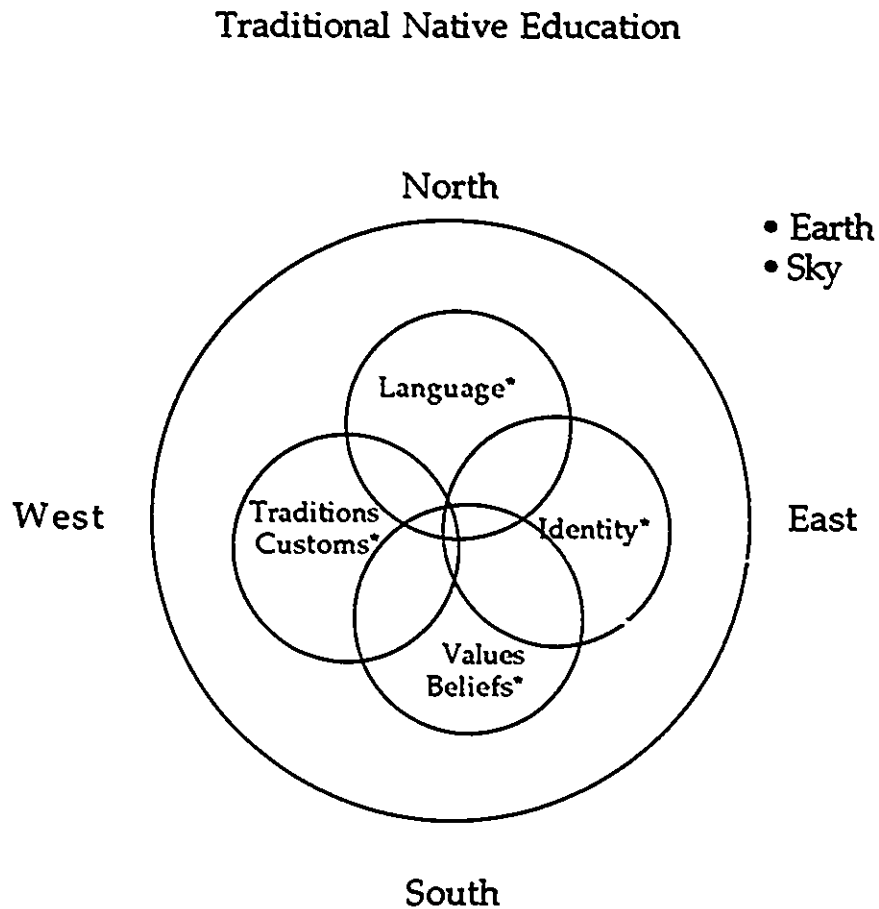


Figure II. Traditional Native education is built on an epistemology of the circle of life. Language, identity, customs, traditions, values and a belief system are components of traditional Native education according to Algonquian elders. It is a whole, connected vision of life.

* Epistemology is embedded

Figure II, "A Conceptualization of Algonquian Traditional Native Education" is a representation of Algonquian traditional education as told by Algonquian elders. The concept of four represents the components that were identified in this study; language, identity, traditions and customs, values and beliefs. The concept of four also symbolizes the four directions of the medicine wheel: east, south, west, and north. Similarly the four domains of the person are depicted: physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual. Likewise the four traditional values given to the Algonquian People are presented in this conceptual diagram. Frank Decontie of the Algonquin Nation named the four gifts given to his FNP in the group dialogue. They are respect, charity, kindness and honesty.

The traditional FN concept of education is based on a circular vision of life which is whole and complete. A preferred cognitive style appears to be implicit in this concept. It is based on the metaphor. Accompanying the apparent preferred metaphorical or noetic mode of thinking, which is symbolic, inter-connective and abstract, are implied learning styles. During the early years the learning style appears to be cooperative. With learning, children become more self-directive. As taught by the medicine wheel, children also learn to be cooperative with traditional membership in a family and a community. The need for further research is discussed in the following chapter, "Bridging Cultures".

The disclosures found in the dialogues of the participating traditional educators of three Algonquian Nations have implications for the education of all children. The final chapter will consider the findings and conclusions, and offer suggestions for connecting cultures built on different systems of knowledge.

CHAPTER VI: BRIDGING CULTURES

Ohiyesa's father, Many Lightnings was, among those captured.

Ohiyesa, who was among those left behind, was handed over to his uncle to be raised ... He was taught the ways of the forest and the lessons of his people. He strove to become a hunter and a warrior. Then, one day while he was hunting, he saw an Indian walking toward him in white man's clothes. It was his father, who had survived the internment camps and had returned to claim his son.

During his incarceration, Many Lightnings had seen the power of the European culture and had become convince that the Indian way of life could not survive within it. He despised what he called "reservation Indians" who gave up their independence and tradition in order to accept a handout from the European conquerors.

He took Ohiyesa to a small plot of farming land in western South Dakota and began teaching him to be a new type of warrior. He sent him off to white schools with the admonition that "it is the same as if I sent you on your first warpath. I shall expect you to conquer (Nerburn, 1993, pp. x-xi).

Many Lightnings wanted his son, Ohiyesa, to be a new type of warrior, to survive and succeed in the educational institutions and world of the non-FNP. Ohiyesa recorded his story in 1913. Today it is still applicable. FN elders envision their FN children equipped with a balanced education that combines traditional Native education and the education provided in the dominant educational institutions of the non-FN world. However, traditional Native education for Algonquian Peoples has not been defined. The focus of the research study is to attempt a definition within the equation of a balanced education that includes traditional Native education and the education provided in the dominant educational institutions of the non-FN world.

Ten Algonquian elders of Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway Nations, in audio-taped individual dialogues, disclose that traditional Native

education is learning to be a FN person. Together in a group interview, nine Algonquian elders from the Algonquin and Cree Nations along with one Mohawk elder agree that FNP must know who they are. To be a FN person is to live as a FNP speaking a FN language, taking pride in FN identity, and understanding the FN world view. As well, FN elders agree that speaking the communication language of English and/or French is necessary to communicate with others. This is what FN elders in this study define as traditional Native education. It is what they understand is necessary 'to conquer' as Many Lightnings put it in the non-FN world.

"Bridging Cultures", the final chapter considers the implication of the study for the education of FNP and non-FNP people, and, in particular, the education of children and adolescents. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first, "Entering the Culture of the Other," provides implications and suggestions for education. The second section, "Connecting Cultures", provides recommendations that foster the elimination of distances between cultures. The third section, "Understanding the Circle", suggests further research. Lastly the fourth section, "Standing in the World of the Circle", offers conclusions.

Entering the Culture of the Other

At least I'll get in a few pow wows before I take off, Pumpkin thought. Just the idea of college made her nervous in a way that was both good and bad. She would leave for Stanford in the fall, able finally to indulge her academic side but fearful of moving from one culture to another.

This goes beyond leaving home and my parents, she had written in the essay required of all applicants. I know I am committed to a college education because I am willing to go to great lengths to earn one. I will have to put aside one world view - perhaps only temporary - to take up another. From what I have learned so far, I know the two are not complementary but rather incompatible, and melodramatic as it may sound, I sometimes feel I am risking my soul by leaving the Indian community (Power, 1994, p. 24).

Contemporary literature and art acknowledge that the underlying epistemologies of the FNP and the dominant social group in North America are dissimilar (Beam, 1992; Houle, 1992; Power, 1994; Richardson, 1994; Wiebe, 1994;). Elders in the study stated that there is a difference in the epistemologies of Algonquian speakers and the dominant EC group in Canada, which in turn has implications for the education of FN children. Algonquian people perceive the world holistically with the individual at the center of the medicine wheel. The individual is metaphorically represented by a tree that grows and flourishes with the medicine of the circle of life. Life, as told by elders, is iterative and based on the concept of the circle and the directions implicit in the circle.

Susan Power's (1994) character, Pumpkin, in Grass Dancer is off to study at Stanford University. This is a privilege earned by few, and even fewer in the FN world. Many FN children are not as aware as Pumpkin of the confusion seeded by entering the other world, nor are they equipped to realize their identity in their traditions as Pumpkin does in the grass dance. As a grass dancer she controls the grass and lives as the spirit of the grass. Pumpkin knows about the values of her world view, and the fabric of her FN soul. She is not a character caught within the transitions of her culture.

Many FN children are caught within the transitions of their own culture. A young man may face the difficulties of living in Montreal while attending university and be very comfortable surviving as a trapper on the trapline alone. The learning style he came to honor on the trapline is different from the demands of the lecture room at the southern university and the concrete environment he walks on top of everyday in the city. The food is different too. Different world views present themselves. FNP are challenged to live well in both worlds.

In the dialogues presented, the reality of FN children is explained. Language instruction in schools is in a cultural dialogue other than their own, with the exception of the early childhood

immersion classrooms scattered about the country in FN schools. Most FN children enter school not speaking their FN language. This seems to fuel the confusion they are already experiencing in their communities. FN children are taught the French or English language in school, but as Elder Tom Rankin points out they can never become French or English. They are FN, but most often they do not know what that means because their FN families frequently do not speak their original language in their presence. Consequently this results in further removing the young from the FN traditions, customs, values and beliefs that are embedded in the epistemology of their language. Furthermore it feeds their confusion. The resulting sense of disconnection is compounded by gaining entry into non-FN culture. As the Algonquin Elder Jacob Wawatie explains, the entry point through drugs and alcohol is always open. Everyone is welcome there. Unfortunately, too many children enter that way.

Children do not have to travel out of their communities to experience the confusion of the conflicting world views to which Power (1994), in the Grass Dancer, or elders talk about in their dialogues. Within FNP communities, there is confusion in the two different world views that exist informally and formally. Informally, there are two world views in the culture of commerce within the communities, or along side them. For example, there are the malls and shops stocked with the articles of the larger world community. An earlier paper on the culture of Halloween addressed this informal presence of "the other" world view as experienced in the costumes shipped into the Northern stores and worn at the kindergarten parties in a Cree immersion classroom (Hjartarson, 1993). Informally, "the other" world view exists in the media world of television, video, movies, and computers, and in the basics of contemporary consumer items of food, housing and clothing that are on sale in the stores and are not traditional accouterments of the FN world view. Informally, these items and services are all manifestations of another cultural epistemology. In the formal sphere, an epistemology other than the traditional FN world view exists in the schools and religious organizations of the FN world.

However, it is not the purpose of the study to consider the religious role in the epistemological confusion. It is significant to note that it is a carrier of another world view as manifested in the Western religions of Christianity. The point is that before an individual travels off to the post-secondary school, the conflicting epistemologies are experienced in the FN communities. As Cree Elder Margaret Sam-Cromatry states:

It is very difficult to teach a person who does not go back to the land and probably you know he is trying to. It is like trying to teach a business man our Cree culture. He can never learn it because he wants to learn business to survive in the White man's world. So these kids now are doing that in order to know how to survive in the White man's way. This is important. As I said we are living in the White man's way. We have to pay bills and all that to survive. So everything is not important anymore. ... It's not very promising right now, but, if only we could go back, but we can't go back, we can't go back to what we were. The most important thing is we must not forget who we are. We are Cree not White People. If we, don't forget that we are Cree, we'll make it. Go back to the simple ways we were. Because, it is the simple things in life that are going to survive, not the big ones, not ... not living high beyond your means ... These things are going to disappear. But the simple beliefs, the Cree simple beliefs are going to survive.... We'll teach them like this. (POINTING TO HER WRITINGS) ... more and more. Maybe they won't help right away but eventually they will. Eventually they will help later on. But they won't help right away. We are just new at this thing, coming out of the bush and living this kind of life. We are just new. We can't deal with it right away. But we probably can deal with it in a couple of years (1993, p.3).

Margaret Sam-Cromatry's explanation of simple Cree beliefs is being kind to others and thinking of others first. It involves human feelings. It also includes being able to tell a green tree from a dry tree.

Within FN communities there is the awareness that different ways of understanding exist, and there is a realization that there is a deliberate need to teach their children FN culture through language immersion programs, literature and FN-designed curriculum materials. Furthermore, the Assembly of First Nations intends to have FNP control their own schools and have their own education act

(Assembly of First Nations, 1993). More immediately, the fact that many schools FN children attend are staffed by non-FN teachers should be addressed. Determined attempts should be made to educate the non-FN teachers about the FN world view. Teachers must be required to engage in cultural studies relevant to FNP in order to sensitize them to FN culture and language. This is not a new thought. The Paquette (1986) study and the Hawthorn Report (1967) considered why it was not being accomplished. Although it is not new, it is essential, if FN and non-FN children are to acquire world views that enable them to understand each other. Language requirements need to be considered. Aside from the need to train FN teachers, there is the need to train non-FN teachers to understand FN world view in order to equip them to teach in all schools. Innovative teacher institutes organized for licensed teachers to meet the more immediate needs of FN and non-FN schools is suggested, and teachers who attend should be acknowledged through certification and licensing. Teacher institutes would teach about living on the land and securing and cooking the traditional food. Professional training days that consider issues related to traditional Native education for teachers involved with FN membership are considered to be essential.

Elders interviewed suggested that a month out of every school year should be set aside to have FN children live and learn in the traditional FN way. As Tom Rankin says, we need to give them some of our life too. Moreover, FN teachers-in-training request that they receive some of their teacher training in the bush. Given the strong emphasis placed on the land by FN elders, it is important for children to be educated in the ways of land and for teachers to be trained on the land. Although these are suggestions targeted for the education of FNP, they are also relevant for non-FNP.

Although there are language schools for FN children and adults in public schools and in community high schools, more community-based schools in urban areas are recommended. Such schools could offer traditional Native education including the customs, traditions,

values, beliefs and contemporary culture. For example, FN cooking may be taught. Open membership to FNP and non-FNP is suggested.

In integrated urban schools with FN membership, curriculum program units that incorporate FN traditional Native education need to be mandatory requirements if recognition and understanding of "the other" is to occur. It is further suggested that FN education authorities and provincial departments of education create a curriculum that recognizes the cultural realities of FN children in city schools. Exchange programs between rural and urban areas are avenues to building a stronger sense of identity amongst FN children. Such programs would also be of value to non-FN children and teachers. They would foster understanding through exploring and teaching the heritage of the FNP.

The land and the inhabitants of the land are valued differently in traditional FNP. Land is a source of knowledge and is full of spirit. Food and food preparation is different. Beaver is roasted over fires in the bush. It is considered to be a delicacy. Bear is eaten on feast occasions in the Cree community of Waswanipi.

Dissimilar epistemologies with the accompanying values and beliefs of FNP and EC exist. Curriculum materials that uncover the differences and encourage understanding are needed. Of particular importance is the need to expose unlike values that exist in the FN and EC cultures in Canada. Land traditionally holds spiritual value for FNP. The land offers FNP direction and it is the place where they perform religious ceremonies. To many EC, the land does not have the same religious significance. It has economic value. Publishers of curriculum materials other than FNP need to have FNP assist them in developing and publishing more materials that are sensitive to FN values. This is required for all levels of education including the years of early childhood, public school, and post-secondary. All social and economic sectors of this country are urged to contribute actively to FNP's recording their heritage before more of the "living universities" die. The loss of the knowledge and wisdom, through the

death of FN members who live in the oral tradition of their language, is the world's loss. Ronald Wright (1992) declares that if there is any room for optimism in Canada at present it emanates from the knowledge that Canadians have been shocked into investigating their national myths (p. 342). Most recently, Rudy Wiebe (1994) has offered the world his discoveries on his entry into the world of FNP in his book, Discovery of Strangers.

There is evidence of some sensitivity to FN heritage. Besides the 1992 National Gallery Exhibition "Land Spirit Power", the 1992 Museum of Civilization Exhibition, "Indigena", 1993 Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1994 "Isumavut" Exhibition of the artistic expression of Cape Dorset women, there are a number of new books appearing such as Boyce Richardson's, Terra Nullius (1994), and David Peat's Lighting the Seventh Fire (1994) that affirm FNP and their different ways of knowing and being in the world. Equity on school boards is being considered (Common, 1990). The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation appears to be more sympathetic to featuring FN thought and music in their programming. For example, a two hour musical program featured FN artists to celebrate special occasion such as Thanksgiving. However, more media involvement in the formal and informal education process is necessary to re-educate and affirm FN ways of knowing. As Randy Fred stated:

Native people live within a world of imagery that isn't their own
(Francis, 1992, p. xii).

"Entering the Culture of the Other", suggests ways of seeding an understanding of the culture of the FNP. Specific suggestions are made for formal and informal education. They are made in the spirit of Judge Thomas Berger who reminds us that:

There are no easy solutions. But we should insist that, in our relations with the Native people we live by our own beliefs. There must be a commitment to human rights, a determination to erode, inch by inch, the conditions which have made Native people strangers in their own land. They must have the means to maintain their identity, to thrive and to prosper.

Practical voices will say it is out of the question, that their only future lies in assimilation. But unless assimilation occurs by enforced social engineering on a Stalinist scale, there will be no assimilation. The Native people have survived draconian measures for half a millennium. They may be poor, they may be oppressed, but they know who they are (Berger, 1991, p. 161).

Judge Berger writes that there is a need for the dominant social structure in Canada to re-examine the pervasive attitudes that have oppressed FNP. The following section exposes attitudes and outlines methods for connecting with the FNP culture through bridging.

Connecting Cultures

Judge Berger (1991) recommends that EC should live by their beliefs while ensuring that FNP are able to maintain their identity, endure, and survive well (p. 161). Berger's position is tightly interwoven into the fabric of this study. It is the theme of connecting cultures that maintain respect and balance. It is an investigation to understand the meaning of traditional Native education. It is a search to understand what FN elders determine are the components of an education that will ensure their children are well-connected to their heritage and the larger world. It is an investigation to determine how FN children must be educated to guarantee that they may conquer and connect in the EC ways.

Earlier in the text, it was acknowledged that there were deliberate attempts by EC to ignore the FNP and that they refused to connect with FNP in a balanced and respectful way (Fisher, 1977; Pakes, 1985; Odjig, 1985; Peck, 1987; Wright, 1992). EC failed to acknowledge that FNP indeed provided education for their children

(Cardinal, 1967; Chamberlain, 1975; Fisher, 1977; Brody, 1981; Battiste, 1986; Berger, 1991; Wright, 1992). Stories based on this theme are numerous in the literature. One such story recorded in unpublished field notes associated with this study was told by a nun who lived and taught the Cree in Saskatchewan and Alberta for twenty- seven years (Hjartarson, 1992). Her story is marked by what could be considered as ignorance, elitism, and racism. The nun confided that Indian agents brought Cree children to the mission school to live and receive an education. The agents told her that these Cree children had to be apprehended from their families because their parents did not educate them. She confessed that she did not know any differently because she was living a cloistered life in the mission house. The vibrancy of the Cree world was ignored.

A method employed in Canada to avoid acknowledging that the other has a world view worthy of discovery is the negation or failure to recognize "the other". Fisher (1977) explains this method as follows:

Students of race relations now recognize that images are frequently more potent determinants of behavior than "reality" and that Europeans in contact with indigenous people act according to perceptions which are often quite different from what "actually exists." Indigenous society and behavior is viewed through a cultural filter that distorts "reality" into an image that is more consistent with European preconceptions and purposes. The process is complete when the image becomes more real than "reality" as the basis for policy and action (p. 74).

By ignoring what actually does exist and placing an image of what is imagined to exist, the EC neglect to connect with FNP. Instead, they attach an image to FNP that is connected to their perceptions of what is imagined. Respect is usually absent.

Another way to ignore, is exemplified by Hawthorn (1967), and written about by Paquette (1986). They suggest that to listen and to write about the other culture and the disconnections, and then do nothing are methods that are employed. For example, Paquette states:

In educational matters, the dominant historical policy-making mechanism in aboriginal education has been default, in a word, non-decision (p. 36).

Although methods are employed to deny the reality of FN cultures, FN culture persists. Similarly, even though there is a misconstruction of the truth of the other, FNP do exist. North America was not discovered by Columbus as one item of the Wechsler Intelligence Test measures. FNP have lived on this continent long before the Occidental travelers arrived in North America. Artist Domingo Cisneros warns that if these ways of denying the realities of FN life persist:

You will be the one charged with creating forbidden things. The propagator of censored images, of words that are never spoken (Nemiroff et al., 1992, p.138).

The existence of other realities is recognized by the philosopher Nelson Goodman in his book, Of Mind and Other Matters (1984). He offers an understanding of many realities. His vision is one that seems valid for us at this time. It appears that attempts are being made to connect with other ways of knowing about the world. While the motivation to connect with the other cultures may only be for self-preservation, it still exists. Goodman (1984) offers an understanding of the world of other realities that is relevant to the Canadian identity as it moves to connect with the cultures within its' country. He writes:

... there are many equally right but conflicting ways-and thus in effect, many actual worlds. We must, then, inquire into the standards, compatible with such multiplicity, of rightness of renderings of all sorts, in all media, in symbol systems of every variety (p.14).

Although there are many issues related to the realization and confirmation of the multiplicity of world views, the study is devoted primarily to acknowledging the existence of other cultures that are

equal to the prevalent EC culture, and to suggesting ways of "dialoguing", to use Freire's (1968) words.

Education is a method of connecting cultures. Connection in this study is made through dialogue. Elders teach. They use the dialogue to tell a story. It is a process of teaching. In these pages of many stories are told as metaphors. The metaphor is a literary tool used to connect in stories. It prompts and bridges connections. It is both a pathway to, and a process of, learning. The metaphor is the connecting thread to other worlds of understanding.

The educational methods experienced by the researcher while learning from FN elders about the process of traditional Native education provide insight into metaphorical or noetic educational methods. For example, this thesis tells a story while educating about FNP. Stories construct a bridge to the world of FN traditional education. Consider that the study begins with asking a question, or questions. It proceeds with listening to responses. A bridge from one life to another begins to be constructed. The construction process is teaching and learning. Connections are built through sharing stories as the informants tell and think about the question(s). Connection occurs through listening, watching, and participating with others. Asking questions, exploring and testing are also methods. Lecturing is not a method. In fact, it does not belong to the traditional method of education nor is it used in bridge building. Asking for direction is. It is recognized that learning through consequences may strengthen the connections if the directions are not first followed or are faulty. Respect is the pillar used in constructing connections between the cultures. An important ingredient in the methodology of education is offering a little knowledge at a time. This ensures that the connections are cemented and understanding grows. As Lena Nottaway says:

I will say this much for now, and later I will speak again (1993, p. 23).
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Further study appears necessary to understand the world of FNP and the implications for both formal and informal education in Canada.

The following section on "Understanding the Circle" offers suggestions for further investigations.

Understanding the Circle

If she only knew how many times I wanted to tell her, "Just take all your stuff and get out, you're white, you have no business here, I don't know why I invited you, ... But every time I started to do that, I'd see a circle of grandmothers and the circle of grandmothers had no colour (Griffiths & Campbell, 1989, p.17).

There are no colours or races excluded from the circle of life. The foundation of the epistemology of FNP, the circle, as told by the Algonquian elders in this story accommodates the explorer who respects the path of the circle. Maria Campbell, in the above quotation, acknowledges this and alludes to a common misunderstanding that was encountered. Although people expected that the doors would be closed and entry would be prohibited, doors were opened. Boyce Richardson (1994) also attests to this as do many scholars before him (Brody, 1981, Ridington, 1988, 1991; Goulet, 1994; Guédon, 1994).

The circle is represented by the medicine wheel (Four World Development Project, 1984). The medicine wheel contains many teachings that have yet to be discovered. Many suggestions evolve and more will become apparent to others when they step towards the circle, the FN traditional way of understanding. The suggestions for further study are now presented.

Cognitive research that incorporates an ethnographic paradigm which builds understanding from the inside out is necessary. It is lived experienced research and it is what Salner (1986), Giorgio (1986, 1987, 1988) and van Manen's (1990) claim is valid evidence.

To understand the cognition of the other it is paramount to realize that FN epistemology is built on the circle. It is not a rational positivist perspective that is grounded in a linear progressive gestalt. Superimposing an incongruent epistemological framework onto "the other" will not yield understanding. It will result in statements of deficiencies which will satisfy only those who want to tease out what people are not. However, the core of the study and its recommendations are premised on the belief that understanding, rather than more misunderstanding, is needed. Those embarking on further study in cognition and learning are well advised to heed the remarks made by Cree architect, Douglas Cardinal (1992), designer of the fluid structure that houses the Museum of Civilization in Canada:

The Canadian Museum of Civilization is a true monument to our people. I went to the ceremonial lodge and I was given the vision. It is a vision of taking technology and creating something positive with it and maintaining my way of being in doing it (p. 112).

As Cardinal explains, problem solving need not be linear or based on the model of the computer. It can be based on dreaming and on imagining solutions. This should be a focus if we are to understand the circle and stand together as people in this world.

More consideration needs to be given to the voice in research since it is the power that drives any study. To try to deny the voice through the use of a language that is more detached and supposedly value free and objective is to ignore the source of the question. It is especially true when writing about lived experience research. Writing in the third person while conducting the research in the first person was difficult for this researcher. It dilutes. Defensible knowledge comes from direct experience (Giorgio, 1988). A direct voice recorded in the first person is not necessarily less rigorous.

At present, there is an affirmation of the rational mode of thought and, to a lesser extent, the empirical mode in schools, but there is little attention given to the noetic life lived as a narrative.

In the study of traditional Native education, stories teach. Stories lead to learning and are representative of a process of thinking that is connective and abstract. Studies into ways of further fostering learning in schools of education that honor the narrative mode of thought and consider noetic thought processes in general needs to be explored.

Elders contend that lecturing is not a traditional way of teaching. Only when asked, will they direct. As children prove they understand the stories and are capable of attending to the hints master teachers give them, they are offered more and more independence. More thought needs to be given to this. Many children are alienated in schools, and many leave school early. With the economic times, other ways of educating people are needed to allow people to lead lives that are meaningful. Questions must be asked. Do we lecture too much, alienating adolescents from their source of knowledge and wisdom? Have we created a cult of adolescence, who do not want to listen? Should we be heeding the lessons of the elders who do not lecture and who encourage independence in their teachings. Elders said that they expect young people to be independent, to contribute, share, and educate others. Do we train people to climb the pyramid knowing that only a few will get rich at the peak? Do we allow the others to slide into a crevice somewhere along the vertical fault?

A voice told of communication problems amongst the elders, the young, and the larger society. Investigations into the source of these difficulties seem necessary. As Robin Green (1993) stated, we know their attitude is negative. This was also heard at the Oka hearings in 1991 and recorded in 1991 Hjartarson unpublished field notes. Ways of empowering the spirits of the young are needed. The young man who shares his story of sexual abuse, a self destructive life style and subsequent healing at the end of the group dialogue summary in Chapter Four offers hope amidst the despair that is experienced. How can others like him be reached?

Land is continuously referred to as a source of knowledge and wisdom. Elders inform that the land is capable of providing direction. Investigation into the concept of the land as knowledge, and the land as teacher, is recommended.

An exploration into the values that are inherent in the epistemology of Algonquian speakers needs to be undertaken. It seems necessary to tease out the obvious dissimilar values between FNP and EC and to examine them in relation to the operant values in the dominant social structure. Once the misunderstandings are uncovered, problem solving around them may occur. This assumes that there is the will to understand, and that individuals are capable of breaking their encapsulation.

In this study, only three Algonquian Nations were incorporated. The focus was on education. Other FNP need to be included in the focus on education. As well, other facets of epistemology need to be targeted. For example, what is the meaning of responsibility, independence, and dependency in the Algonquian way of knowing?

The interrelationship of language, thought, and culture is a prevalent theme. Vygotsky (1934) and Whorf (1956) recognized this interrelationship in this century. It needs further exploration. For example, how do the different languages in Algonquian Nations vary, and what subsequent influences do they have for values and beliefs in the respective nations? This study into the education of Algonquian speakers has not uncovered differences amongst the three nations concerned in defining traditional education. Are the stories that live within the different nations the same? Moreover, what are the stories?

The section has addressed the concept of building understanding through study and investigation and has made recommendations for further research. The following and final section of the study considers the conclusions reached in this study.

Standing in the World of the Circle

What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death. The ideal of a single civilization for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life (Paz, 1961).

An example of the differences in world view that exist in Canada is presented. The study tells how deliberate attempts have been made to mask the differences, to assimilate "the other", and to create a sameness through EC education. It is a story that tells of people who refuse to succumb to their poverty and oppression (Berger, 1991). It is also a study that tells, through dialogues, about another way of knowing, living, and understanding the world. It is a realization that FN vision-makers like Cardinal, Beam, Houle, Heavysield, McMaster, Keeshig-Tobias, and others are envisioning a world that ensures that we are not impoverished and mutilated by an ideal of a single civilization to which Octavio Paz (1961) refers in The Labyrinth of Solitude.

More specifically, ten Algonquian elders from three nations, Algonquin, Cree, and Ojibway explain traditional Native education. The study explores the epistemological underpinnings of traditional Native education and discovers that they rest in the system of knowledge of the circle or medicine wheel. Algonquian elders in this study agreed about the principles of traditional Native education. In the traditional way, they built consensus through discussion in a group interview setting where they chose to sit in the round of a teepee and talk and listen to one another. In the group meeting, elders gathered from Algonquin and Cree communities. There was no Ojibway representation. There was one Mohawk elder who was

involved in earlier studies on education in the United States approximately twenty-two years ago. Although there was no Ojibway presence at the group meeting, through informal and formal interactions, no differences in the concept of traditional Native education were evident. It is noted that one of the Ojibway elders was interviewed during a traditional Cree gathering. He was there as an invited medicine man to a traditional Cree gathering. Moreover, William Commanda, on several occasions stated that there was no difference in understanding between his Algonquin Nation and the Ojibway. He felt that they were all the same people.

In the dialogues of the elders it is disclosed that there are possible common bonds between FNP throughout the world. Elders refer to the land as a source of knowledge and wisdom that binds them together. Knudtson and Suzuki (1992) support this finding. Elders also speak of the connectivity of all life and thought. This is recorded in the literature (Murdoch, 1988; Knudtson and Suzuki, 1992;) One elder suggested that the FNP share the same value for creation and for the lack of concepts in FN languages to curse creation. Further study is needed.

The investigation did determine that traditional Native education entails learning about FN identity. It comprises FN language, traditions, customs, values and beliefs. Language is the carrier of the system of knowledge and values. Elders reiterated the relevance of language to thought, identity, and culture. William Commanda (1993) asserts:

While first of all you have to know who you are. And then supposing I call myself an Indian and I don't talk Indian. Who am I (p. 4)?

Traditional Native education bequeaths the legacy of FN identity. Elders and many FN teachers-in-training told that the FN identity can be discovered in the bush. Spiritual teachings are an important component of traditional Native education.

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APPENDIX A

SUMMARIES of the EIGHT AUDIO-TAPED INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS/DIALOGUES

This appendix contains the remaining eight audio-taped individual interview summaries. Each summary begins with the informant's name and Nation, the location of the interview and an introduction to the informant. Direct extractions from the transcribed interviews are box-framed throughout the text.

Interview Summaries

Daisy Herodier, Cree Nation, Chisasibi, James Bay, Quebec

The interviewer met Daisy Herodier soon after arriving in Chisasibi through the Cree woman, Dianne Reid. Boyce Richardson, author of the books, Strangers Devour the Land and People of Terra Nullius, had alerted her to Daisy Herodier's presence in the community at a meeting in Ottawa prior to travelling north to Chisasibi. He felt Daisy Herodier had teachings to offer.

Daisy Herodier is married to the Assistant Chief of Chisasibi. Together they have several children. At the time of this interview she was the Cree Curriculum Consultant with The Cree School Board. At present, she is living in Montreal with her children while pursuing a masters degree in curriculum development at McGill University. Her husband commutes.

On the final day of the first Cree Culture Conference in the school at Chisasibi Daisy invited the researcher to go for a car ride over the lunch hour to the old settlement site, Fort George. After their initial outing together, many hours were spent talking and touring. The interviewer travelled with Daisy to Wemindji to attend a kindergarten curriculum meeting for all Cree consultants and

teachers. They met again in Ottawa, on Manitoulin Island, Fort George Island, and in Chisasibi.

Daisy Herodier was traditionally educated. She learned on the trapline in dwellings that were constructed to suit the changing weather and the nomadic life. According to Cree tradition, her education began early in life. She was taught by her family and extended family members.

...it is quite a unique setting for educating children I think. ... as an educator I think about it often how in that setting the child's needs are fulfilled in every way by the family members and extended family ... emotionally, intellectually, physically, and spiritually. ... all those needs were fulfilled in a setting like that and the parents, the brothers and sisters, gave you what you needed to learn to go through life and taught you skills at an early age (Herodier, 1993, p. 1).

She tells how she was sent out with a fish line on the ice, or sent out to set a snare in the woods. Drawing on her own experience, she explains how on the ice, or in the bush, you learn survival skills, directions and an understanding of the world.

... and when you are out there in that setting the child learns the concepts very well. And also in that setting you learn all sorts of things, you get in a sense the world view I think out there (Herodier, 1993, p. 2).

Recalling her residential school experience, she remembers the estrangement she experienced. The intimate life of the teepee was absent from that world. At the residential school, rooms were partitioned by walls. Walls separated and became barriers from her peers and parents. She felt alienation.

For today and tomorrow Daisy Herodier explains:

Native People need to look at what we did and try and teach young children ... we have to find a way to retain those teachings, ways of looking at yourself or the community or the world. I think we have to find a way and education is one way of trying to hold on to that (Herodier, 1993, p. 2).

She believes that through instilling the values of traditional Cree life, the human values of the society may survive. She sees a role for parents. She thinks parents must continue to teach values as our society did in the past. In fact, she associates the failure to teach values, combined with the disruption of the traditional family, with the high suicide rate in the North today.

Daisy Herodier affirms the values of the teepee. In the teepee, she explains, there are no partitions, and closeness to other family members is permitted. She thinks it is a warm setting that enhances education in contrast to a house, where walls partitioning rooms disrupt, break up and alienate family members thereby inhibiting education. In a house, people are not as open as in a teepee.

... when you live in a teepee you are very warm. You are in a warm setting. You are very close to your family. ... And when you take families out of those settings and put them into houses you know and put them into two separate rooms I think it breaks the family apart in a way. It separates, it alienates the family members. There is not that contact as you would have in the teepee. ... I think that was a good setting for children as I said to get an education. ... You are aware of, you know, when a person is sick right away. Whereas sometimes you are not aware of them. ... when you are in separate rooms especially ... when the children get older ... or what they are thinking. ... You're not as open. You alienate yourself from other family members (Herodier, 1993, p. 3).

It is Daisy Herodier 's understanding that the education system underestimates children by treating them as children and not talking to them as adults. She thinks children are capable of learning more. For instance, children can learn the lessons taught at an earlier time from adults on the trapline. She proposes this can be done through the stories of the hunters and trappers.

Language and culture are important to her. Together with her people she found the value of the Cree culture again at the Cree Culture Conference at Chisasibi .

An elder commented at the beginning of the conference. He said it should be like this, in a circle, where we see everybody. ... People were acknowledging their language and their culture. I think what happened in history, people, ... starting to look at themselves and their culture as nothing important. I think that is what happened but this conference gave an awareness (Herodier, 1993, p. 4).

She is aware that a common tie exists among all Native people.

... like when you go as a Native person to another community or another city or another place where there are Native People you feel close to those people. You feel they are part of you. You feel as if you have known them. ... Yes I think that is the way I think most Native People are. Like when you go to other communities, Native communities like in Canada or probably the States too and South America probably too. ... Yes I think it comes from being close to the land. We all have something in common (Herodier, 1993, p. 5).

Margaret Sam-Cromatry, Cree Nation, Chisasibi, James Bay, Quebec. She was interviewed in Chisasibi.

When the researcher first arrived in Chisasibi she heard people speak of a woman who continued to live on Fort George Island, the original settlement site. They spoke of her with reverence and told of her writings about Cree ways, life in the bush, ways of the heart, of change and struggle, of the teachings of Nature. While the researcher was in Chisasibi Margaret's book, James Bay Memoirs, A Cree Woman's Ode to Her Homeland, was released.

One day the researcher expressed to Daisy Herodier the desire to meet Margaret Sam-Cromatry. Immediately a meeting was arranged. Soon the researcher was sitting and talking with Margaret in her kitchen. On the second meeting with Margaret an interview with her was recorded.

Margaret Sam-Cromatry believes traditional Native education is knowing who you are, and knowing you are Indian. Furthermore, it means not forgetting who you are when you learn a new culture. If you do not first learn you are Indian you could forget, she warns. You do not learn your culture; you are your culture. For Margaret Sam-Cromatry culture and identity are inseparable. It is her belief that your culture is who you are.

The culture comes deep inside you. To be polite to people. To overcome difficulties like your ancestors did when you are in the bush. You have to overcome these difficulties even if you are down south. You have to remember the culture is within yourself. Like I said you have to be polite you have to think of other people first and you have to understand other people and who they are and first only you have to understand yourself. That is Indian culture. ... The most important thing Indian is to follow your heart. It is very difficult (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 2).

Margaret Sam-Cromatry maintains that the culture deep within the Cree person entails being polite to people, overcoming difficulties, thinking of other people first, and understanding others, but first it is understanding who you are. For her, the important thing about being Indian is to follow your heart. Being Indian is not merely making moccasins and beadwork, or writing about it. She stresses it is remembering your culture is deep within you, even when you travel south.

Margaret Sam-Cromatry tells she learnt to be proud to be an Indian. She also learned to be proud to go into the bush and understand it. She was taught in Nature by her mother and father.

How to tell a green tree from a dry tree. How to tell about the weather. ... These were all taught to you as a child when you are still in the bush. ... the Indian culture. That is culture. Being with your parents and asking questions (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 2).

As she discusses learning she discloses that feelings are central to the Cree culture. She explains that the language is important, but it is not the only vehicle for the teachings of the Cree culture.

Feelings are present in the learning process. The teachings are invested with feelings.

These are cultures from way back. That is what I call culture. It is just not learning the language ... the language is very important. But something should come from the feel in order to have the Cree culture. It is just not teaching it (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 2).

Margaret Sam-Cromatry thinks teaching is easy if you go back to the land. To teach on the land you must go hand and hand with Nature and you must learn to survive in the bush. It is her belief that if you do not go back to the land it is difficult to teach Cree culture. For example, she observes, it is hard to teach a business man Cree culture. He never wants to learn, she reasons, because he is living in White man's ways.

She realizes that, today, children are learning to survive in the White man's ways. This is important to her because the Cree people are living in the White man's way. For example, bills must be paid in order to live. However, she warns, it is important not to forget that you are Cree while learning to live as a white man.

Margaret Sam-Cromatry has little hope for Cree children in the future. However, she does qualify this thought.

... The most important thing we must not forget is who we are. We are Cree not White People. If we don't forget that we are Cree we'll make it. Go back to the simple ways we were. Because it is the simple things in life that are going to survive, not the big, not ... not living high beyond your means like Hydro Quebec is doing building giant dams and These things are going to disappear. But the simple beliefs, the Cree simple beliefs are going to survive (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 3).

Although she believes the future of Cree children is not bright, she offers hope. The young, she thinks, can be taught through stories. She busies herself writing stories.

... more and more. Maybe they won't help right away but eventually they will. ... But they won't help right away. Probably in a couple of years they will listen. It's the most hardest part. Nobody will listen right away (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 3).

Although the Cree people may not hear now, she has hope they will with time.

Nobody would listened to us. We did not want these times (The James Bay Hydro Quebec Development) but ... the Cree People are listening to what the Elders are saying (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 3).

Throughout this interview a direction is given. Concern, care and hope echo through.

... We are just new at this thing, coming out of the bush and living this kind of life. We are just new. We can't deal with it right away. But we probably can deal with it in a couple of years (Sam-Cromatry, 1993, p. 3).

Nancy Sheshamush, Cree Nation, Whapmagoostui, Quebec. She was interviewed in the school in Whapmagoostui.

Nancy Sheshamush is a school counsellor. This interview was recorded in her counseling office at the end of the school day. Nancy was tired and suffering from the 'flu. The evening before she had been up very late making a dress with her youngest daughter who was to dance as a shawl dancer in the mini pow-wow in the community the following evening. The dress was made without a pattern. Fabric was held up, carefully assessed, cut and then sewn without hesitation. The sewing machine was a manual, table-top Singer. Hands and eyes worked rapidly. Nancy Sheshamush, her daughter, and granddaughter were all involved in the construction.

While in Whapmagoostui the interviewer was living with Nancy Sheshamush, her husband Noah, their daughter, granddaughter, and son. Several conversations had occurred prior to

this recorded interview. Although Nancy Sheshamush was reluctant to do a recorded discussion, she did agree. However, at one point she did ask to have the tape recorder turned off.

Traditional Native education is how to survive in the world (Sheshamush, 1993, p.1).

Nancy Sheshamush understands traditional Native education to have many facets. For instance, it is the traditional Native life cycle from infancy to elder. It is also helping people in need and sharing what you have. And, for her, it includes showing respect for elders, finding your identity, going on a vision quest and learning the medicine wheel.

... the most important thing is to learn about the medicine wheel. ... The medicine wheel is ... about how you find your own spiritual and cultural values. It is all in there, in the wheel (Sheshamush, 1993, p.1).

Cree life styles, traditions and Native culture, all are ingredients of traditional Native education, according to Nancy Sheshamush. As well, for her it encompasses traditional healing.

... the healing circle, how you find peace and harmony. ... There are two different healing circles. There are the healing circle for men and the healing circle for women. The healing circle is very personal (Sheshamush, 1993, p.1).

She acknowledges that some do not understand this, especially non-Native people.

But maybe in due time it is going to be passed onto you for the younger generation. If you join the circle. More and more young people are joining in. Whenever we have a conference, especially when we have an elders' conference more and more young people are learning from them ... trying to learn their own culture and identity. It's very important (Sheshamush, 1993, p.1).

Nancy Sheshamush identifies respect as another important ingredient of traditional Native education.

... respect for each other, not only Native people and especially the young and old ... (Sheshamush, 1993, p. 2).

She understands respect to be found with the elders.

To her, an elder is someone who has knowledge and wisdom to share. An elder may pass wisdom and respect from generation to generation as her grandfather had passed her his wisdom when he died. As an elder, Nancy Sheshamush confides there are some things she shares, and some things she does not.

Young children who come to school need to learn traditional ways, values and culture she explains. Besides, they need to learn the traditional ways of life in the bush: how to survive, how to tend nets and traps, catch food, clean animals, make moccasins, and prepare for winter.

As of now there is quite a few students going in the bush learning their traditional values and culture. Half of the student population are out. ... Every year there are more and more people who are going into the bush and they take all the children with them. Sometimes they leave them here to come to school. Now they are starting to take their children with them in order to pass their traditional ways of life to the children which is good. ... In the fall I am planning to get away from work for awhile and spend some time in the bush too, with my family. ... because I was raised in the bush all through my childhood. I was about eight years old when I went to school (Sheshamush, 1993, pp. 3-4).

She recalls how she learnt a great deal when she was young and living in the bush. When she returned later she learnt more, but it was different. She notes:

I learned a lot of things. When I finished my school I went to the bush with my family. (She also lived in the bush prior to going away to residential school.) It was so different from my younger days. In my younger days the people did not have much to rely on except the wild life in the bush. ... At that time people were kind of poor and they relied on mostly wild life. But after my high school days it was different because we had the post to get some supplies. The plane used to come around January to bring more supplies to the bush. And I've learnt a lot from my parents while out in the bush. How to survive. ... The women at that time were like men. Trapping, hunting for their families, sometimes food was scarce, other times there was plenty. We relied mostly on fish during the cold winter months. And we use to get lots of rabbit, beaver, porcupine, ptarmigan, yea and small animals. ... Some of the animals were sold once we came back to the community. ... Stayed for supplies. And we lived without spending money. My Mother taught me how to clean, skin animals ... (Sheshamush, 1993, p. 4).

She thinks children today need to learn how to live in two cultures, the traditional and the modern. In the bush with her husband she teaches her children the Cree cultural values of life. Many families in the community of Whapmagoostui realize the importance of this, and at any one time half of the community may be in the bush. Formal school is important, she points out, because today they are only looking for highly educated people in the work force. Each spring, as school counsellor, she travels with the senior high school students to the south to visit the post-secondary institutions and become acquainted with the non-Native world.

Issac Masty, Cree Nation, Whapmagoostui, Quebec. He was interviewed in the school at Whapmagoostui.

Nancy Sheshamush recommended that Issac Masty be interviewed for this study on traditional Native education. He is a school counsellor, as well as a community politician and teacher in training. He lived a nomadic life in the bush until he was twelve years old. This interview occurred after school. At the end of the

interview he told the interviewer how important he thinks this research is to his people.

Issac Masty says that Native People have always stressed the importance of establishing an identity to make progress in life.

We have been criticized for trying to hang on to something that no longer is, no longer can sustain a way of life, hunting and fishing and we should go off that and concentrate perhaps on other areas but I think that it is very important for our Native people. I think the Native People have stressed the importance of establishing an identity in order to make any progress in life (Masty, 1993, pp. 1-2).

Cree People feel assimilated, and to overcome this feeling, he is convinced the Cree people need to develop programs in the school that are relevant to the direction in which the Cree Nation wants to go to meet the requirements of our future generations. He acknowledges there is confusion within the community about the future direction of the Cree People. On the one hand, he confides that the Cree People want to keep up with society; on the other, they do not want to forget where they came from.

Issac Masty explains that the struggle the Cree People are experiencing is centered on whether it is important for Cree children to master their mother tongue first, or whether they should be taught the working language right away. The Cree People have looked to the Navaho Nation for direction and learnt the Navaho have developed their own education system and are functioning very satisfactorily using the tools available today.

According to Issac Masty, a skilled work force is needed to maintain the programs that the Cree people have managed to grasp from the provincial and federal government. He sees the need to balance the Cree culture with modern society to achieve a direction for the future.

Most of the people coming to school today want to go in the direction of the waged economy but that provokes negative feelings, he explains. He identifies alcoholism as a problem. However, Issac Masty sees alcohol as only one element of a much bigger social problem, the inter-communications between the younger generation and the elders. He thinks it is very difficult for young people because they cannot contradict an elder or a decision an elder makes. To do so is to be regarded as a very disrespectful person and to be almost totally ignored by the community. He thinks this is a problem that needs to be understood and addressed, not minimized.

Until he was twelve years old, Issac Masty lived a nomadic life. During that time, he was educated by his mother who never got sick of telling him stories over and over. Cree society, he points out, is a verbal society and in a verbal society knowledge is passed on orally. He explains how practically every word spoken had to have a purpose when he was growing up because, as a nomadic people, they were always chasing the daylight.

I lived that way of life right up till I was twelve years old. But most of the things that I remember now convince me that we can develop some kind of direction in this school and still compare them to the kinds of things that we were taught in a society that my parents lived (Masty, 1993, pp. 7-8).

Issac Masty reveals that, for the Cree people, stories are the educational system. As a child he was told stories to think about. As he grew older, the stories he heard got more involved and the story-tellers would give him some hints that he had done a good job listening by giving him more complicated things to think about. When the stories stopped, he said, the hints came. He declared, you felt good knowing they had the confidence in you to discover the right answers. When he reflects on it now, he realizes he was constantly being educated while listening to stories. A favorite story of Issac Masty's is:

... one that I show people when they have more time to go up the river. Right at the beginning of the rapids there is a rock and when you look at that rock its' shaped almost like the breast of a bird. And when you look at it from a certain angle you can look down on it like you can almost see a head and that's a bird that challenged the rapids. A little falcon bird. Now that was a long time ago when animate and inanimate objects communicated. The bird challenged the rapids and said, "I can roar and make noise longer than you can." But the rapids say well "Don't be foolish I am always going to make this sound as long as the world exists". "No", the birds says, "I know I can make noise longer than you can". The rapids say, "I don't need the substances that you require". I don't need food, I don't need water. And those are substances that are essential to you. I'll always continue and you can't." The bird says, "No I know I can." The rapids says, "Go, fine, go ahead and try." My Uncle told me this the last time. He said, "no one knows for sure how long the bird was able to make this noise. He eventually just fell, starved, starved of hunger because he didn't drink, he didn't eat because he continued to make that sound. He eventually fell in the river and eventually started to flow. As he started to flow his head caught under and you can still see that rock. That's the story I like to tell people (Masty, 1993, pp. 9-10).

Issac Masty says that when the people of his community were moved into the housing units, water and electricity were immediately available. A process was stopped. Societies collided. He recalls it became difficult to get children to do any kind of work. Today, he says, when we go out in the bush, chores are important to each individual to give a feeling of togetherness. Living together in the one large room helps people relax since everyone knows how everyone else is. This is something that is important to maintain, he thinks, and it is useful and practical in modern society.

The ability to communicate is important to Issac, especially when something is to be done for an individual, or a group of people. Another value of importance is the belief that individuals have to find respect within themselves. He also espouses the rights of the individual. Isaac cautions against intimidation when making plans for the school and the community.

In school, the individual needs of the child must be the focus.

... and it is difficult to recognize that because people are so preoccupied and they will resist society resist, with all their energy and when you do that you tend to forget to ignore the small things that are so important to the functioning. The individuals, the little things that are required to make life a little more pleasant for everyone. And till we come down to recognize each individual person has to find the respect in themselves as individuals. ... and respect that right as an individual not try to intimidate them to agree (Masty, 1993, p. 17).

He believes that children can be shown the rich knowledge that exists in the Cree society. Furthermore, Isaac is convinced children can be shown how to use the knowledge to function in a modern society.

...These two societies can live together, I really believe they can live together. ... I can tell when a child well says, I feel left out because I spend too much time in the bush. I don't learn enough English I can't do the school work. But they can speak enough to get along in English. I say you have an advantage from everybody else living in two societies and that in itself is a very important thing. Some of them don't quite understand but those who do, you can see their expression lighten up somewhat and it is usually the ones always in the community who lose out. Everything that has been taught in the schools in the curriculum that is followed by the southern societies and the material that is there is not always relevant to the communities so that confuses them. Here you are trying to follow Cree ways and in the school you are taught completely different concepts and you have to learn them at a certain stage. Now who decided that. So it is always these points that I have to concentrate on more. The ones that tend to lose out, acting out, in today's society are those that have not had enough exposure to the Cree culture. Because if they do not have their exposure their view is there is nothing positive to use to live in today's society. To me this is a very big concern. They have to learn they can compare and use the knowledge the rich knowledge that exists in the Cree society to function in this society. ... you can hang onto that and most of the time compare it to and see that there is no really difference, is just a method of understanding (Masty, 1993, pp. 19-20).

It is his belief that when Cree children learn the Cree ways they can learn to compare them with White man's ways and see there is no real difference, but just a method of understanding.

Dr. Lena Nottaway, Algonquin Nation, Rapid Lake, Quebec
She was interviewed in La Vérendrye Park, Quebec at her sugar bush.

This interview occurred at Lena Nottaway's sugar bush in the spring when she was overseeing the processing of maple sugar. At the entrance to her tent in front of a huge fire that was banked up with birch logs, the interviewer sat with her viewing the sugaring process. Over the enormous fire hung pails of boiling maple sap. Lena Nottaway, a seventy-eight year old Algonquin elder, mother of fifteen children, had just had one of her legs amputated. She now uses a wheelchair. Her grandsons, William and Jacob, carried her around or helped her to make use of her walker during the course of this interview. She has outlived both of her husbands. Ten of her children are alive. Last spring she received a honorary doctorate degree from Carleton University. Lena Nottaway was interviewed on the recommendation of Gilbert Whiteduck.

From time to time during the course of this interview, Lena Nottaway asked her grandson, Jacob Wawatie, to speak on her behalf. English is her third language. Jacob Wawatie, her assistant, travels with her. At present, she is offering her wisdom to him. In this interview Jacob Wawatie is a conduit for Lena Nottaway. Lena Nottaway tells:

That is my grandson and if he don't know something he is going to ask me in Indian (Nottaway, 1993, p. 24).

Lena Nottaway believes it is important to teach children to walk in the bush. She tells how television has changed children of today. They see all kinds of things they never used to see. Children do not listen anymore. Liquor is a bad influence on them as well. It is her belief that children need to learn to walk in the woods, to hunt, to work, and to chop wood.

I told them if you want to live long stay in the bush. You are more healthy, more healthy I tell them. ... Not to eat the canned stuff the ones you get in the store, macaroni, everything like this. When you stay in the bush you eat everything fresh. ... hunt to get some fresh meat, fresh fish, moose. ... that is what my grandmother tell me. ... I teach them everything. I teach them how to make sugar. In the summertime after the blueberries I teach him how to cook it. You cook it the same way just like sugar. You boil it, you boil it till it all melt and then you boil it in a pan and then you cut it just like a bannock bread and then you use the big long blueberries it is good for bannock, you call it bread. The small ones the short ones that is our desert, it's sweet after you boil it. You don't have to put any sugar on it. ... I teach them everything before I die. ... I have told all my kids all my grandchildren to do this, to do that. I teach them. They are not going to hear it no more after I die. There is nobody. There is nobody to teach the people any more. There is no old people any more. There are some but they don't talk (Nottaway, 1993, p. 3).

According to Lena Nottaway, people are not teaching their children or grandchildren anymore. This is contrary to her life experience. She was raised in the bush and was taught everything about life by her grandmother.

She never once took her children to the doctor. She used her own medicine that she gathered from the land to look after them when they were sick. All of her children were born on the land. She breast fed them all. Her children always went everywhere with her and her husband in the bush.

At this point in the interview her grandson shares his knowledge at her request.

I'll ask my grandson. Some words I don't know (Nottaway, 1993, p. 8).

Jacob Wawatie understands there are two ways of knowing, the White man's ways and the Indian ways.

... the White man's way is academic and is all in the brain process. He understands how things function and how things are composed. That is white man's education. And in order to fit into society you must specialize. Yea to fit into society it is like a big machine. With each human being he is processed to be part of a function of this society. ... the Indian society is to fit all of the components like between each and one another. Like what does a doctor have to go through? What does a baker have to go through? What does an educator have to go through? He had all these responsibilities to transmit to the next generation. While in the other one, the white society, ... the main responsibility belongs to the head like which is the ministers. ... The grassroots people are the ones, like the ladies, who bring in the stuff, the coal whatever. ... And then you start to have the common people who make something out of what the grassroots people bring in. They start to make the hands, they start to manipulate and it becomes a whole society, like it is when you go through a town. It's like one man standing there, like the town of Maniwaki, like one big man standing there. Like if you take the doctors away from that, the system starts to break down. In the Indian world long time ago is when a man dies or a woman dies they were still able to fulfill the other's duty, to bring food in, to make clothing and stuff. This was the traditional education. The traditional Native education was like to survive on your own. Like the whole society was based on that. Everything. Like if you went out with a partner and your partner got hurt you were still able to help him out. You did not have to run home and get a doctor because it might be too late. If you broke your leg you were still able to patch it up yourself and have enough food to get home. ... self sufficiency. In White society it is more of an interdependency. I bake your bread you make my pants. It was inter-dependence. In a sense there was such a system.

In Indian, like, OK, if you wanted to know how to make snow shoes. If you wanted a pair of snow shoes and you did not know how to make them, the person did not give you a pair of snow shoes he taught you how to make this pair of snow shoes. And in this sense these snow shoes he gave you he gave you for a life time. ... What my grandfather taught me is like a long time ago it took what it takes to make a society, carpenter, lawyer, judge, baker, tailor, doctor, what have you in the society. It took one Indian to fulfill that because he was all of that at one time. This is the traditional Indian where he fit all parts into one body ... and he undertook the inter-relationship between each and one another (Wawatie, 1993, pp. 8-9).

Jacob Wawatie explains the differences between the Indian and the White ways of living in the world. The difference is found in the underlying assumptions of each way of knowing. The Indian is more

concerned with personal self-sufficiency. However, he notes that although Indians value independence and self-sufficiency, they are group members, and dedicated to community. He contrasts perceptions of Indian ways of knowing to his perception of White society's dependency on people and services. The dependence of White People appears to him to be based on a hierarchical system.

It is his understanding that a conflicting attitude towards nature exists for Indian and non-Indian. Nature, in the Indian world, is full of the spiritual life force that makes up the world. Nature is a religion. People consider themselves a part of Nature. All of nature is interconnected and they are a part of the web of nature. They see themselves in relationship to the bugs, the birds, the plant life, and to all of life. An inter-connectivity exists. He explains:

... these plants will feed the animals and the animals will feed man in turn. You know when these animals die in the woods they still feed the plants ... it goes back to the trees then. ... now we are making maple sugar and where is the sweetness come from, from the leaves ... going back to the earth. I don't know what the process is underneath there, but we get sap every year (Wawatie, 1993, p. 10).

In contrast to this Indian world view of nature is the EC, or as Jacob Wawatie refers to it, the White attitude to nature. Nature is understood to be something to be controlled, to be harnessed and to be exhausted for the benefit of the progress of the human race. Nature is a resource and has no sacredness other than the economic value it holds on the world market place. He perceives the two world views in direct conflict as to the value of nature and the importance of the human life force.

According to Jacob Wawatie , teaching is a more difficult process in the White man's schools because of the criteria set down. In contrast, the traditional Native way of teaching is a more intense process. Jacob Wawatie gives the following example.

You see in the traditional sense when you make a basket, a birch bark basket, ... you start in the morning and you pick your roots and by mid morning you are collecting your bark and by noon you are starting your basket and by that night you are finished it. ... traditionally you are suppose to start and finish it the same day, not to have components like what they have in the school. Twenty minutes of math, twenty minutes of geography, twenty minutes of spelling then writing then social studies and then so on. But it seems like when you do that ... you keep waiting. Like in an art class it might take you two weeks to finish a project (Wawatie, 1993, p. 11).

He explains how the educational process has its own time in the traditional FN way. The person becomes involved in responding to the task. For example, making a paddle involves finding the tree, cutting the tree down, working the wood, allowing the wood to dry and then finishing the paddle. For him, involvement in the process is a distinguishing feature in traditional Native teaching.

Through describing the medicine wheel, Jacob Wawatie provides an understanding of the process of traditional education. He explains:

... whatever you are studying you still come back to that medicine wheel. Like in order to have wisdom, you have to have patience... You must have feelings for what you want to work for. In order to have patience you must know what you must be working for. What I call mobility. ... You have got to know what you are working at, what you are working for, and you have always got to come back to the medicine wheel. You have emotions, patience, mobility, and expectations. ... you've got four. ... It is like when you are making a canoe. You have to have wisdom about it, you got to have some patience to finish it ... You have to have mobility to get things to show up. You must have emotions in order to make it nice. That is your feelings showing. ... sometimes it might be very hard because maybe you don't like it. Then you have got to talk to your emotions because this is why I want to do this. So you must have patience with your emotions until you start liking it. ... you want wisdom but you need patience so you've got to study it. ... The mobility is going to tell you what to do. How to go through it. ... there is so many things you are going to have to do with it but you are always going to have to work it out. Like sometimes when you have a hard time on something ... where is my problem. Is it my knowledge or my patience or my mobility or my emotions that is stopping me from learning. ... You always come back to that. That is how I come to learn to do things (Wawatie, 1993, p. 12).

He thinks children are being challenged by the assimilation of the Indian into White culture. They are experiencing pressures in the schools. It appears to him that children are left to attempt to enter the White culture through the only doors available to them, drugs and alcohol. On this level, White society accepts them. In fact, he suggests they are allowed entry at this lower class level because everyone is accepted there.

Practical knowledge is given in this interview. The process of sugar making is taught and the preservative quality of sugar is shared.

... the first stage is syrup. The second stage is the loaf ... the next brown sugar, granular, you have to cook it a little more. That use to be the preservative for the summer because we did not have salt or anything, so they use to use it. Smoke the meat, slice it , ... the beaver ... put the sugar in between. they would put it in the potato cellar ... their meat for summer. It would not spoil. And it will not get mold either (Nottaway, 1993, p. 17).

Further along in the interview, the purposes of education are considered and the two different world views, White and Indian, are exposed from a different perspective. The EC governmental structure is likened to a farm with an underlying foundation of interdependency. The purpose of government is expounded and Jacob Wawatie concludes it benefits White People.

The different way of life for Indian People is considered.

... the Indians' freedom is like the animals that lives off the woods. Nobody controls them. Nobody has to take care of them. They take care of themselves. ... nobody should interfere with them (Wawatie, 1993, p. 18).

Jacob Wawatie uses the analogy of the wolf to expose the difference in the two world views. To white society, the wolf is frequently seen as a dangerous, vicious, killer. To the Indian, the wolf represents a vision, a self, a leader, wisdom and balance. When the wolf kills it is understood that the wolf needs to eat. Life and death is understood as part of the life process. Jacob Wawatie does indicate change is occurring within his culture.

... the Indian world view is changing with assimilation. Death is not accepted as it was by the Indian. Balance, as represented by the concepts of life and death is not taught. Modern medicine is expected to arrest death (Wawatie, 1993, p. 19).

When people begin to become dependent on something they cannot make themselves, they become subjected to a controlling force and freedom is lost, he reflects. Considering the arrowhead that in the past was made when needed for hunting, he concedes how assimilation is influencing his people. With the use of guns and bullets, people are forced to be dependent. Hunters with guns must return to the stores when they need ammunition. This may result in the loss of their animal. He observes that traditional Native independence and the value of traditional Native life is eroding.

Today, many Indians listen to stories told by their elders, and begin to realize who they are, Jacob Wawatie explains. They want to return to earlier ways. However, when they turn back they realize they no longer fit into the Indian world. They are stuck between two worlds and are unable to move either way. He acknowledges that there are only a few people who can live in both worlds.

According to this elder, three realities appear to exist: one, the world of the spoken word; two, the world of what the heart feels; and three, what is lived. He gives the example of the Indian in the three piece suit with tie who speaks Indian, feels in his heart he is Indian but lives in the reality of the three piece suit with tie. According to Jacob Wawatie, those Indians who are dressed in the three piece suit with tie and are living out that reality, for the most part, make the land settlements in Ottawa. They want to live the reality of their Indian heritage but they:

...will talk about this living off the land. And they will negotiate and say this is what we will do but give us the money. A lot of times that will be people that will be living in Ottawa, making agreements, following the legislation or whatever you are going to call it. They don't see the reality out in the woods. Because when they make an agreement, like this piece of land is worth a couple of million dollars and they are going to sign that agreement. (Confers with Lena in Algonquin) ... But they don't see people who are in it, living off the land. ... That is what was decided by a guy in Ottawa making all these implementations for the people who are living off this land. He went to school. He knows what the law is all about but he does not know what the people want. But he thought this is what is best suited to the people ... But when I speak of that I am a traditionalist ... (Wawatie, 1993, pp. 23-24).

Lena Nottaway, recipient of an honorary doctorate degree from Carleton University, with the assistance of her grandson, Jacob Wawatie, shares her knowledge of aspects of traditional Native education she considers important. Different world views for the Indian and White worlds are exposed and the value given to independence and inter-dependence is explained. The medicine wheel is used to discuss education and the Indian perspective of the

inter-connectivity of all of life is shared. Balance, as it relates to the life force, is considered. Changes occurring in the Indian world view are chronicled.

Tom Rankin, Algonquin Nation , Val D'Or Quebec. He was interviewed at West Bay, Manitoulin Island.

Tom Rankin was interviewed on the recommendation of Gilbert Whiteduck, Director of Education at Maniwaki and member of the Chiefs' Committee on Education as well as an advisor to this research. Tom Rankin is trilingual. He has been a chief, educator and politician.

According to Tom Rankin, traditional Native education is, first of all, learning your Native language. He believes children must learn their own language, the mother tongue of their tribe. He advocates that spare teachers be kept by the school to teach the Native children their own language. If the children are not taught their own language he does not think there is any need for them to attend school. He reasons that when language is lost, the culture and the traditional way of life is lost. Moreover, he declares that Native people who lose their language are unable to live as White people because they are not White.

He believes that,

education must be more than it presently is (Rankin, 1993, p.1).

Education occurs in different ways. For example, he tells about his own education and recounts how it occurred while he was with his family, when he was away, and when he was with the elders. Tom Rankin believes:

booze, drugs, and other things (Rankin, 1993, p.1).

are deterrents to education today.

He explains how young Native people are thinking today. For example, some young Native youth who have dropped out of school have told him they are not interested in learning French and only French. Although the young people realize the need for other languages to live, they often ask him:

When are we going to be an Indian (Rankin, 1993, p. 2)?

Young Native people are also telling him:

We have no more room to live with the White people. We have to turn back to where we come from ... living in the bush and being an Indian and all that. That is what that means, when am I going to be an Indian? we have two, three, years. (There are two roads). One's straight ahead, the other's curved. Where we have been is straight on the road (Rankin, 1993, pp. 2-3).

The quickest way home, they say, is to tip off the road, and to travel the curved road until they

get back home (Rankin, 1993, p.3).

Tom Rankin says,

I like that in my heart (Rankin, 1993, p. 3).

As for himself and his contemporaries, he muses, if they were educated as the young are today, no one would know how to trap. Only the ways of White culture would be known to them. However, they were given the opportunity of knowing the Indian way by experiencing bush education as well as formal White schooling.

He acknowledges that the young people are even waking him up. They are wanting to return to the ways of their ancestors. They want to go back to using the birch bark canoes and the teepees. Returning to the traditional ways, he believes, ensures the continuation of the culture and language.

Tom Rankin believes that when the young children go to school and are taught French they lose their own language. He claims the French language is very strong. In fact, he states that French overpowers the Native tongue and culture. He observes that the young people are now turning to the Indian way.

They are going to turn back. Like my youth said, I am going back. That road is curved. That youth is going toward where I was born. I am going there. I am finished with school. I have had enough. ... Now I want to go back (Rankin, 1993, p. 4).

Going back, to this informant, means learning the Anishinabe ways which include the language as well as the ways of hunting trapping and fishing. It is:

All what we had before. All what Indians do, Indian life (Rankin, 1993, p.4).

The youth tell Tom Rankin they must go back to the Anishinabe ways now. They also say if they do not go now, no one will. Moreover, they reason, the Indian ways will not be taught at the universities. They liken an elder to a large university and tell Tom Rankin that when an elder dies, a big university dies. They ask who will be around to teach them later.

Tom Rankin believes you begin the education process with the young children while they stay at home.

I always tell my family when we are in our home today we know French language here. OK, but keep the language. If they want to use French or English I am glad to hear them also but we have to start with our language. We have to stay with our language. We have to stay with our culture. If we lose our language we lose our culture at the same time (Rankin, 1993, p. 4).

He stresses the importance of talking together. With talking together, Tom Rankin maintains, you come to know one another, and this is when you start to help one another.

That is the way it goes. I don't know what we should do to get more power for us, but I want to stay with my language. I want to stay with my culture. My Indian way of life (Rankin, 1993, p.5).

Food is a part of culture. When he goes to a restaurant he yearns for his own familiar food, like beaver. He explains that his people are not accustomed to

all kinds of vegetables. We are not fussy about that because we did not grow up with that (Rankin, 1993, p. 5).

Rather, his people like beaver, rabbit, partridge... fish. According to Tom Rankin the different foods supply the necessary vitamins.

Returning to his real home includes the language and food in addition to the rituals and beliefs that are apart of the Anishinabe's way of life. The Anishinabe way of life for Tom Rankin is the sweat lodges and shaking tent ceremonies. Besides, it encompasses the traditional dancing and the socializing that occur every year at the gatherings. At the gatherings, or pow wows, traditional teachings are offered. For example, Tom Rankin educates about the Indian way of hunting.

Hunting as an Anishinabe is different from the White man's way of hunting, he explains.

The White People go and hunt and fish and they are going to buy a big five power rifle with a scope on. They are going to try to kill a moose two miles distance away from where it is. That is not hunting. That is a sport (Rankin, 1993, p. 6).

It is not watching for moose from a tower in the air. That is dangerous and not the Anishisnabe way of hunting. Tom Rankin, who has caught and skinned over a thousand beaver, says the only

equipment needed to hunt properly is a trap and a sharp knife and/or axe.

Respect is a value he teaches. He says it is assumed when hunting. Respect is taught from an early age when the grandchildren gather together with others, he explains.

We have to explain everything. How they work this. Why not use it and so. It is dangerous so ... This prevents a lot of things. But we can't let people do exactly what they want (Rankin, 1993, p. 7).

They learn basic living skills, such as how to build a fire and what kind of wood to use. Earlier, he felt worried and was very careful about sending a person into the woods. Now when he sends a young boy in the woods he no longer worries because he knows they are capable of teaching someone else.

Now that Tom Rankin has retired and his wife is dead he, along with others, travels all over teaching about real life to more and more people. Many Indian people do not know the Anishinabe way he realizes. The ways of the earth are not known to them. Even many elders have not been in the woods all their lives, he explains.

Everything has changed fast (Rankin, 1993, p. 8).

People like himself travel about sharing with the many tribes their ways of life, and the different groups of people choose what is best for them.

When asked how he thinks the schools are going to integrate these real life teachings, he responds by saying that he believes the schools are not going to last very long.

... the reason why I am thinking this way is when I meet those youths coming from White society, (they quit over there) and are going somewhere else. ... the White children have no place to go. But, the Indians think they have a place to go, something to do. It is very easy for them because they are lucky they have two different things to learn. But for White people it is not the same way. When you go in the drug business, well, that's it, you are stuck right there because you have no place to change and do something else (Rankin, 1993, p. 8).

He observes that the Indian boys have the birch bark canoes to repair. Furthermore, he realizes the Indian children can return to the bush life style and the extended family system. He is aware that if you have no alternatives other than the White man's society you find yourself lost and caught up in the materialism of things that must be more and bigger and faster. Tom Rankin relates it as follows

There is a line there. When you cross this line you are going to see aluminum boats there. And you go farther up and you are going to see high class boats. You fly fifty or sixty miles an hour with those things. That is what we left for them. I am going to take a birch bark canoe. (Laugh) I like this very much. ... we have to do something yet. We have not finished yet. We are just starting. ... It is a good start I think all the youth, boys and girls, give up at the school. There must be some reason. They are not going to be doing this just for fun of it (Rankin, 1993, pp. 8-9).

When asked if he has advice as to how to work with these young people, he says he has not much, but adds that if he lives a little bit longer, he will be with them. He then goes on to state that:

There are many of us and we are sick and tired. Now we are happy today because the young people are coming back to us (Rankin, 1993, p. 9).

He does suggest that with the youth:

... don't go too far if you want to do something, don't go too far (Rankin, 1993, p. 9).

Tom Rankin cautions that the youth do not like having a big boss behind them. Youth have told him they will not do anything without the elders and that pleases him. He is also happy there are no more missionaries and the Hudson Bay Company to interfere. Today he is going to be himself. He feels pleasure knowing he has

this new work to be involved in (Rankin, 1993, p.10).

In summary, Tom Rankin has discussed many components of traditional Native education. He views traditional Native education as learning your own language. Your language, he instructs, is your way of life, your culture. He points out that being schooled in the White man's schools creates difficulties because Indians are not White people and never can be. He is not in favor of schools as they exist at present.

He finds the French language too strong. In fact, he believes the French language is a deterrent to schooling in the traditional Anishinabe way. Furthermore, he believes the return to the traditional life will ensure the continuation of the language and culture.

Traditional Native education, to him, begins with young children at home learning their language and culture. Food, being together, talking, hunting, dancing, sweat lodges, shaking tent ceremonies, and respect are all ingredients of traditional Native education. He is happy to find the Native youth returning to the birch bark canoes, the teepees and the elders. The returning youth are leaving behind the values of materialism that emphasize speed and volume.

Robin Green, Ojibway Nation, Shoal Lake, Ontario. He was interviewed on the Whapmagoostui Traditional Gathering Site.

The interviewer first met Robin Green at Manitoulin at the First National Elders Gathering in June of 1993. With his wife, Kathleen Green, he conducted healing sessions, sweats and sunrise ceremonies. Both Robin and Kathleen Green are considered to be medicine people by their people.

Again at Whapmagoostui in July - August 1993, Robin and his wife, Kathleen Green, were present. After what people report to be some one hundred years, they re-introduced the sweat lodge to the Whapmagoostui area. Together they led sweats, healing sessions, and workshops in spirituality. This interview occurred on the final day of the First Reunion of the Cree Nation on the traditional beluga whale gathering site for the Cree and Innu Nations close to Whapmagoostui. At this gathering Robin Green told that although he did attend the residential school he came from a traditional family who always encouraged him not to forget his traditional ways.

To Robin Green, traditional Native education is educating the non-Native society about the environment. This includes making people aware of what is presently happening to our earth. He believes development and industry are, for the most part, responsible for what is occurring today.

... what we know of the teaching is that if we continue to destroy, or make a mess on Mother Earth, things won't last that long. We know that these things won't last forever because of the population. We also went through the experiences with our people. Some of them went through those hardships of malnutrition and all those things. That is why we are very careful of what is out there. We try to preserve as much as we can. We were taught about conservation. That is our spiritual law (R. Green, 1993, p. 1).

Furthermore, Robin Green declares that Native traditions and values hold that if people do not take responsibility for conserving resources they will not be around for future generations. For Robin Green, this means taking only the food and animals that are needed.

We must look ahead far beyond what we can think so important for the future generation (R. Green, 1993, p. 2).

He hopes that White society and the Government realize the importance of Mother Earth. To him, this is traditional teaching.

He and his wife are dedicated to bringing forth the many traditional teachings to everyone, especially to the young Native children. He tells:

some of them (Native children) perhaps are assimilated and are still assimilated and it is very difficult for us to get across to them but I am sure some day they will realize how important it is that we talk about it ... (R. Green, 1993, p. 2).

Their life work is to extend their knowledge to the world.

It is about life that he talks.

Life with all of us on this earth is very limited. Our life span is very limited and we can only do so much (R. Green, 1993, p. 2).

Using the technology of the non-Native society, such as video cameras, he records the traditional teachings. He uses technology only because life is limited, and there is only so much he can do. Those who view video records may, he thinks, be stimulated to do the searching for themselves. Viewing the videos is a beginning:

Once they have understood why the elders keep talking in this way then they will start to maintain their own culture and their own belief in the traditional way (R. Green, 1993, p. 2).

When he speaks of the young people he says:

We know that their attitude is negative. We have come across it with a lot of young people. ... They are so urbanized most of our younger people. ... For them it is just like a white man walking in the bush and getting lost and not knowing where to go ... when they go to the urban settings. They forget who they are. They forget their home. ... They get into alcohol and drugs and all the solvents. ... They are destroying their lives. I know I am one of them (R. Green, 1993, p. 1).

Offering hope, he adds that although he did get lost in drugs and alcohol, he has known sobriety for twenty-three years. His abstinence makes him feel proud.

I came a long way to understand what is so important for the life of our people (R. Green, 1993, p. 3).

The traditional teachings of the value of life, and the importance of conservation and ecology for future generations, are his interests. The young generation is his special concern. Survival, hope and dedication resonate through this interview. Robin Green's life work now is educating.

Kathleen Green, Cree Nation, Shoal Lake, Ontario. She was interviewed on the Whapmagoostui Traditional Gathering Site.

Kathleen Green was born in Le Paz, Manitoba. She is a social worker and a nurse as well as a traditional medicine woman. She lives with her husband, Elder Robin Green, who is also a traditional medicine man. At The First National Elders Gathering at West Bay Manitoulin Island, Kathleen Green, along with her husband, conducted sunrise ceremonies, sweats, and healing sessions.

The interviewer first met Kathleen Green at a sweat she led at the First National Elders Gathering on Manitoulin Island. Following the sweat, the interviewer participated with Kathleen Green and her

husband in a traditional healing of a sexual abuse victim. A few weeks later at Whapmagoostui the interviewer met Kathleen Green again. On this occasion Kathleen Green extended an invitation to assist with the sweat. Together with the men they built the lodge and participated in the sweat. For a more detailed description of the building of the sweat lodge see the author's unpublished field notes, "Whapmagoostui, Summer 1993."

For Kathleen Green,

traditional Native education is teaching our children the past, the present, and the future (K. Green, 1993, p. 1).

She tells:

We keep teaching them. We keep telling them that life is not going to beat around the bush with you (K. Green, 1993, p. 1).

She teaches about the past.

How our people were strong, in their traditions and what they did. in the way they lived. When they went hunting they had a celebration. They offered their tobacco. When the men came back they had a big celebration (K. Green, 1993, p. 1).

She teaches about balance. She tells how the Creator gave balance to Mother Earth,

that man and that woman (K. Green, 1993, p. 1).

She also instructs the youth about responsibilities and she cautions them.

As we travel that path of life we begin to meet a lot of obstacles and that's that alcohol and the drugs (K. Green, 1993, p. 1).

She shares her own life experience with alcohol and tells that she has known hardships and struggle. She relates how offering tobacco to

her elders and asking for guidance has assisted her. For her, the elders are her educators.

Mother Earth, too, is her educator. She learns when she goes and sits beside Mother Earth how to open her ears and eyes, and is forced to listen. She questions what is happening to Mother Earth.

... where are the fish going to swim when our rivers and lakes are contaminated? Where are the mighty birds or the sacred eagles or the birds of the sky? Why are they falling to extinction? ... Where are our animals going to live (K. Green, 1993, p. 2)?

She attempts to teach non-Native friends to respect Native ways and to respect Mother Earth. She does not believe the hydro 'guys' have shame. In fact she questions whether the hydro personnel have anything but money on their minds when they continue to chop down trees.

Her people, the young, and the future is what is she thinks about. To her, this is traditional Native education. She tells:

All we do is that oral teaching ... we rub those teachings off and put them in our hearts and put them in our minds (K. Green, 1993, p. 2).

To Kathleen Green teaching never ends because all of creation connects:

the universe, Mother Earth, the plants, the fish, the birds, ... they all connect (K. Green, 1993, p. 1).

APPENDIX B



Left William Commanda

Right Lena Nottaway



Top Lena Nottaway and grandson, Jacob Wawatie, at their sugar bush.

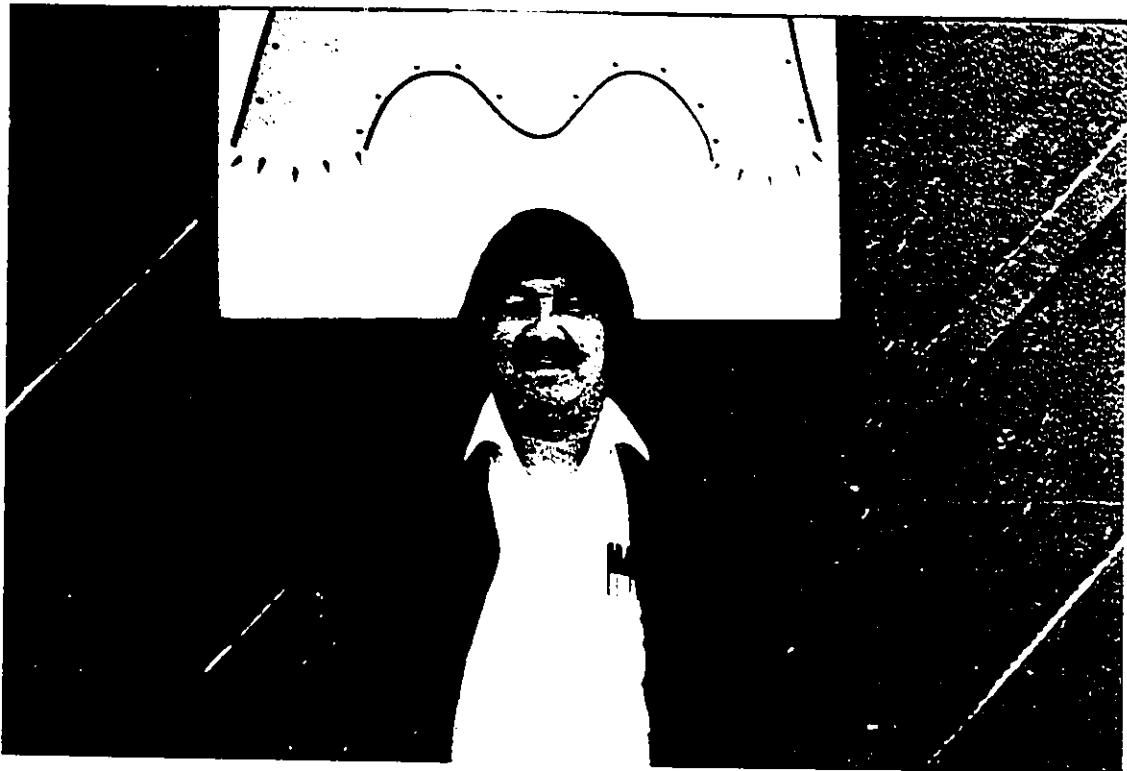


Bottom Lena Nottaway oversees the sugaring process.



Top Margaret Sam-Cromatry

Bottom Helen Wassegijip



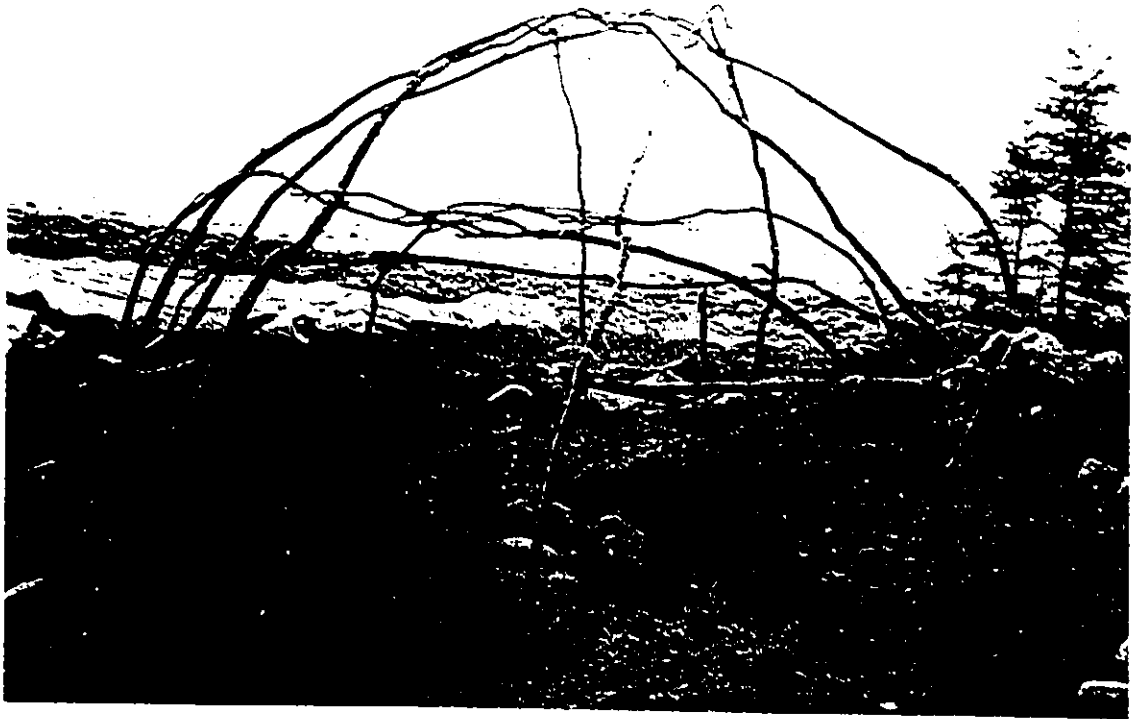
Top Daisy Herodier

Bottom Issac Masty



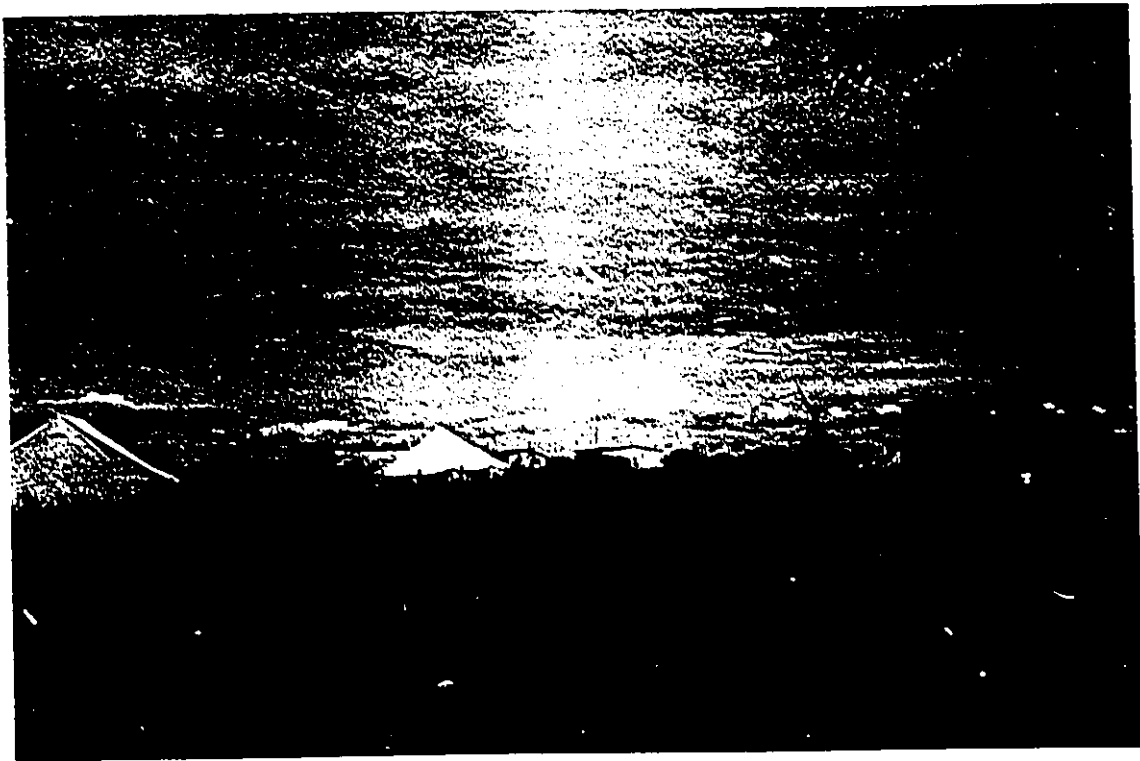
Top Nancy Sheshamush

Bottom Audio-taping at the group consensus-building interview at West Bay, Manitoulin Island. Left to right, Daniel Mien, Freida Hjartarson, Jacob Wawatie, Lena Nottaway, and visitor.



Top Structure of a sweat lodge.

Bottom Sweat Lodges at the Traditional Gathering Site of the Cree,
Whapmagoostui, Quebec.



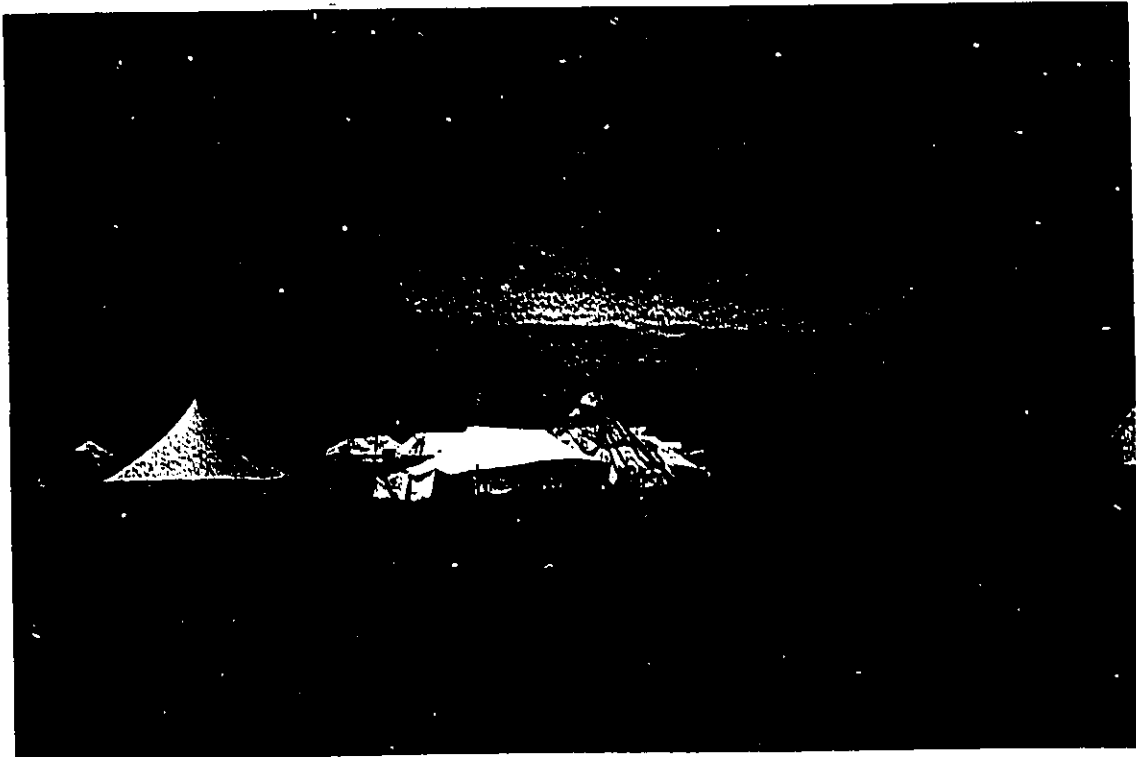
Top Fort George Island, Quebec.

Bottom Dancers at Fort George Island Pow Wow.



Top Fort George Island Pow Wow.

Bottom Dancers at the Cree Traditional Gathering.



Top Summer on Fort George Island.

Bottom Lucy Salt mending her tent.



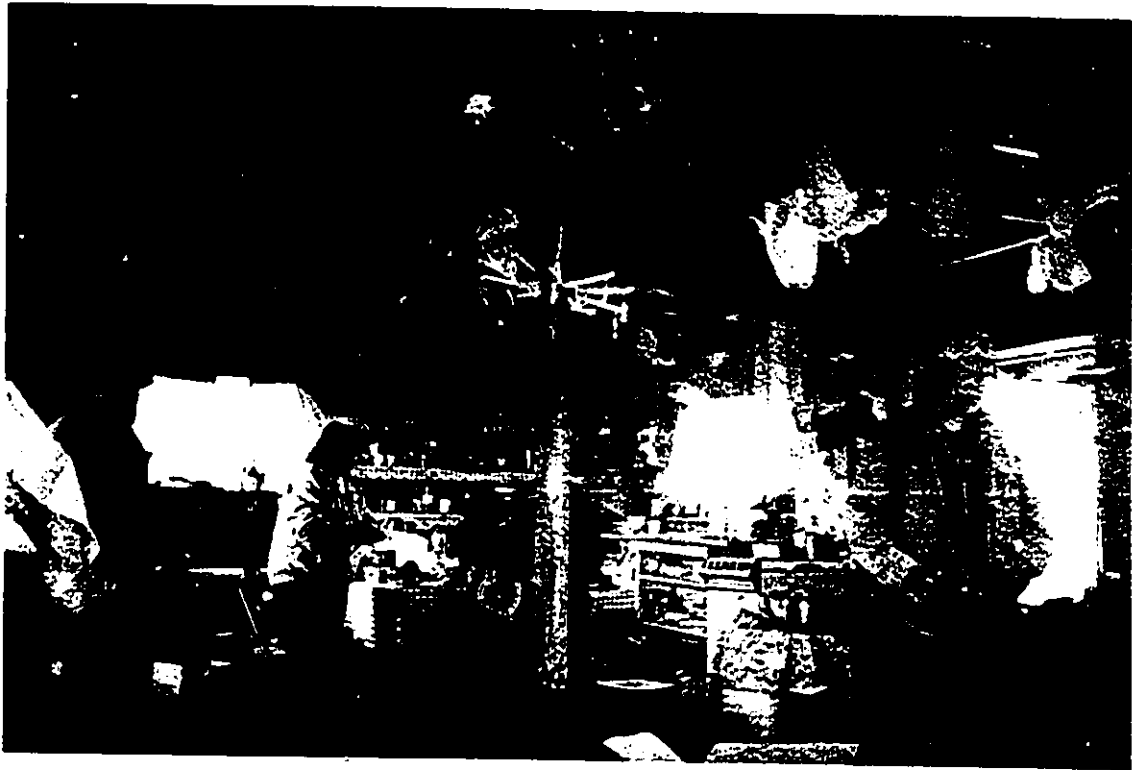
Top In the food tent at the Traditional Cree Gathering, 1993.

Bottom Preparing the boat caravan.



Top Unpacking for an overnight during the boat trip from Whapmagoostui, Hudson's Bay to Chisasibi, James Bay.

Bottom A lunch picnic on the way from Whapmagoostui to Chisasibi.



Top George Snowboy

Bottom Inside George Snowboy's goose camp on James Bay.



Top Cree Hunters.

Bottom Goose Camps on James Bay.

APPENDIX C

A Page from a Case Study Transcript

35. time did not see did not see. They did not perceive
36. their intelligence. They has a system of seeing, of
37. knowing, of praying, of thinking, of thinking and
38. knowing the systems of the land in this country, on
39. this continent. They had their own ways of
40. communicating, their on ways of seeing directions
41. and accepting and receiving directions from the Creator
42. or the animals. They were able to communicate with
43. the animals with all of Nature. They could
44. communicate with the trees and the stones. They
45. knew the ways of the elements of the earth and the
46. sky. ... They know these elements could do things and
47. they looked on them as people like the tree people or
48. the stone people or the fire people. They had their gifts
49. and they were able to communicate with them and
50. they in turn, the elements, were able to communicate
51. with them when they needed their help in terms of
52. survival or spiritual awakenings ... And at contact
53. time these things were destroyed. they are only
54. being started to be revived today. Imagine, imagine
55. only today.
- I. 56. How were they destroyed? You mentioned the
57. bubble being bursted.
- H. 58. Hmm Oh. ... through contact with a
59. different kind of reality. People from a different kind
60. of reality. It is very it's very subtle, but yet it
61. was there and it can be reenacted by nature again
62. today and people are relearning, relearning what has
63. happened to them many years ago.
- I. 64. You said very subtle.
- H. 65. Hmm.
- I. 66. Can you be more explicit.
- H. 67. Can I be more subtle. LAUGH even more
68. subtle. LAUGH You should of said
69. could you be even more subtle. LAUGH Can I be
70. more subtle?
- I. 71. Hmm. Hmm.
- H. 72. Can I be more explicit?
- I. 73. Hmm. Hmm.
- H. 74. In terms of personal or the person, maybe I should say
75. the person, in life they go through different changes
76. as they go from a young child to an
77. adolescent. Ah they ah the person the person starts
78. being visited by these old friends, these old rituals
79. these old ceremonies that were enacted by their friends
80. their relatives their parents many many years ago.
81. they were enacted by their relatives many many years
82. ago and these are in their cells in their DNA, in their
83. person in their soul and ah they surface again in each
84. individual as the individual enters a certain stage of
85. their life. And they either accept it or acknowledge

Appendix D



SERVICE DE LA RECHERCHE
RESEARCH SERVICES

EVALUATION OF THE UNIVERSITY
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (UHREC)

In accordance with the Terms of Reference established by the Senate of the University of Ottawa, the University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC) examined the project "An Examination of the Cognition of Elders of the First Nation People's Epistemological Understanding of Traditionnal Education", submitted by Freida Hjartarson, student working under the supervision of professor Richard Rancourt from the Faculty of Education.

This project meets the ethical standards set out by the University of Ottawa. The Committee also certifies that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics, as outlined by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

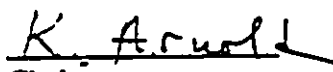
MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

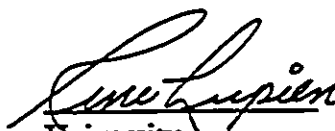
NAMES	Position held	Discipline
Keith Arnold	Chairman	Philosophy
Hans M.C. Heick	Membre	Biochemistry
Jean Harvey	Membre	School of Human Kinetics
Nicole Kean	Membre at large	Law
Elisabeth Lacelle	Member	Religious Studies
Jean Farrall	Ex-Officio	Research Services
Marie-Claire Pommeze	Secretary	Research Services

SIGNATURES

December 18, 1992

Date


Chairman


University
Representative

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