Tape 8, Side 1: November 21st, 2004

Wrap-Up, 10:00 am – 12:00 pm

Keith Carlson – One of the things we were talking about yesterday was the idea of, of the discipline and where it's going and, and I, I really felt there's some real, real strength in some of the words that Roger was sharing. About how this is a, it's a new discipline in the sense that it's, people doing Indigenous Studies or Native Studies, in the sense that there hasn't been people in the past who defined themselves in that way. Certainly there have been people in the past who have studied Indigeneity in various ways out of different disciplines. And I thought it was, well, one of the comments, I can't remember who brought it up—I think it might have been Winona—that implied that, you know, that some of the problem of the traditional disciplinary approaches is that there's a bit of an arrogance there and turf guarding. People in history feel, you know, we do history better and anthropologists don't, and I think anthropologists, well, you know we study people and culture's and others don't do it as well as us. And each discipline has tried to develop methodologies that will enable them to do what they do better. And I think also, then, then people in those disciplines, probably speaking of myself as someone who is trained in one of those and is trying to step out of that to the extent I can, also feel a sense that someone might come in and dabble in your discipline for a second and pull it away, and not, not fully appreciate the, all that's gone into it. I think one of the things that this new discipline that's emerging, whether it's a new discipline or if it's trans-disciplinary, as Winona was saying, or multi-disciplinary is the term I've been using in the past. As it emerges one of the things I think that, one of the strengths it currently has is that it doesn't have an arrogance about it. There's not a sense that we, we do this better than anybody else, and no one else should do it. Some disciplines are very, very territorial. I mean, archeology you, if a historian suddenly went out and started digging in the ground, they get really upset. Because we're not trained to do that, and I respect that. But I also know when I sit down, or if I happen to have the privilege of being in a room with an archeologist when they, when they're talking to an elder, and I see that they're asking different questions than I would ask as someone who is trained in history. They're trying to get at different things, and it's such an enriching experience. Or anthropologists, who are wrestling with, you know, you know, symbiotic anthropology or social versus cultural anthropology. And those questions that are, that seem so important to anthropologists, and

to people outside the field*, Well, aren't you all sort of doing the same thing, really what's the difference?* But clearly there's nuances there that are important to the people in the field. And, and I think that's something that we need to appreciate, is the sense that, I would imagine trying to build a department like Native Studies—I'm not in the department—but I imagine that must be part of the debates and discussions that go on as you think about new hires. Do we get someone who has background in geography who's going to do Native Studies? And someone who has a background in literature to do Native Studies? It must be part of what goes on because people are still coming out of these traditionally trained disciplines, there, there isn't a generation, as Roger said, yet who have come out of a Native Studies program per se with Ph.Ds. That's, that's new, first people doing that.

And then, something Sonny and I were talking about last night. We, we took a drive up to Maria's house. We knew she wouldn't be there, but, Sonny, after we left he was asking, well, one of the questions in B.C. is Métis—who are Métis? Because there isn't a Métis community in the way that there is in the prairies. They're people from the prairies who have moved to B.C. and who are associated with different Métis. You know, identities back here, but there doesn't seem to have been, there aren't Métis communities that have grown up on their own that identify as Métis. People either get slotted into First Nations/Aboriginal or they go the other way. Or there's that Bill C-31, that funny place in the middle. And so Sonny, we were talking about it, and I thought, *Well let's, let's go up to Batoche*. So we got our lanterns together and bundled up the kids and we drove up to Maria's place, and we—I hope it was okay, we pulled into your driveway—looked around a little bit and just showed him where you're from, as, the little bit I knew, and then we drove up to the National Historic Site, and we walked into the old church and around. By then the kids were cold and we had to head home. But it started me thinking a lot about how Native Studies compels us to go, and, and start at the local and move out.

And one of the big problems, of course, is there are so many locals. What is the local you're coming from? Is it Polynesia, is it Sto:lo, is it Métis or Cree, you know. **(Unknown Word)** in the Philippines or wherever it might be. And moving out. And then it begs us to, I think, start to ask what is Indigenous. And, and too often it's defined as simply non-industrial or colonized people, and while that I think that is a good place to start, it strikes me that that's not something archeologists are concerned with because typically their, their interests are so much deeper in time, time-wise. That, that those aren't issues that they

confront. And with anthropologists the definition of culture—and, I think they're, they're the discipline that perhaps most tries to intentionally, the real cognitive decision to escape the idea of just victim history. Because they're interested in, in something different. It's culture. Indigeneity is a part of that. I think in history, those of us who have come to it have come out of it—Brenda may be able to comment on this more—but out of the Native-Newcomer is where our field started doing Aboriginal issues first. And this idea that, oh, we want to basically, I think anyway, enrich historians' views of their own history, the national state, the, the European explorers and settlers, and they tried to enhance that by plugging in bits of Aboriginal issues, moments in time. And, and so, the idea of a trans-disciplinary approach is so appealing in so many ways, and yet I think there's still so much, if we all tried to come from a middle ground we may not be plugged in as deeply. And Dick was talking about this yesterday, in, in the disciplines where some of the questions that have emerged have been wrestled with and they bring something to, to that middle ground of Indigenous Studies. I think that's, that's very important, and I, I, I would be reluctant to abandon that as an approach. To say that what we really want are people trained in Indigenous Studies to do Indigenous Studies as a separate discipline, because I think one of the problems of the disciplines is that they get territorial and insular and currently it's not, is my sense. I just be, I think we should keep it enriched, keep enriching it from the outside, as well as from the inside. Do you have … ?

Dick Preston – Yeah, I, I certainly totally agree with that, and I, and I hope that the kind of openness and ambiguity that you have can be nourished and kept. One of the reasons, I think, this is maybe idiosyncratic, but I think one of the reasons why disciplines tend towards arrogance is that within the discipline they've been arguing over the answers for so long that they've forgotten what the questions were. And, and so there's a kind of protection of that argument there.

Keith Carlson – That's true, yeah.

Dick Preston – And when I first read that little quip in a book on theory, I was already a tenured professor, and I thought, *Oh my god, what are the questions?* A little late to be asking that, and then I turned the page and he told me what the questions were.

Keith Carlson – Reminded you.

Dick Preston – No, no, no, that's not right, that's not what the questions are and we're off again. And, and. But I, I, yeah, I think the more, I, I, I'm not an advocate of post-anything, any, any theories but post-modernism, the idea of a plurality of voices. Well, after all, anthropologists have been hopefully listening to other people's voices for a long time, so it's not really new on the horizon. But here's another case where a plurality of voices really enriches what we understand and, and opens the possibility for constantly growing ways of understanding. So I really resonate to what you're saying.

Keith Carlson – I think of the, the, we, Brenda and, and Roger and I have been working, well, we're going to work, I guess, soon on the, the big **(Unknown Word)** with Frank Tough and the northwestern Métis communities in Saskatchewan. And, and what struck me as the real energy of that meeting was the fact that people were trained differently, that, that Frank is coming out of a historical geography and he approaches things differently than I do and asked different questions. And I, I don't, I couldn't imagine having enough time to, to kind of bone up on that and still be able to do what I do properly and keep up with that literature. So, sometimes I think that's, you bring the people together and this is what's new. And as scholars, especially in the humanities and social sciences, we're so accustomed to working in isolation in our offices by ourselves on our projects, maybe with a little help from grad students who are really in a powerless relationship under us, who have to do, sort of follow the methods that we set up. But when you're here like this and you hear, oh, you know, Ida's doing this and it's, it's a psychology approach, and I just don't know anything about that really, you know. I mean, I took my Psych 100 and, you know, the basics I know are probably taught me, given me more wrong assumptions than, than, than the good, right. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing. But to have someone like that sit here and potentially be involved in a project where, you know, a psychologist in a, like Ida would be able to say, "Here's what I'm bringing to this project and I'm going to be responsible for part of it, and there's overlaps with what you're doing." And then those exciting overlaps would be where we would all, I think, get really, sort of, juiced up, but, but we'd have the

core parts that I just wouldn't be able to touch because I, I couldn't dabble in psychology, ineffectively, I couldn't do it. I would just feel incompetent.

So, so this is nice. I like this. The idea of coming together, and the fact that there are people here from different Aboriginal traditions that, that are so different, you know. If you're from the, you know, the Canadian Shield woodlands or the open prairies or the West Coast, the rainforest, just so different. So, so different. And yet so similar in so many ways, right. But I don't know if students appreciate that.

Cheryl Troupe – I guess that's a good way to go into the next topic that we should discuss, is what do we do now? Now that we've come together in this small group, what would you, each of you, like to see happen, happen next?

Brenda Macdougall – It's one of the, you know, we, we always come to these things and everybody has great intentions to stay in touch and to do something else. I'd like to have more than good intentions and, and actually accomplish something besides the video and the published proceedings. But, to keep this dialogue moving.

John Murdoch – I think if, it's obvious that this is very interesting and very important to the people around this table. Important is really an understatement of what it is to people that aren't, aren't as well represented at the table because they haven't had the kind of support. Like, I feel myself to be in the company of some very competent people who've been made that way in a, in a very affectionate and very supportive relationship with, with relatives and, and members of their family, you know. Most of the people around this table speak from a much more, a much more confidence as to who they are and where they're from, and relationships that help identify them. And, unfortunately, there's a growing population of people that don't have that place to understand culture from. And, particularly, the culture that they might have some historical connection with, and I think if more opportunities could be provided for somebody like myself who, you know, I—I've only come to see myself, accurately, not as I am afraid I am or not as I might fantasize that I am through the eyes of my children, through the eyes of people that help me be a parent to my children. And it's only now, listening to people talking about their relationships with grandparents and older aunts and uncles that I'm, it's easier for me to understand why my

grandchildren treat me the way they do. I wasn't such a grandchild. I wasn't such a child. So it's, it's, it takes a lot more head work to compensate of the lack of the heart work in order to put that together. And in Winnipeg, for example, they're going break 100,000, and these people have not been integrated because there's really no integrity in the relationship with the larger Canadian population. They still live as Aboriginal people, but largely without the support to give that a positive meaning in their personal lives or their lives together to suggest how they could be together.

And we talked about protocol. Well, there's another protocol, and it's a much more desperate one. Two of my children have been able to find out, so far, their natural mother died of an overdose maybe four or five years ago, and I deeply regret that they didn't have a chance to meet her. But I also, I've assured them, because I believe it myself, that she must be really pleased to see that their lives are unfolding much different than her own. And the difference is culture, you know. My children speak Cree. My children have people who are likeminded and, and have a very positive sense of what culturd is to remind them of who they are. My own identity is, is much more actual than historical, you know. I, when I have difficulty remembering who I am, there's a group of people that, just being with, doing things with in a, in a patterned way solves that problem for me.

Maria Campbell – But where do you think you, we, where do you think we should go from here? Like, after today, what do you think we should do?

John Murdoch – Well, open, like we were talking about, other perspectives. I think it's really another perspective. You're not going to meet these people at university.

Maria Campbell – But should we have another conference or should we, all of us get together …?

John Murdoch – You guys really are the right people, you know …

Maria Campbell – No, no, no. But how do you feel? What do you think we should do next? I mean, that's kind of what we want to talk about now.

John Murdoch – I don't know. Maybe, maybe think of what kind of a venue would bring somebody like yourself together with, with somebody with a little less education and more like me. I, I be, I feel extremely fortunate when I, you know, when I, I don't feel as lonely as I used to when I sit in this kind of company because I realize just how, how much I've been given. I've been shown a way to make memories that really don't belong in anybody's vocabulary. Means something so much better than they did the first time. And I've learned that from people that have learned in a, in affection from, from their relatives. And I, I intend to learn a lot more, but unfortunately universities certainly haven't organized situations where people who are culturally very competent have occasion to meet people who are, are very much in need. And I'm, believe me I'm thinking, I take every opportunity I get to sit down with somebody that's still in, or fresh out of hell and you know, give them some idea that this isn't all there is. And…

Maria Campbell – What about you, Jackie?

Jackie Walker – Umm. Oh, sorry. I'm a, agree with what Keith was talking about. How people came with here with, with different approaches and have different knowledge and different experiences in the different areas that they have studied, and for me, what I'd like to do is get to know more of your work, you know, some of the stuff that you have done. Like I'm very interested in some of the books that Maria had published, so I'd like to get more involved in some of the work that you, you've done. Because when I first started, when I sat here throughout the, the time, you know, I, I wasn't aware of the work that you, you've done prior to today. And I'm very impressed with some of the stuff that came out, you know. A lot of it is similar, but at the same time there's, there's gaps and there's differences that exist. And then—and I know that's one of the difficulties that we had tried to address when I was in university. Like, how do we take oral history and put it into literature, you know. I was telling Ida, I said I remember when I was reading a book, and then I was taking a quote from a book for one of the papers that I've done. And then I thought, *You know, there's more to that quote that was taken out from another book. There's a piece, big piece missing*. So, for me, I guess I would like to learn more of the work that everyone has done. And I would to come back and say, "You know, I learned this about you. I seen that

you did this, and come back with more questions on some of the work in the field that you've studied."

Ida Moore – I guess on that, on that, I think of how, how do you, how do, how does academy connect with community, you know? Because from my experience in academy, what, what I, the, the reason we get involved in this is to give back to the community. But I, I think a lot of times that connection is not, is not being made. It's, it's made at an individual level, like with you working with your community, and you working with your community, but the, the broader community, there's that disconnection. So how…

John Murdoch – Well, Maria, you and your stories will always be precious to me because the first time I ever had cause to look in a positive way at some of my own experiences was when I saw somebody write a book and saw something more than poverty, saw something more than…

Ida Moore – But the thing is that at the community level, you don't get that, you know. When you're living as an Aboriginal person on a reserve, having to live, survive off social assistance. You don't, you're not able to make that connection because your first, your first priority is just to survive.

(Start Time: 19.9m) Brenda Macdougall – And even in the cities, not just on the reserves, but the people in the city. Our urban youth.

Ida Moore – And yet, and yet some, somehow, like the work that you guys do is so important to re-, re-instilling that sense of identity, that sense of *I am important as a human being*.

Maria Campbell – The work that we do.

Ida Moore – Okay.

Maria Campbell – So going back to the question again, then, because we don't have lots of time. We've only got about an hour left. What should we do next, where do we go from here, from right now?

Dick Preston – I'd like to follow up on what Jackie said. I'd like to come back having read things that the rest of you have thought about and decided to share in that, in that way. Partly because I've found this, as others have, of course, a really energizing experience. And I don't have an answer to John's predicament, except that I'm going to go on doing what I've doing as long as my brain works, and that'll just have to do. And, but I'll do better for having had these kinds of experiences along the way. And, and so it, it, what it does, I've forgotten who used the expression "put it up a notch," but that's what it would be doing, I think, if we came back. I know nobody here as of when I arrived, except for John. Now I know all of you. And it's kind of remarkable and very nice. And so I'd like to not lose that. And I know that, sure, I could e-mail all of you on some kind of sustained basis, and I know just what the likelihood of my sustaining that is. I work to deadlines, you know. It doesn't matter whether if I'm paid for it or not, I just work to deadlines. And so if there's going to be another one of these conferences, then I'll get myself going and, and prepare something and, and read the stuff of yours that I was going to read earlier on and didn't get to because I was doing, anyway. I think it would be great if we could have a, a, "put it up a notch."

Brenda Macdougall – So, maybe one of the things that we could do as a practical approach is, is work together over the next little while and compile a general bibliography of things we've done—manuals, reports, books, atlases, whatever it is, theses. And distribute that as a way for us to sort, ground ourselves in each other's work. Make available things that are unpublished that are harder to, to get a hold of. One or two pieces in some cases, and, and then come back in a, eight months, twelve months and do this again.

Ida Moore – I mean even that, this video. I was just thinking about it. A lot of the northern, communities in northern Manitoba now have their own radio, like local radio stations and TV stations. And once you get this video done, like, Jackie could play it on the local station, right, you know, and people would learn from that. It would be, it would be really giving something back.

Maria Campbell – Sure beats bingo on TV.

John Murdoch – I think people have a different relationship with video, too. They'll play it over and over and over and over again like an event, rather than like something you watch and get bored with and don't see again.

Maria Campbell – And get people talking about the very questions that we were addressing.

John Murdoch – I'm reassured because I just talked about that last night.

Roger Maaka – Just like to, sort of build on the idea. First of all, of Dick's sort of statement yesterday about keeping it intimate in the sense of small, so that you do get to know people and share, rather than a great big outfit where you get twenty minutes to present and all those kinds of things. On the other hand, I think it was John [who] brought up the issue of, of widening the circle to include others' experiences. I belong to an association awhile back called the Pacific History Association. And that started off very similar to this. It was by a group of Australian historians who worked in the same area, who knew each other well, and they started off these sort of seminars, and they, over the years, they let it just develop. And by the time that I joined, there were people from the United States, from New Zealand, and from a lot of the Pacific nations. But it was still very much everybody knew each other because they worked for years with each other or been in contact or read each other's work. And sometimes worked conjointly, but often in different parts of the thing, and it seemed to me quite a successful model. So it does both things, it tries, it keeps together the sort of close, closeness, but it doesn't stop with this group. It, it then allows for growth as, as the years roll on. But you don't try and orchestrate it. You just let it happen. So my suggestion is that, to hold another one of these on the same similar, maybe there be one or two new faces, and then possibly people won't be able to come that are in this group, so you'll, it'll be a slightly different configuration. Because the interest has also got to be on cranking it up. And you then might want to know what it is like south of the border, what people in the States are doing in this kind of work, as well. And I'm sure you all know people down in, down in the States that are doing much the similar work, and there could be some fruitful exchanges

there. So, my suggest, my suggestion is to, yeah, maybe have something very similar to this in a, whenever is a suitable time, twelve months, eighteen months, whatever makes sense, and, and then just sort of see how it grows from there.

Cheryl Troupe – Keith, you had a …

Keith Carlson – I, I like what Roger just said. I'd endorse that completely. One thing that, that I was thinking might be interesting. I'm trying to build on some of the conversations Sonny and I have had following our group meetings, where we've gone out and tried to, as we always end up doing—"What did, what did you think so-and-so meant when they said that? And I didn't quite understand." And sharing. I think it would be interesting or fun to, I mean, there, there are a number of communities, Indigenous communities that are represented here. Three or four sort of, where there is some core research going around. If we could, either from those communities, pick a topic that, that was of interest to those communities, and each of us were then to bring our perspective, our questions to that. And then to create something, a video or a small publication that was very, very community grounded. This isn't an intricate, you know, a question, in our community is this. And, ideally, if we could find a question that all three communities at a real grassroots level were, say, really interested in—say Ida's and Maria's and Sonny's or something like that. And or, maybe we would just say, "You know what, let's, let's all take a topic out of a, out of a Sto:lo community or out of a Swampy Cree community, and let's all approach just that one topic." And that would get us, in some ways, out of, most of us out of our comfort zones of the community we work in. See, if there aren't insights, either disciplinary or community based insights, from where we work that we could bring to that community that may be helpful or shed new light on it. And then I think, in some ways, that is what sort of Native Studies is about. It's, you know, you start at that community level and then you see what application it has somewhere else, potentially for another community. So I think, well, one of those two options would be a…

Maria Campbell – And, and to be able to, you know, one of the things that we wanted to do when, when the planning went on for this was to bring elders. But it, like, for me, I couldn't bring my elders in here because they're too old. They couldn't sit for two hours at a

time. But, maybe, if we did this we could bring them, but have another room where they can, they can relax, that we can go into and, and bring questions to them or pose something to them to, to have a discussion around.

John Murdoch – Does this university have those kind of facilities, Maria? Like where you could have video conferencing, and maybe get elders in different communities able to take part in a …

Maria Campbell – No, I'm talking about bringing elders here … **(inaudible)**.

John Murdoch – Yeah, but I mean especially for the ones that don't travel so well.

Maria Campbell – Mine can travel. They just can't sit still for two hours, you know. Like this would be too hard for them. But if we had, like, the lounge with a couple of couches in there, or bring in some fold away beds. And they can have their own gathering, and then maybe we can even video tape that at the same time that we're doing this. And then get together with them in there, in a place where they're comfortable. Which means that we might have to do it for one or two days longer. But I think that would, I just can't see us talking about these kinds of things without bringing in our own teachers. And they would love that. I know that the old people that I work with would love to have that kind of a discussion even among themselves.

John Murdoch – I'd like to play the part that the students played and sit and watch people talking. Only maybe the, all of the people that know Wesakejack or all the people that know **Naape (Unknown Spelling)** able to get together, either physically or video conferencing. And because a lot of people don't realize because of the political and provincial boundaries, a lot of people don't realize that **Ias (Unknown Spelling)** is a story that goes from the Rockies to the Atlantic Ocean, and Rolling Head is a story that goes from the Arapahoe in Northern Cheyenee all the way to the Atlantic. And, you know, maybe getting representation from, from those communities, and people having a discussion that maybe was never possible, but is certainly less likely nowadays with all of the boundaries that people have to live with.

Roger Maaka – I'm not sure, you know, whether this is the right platform or not, but continually, and even this morning, we've come back away from oral traditional, orality and talked about Native Studies. And then Ida brought this whole point up of the interaction between the academy and the community. If you're going to have another forum, then something that I would like to contribute to and be with, it is, is the discussion on the academy and the community, rather than have it dominate your, your other part, where you were talking about talking with elders. Because the two things, the things keep cutting across all the time. And, and they're actually slightly, they're different issues. They're, they're, for someone collecting oral history or trying to get research funding to do that, you're going to bang into this all the time. But, in fact, you're talking at two ends of the scale. One is the, the working with the elders, and the other one is some of the obstacles and the problems to it. And I think it's worthy of discussion, I, I, but I think there is, you ones sitting around this table are the, are the experts and, and the, gathering and working with this sort of information that, whether you would want a session on exactly that. This inter-relationship—and I have a number of thoughts but I don't, I don't want to take up too much time and actually winding into them—but I, it's, it's such an important thing. Ida, I think you're right, that, because we could, the academy could assist the community in so many ways, and the community, as much as the community can assist the academy. And yet we don't. We talk past each other quite a lot. And I'd like to unpack that at some, or have a session on that choice. Yeah.

John Murdoch – Would you consider having this meeting the next time in a community?

Brenda Macdougall – Well, it seems, it seems to me we're, we've probably raised several actually large issues. And, and one of them is, is issue of academic disciplinarity and the methods and the values that go with those disciplinarities. The issue of, of continuing the kinds of work that everybody's done, which has been grounded in, in orality, oral traditions, oral histories, however you want to conceptualize those terms. And, and the other, the other sort of issue, then, that, that arises out of both of those two places is, is the academy and the community. So, they're, they're inter-linked, but in some senses they're quite distinct things. And so the, they're actually different products that can come out of that. And to have another symposium similar to this, where, you know, each one of us is committed to

bringing one more person that we know. That is an elder or a, or another community person or another academic that we know that has done this work and bring those people to the table, doing something, say, in Jackie's camp. Going up into northern Manitoba, into the camp, and doing something on the land, or into Sto:lo territory or Métis territory or wherever we wanted to do those things. And that maybe the grounding of all of those discussions is always coming back to this issue of mutual assistance, but doing it in different ways. I don't know. Any of that made sense towards the end of what I was, as I was winding down?

John Murdoch – It's the kind of accidents we cause.

Brenda Macdougall – The, the overall and purpose and scope had, had, had not been, in a sense, to, to worry about Native Studies and, and the difference between Native Studies and history or anthropology. And while I know those things come into play, that's not really the—the issue is really more about the knowledge and how all of us utilize that knowledge, regardless of disciplinary issues. So.

Sonny – I'm wondering if a good move might be—first of all, I know each of us have come here, and we have our own bibliographies as to what sort of work we've done in the past, and none of us were able to take that out and show it to each other. I know the first day Keith and I brought the three publications, and I think they ended up sitting over there and we never got to show.

Keith Carlson – Inaudible Comments.

Sonny – No, I'm wondering like the questions that you had outlined for us to answer here, if, if our next move is to look forward, first of all, to the bibliographies that each of us can submit. Look at the final publication of, at the end of March, of this, of this symposium. And also look at the video, and then take those and review, you know, some of the different input that each of us have brought to the table, and take those questions, those new questions, and apply them to the work that we've done in the past. And maybe come forward and do a review. Not a real, like I don't want to take the *Atlas* out and go, "This is

what this is all about," but maybe a couple, spend a couple of minutes saying this is what we did, but then staying true to the, to the agenda that you have here and answer, answer some of those questions. And also be critical of our own, our own work and saying, well, how would, how did this symposium contribute to how we would have dealt with this, like, you know, seven-eight years ago. When we do this first publication, how could we have improved it with some of the input from some of the people at this table? I'm wondering if that might be a good thing to try.

John Murdoch – Would you consider opening it up to high school students and, you know, people more at large in the, in the city if you do have it in the city again? Because I could think of a lot of high school students that are certainly thoughtful enough to get a lot out of the conversations that I've been listening to and a part of.

Brenda Macdougall – Yeah, I mean it all, it relates to format and process. And we were very fortunate to have that room and, and that's probably a, because this, you know, there's balancing the issues of, sort of controlling the set at the same time that we, we expand out. So it's not a, it's not a closed discussion by any means. It's just a matter of working through those problems. And I like, I really like and appreciate Maria's comments about the elders, because when we did envision this, we had hoped that we would be able to have some of the old people come and, and we were just never able to work out an appropriate way to, to do that. But it would be nice to maybe have an additional two days where they're having their conversation that we can interface with somehow, and be the spectators in some respects, as they tease through the same question because their approach to those questions might be very different.

Keith Carlson – This sized forum, I think, works very well. I mean, it's probably, in some ways, with the, with the idea that's it being taped and, and that there's a series of questions were, certain questions were asking. Many more people around the table and I don't think it would have worked because this enabled people to, to speak at some, some length without being interrupted, but as you waited your turn, you know, you had a fair number of places around the table that had to get to. Opening it up much more, I think it would lose, I don't think that you could add many more people to this table and without, and, and still retain

that. I think it would be nice to bring, if most of us came in couples, I guess, if as, as a, as pairs we were to think of about a particular elder or cultural expert that we would, who a) could travel and b) could, would be comfortable. I think that would be a neat thing. Not too many, but enough that they could, they would [be] able to get, hopefully form some of the same relationships that we're having. And if it was anchored around a particular question, so that when we're thinking about what elder to invite we'd say, "Oh, this is an elder who has a particular expertise or interest in this subject." And so they would come and, in theory, not [be] so shy about speaking. We talked a bit earlier about some of the elders, say, "Well, I don't know anything about that. I want to talk about something else." So, if we knew they were coming to talk about the topic they were passionate about, I think that would work well. If it was ahead of time, identified.

Maria Campbell – When Trent used to bring elders in, in—this was a number of years ago—I took two of the elders that I wanted to bring here. One is a historian and the other one works, you know, knows places and things like that and the stories. Took them to Trent with me. And they met people from James Bay, and they, in particular, those two old men met two people that had the same interests they did. And some of us sat up one night listening to them. And, and we, we weren't, we had interpreters for, like James Bay had their interpreter and I interpreted with the elders from over here. The conversation was just, you know, was almost like this. They were talking about and they were so excited, as old as they were, to be able to share that kind of information and how would they be able to share that with, with the students. So I was thinking of another room where they would be doing, take those questions, and then have an interpreter be able to pose those questions to them and then just let them go. You know, while we're doing this. And then maybe be able to switch, where we can watch them and they can watch us.

John Murdoch – Well, there are resources that you can tap into. I know in northern Manitoba and certainly in the James Bay territory there, when they have a general assembly or a council board meeting or anything, everybody's got their radio turned on at work or wherever. 64,000 square miles and it's like that, you know. It's not complicated. And I've, I've seen meetings in northern Manitoba where they've used a combination of TV and radio

so people at least get a chance to listen in, and maybe call in. People could ask questions without interrupting the flow of a fairly small group around the table.

Maria Campbell – But it's also bringing in, not the usual elders that, that come to political meetings or whatever, because in every community there's a group of elders who, you know, who travel. I'm talking about the people, the elders that you don't normally ever see because they're out in the bush. Or they're, you know, some granny is busy looking after kids, but she's, she's got particular information.

Dick Preston – I really like that idea.

Maria Campbell – Is it, and its scholars, they're, they're scholars as well.

Roger Maaka – I'm wondering if, if you might get more benefit out of that if you choose a certain community or regional group or language group and had a group of elders from that one, from different communities, from that one group and then did it that way. And then, the next time people from another area. And so, well, one is the translation issues, and the other is, is that, the result might be you'd find out what from that particular grouping, people, things of, of interest. Sort of a more focused, well, there's a choice. There's one elder from wherever you live and work, and do it that way. Or whether you want to do it linguistically, geographically, and have a more focused look at, or understanding of what it is, today's people. I think there has to be a choice, there has to be a conscious choice of which way you, way you decide to go. Because you'll get two different results depending on which way you go.

Maria Campbell – I was just thinking of the two old men that went to Trent. What a difference it made in their lives when they came home because, you know, a lot of old people really have a feeling of, of awe and, and respect for, for university. They know that it's a place that they want their grandchildren to come. And to be able to talk in this kind of surrounding about those kinds of things. At first they were shy because they felt they had nothing to, you know, nothing to share, but, I don't know. I know that it would be kind of hard, but I think if they were left alone in a room, they'd, they'd figure out how they were

going to talk to each other if, if they're given the responsibility of four questions or whatever that they had to address. There's really nobody that can't communicate anymore, I don't think. I mean they'd have to be really, really old, and even so, they can, you know, help each other along.

Keith Carlson – I think we have to keep in mind, one of the things we look for and identify in the elder would be someone who did have English skills that were strong enough that they communicate with somebody from another nation.

Maria Campbell – I know that, the one of the old men from Canoe [Lake] that, that came with me is eight, he'd be about eighty-nine now, I guess. He doesn't speak any, any English unless he's in a situation where he absolutely has to. I thought that he didn't speak English for years. But when we were talking to the students, I, you know, we had lectures to do with, or the elders had lectures to do, and we were interpreting for them. And he didn't like the way that I was interpreting because I wasn't quite saying it the way that he wanted. And so what he did is he said, you know, in Cree, "It's okay, I'll take over," and he spoke to the students. His English was, was broken, but the students knew what he was talking about. And actually it was more powerful than, than anything that I could have done for him. And then he didn't talk English again after that. But it also didn't take him long to communicate with the Cree from other parts, the dialects were different. I think it took them about a day, you know, before they started to understand each other. Now if it was somebody from Sto:lo, I'm, I'm sure that, you know, if they were alone they would, they would find a way to, to talk to one another.

Brenda Macdougall – I can't imagine that, that they'd actually be any more shy than any of us were when we, when we first got started, you know. We all have that moment of, *I don't really know these people. Supposed to talk to them for two days.*

Maria Campbell – And also the other thing is, sometimes when you do it in the community when it's, in, like if it's this, this kind of a thing, is that elders are reluctant to talk about those things among their own community. Just like, you know, I'm reluctant to go home and, and, and, and talk because we can be really nasty with each other, which is also part of our, our

colonialism. We got jealous of one another. There's, there's all of these little things that happen and, and, and no matter how, there's no such thing as that we haven't got rid of, that we've been able to get rid of those things. But I think they get a lot more confidence when they can go home and then they have this, this feeling of incredible responsibility, then to go home and try to get the other elders to, to get involved. Because you end up with one group of elders who become the experts, and the real experts are really left, left out. At, at least that's my experience, anyway.

Ida Moore – When we, when we bring in elders from different parts, how, they, I notice how they, they just love meeting other people from other cultural areas and exchanging that information. It adds a new life, it gives them, it's almost like it gives them new life.

Maria Campbell – Well, it kind of goes back to the, the thing I said the other day that one of the teachers we had said, you know, when we asked how come our elders are always talking to anthropologists—they give them all this information that they don't always give us. And they say, "Because they listen and they want, they want to know, they make it important." So I think that's …

John Murdoch – I'd like to see, too, like I'm just now starting to use DVD as a better format than tape recorder because it gives you the visual, it gives you the oral. And what I've started doing is, I'll do a, with using an airplane and a mini DV camera, take a journey of a trip up a river, and then an elder with a grandchild can easily put that on, on the TV and they talk. And it's, it's a much easier framework for them to organize rather than a tape recorder. And then when they hear other people's narration of the same trip, they remember things that that elder couldn't know about. And, and you can put a DVD out with eight different possible narrations on it in a format that everybody's already used to because DVDs used a lot at home. But it, to me it comes the closest to breathing air into the stories again, and sort of creating the situation where people are likely to use techniques that are thousands of years old again, given the limited ability to travel that river anymore, or given the limited ability to, to take somebody along with you. And I, just the luck that I've had in, in identifying things that have been long lost, as far as research goes, by making it more accessible, you know. Have a coffee with somebody in the morning, and then you fly over their hunting territory

and come back at lunch. And they bang, bang, bang, they nail down all these things that were supposedly lost. And DVD is one format that I'd really like to explore a lot further for supporting that. Maybe there's others, you know. People might know others. Even, even this format using studio and cameras as, as a way of making something that has become very difficult once again possible.

Keith Carlson – One thing Sto:lo elders talk about a fair bit is Cree culture and Cree traditions. Because they're, they're coming into their territory and, and they're embracing them and cautious about them at the same time. Because almost every school in Sto:lo territory, public school where Sto:lo children go, have pow-wows now, right. And they're big community pow-wows held, and none of the dancing there is, is Salish. It's, none of it is Sto:lo. And often they'll be school functions or even band functions where people will start with a, a smudge with sweetgrass and things, which doesn't grow in Sto:lo territory. And they're increasingly, people building sweat lodges on reserves or on their homes that are of the Cree style. Or like, at least that's what they've been told, rather than the smaller Sto:lo ones and, and so there's a sense of, of sharing going on and a sense of reluctance, too, because people are saying, "Well, those aren't our traditions. Should we be using these?"

Maria Campbell – They're not Cree's either.

Dick Preston – Right.

Maria Campbell – They're Lakota's.

Keith Carlson – Lakota's, I guess. But they're talked about as…

Dick Preston – Thank you.

Keith Carlson – But it comes mostly from Cree people ironically, maybe ironically.

(Lots of chatter and over-lapping talk.)

Keith Carlson – Well I, I, I think it would be, even to talk about what is, what is traditional, what is cultural, what is Aboriginal. Where, where Sto:lo people could say, "Gee, you know, do you have any, you don't have any house posts or totem poles erected in Saskatoon, and yet we've got these things that are prairie somehow in our community. What, what's going on there? And what is this exchange and what's authentic and what is just that the white man's brought and said this is Indian and so you say okay, well we'll do that then." Because that's, because I can think of, there was one very traditional Sto:lo chief who, thirty or forty years ago, I mean, he was, he was involved in all the traditions, right, the Sto:lo traditions. But whenever he met with government officials, he put on this huge headdress, this prairie, you know, headdress and some Sto:lo people were like, *Well, what the heck is he doing that for?* But, of course, he knew that's what white people expected Indians to look like. But some people also took that as an indication that it's okay, then, to do anything that's North American Aboriginal, that's reviving our culture. And then some people, some Sto:lo people, feel, *Well that's not reviving our culture. That's, might as well be Pentecostal, church, Catholic or, or Sioux. It's not ours. It's different.* And I think if we could get Sto:lo elders together with real Cree elders and, and they could say, you know, "What is this thing that my grandson's doing at school, and is it yours, and is it spiritual, is it, how is it?" I think there's some Sto:lo people who would really find that interesting, and they would want to talk to people about that out here.

Roger Maaka – This would be a good place to do it because you've got Dakota/Lakota people, I mean, a couple of hours from here, as well as Cree.

Maria Campbell – And there would be many Cree. Old, old Cree people who would really appreciate that kind of conversation. Because they feel the same way.

Roger Maaka – Yeah that, that would be a brilliant, brilliant thing to talk about.

Ida Moore – Hearing that, it really reinforces that, like that evening that my father talked to me about uniqueness and, about that's a **Sini (Unknown Spelling)** Cree. That's, that's a **(Unknown Word)** Cree and that's, you're, you're Muskego. And you know, how he, I, I'm, as the years go on, I, I understand why, why it's so important. Because it's, it's important to

know who you are, you know, and like, and if you're, and if you're pow-wow dancing and you're Sto:lo. Sto:lo, you doing something that's from the United States, thinking it's Cree.

Brenda Macdougall – Thanks for the credit, but it's not ours.

Keith Carlson – I mean, part of it is that there are people from Saskatchewan, Indigenous people who are in the prison systems and get transferred to B.C., and almost, like, 90% of the prisons in B.C. are in Sto:lo territory because they're close to Vancouver. And then those people need cultural awareness and activities in the, in the prisons, and then they come out and often [meet] a Sto:lo girl because they, they stay there. And so it's, it's always, not always, but it's largely associated with Cree people from Saskatchewan, these traditions.

Brenda Macdougall – Yeah, and I think there, there's that, that issues, that there is this authentication of, of an Aboriginal culture. And, and the authentic one is the popular culture one, which is largely Hollywood. And I went to a gathering in North Carolina amongst the, the Cherokee and the Lumbee and walked into it. And there were these people in, in Grass Dance outfits and big Plains headdresses. Well, these are Cherokee. And I was so confused, but that's, it's because that's what they felt people expected them to do, and so they didn't show their own things.

Maria Campbell – I was just reading some transcripts, excuse me, just recently, and I was telling them about it this morning. And that was one of the things that this old man in the 1920s said, that he was invited to a, to a celebration just outside of Saskatoon, and he arrives there—and like this old man is in his nineties–and he said they were doing this thing called pow-wow. And he, and he said that his dog said pow-wow. And he watched them, and he was quite upset in the interview, in the transcripts, because he said they were doing a really traditional healing dance, and they were calling it pow-wow. And so he told the story of, of this dance and why it was, you know, what had happened, and how the man had come by it. And he, he said that they asked if anybody had anything to say because sometimes they ask for speakers. And so he said I'm not a speaker but I had to get up and tell them the story of this dance, and that they shouldn't be calling it, you know, that kind of a name because they were going to lose it. And this was in, in the 1920s, and he's already concerned, you know,

he was very concerned about, about. He said that, and this was the last thing that he said, is the only, you know. Pow-wow, he said, my dogs says that.

(Inaudible chatter)

John Murdoch – Well, the urban people that really want to start, you know, picking up cultural behaviour that they don't have access to it anymore, having some authenticating source, it becomes really important. Whether you look at it from a legal standpoint of an authenticating audience in order to admit evidence, or an authenticating audience from which to, to get the traditions that will provide the support that you're very much in need of. That's, that's a large part of the reason why I really felt that the, the audience needs to get bigger. There's a lot of people that are, that have a huge appetite right now for the cultural support that's been stripped away, of a way of looking at the world …

Maria Campbell – But you see that's the reason why I don't think it should get bigger. I think it's more important to bring in the old people who are knowledgeable about the real, those real things, and then be able to do videos or books or whatever so that we can pass information on. That's really good, instead of having a whole bunch of people coming, and then people selectively take out what they want and then go and put something together outside, which is, you know.

John Murdoch: I meant as an audience **(talks over Maria).**

Keith Carlson – I like what you're saying.

John Murdoch – The other thing is, had you intended to include Inuit and Montagnais or **(Unknown Word)** …?

Brenda Macdougall – Well, we certainly hadn't intended to exclude anybody. We just worked with, with what we were able to, to pull together.

Maria Campbell – We're not rich …

Brenda Macdougall – So, by no means was there a, was there sort of set package or plan to bring particular groups together. This is how it worked out.

Maria Campbell – I don't know if Roger told you, we're a very poor reserve.

John Murdoch – Especially if they saw the tapes. Their organizations would sponsor them.

Brenda Macdougall – Yeah.

John Murdoch – I would, would have come on my own hook had I, you know, especially if I had any idea as to what this was going to be like. I would have found a way to get here.

Keith Carlson – I think, too, the University of Saskatchewan with Native Studies sort of at its core is really getting a reputation as a place where people do Aboriginal things. It's a, it's getting a name that way.

Maria Campbell – Yeah, but it needs to have a name where it's doing real things. Because they have a tendency to take off and become like …

Brenda Macdougall – Taking pow-wow to Sto:lo …

Maria Campbell – Taking pow-wow to Sto:lo. **(Inaudible chatter due to laughter and overlapping talk)** but, but that, that's sexy and, and that happens. People get caught up in the …

Keith Carlson – I guess I meant, though, that there's people here, or there's beginning to be a critical mass around people who do Aboriginal issues, in Native, however you want to define that, so it includes Métis, that isn't happening at Simon Fraser or Western Ontario or, or …

Tape 8, Side 2: November 21st, 2004

Wrap-Up, 10:00 am – 12:00 pm

Keith Carlson – … and the time is right, I think, if people are coming from across the mountains in, in Manitoba here to talk about Native issues, I think that's a really, you know…

Maria Campbell – No, I agree with you …

Keith Carlson – So, my hands go up to, to the people in Native Studies who are making this kind of thing happen.

John Murdoch – But the Hollywood stuff fills vacuums. It doesn't. There's no room for it when people have access to something more authentic.

Ida Moore – But it's very dangerous. I've seen the damage that it does in communities and to individuals.

Brenda Macdougall – Sonny, I'm interested in how, how this, like sweetgrass—if it doesn't grow in Sto:lo territory, where are they, where are they getting it and how is this being brought in? Like, how is this happening?

Maria Campbell – I know there's stores in Vancouver that sell it. I've seen it.

Brenda Macdougall – Are people purchasing it or are they…

Sonny – I think they're purchasing it. I'm not sure where they're, th'y're getting it from, but it just seems to be all over the place.

Maria Campbell – People probably come here and pick it just like we go and get **(Unknown word)** rocks. Yeah.

(Chatter and laughter – inaudible)

Maria Campbell – Because it lasts longer.

Keith Carlson – And young people are, especially if they're coming out of a, an impoverished community where there's, you know, social assistance and a lot of stress. They're often just looking to grab onto anything, and they see that and they grab onto that. And then there's, then suddenly there's a tension with their elders because their elders are happy that the children are doing something cultural. But it's not their culture, and they, I've heard elders say, "I don't know how to talk to my grandkids about this because I don't, I'm happy in a way but I'm scared." You know, right.

Maria Campbell – And it also makes them feel like their stuff is of no value. I remember my father, that's what ended up happening with him because everybody was doing all this other stuff, and, you know. And he had what was authentic, but he felt he would be—that's why sometimes it's important to take elders out, you know, to talk about that, because he felt that, you know, people would laugh at him. When I did *Road Allowance People*, the stories, one of the things that the elders told me was they were embarrassed because they said, "What, who wants to listen to our poor little stories, you know?" You couldn't convince him that these stories were rich until after the book had been published and people were actually excited, and their own people were buying the book and reading them. And, you know, there was something that happened because up until then nobody wanted to listen to them. And so, you know, we, if we're talking about, about, I don't even know what, what word it is if we're talking about trying to, to generate that kind of thing, we need to really look at those old people that nobody ever hears from now or sees.

John Murdoch – Well, it's this problem with authenticity that's made me so bloody minded about high school in the bush and getting elders into the schools so that the kids' early experience is, are authentic. And also, too, like the notion of culture in a practical view is, these cultures are, are, are practical in the sense that you've got attitudes, values, behaviour, traditions, and they're well integrated over thousands of years, you know. The trial and error of making sure that things fit and work and, you know, how people handle trauma and tragedy and everything else. The, the, they're the result of thousands of years of experience. And when you take one check, chunk out for whatever reason, and then you grab something

from somewhere else and try to slap it in there, it causes all kinds of disruption because it doesn't really fit. It's not part of the, the sharpened process that's been going on for, for thousands of years, where you end up with a, a really good way of living in this particular land.

Roger Maaka – One experience that I've had with this is that, while I'm a traditionalist at heart, I believe that change is inevitable. And then it's helping our communities deal with the change, and when you get down to customary things, and I, I've been amongst my own people with the fiercest debates on this, and saying, "Well, it's okay to change as long as we're doing it consciously and we know what we're doing. And we know what the effect on the young people will be." But if you, and of course that, that, a lot of the diehard people opposed that, but my experience is that inevitably if a, a custom no longer has a function, the younger generation will stop doing it anyway, and then they'll corrupt it in a, in a very short hand way or adopt from another culture because the, you know, you talk about the sort of pan-Indianness in, in the States. There's also a pan-Indigenousness going on around the world. So in New Zealand, you'll find people putting up teepee and having sweat lodges and stuff like that.

Brenda Macdougall – It's not just in Sto:lo.

Roger Maaka – Because there's this cross-fertilization … **(lots of chatter and laughter, inaudible)** … and, and I actually listen, and I can hear some Polynesian things coming through what I hear local people saying is our culture. And I'm, so, I wonder if that came from the prairies because it sounds fairly familiar to me. So there, it's also at that level, as well. There's a, sort of a global notion of what it is to be Native/Aboriginal/Indigenous …

Brenda Macdougall – Well, there's even been the adoption of, of Maori tattooing, tribal tattoo art that young people like so much.

Maria Campbell – And yet there is Cree tattooing …

Brenda Macdougall – That they don't do …

Maria Campbell – That, that nobody does. That's really beautiful. But, you know, talking about what Roger said, that, that things do change, but most traditional people know that, and they'll [tell] you that, the old people will tell you last summer, you know, this summer not going to be like last summer. And it's the same with us. But if we can, if we can make our culture grow based on our, grounded in our own stuff, then, then it's always going to, to enhance it. I always think my grandma used to say that we're not all poplar trees, you know, or we're not all tiger lilies. You need all of these things to make this place, a good healthy place.

Dick Preston – We're pretty well into another conference here. **(inaudible chatter due to laughter)**. At, at risk of, of being arrogant, I want to put in a plug for a paper I wrote on authenticity in the context of John Blackned. And it's in that book that you have. But I'll, because I've got quite a few things that I have written, a little over a hundred, I will star a few, and that's certainly one that I'd like to get some response to because it's, it's been very contentious with anthropology. They, they, the only time in my life I've been really jumped at a conference was when I used the word authenticity and it, it got exciting. So I think we're, we're onto a, a major important thing. I just want to tell a little story. The, the first time I saw pow-wow stuff in James Bay was at Waskaganish and it was guys from Moose Factory who had been to Saskatoon for some post-secondary, and they brought it back. And when you compare the big drums with the, the big drum sticks, and the pow-wow style singing with the quiet, deep listening of a traditional Cree song, you wouldn't notice that the Cree song was gonna be going on. It's gets, sort of, perceptually drowned out, and I think it's true for the, these young guys that were doing this. That it was satisfying a spiritual need they had because their lives were so unfocused and so undisciplined. And, as you said, their folks would say, "I don't know what they're doing, I don't understand this stuff, it's not my culture. But I know he's not drinking now, and that's good." But, okay, I was standing at the back of the, the anthropologists' place at the back of the crowd with a, a former chief, Sydney. And the singing was going on and the young people were all pumped up, and they were in the front of the, the crowd. And then they, the older people, sort of in back. And Sydney said, "Never heard songs like that before." And I said, "I think it comes from out west." "Oh," he says. "Do you think they're coming back?"

Maria Campbell – They're coming home.

John Murdoch – There's actually quite a history of the people from the West Coast, huh?

Brenda Macdougall – I think we'll, that's probably, I think we've got more than enough that Cheryl and I can put together, digest, and put something together over the next week, and disseminate and start calls for bibliographies. And then we'll compile all that material. And, and we really want to thank you. We've been very awestruck and pleased and, and happy with the way that this has developed. And, and thank you all so much for, for coming with your minds and your hearts and your thoughts, and bringing that to us. We're going to, to let Roger say a few things in closing, and then we're, I think we're, we're good to go.

Roger Maaka – I, I haven't got too much to say. I think we've said it this morning. The sharing of ideas and the things that everybody has been so pleased about, the experience and all that. So I'd like to thank you for coming and participating. In a small group like this, it's, while it's intimate and friendly, it's also quite intense. And I guess you're, you're going to go home a bit tired, having to work tomorrow or something. But it is, it is quite intense, even though you're just sitting here. One, getting used to these cameras. And also thinking about what people, and reflecting on what people are saying all the time. Your mind is going continuously at a fairly high level, so thank you all for coming. And I, I guess [I] just wanted to close with a proverb from, from my people, because it's reflecting what John said about this, sort of, hierarchy of people here and I don't totally agree with that. And, and this, the proverb is **(Speaks in Maori)**. And it means, with your little basket and my little basket, we feed the people. And I think that's what everybody has brought, their little baskets here, and no basket is bigger than anyone else's. Everyone has brought their own unique basket and, and we have provided a feast of, of, of knowledge and sharing. So, godspeed on your way home. Return safely to your, to your families and to your homelands, and may we all meet again in the near future.

Cheryl Troupe – That's a wrap!